A profile of the midwestern patron of Hmong textiles

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A profile of the midwestern patron of Hmong textiles

by

Jeanette Slaybaugh

A Thesis Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
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Major: Textiles and Clothing

Signatures have been redacted for privacy

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INTRODUCTION

In the past, Third World craftspeople produced objects for use within their own communities. However, with the increasing impact of industrialization, many of these hand-produced objects are no longer needed locally. Instead, craftspeople have turned to out-group patronage by consumers from other cultural traditions. In this new market situation the craftsperson often does not know why one object appeals to the consumer and another does not. Without knowledge of the consumer's needs and aesthetic preferences, the craftsperson may be left with quantities of unsold merchandise.

A number of projects have been funded to assist Third World craftspeople in developing markets outside their own communities. These projects have emphasized technical aspects of production, acquisition of credit, and expansion of product distribution (Duque, 1984; Tadmore, 1984). The projects have given little attention to the patron as a component of marketing. Recent research was carried out on patrons of Eskimo soapstone sculpture, Cree Indian wooden utensils, and woodcarving in Cordova, New Mexico (Briggs, 1980; Graburn, 1978). The research has been limited in applicability because the findings have not been placed
within a larger framework of consumer decision-making. No field research has been done on patrons of textiles crafted for out-group consumers.

The Hmong are one refugee group in the United States with an established internal craft tradition. Presently the Hmong are making efforts to sell their textiles in a market of midwestern consumers. Since 1970, 40,000 Hmong have migrated to the United States (Stout, Reilly, & Nelson, 1983). There are 600 Hmong in Iowa (R. Whitaker, State of Iowa Human Services Department of Refugee Programs, personal communication, Feb.5, 1985) and others have settled in Wisconsin and Minnesota.

The Hmong, originally from Northern China, moved south in gradual stages. By the mid-19th century, they had settled in the mountains of Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam (Lewis & Lewis, 1984). The Hmong were farmers with large families and strong family ties. Their wealth was shown in their clothing through the needlework skills of the women and the silversmith skills of the men. Many Hmong fought on the side of the United States in the Vietnam War and were forced to move after the war ended. Once in the United States, the Hmong have had to learn English and have been placed in entry-level jobs in areas such as manufacturing and construction.
Since moving to the United States, the Hmong have adopted Western-style dress; therefore the in-group patronage for Hmong needlework has declined. However, the women are interested in continuing their needlework by expanding to out-group patronage. The traditional textile arts can be practiced in the home while the women manage children; needlework is also compatible with an outside job, and can provide extra income for the family. The Hmong women now apply their skills to Western clothing and household textile items such as aprons, purses, coasters, pot-holders, bed-spreads, and wall-hangings. Even with these changes, the Hmong needleworkers have had varying success in selling articles to consumers in the United States.

The purpose of this research was to develop a profile of the patron of Hmong textiles in Iowa. The profile was examined in relation to the model of consumer satisfaction developed by Swan and Combs (1976). The profile will contribute toward greater understanding between the patron and craftsperson by providing ideas for production and marketing of textiles that appeal to Iowa consumers.

This research was part of a larger research project studying out-group patrons of textiles crafted in the United States and abroad. Popelka (1987) is currently conducting research on a group of rug weavers in Oaxaca,
Mexico. These entrepreneurial craftsmen have been successful in marketing their rugs to tourists and for export. Littrell (1987) conducted interviews with 1) 70 English-speaking patrons of Malaysian and other Southeast Asian handcrafted textiles, and 2) midwestern United States residents who have traveled abroad and purchased textiles as part of their travels. Together, the projects contribute to understanding the characteristics of out-group patrons and of the textiles that are successful in appealing to these consumers.

Objectives

The first objective of this research was to develop a profile of the patron of Hmong textile art. This included

- aesthetic criteria for purchases
- socio-economic criteria for purchases
- the patron's knowledge and impressions of Hmong textiles
- shopping practices
- demographic characteristics

The second objective was to make recommendations based on this profile for improved product design and marketing of Hmong textiles.
Assumptions

The following assumptions were made in this research.

- Patrons would be willing and able to verbalize about their aesthetic judgments and personal use of Hmong textile art.
- Patrons would be willing to have their conversations tape-recorded.

Limitations

The research had these limitations.

- Patrons resided in Iowa and the findings may not apply to other geographic areas.
- Patrons were limited to individual consumers and the findings are not applicable to commercial dealers in the arts.

Definitions

The following were definitions used in this research.

- Hmong textiles—textiles made by Hmong women using their traditional techniques of embroidery, batik, reverse appliqué, and appliqué.
Patron--a person living in Iowa who has purchased at least three pieces of Hmong textile art.

In-group patronage--exchange of merchandise where the patron and the craftsperson are from the same cultural tradition.

Out-group patronage--exchange of merchandise where the patron and the craftsperson are from differing cultural traditions.
The researcher reviewed four areas of literature in order to become more familiar with the existing information pertinent to this research: handcrafts in developing countries, history and culture of the Hmong people, consumer preference and satisfaction, and the methodology for measuring aesthetic preferences for handcrafts. The following summary presents the literature most applicable to the present research.

**Handcrafts in Developing Countries**

**Handcrafts and economic development**

There are at least five reasons why developing nations are finding it increasingly important to promote the handcraft sector of their economies. First, agriculture is presently the greatest source of income in these countries, but with increased mechanization and a limited amount of land, the labor force employed in agriculture cannot expand at a rate that will keep up with the population growth. New jobs are needed outside of the agricultural sector (Handcraft Industries, 1985; Bagus et al., 1985).
A second reason to develop handcrafts is that compared to large-scale capital-intensive industry, the small-scale industry of handcrafts can provide many jobs. Previously governments concentrated assistance on large-scale firms in urban areas (Pye, 1986), but such firms are dependent on imports for raw materials and for modern technology and equipment. Small-scale handcraft industries are labor intensive, provide jobs with only small amounts of capital, and often use local raw materials.

A third reason why governments of developing countries are interested in expanding small-scale handcrafts is their ability to earn foreign exchange. Total developing countries' exports of handcrafts in 1983 were $U.S. 8.45 billion. However, the potential market for handcraft exports might be as large as $U.S. 25 billion (Pye, 1986).

A fourth reason to expand handcrafts is to decrease rural to urban migration by providing jobs in rural areas. Although the majority of the population in developing countries is rural, most people have only small plots of land and are engaged in subsistence agriculture. In Indonesia most men own less than one hectare of land and spend only 5-10% of the workday in their fields (Gadjah Mada University, 1985). Handcrafts have traditionally supplemented subsistence agriculture. Assistance to handcrafts will help keep
people employed in the rural areas where they are able to produce some of their own food and where they do not contribute to unemployment in the cities. The Ministry of Planning and Budget in Iran has estimated that for every rural family moving to the city, $1000 is spent on importing wheat to feed them since Iran has a shortage of principal foodstuffs. Moreover, urban housing and transportation are more costly and must be increased as people move to the cities (Iran Handicrafts Organization, 1985).

A fifth and final reason to develop handicrafts is that they are practiced by minority groups and by women whose contributions are necessary to family economic survival. Although many minority groups would be difficult for governments to reach through assistance programs focused on agriculture, these people may profit through the development of handicrafts (Pye, 1986). Women in rural embroidery factories in the Philippines contributed 51.9% of family income compared to the husband's contribution from agricultural work of 26.1%. A woman employed in embroidery in the home contributed 27.6% of the family income compared to her husband's 27.3% from agricultural work (Aguilar & Miralao, 1985). Even in typically male-dominated crafts such as wood carving, women often contribute to family income where the handcraft is organized by household.
In summary, five reasons for developing countries to promote handcrafts are: 1) The labor force employed in agriculture cannot keep up with population growth, thus other forms of employment are necessary; 2) Small-scale handcrafts can provide many jobs with only small amounts of capital investment; 3) Handcrafts have the potential to increase earnings from foreign exchange; 4) Increased jobs in handcrafts can decrease rural-urban migration by providing jobs in rural areas; and 5) Handcrafts are practiced by rural minority groups and women who would be difficult for governments to reach through other assistance programs.

The Hmong are a minority group living in the United States who can benefit from promotion of their handcrafts as outlined above. Their needlework is practiced by women whose contributions are necessary to family economic survival. The needlework is a small-scale handcraft that can provide many jobs with only small amounts of capital and can provide jobs in rural communities without the necessity of rural-urban migration.

**New handcraft consumers**

Handcrafts are losing their traditional patrons, the local consumers. Craftspersons originally produced commodities such as earthenware pots, hand woven baskets,
and hand crafted silver jewelry which were necessary for everyday living or which served aesthetic or religious functions. Mass production has decreased this need for handcrafts by providing low-cost replacement commodities such as plastic pots and jewelry. For instance in Indonesia, industrial development has led to the growth of the printing industry which can copy almost all the traditional hand-done batik designs. In the past, farmers were the largest consumers of hand produced batik and it was worn on an everyday basis. Now people no longer feel a special pride in owning and wearing hand produced batik. They buy batik according to price, and machine printed batik is cheaper than hand-done batik. The remaining consumers of hand produced batik are wealthy Indonesians and domestic or foreign tourists (Gadjah Mada University, 1985). Thus, with the development of large-scale industries, the traditional market of local consumers of crafts has diminished or gone totally.

To keep up production, handcraft producers must expand their market to a national level, to tourists, or to a foreign market for export. Selling to consumers outside the community means dealing with consumers from varying cultures. Gugenheim (1986), president of the World Craft Foundation has stated, "When those patrons are sought among
people of different cultures and societies, who have different values and needs and expectations,... Careful research is advisable.... ...one should examine the needs and desires of the potential patrons" (p.26).

As with craftsmen throughout the world, Hmong craftspeople in the United States are also faced with a diminished traditional market for their product. Since the Hmong now wear Western clothing, they must expand their market to consumers from outside their culture. The present research focuses on defining the characteristics of outgroup western consumers for Hmong needlework by examining the patrons' needs and desires.

The Hmong

History and culture

According to Hmong legend, the Hmong once lived in a cold land. The Hmong may have entered China from Tibet, Mongolia, or Siberia (Lewis & Lewis, 1984). Chinese records show the Hmong living on the central Yangtze plain in 2,000 B.C. (Fraser-Lu, 1983). Chinese attempts to subjugate the Hmong led to uprisings and to a gradual migration south. By 1850 they had moved to North Vietnam and Laos and, by the end of the 19th century, into Thailand. The Hmong now live
In China, Burma, Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand, and are the second most widely dispersed of the minority groups in this region. In 1983 four million Hmong were living in China and 58,000 in Thailand (Lewis & Lewis, 1984).

Meo is what the Chinese traditionally called them, but Hmong is what they call themselves. The two major sub-groups of the Hmong, called the Blue Hmong and the White Hmong after their distinctive dress, also have separate dialects. The spelling Hmong comes from the Blue Hmong who say 'mong' with an aspirated m rendered 'Hmong', whereas the White Hmong simply say 'Mong' (Lewis & Lewis, 1984).

The Hmong are divided into patrilineal clans, each with its own Hmong and Chinese name. Every clan has its social patterns and its own taboos. A person is born into a clan, but a girl marries away from her clan or sub-clan and becomes part of the husband’s clan. People from several clans may reside in the same village, but several houses of the same clan will cluster together (Lewis & Lewis, 1984). One clan will usually dominate the village numerically, and the village headman will be the eldest man from this clan. Clan members assist each other with farming and in marriage and funeral ceremonies (Fraser-Lu, 1983).

The family is the other social unit of the Hmong. The family is composed of husband, wife, unmarried children, and
married sons and their families. The eldest male is the head of the household. He has authority over all members and settles disputes between family members (Fraser-Lu, 1983; Lewis & Lewis, 1984).

Hmong villages are widely scattered and surrounded by villages of other ethnic groups. Villages are located in the lee of a hill at high altitudes of 1,000 to 1,500 meters above sea level. The common village layout is a horseshoe shape composed of several clusters of five to six wooden plank houses with thatched roofs. The village headman settles disputes between clans, hosts visitors, maintains trails, and is the village representative with government authorities (Hill tribes, 1986; Lewis & Lewis, 1984).

The Hmong practice slash and burn agriculture. On the average they re-locate the village every ten to fifteen years when the soil is exhausted or for other reasons such as an epidemic or trouble with neighbors. They grow rice as the main food, as well as maize, sugar cane, yams, cucumbers, beans, onions, tobacco, and hemp. Opium is the major cash crop and is also used for medicinal purposes. Vegetables and fruit trees are planted within the village. Pigs, cattle, and chickens are raised for food and the men hunt and fish (Fraser-Lu, 1983).

The Hmong traditionally believe in both benevolent
(tame) spirits and malevolent (wild) spirits who communicate with the human world through shamans. Benevolent spirits, which include ancestral spirits, live in the house and protect the souls of crops, money, livestock, and people. Malevolent spirits live in the jungle and cause sickness and death by stealing the soul out of the body (Lewis & Lewis, 1984). Shamans give offerings to benevolent spirits so they will force the malevolent spirits to return the soul to the sick person. The Hmong believe a person has three souls. On death one goes to the abode of the dead, one remains in the grave, and one is reembodied in another person (Fraser-Lu, 1983). Silver binds a person’s souls together so it is imperative to wear a silver neck ring to survive sickness. Even a baby wears a silver neck ring (Campbell, Pongnoi, & Voraphitak, 1981). During the shaman’s curing ceremonies a silver chain and padlock may be added to the ring to padlock the soul to the body (Lewis & Lewis, 1984).

Clothing and needlework

Because the Hmong practice slash and burn agriculture, they are semi-nomadic. Wealth and social position are displayed in easily portable items such as silver jewelry and elaborately decorated clothing (White, 1982). Mothers and grandmothers teach young girls, aged seven to ten, the
traditional needlework techniques and designs (Dewhurst, Lockwood, & MacDowell, 1984).

**Needlework techniques** The two main sub-groups of the Hmong practice different techniques for textile production. The Blue Hmong are the only ones who produce batik, and only two or three women in a village will be skilled at the art. Blue and white batik cloth is used as the base fabric for the skirt worn by the Blue Hmong women and for their baby carriers. It takes six months to a year to make a six meter batik skirt, so possession of more than one skirt indicates affluence (Campbell et al., 1981).

White Hmong women are renowned for their reverse applique. This is made by sewing one cloth to a background fabric and then cutting a design in the top fabric and turning under each cut edge. They also make smaller and finer applique and embroidery than other Hmong (Campbell et al., 1981).

**Daily attire** Blue Hmong women wear a pleated and appliqued batik skirt with a separate embroidered and appliqued border that has been applied at the hem. A long panel or apron covers the front opening. A black jacket is worn on top, with an appliqued and embroidered front opening. A square sailor-style collar, with the design underneath, is sewn at the back of the jacket. The women
wrap black strips of cloth around their legs and a sash of black or pink around their waists. They wear their hair in a large puffy bun on top of the head. For special occasions they wrap a black and white checked turban around their heads (Fraser-Lu, 1983; Lewis & Lewis, 1984).

White Hmong women wear black pants with an apron panel covering the back as well as the front. They also wear a black jacket similar to the Blue Hmong women, but the square sailor-style collar is attached to the back of the jacket with the design face up. For ceremonial occasions, a plain white pleated skirt is worn over the pants and the aprons are decorated. The women wear their hair in a tight bun on top of their heads (Fraser-Lu, 1983; Lewis & Lewis, 1984).

Men wear very full black trousers. Their black jackets are similar to the women's but they bare the midriff. For ceremonial occasions they wear, at the waist, a sash which has decorated ends, and, on the head, a black cap with a pink or red pompon on top (Fraser-Lu, 1983).

Clothing for celebrations and rites of passage At all times, a woman's skill with a needle is displayed on the clothes of her family, but her ability is especially important on the ceremonial clothing worn at New Year and for the rites of passage. When a woman reaches marriageable age, her adeptness with a needle will increase her attractiveness
to men and the amount paid for her bride price, since her abilities will reflect on her husband (White, 1982).

New and profusely decorated clothing will be made for every member of the family to wear for the New Year celebration, which takes place in December after harvest. New Year lasts for five days and is a time for visiting clan relatives. It is the principal courting time for the young Hmong. When a man decides to marry he must ask his father's permission since his family must pay a bride price of silver and livestock for the woman. The wedding cannot take place until the bride price is paid. Upon the day of the wedding, the bride displays her trousseau, composed of clothing she has made and decorated, blankets, silver jewelry, and an ox and a pig. The woman is then led to the groom's home where there is feasting, drinking, and sacrifices to the ancestral spirits (Campbell et al., 1981; Fraser-Lu, 1983).

A baby will be given a silver neck ring on its naming ceremony three days after the birth (Campbell et al., 1981). An embroidered and appliqued baby carrier will be made to carry the baby on the mother's back. All small children also wear brightly decorated caps which are supposed to protect the children from the wild spirits by disguising the children as flowers (White, 1982).

When a person dies, the body is dressed in elaborately
decorated clothing. If the deceased is an older person, a special burial costume will have been prepared and laid away for the burial. Pillow cloths made by the female relatives will be put under the head. The more impressive the burial, the richer the spirit in the after world (Fraser-Lu, 1983; Lewis & Lewis, 1984).

Resettlement in the United States

In their efforts to reassert French rule after World War II, the French recruited Hmong and other minorities living in the hills of Indochina. The French were defeated in 1954, but political strife in the area continued. The Laotian civil war between the Communist Pathet Lao and the existing Laotian monarchy lasted from 1961 to 1975. As the French did previously, in the 1960s the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency recruited minorities, principally the Hmong, to serve as a guerrilla army in support of the U.S. program. Some Hmong joined the Pathet Lao. When the U.S. military withdrew in 1975, the Hmong were the target of Communist persecution because of their aid to the U.S. Their villages were burned and attacked with bio-chemical weapons which killed people outright and poisoned their fields and water supplies. As many as half the original minority populations left Laos by crossing the Mekong River into Thailand. In
1983, 50,000 Hmong resided in the semi-permanent camps established in Thailand (Crystal, 1984; Hamilton-Merritt, 1982).

In the refugee camps in Thailand, mingling of the Hmong sub-groups contributed to learning each other's needlework techniques and designs. Both men and women had free time and the need to earn money. Women and a few men produced needlework, and men and women sold it to local tourists near the camps and to patrons further afield in the night market of Chiang Mai. Volunteer organizations and the Thai government also have established stores in Bangkok and Chiang Mai as outlets for refugee crafts.

From the refugee camps in Thailand, the Hmong have been resettled in France, Australia, Argentina, Canada, and some 40,000 in cities in the United States (Crystal, 1984). Hmong in the United States ordinarily wear Western dress and reserve their native costume for the traditional New Year celebration. Although women no longer use their needlework for everyday clothing, they continue to produce needlework and sell it to Westerners.

Marketing Hmong crafts in the United States

In the United States, the Hmong women market their needlework both directly through their own efforts and indirectly through other people and shops. Exhibits of
Hmong needlework and other traditional crafts have given formal recognition of the value of Hmong handcrafts in the United States today and created a larger market for them. In addition, educational programs have trained the Hmong in business practices that can assist them in marketing their needlework.

Craft fairs, which are plentiful in the summer months, are one of the most common ways the Hmong women can sell their needlework directly. Another type of outlet is through sales at local exhibits of Hmong crafts or at Southeast Asian cultural and food fairs. Indirectly the Hmong have been assisted in marketing their needlework by volunteers from church groups and refugee organizations, and through individual sponsors and teachers of the English language, all of whom may have worked alongside the Hmong or acted as sales representatives for them.

Hmong needlework is also sold through retail outlets, usually on consignment. Many stores combine selling Hmong needlework with other items, often other crafts. Examples of these are Dona's Arts and Crafts Outlet in Oseo, Wisconsin, which also sells Amish and Scandinavian crafts and the Outlet in Ames, Iowa, which sells all types of crafts, including Hmong needlework. Another type of retail outlet is the store that sells Hmong needlework exclusively.
Corrinne Pearson runs Hmong Handwork with volunteer help. This store in St. Paul, Minnesota, sells Hmong needlework on consignment. Hmong Folk Art in Minneapolis, Minnesota is a non-profit organization which first started selling needlework on consignment. Now Hmong Folk Art also commissions Hmong work to be incorporated in Western-style clothing that is sewn in a workshop adjacent to the sales area. The paid staff is Hmong, although non-Hmong volunteers also work in the shop. Besides selling needlework, this shop also provides training and employment for the Hmong.

Some groups also sell Hmong needlework by mail order. Hmong Folk Art recently developed a mail order catalog to reach customers beyond their local area. The Cooperative Extension Service of Mahaska County, Iowa, has organized Hmong Needleart and sends a black and white flyer picturing the needlework and their prices to prospective customers.

If a piece of needlework does not sell in one place, a woman in Laos, Thailand, or the United States may send it to a relative in a different city in the United States. Through the network of family and clan members, a woman may be selling several people's needlework at one time. If a Hmong woman only sells her needlework occasionally, she may make $20 to $30 a month, but if she actively pursues selling at craft fairs and places her needlework on consignment at
several stores, she can make over $1000 a month during the busy summer season. However, in order to actively pursue selling, a Hmong woman must be able to understand finances well enough to keep records of her sales and the sales tax. She must also have transportation to craft fairs or to stores for placing her needlework and must be willing to travel outside her own local area (E. Perkins, Eau Claire, Wisconsin, personal communication, May 27, 1985).

Exhibits of Hmong needlework have been held in many places where the Hmong live in the United States, including several in the midwest. Some of these have been local, others have been travelling exhibits, and still others have been organized by museums. The first large exhibit of Hmong crafts in the midwest was in 1981 at the Science Museum of Minnesota in St. Paul. In 1983 the Iowa State University extension services in Textiles & Clothing and Art & Design organized a traveling show to tour Iowa with exhibits in local galleries and banks. Another exhibition of Hmong needlework was held in 1984 in the Kresge Art Gallery at Michigan State University in East Lansing. Then in Sheboygan, Wisconsin, the John Michael Kohler Arts Center had an exhibit of Hmong crafts and an artists’ conference in 1985. This exhibit then toured nationally to 16 cities. Shows such as these educate the public by making them aware
of the presence of the Hmong in their communities. In addition, the public becomes familiar with Hmong needlework as a cultural art form that deserves recognition and preservation.

In addition to exhibits for the public, educational programs have been developed to help the Hmong women market their needlework. Sue Julian of the Hmong Stitching Project in Pontiac, Michigan has developed a set of slides to show Hmong women new ideas for marketing their needlework. Elizabeth Perkins has taught Hmong women a business course that was sponsored by the Wisconsin Settlement Assistance Office. The course covered such topics as selecting colors and patterns, displaying products for sale, finding out about local craft fairs, setting prices, and keeping business records.

A two-day conference in Madison, Wisconsin on Marketing Hmong Needlework had both Hmong and Western speakers and participants. Beverly Gordon, Assistant Professor of Environment, Textiles, & Design at the University of Wisconsin, spoke on design, color, and product selection for the needlework. She explained that people in the United States like bright clothing but prefer restful colors for home decoration. Needlework offered for sale should be ready for display or to be worn and she had examples of ways
to display needlework as art for the Hmong women to examine. Both the exhibits and educational programs assist in preserving Hmong needlework as a living craft that is a link between the past history of the Hmong and their present efforts to establish themselves as self-sufficient Americans.

In summary, the Hmong who now live in the United States are part of a large cultural group living in China, Burma, Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. In Southeast Asia, the Hmong are semi-nomadic farmers organized into patrilineal clans. The two largest sub-groups, the Blue Hmong and the White Hmong, are distinguished by their clothing which the women make by combining several needlework techniques. Many Hmong were forced to emigrate in the 1970s because of their aid to the United States in the Vietnam War. After leaving Laos, the Hmong first settled in Thai refugee camps where they learned to market their traditional needlework to out-group patrons. In the United States the women have continued to produce needlework and to market it, along with needlework from Thailand, to United States consumers. The Hmong have been aided in marketing by people who have been volunteer sales representatives, by exhibits that led to greater recognition of their handcrafts, and by education programs on business techniques.
Consumer Preference and Satisfaction

While studying a closely related concept, job satisfaction, Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman (1959) propounded the theory that satisfaction and dissatisfaction are unrelated constructs. A person's satisfaction with a job or product is independent of a person's dissatisfaction with a product. This two-factor theory of satisfaction contrasts with the traditional theory that satisfaction and dissatisfaction are opposites on a single, bi-polar continuum (Maddox, 1981).

Swan and Combs (1976) used this two-factor theory to study consumer satisfaction. They suggested that consumers judge products on a limited set of attributes. Different factors are associated with satisfactory and unsatisfactory products. The two factors are the instrumental attributes and the expressive attributes of a product. Instrumental attributes relate to the physical performance of a product such as the texture, durability, or end use of a fabric and are the means to an end. Expressive attributes relate to the psychological performance of a product such as the color, design, and styling of a fabric and are an end in themselves. Swan and Combs' first hypothesis was that "Satisfaction will tend to be associated with expressive outcomes while dissatisfaction will tend to be associated
with instrumental outcomes" (p. 27). A further hypothesis proposes that "Satisfaction is based on a hierarchy of product performance dimensions in which the product must meet expectations in terms of instrumental performance first and expressive performance second" (p. 27).

The first hypothesis was tested using Herzberg, Mausner, and Snyderman's (1959) critical incident technique in which people discuss specific satisfactory and unsatisfactory occurrences that they recall. Swan and Combs interviewed 60 undergraduate students and asked them to discuss their reasons for satisfaction with an item of clothing and for dissatisfaction with another item of clothing. The authors found that 63% of the students gave instrumental attributes for unsatisfactory clothing items but 77% of the students gave both expressive attributes and instrumental attributes for satisfactory items of clothing. Swan and Combs therefore modified their first hypothesis. They stated that a satisfactory product may have both expressive and instrumental attributes while the dissatisfactory product will have more instrumental than expressive attributes.

Maddox (1981) further tested Swan and Combs' theory that consumer satisfaction is based on two independent factors: expressive and instrumental. Maddox also used critical
incident methodology, but he studied a larger sample and one consisting of non-students (N=312). Participants completed a questionnaire in which they discussed an unsatisfactory and a satisfactory clothing item, personal care product, or small appliance. Results differed according to which product was discussed. Instrumental attributes were associated with dissatisfaction for clothing items and for small appliances, but not for personal care products. Expressive attributes were associated with satisfaction for clothing items and for personal care products, but not for small appliances. For each participant there was a higher proportion of expressive attributes associated with satisfaction than with dissatisfaction for clothing items and for small appliances, but not for personal care products. Only the findings for clothing items totally supported the hypothesis.

Littrell, Salleh, and Arney (1987) applied Swan and Combs' two-factor theory to analysis of preference for handcrafted batik sarong. They interviewed 239 Malaysian women who ranked 12 batik sarong according to preference. The participants then discussed their reasons for placement of specific sarong at the top and bottom ranks. For preferred sarong, 80% of the attributes associated with them were expressive and 20% were instrumental. For
disliked sarong, 60% of the attributes associated with them were expressive and 40% were instrumental. Thus the research provided only partial support for Swan and Combs' hypothesis.

The present study drew upon this previous consumer satisfaction research to examine which factors of product performance are important to consumers of Hmong textiles and to identify how these factors are related to preference. Participants discussed reasons for choosing their two top-ranked Hmong textiles and their two bottom-ranked textiles from among a set of 10 Hmong textiles. Participants' responses were classified as being associated with either instrumental or expressive attributes.

Methodology for Measuring Aesthetic Preferences for Handcrafts

Stimuli for eliciting aesthetic preference

Visual stimuli are necessary in any investigation of aesthetic preference for handcrafts. When the artifacts to be studied are three dimensional, the choice for visual stimuli is between photographs of objects and the objects themselves. There are advantages and disadvantages to each.

Child and Siroto (1965) used 39 photographs of Bakwele masks to compare the aesthetic preferences of 13 American
art experts and 16 BaKwele carvers, cult leaders, and others knowledgeable about masks. Both groups ranked the photographs by choosing best to worst masks in groupings of four photographs. In analyzing the results, Child and Siroto assessed that the BaKwele were not familiar with the medium of photography nor used to interpreting photographs as the represented artifact. The results showed discrepancies for certain of the photographs which could be attributed to their poor quality. These limitations from the use of photographs cast doubt on the validity of part of the data and the results.

Aesthetic preferences of Cuna Indian mola producers have been studied using photographs and actual artifacts. Hirschfield (1977) had 20 Cuna women rank 34 color prints of molas according to 1) preference and 2) salability. Salvador (1976) asked 49 mola craftswomen to rank and critique a standard set of 11 actual molas according to preference. Salvador listed sewing skill and technique as the mola producers’ first criterion for preference and visual organization as their second. Hirschfield found that design features such as complexity of design and asymmetry accounted for the greatest ranking by preference. None of Hirschfield’s 19 variables related to skills or technique in the making of molas. The difference in criteria between
the two studies could be that the use of photographs limited what the women could see so that they were unable to judge the workmanship of cutting and stitching.

In summary, photographs have advantages and disadvantages as stimuli in research on aesthetic preference. Photographs are two-dimensional representations of three-dimensional objects and there is a limitation to the amount of information that they can convey. Participants unaccustomed to photography may have difficulty relating to artifacts in photography. The color of photographs can be inaccurate. They present only one view of an object instead of an infinite variety of possible views of the real object. A photograph is set at a certain distance from the object rather than close-up for detail or farther away for a view of the object plus the background. Photographs are only visual stimuli and do not allow for touch or smell as does an actual artifact. In contrast, the advantages of photographs are that they are easily duplicated so they can be used with several informants at the same time. They are easily transported, unlike the objects they represent. Photographs can be made of objects that are in various locations, that are normally stationary in placement, or whose owners are unwilling to lend them. A wide variety of sources is available for photographing the object, including
previously published photographs. Photographs are also cheaply made and easily stored.

Artifacts also have disadvantages and advantages for use as stimuli. They are difficult to duplicate, and they are not as cheaply acquired as photographs nor so easily transported or stored. The sources for artifacts are limited since artifacts must be borrowed or purchased. But, artifacts have no color distortion or limitations of possible viewpoints, and artifacts can be touched and smelled.

Methods of eliciting aesthetic preference

After choosing the type of visual stimuli, the second consideration is how to elicit the information for preference. Both questionnaires (written responses) and interviews (oral responses) are possibilities.

Briggs (1980) used a one-page questionnaire to gather information on aesthetic preferences among tourist patrons of wood carvers in Cordova, New Mexico. An introductory letter and questionnaire were left with the carver for distribution to people who came to shop. These people completed the questionnaires and mailed them back to the researcher. A questionnaire was used rather than an interview since the subjects were only passing through the area and had no time to participate in an interview. Also
the data collection could take place over an extended period of time without the researcher being physically present.

Graburn (1978) used a short, informal interview to gather information from people viewing two craft exhibits: one of wooden Cree Indian objects and one of soapstone Eskimo sculptures. He asked which pieces the subjects liked best and why, what features of the objects they were reacting to, and what other kinds of arts and crafts they liked. By using interviews Graburn was able to ask additional questions where needed.

Questionnaires and interviews each have their particular advantages and disadvantages. Questionnaires can be administered to several people at one time; they can be mailed so that the researcher does not have to be physically present to collect data; respondents can progress at their own rate and can amend the answer to a question. The disadvantage of using a questionnaire is that responses are limited to exactly the questions asked. The researcher cannot probe a participant's response by asking further questions that will clarify the meaning of the response or give additional information. In addition, when responses are provided in a scale or checklist format, the researcher imposes structure for responses which may or may not match the participant's cognitive structure for answering questions.
On the other hand, in an interview, one question can be followed by another to probe for greater depth of response if this is needed. To clarify the participant’s response to a question, the interviewer can repeat the answer to the participant, who can then acknowledge or amend what the listener has said. Information is also gathered using the participant’s own cognitive structure of terminology and categories of meaning. The disadvantages of an interview are that it is often more time consuming to administer than a questionnaire since it can only be administered to one person at a time, and the administrator must be in the same location as the participant.

Using the interview technique, one method to elicit preference for artifacts is to have the participants rank a set of stimuli, either photographs or artifacts, according to personal preference and then discuss their reasons for preference. The ranking procedure has been used for studying Yoruba aesthetic standards for wood carving (Thompson, 1973), Baule aesthetic standards for wood carving (Vogel, 1979), Cuna aesthetic standards for molas (Salvador, 1976; Hirschfield, 1977), Malaysian preferences for batiks (Littrell, Salleh, & Arney, 1987), and Nigerian aesthetic standards for wax printed fabric (Adegoke, 1987).
The present research drew upon these previous studies for selecting visual stimuli and for eliciting information on consumer preference. First, Hmong textiles were used as the visual stimuli. The actual artifacts were chosen over photographs for several reasons. The textiles could be examined from all angles by the participants. The participant was able to examine at close range a textile’s lining or backing and its stitching, and from farther away the textile’s overall impact as a wall hanging or item of clothing. Textiles are relatively flat, and while not as easily transported, stored, and examined as photographs, they are fairly readily manipulated. Hmong textiles were easy to obtain because they could be borrowed from several people and were for sale in several locations.

The information on aesthetic preference was elicited by asking participants to rank a set of 10 Hmong textiles according to preference and to discuss their reasons for choosing their two top-ranked textiles and their two bottom-ranked textiles. The interview format was chosen in order to 1) explore the consumers’ own terminology and categories of meaning, and 2) gain in-depth information by probing participants’ answers.
METHOD

The purpose of this research was to develop a profile of the patron of Hmong textiles in Iowa. The procedures used in this research are discussed in the following order: background interviews for development of the research, instruments for data collection, participants, procedure for data collection, and analysis of data.

Background Interviews

In order to broaden the researcher’s background on the production and marketing of Hmong textiles in the Midwest, the researcher conducted 10 interviews with people involved in marketing crafts or Hmong needlework in Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. Information was gathered on marketing problems that exist for the Hmong, types of assistance given to the Hmong for marketing their textiles, potential solutions for marketing Hmong crafts, and needs for research. Shop owners and salespeople described their customers and identified potential participants for the research. In addition, the researcher was able to observe what kinds of needlework were available and how the needlework was displayed for sale.
Interviews took place in the home or place of employment of the Hmong craftsperson, shop director, salesperson, or marketing specialist. Some interviews were conducted by the researcher alone and some by both the researcher and one of her major professors. All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. The individuals interviewed were:

Hmong needleworker:
- Shoua Her, Oskaloosa, Iowa.

Shop directors and salespeople:
- Michael Evans, director of the Outlet, a craft sales outlet at Iowa State University.
- David Hatfield, a salesperson at the Outlet.
- Lucy Hartwell, co-founder of the Hmong Folk Art Center, a Hmong sales outlet in Minneapolis, Minnesota.
- Corrinne Pearson, the director of the Hmong Handwork Store in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Marketing specialists:
- Jan de Young, assistant director of the Small Business Development Center at Iowa State University.
- Rae Reilly, Textiles and Clothing Extension Specialist at Iowa State University, and Hmong
Information gathered in these interviews was used in several ways. Familiarity with the types of Hmong textiles that are typically available for purchase enabled the researcher to select the textiles for eliciting preference and to compose a list of Hmong textile categories for recording participants’ textile purchases during the interviews. Information about customers helped establish criteria for selecting participants. Knowledge gained from talking with collectors about their textiles helped the researcher develop questions about participants’ criteria for selection of Hmong textiles, questions on aesthetic preference, and some of the questions on shopping. Familiarity with different types of sales outlets enabled the researcher to develop questions about places to shop for Hmong textiles.
Visual stimuli

A set of 10 Hmong textiles was selected for eliciting preference among the participants (see Appendix A and Tables 1 and 2). The textiles were selected to represent those that are typically available for purchase in Iowa. Criteria used were:

Size: small, medium, and large pieces.
End-use: both traditional and new clothing, and flat squares.
Color: pastels, shades, and primary saturated colors in traditional and contemporary combinations.
Designs: a variety of motifs and overall patterns.
Technique: applique, reverse applique, chain stitch, satin stitch, cross-stitch, and couched embroidery.

Seven of the textiles were borrowed and three were purchased. The researcher, her two major professors, and one extension home economist participated in choosing the textiles.

Interview schedule

An interview schedule was developed based on the background interviews and on previous instruments developed by Littrell (1987), Salvador (1976), Hirschfield (1977), and
Table 1. Stimuli set of ten Hmong textiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slide Number</th>
<th>Textile</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Colors</th>
<th>Technique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>60&quot; X 60&quot;</td>
<td>green, maroon, cream, on blue</td>
<td>applique, embroidery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Story</td>
<td>16&quot; X 24&quot;</td>
<td>multi-color</td>
<td>embroidery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>panel</td>
<td></td>
<td>on blue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Apron</td>
<td>25&quot; X 38&quot;</td>
<td>maroon, green, blue, on black</td>
<td>cross-stitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>16&quot; X 16&quot;</td>
<td>purple and green</td>
<td>reverse applique, applique, embroidery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>19&quot; X 19&quot;</td>
<td>gray on light gray</td>
<td>reverse applique, embroidery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>10&quot; X 10&quot;</td>
<td>pink, blue, green</td>
<td>reverse applique, embroidery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Square</td>
<td>4&quot; X 4&quot;</td>
<td>orange, blue, on white</td>
<td>reverse applique, applique, embroidery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Shoulder</td>
<td>12&quot; X 12&quot;</td>
<td>yellow, pink, green, blue</td>
<td>cross-stitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bag</td>
<td></td>
<td>on burgundy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Belt</td>
<td>2&quot; X 64&quot;</td>
<td>purple, green, pink, gold</td>
<td>cross-stitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Belt</td>
<td>2&quot; X 55&quot;</td>
<td>green, blue</td>
<td>cross-stitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>on white</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Four selection criteria for stimuli set of Hmong textiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slide Number</th>
<th>Textile</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>End use</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Technique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Not Traditional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Largest square</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Story panel</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Apron</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Purple and green square</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Gray square</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Pink square</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Smallest square</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Shoulder bag</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Green, purple and gold belt</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Blue, green and white belt</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton (1981). The interview schedule consisted of five sections (see Appendix B). In the first section participants were asked to rank the set of ten textiles according to preference and then to discuss why they liked the two textiles ranked highest and disliked the two ranked lowest. Participants were then asked to identify the two textiles they would be most likely to purchase and why, and the two they would be least likely to purchase and why. This section was intended to elicit preferences and to differentiate these from probable purchases.

The second section dealt with Hmong textiles the participants had purchased as well as with other hand produced textile purchases. Questions were asked about the participants' likes and dislikes among their own Hmong textiles. This information enlarged the researcher's knowledge of the types of Hmong textiles the participants had actually chosen, the degree to which they liked and had experience with Hmong textiles, and their experiences with purchasing other hand crafted textiles.

The third section dealt with criteria the participants had used to choose Hmong textiles. From a list of 15 possible criteria, participants identified those criteria used when actually purchasing Hmong textiles, and explained reasons behind the two criteria considered most important.
Participants also stated their preference between a) Hmong traditional colors or b) acculturated colors introduced since leaving their homelands.

The fourth section dealt with the participants' shopping practices for Hmong textiles. Participants were asked to identify places where they had shopped for Hmong textiles. Participants described where they would prefer to shop, what constituted an ideal shop, and which information was important to know about the textile at the time of purchase. Information gathered in this section was intended to increase the researcher's understanding of the participants' actual and preferred shopping habits.

The fifth section dealt with participants' knowledge of the Hmong and how they had gained that knowledge. This explained how people have learned about the Hmong and provided insight as to how people might be educated in the future.

Questionnaire

A separate four-page questionnaire was developed to collect data which did not need to be clarified by probing and could be more efficiently collected through written responses. These data included demographic information, the participants' general shopping practices, and the partici-
pants' degree of involvement in arts and handcrafts (see Appendix C). Multiple-choice and open-ended questions were included. These data were used to describe the participants as a group.

The visual stimuli, interview schedule, and questionnaire were tested through a trial interview. A video-tape was made of this interview to enable the researcher and one of her major professors to observe the researcher's performance. Modifications to the visual stimuli, the interview schedule, and questionnaire were made based on the results of this interview.

Participants

Twenty participants who resided in Iowa were interviewed for the research. Participants met a criterion of having purchased at least three Hmong textiles. An effort was made to achieve variability in the age, sex, and needlework or fiber art skills of the participants. Seventeen participants were female and three were male. They ranged in age from late twenties to over 75 years old, and in needlework skills from none at all to professionals in fiber arts. Names of participants were solicited from two independent marketers of Hmong textiles and one home economics Extension
specialist. Further names were referred by participants in the study.

Procedure for Data Collection

Participants were contacted by telephone or by a letter and follow-up telephone call. The letter introduced the researcher, told who had provided the participant's name to the researcher, and explained the purpose and procedures for the research. The reader was told that the researcher would call at a later date to answer any questions and to arrange a meeting. The follow-up telephone call was used to introduce the researcher and the content of the research once more. (See Appendix D for a copy of the introductory letter and the telephone protocol.) The potential participant was asked how many Hmong textiles she or he had purchased. If the answer was fewer than three, the researcher explained that she needed people who had purchased three Hmong textiles and concluded the conversation. If the answer was three or more, a time and place were arranged to conduct the interview.

All interviews were conducted in the participants' homes with only the researcher and the participant present. First the participant read an explanatory page on the process of the interview and the amount of time needed to complete it.
Participants were assured of the confidentiality of their responses and of their ability to withdraw from the interview. (See Appendix E for a copy of the letter and the approval form from the Human Subjects in Research Committee.) All of the interviews were taped. After the interview the participant completed the questionnaire while the researcher packed the textiles. Interviews lasted from 45 minutes to three hours. Time varied depending on the extent of response from the participant as well as the size of the participant's collection of handcrafted textiles.

Analysis of Data

For the first section of the interview, participants were asked to rank ten Hmong textiles according to preference. Participants' responses to why they liked the first two textiles and disliked the last two were first analyzed qualitatively for categories of content. The categories from the qualitative analysis were then submitted to quantitative analysis.

Qualitative analysis of data

The categorization of the participants' discussion of their two most liked and their two least liked textiles had
two parts. First, a system for defining units of analysis was developed and applied to the responses.

**Units of analysis** The method for analyzing the participants' reasons for preference was a two-step process, similar to the process used by Damhorst (1981/1982) and Berger (1984). The first step was to establish grammatical rules for units of analysis. Livesley and Bromley (1973) developed a system for dividing descriptions into manageable units based on syntactical rules. Some examples of the syntactical arrangements found in the transcripts are listed below.

- Subject-Verb-Object
  "I don't mind the burgundy background."

- Subject-Verb-Modifier
  "It's somewhat boring."

- Subordinate Clauses
  "Although I used to have a number of pieces that had blues and greens"

- Multiple Modifiers
  "The lines are super-crisp and just arrow-straight and just amazing."

- Incomplete Sentences
  "Poor workmanship"
Besides using syntactical rules of division, each unit of analysis contained "...one element or idea referring directly or indirectly to the stimulus person" (Livesley & Bromley, 1973, p. 98). Since this research concerned consumers' preferences for Hmong textiles, each syntactical unit of analysis expressed one idea referring to the stimulus textile in one of the five categories listed below.

1. The physical and aesthetic properties of the product.
2. Attitudes toward the product.
3. Behavior toward the product.
4. Experience with or knowledge of the product.
5. Observations about the producers' techniques or products.

A guide for the units of analysis was developed to define the syntactical arrangements that were to be used to identify units of analysis. The units of analysis guide was checked for clarity using a randomly selected subset of three participants' responses. The researcher and her two major professors separately divided the subset of responses into units of analysis and compared results. Differences of opinion were discussed and resolved. A second subset of three participants' responses were again divided into units of analysis by the researcher and her two major professors. Reliability among the three judges was .82 based on the
Reliability among the three judges was .82 based on the following formula (Weidner-Hatfield & Hatfield, 1981).

\[
\text{percent of agreements} = \frac{\text{number of agreements}}{\text{number of agreements} + \text{number of disagreements}}
\]

The remaining participants' responses were divided into units of analysis by the researcher and were checked by one of her major professors. The units of analysis were then entered on a micro-computer using the data base program PFS File.

Content categories Second, a categorization system was devised to analyze the content in the units of analysis. A Content Analysis Guide was developed for this purpose. The researcher first examined a subset of four of the participants' randomly selected responses for major content themes. In this early division into content categories, an effort was made to include all possible potential content. A Content Analysis Guide was prepared with representative units of analysis for each numbered category.

A subset of three participants' responses was selected and the researcher and her two major professors coded all
units of analysis using the guide. Differences of opinion were discussed and revisions were made to the Content Analysis Guide based on this discussion. (See Appendix F for a copy of the Content Analysis Guide and Table 3 for the content categories used to code the data.)

A third subset of three participants' responses was selected to test for inter-rater reliability for the content category system of analysis. The researcher and her two major professors separately coded the units of analysis in the subset using the Content Analysis Guide. Reliability among the judges was measured by the same formula used in measuring reliability for dividing the data into units of analysis. Reliability among the three judges was .85. All units of analysis were then coded by the researcher.

In order to provide a sufficient number of units of analysis per category for the quantitative analysis of the data, the total number of units of analysis was calculated for each category. Each category including fewer than 10 units of analysis was checked to see if it could be combined with another similar category. Five categories were thus eliminated. The final list of the content categories used for the quantitative analysis of the data is shown in Table 4.
Table 3. Categories derived from content analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category number</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>General Evaluations--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>General Evaluations--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Color: Overall Evaluations--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Color: Overall Evaluations--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Color: Specific Colors &amp; Qualities--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Color: Specific Colors &amp; Qualities--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Color: Color Combinations--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Color: Color Combinations--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Design: Overall Evaluations--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Design: Overall Evaluations--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Design: Specific Parts--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Design: Specific Parts--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Design: Comparison of Parts--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Design: Comparison of Parts--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Workmanship: Overall Evaluations--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Workmanship: Overall Evaluations--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Workmanship: Detail--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Workmanship: Detail--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Workmanship: Skills of the Producer/Consumer--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Workmanship: Skills of the Producer/Consumer--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Workmanship: Specific Parts--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Workmanship: Specific Parts--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Cultural--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Cultural--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Use--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Use--negative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. Content categories used in quantitative analysis of data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category Number</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>General Evaluations--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>General Evaluations--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Color: Overall Evaluations--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Color: Overall Evaluations--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Color: Specific Colors &amp; Qualities--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Color: Specific Colors &amp; Qualities--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Color: Color Combinations--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Color: Color Combinations--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Design: Overall Evaluations--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Design: Overall Evaluations--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Design: Specific Parts--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Design: Specific Parts--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Design: Comparison of Parts--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Design: Comparison of Parts--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Workmanship: Overall Evaluations--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Workmanship: Overall Evaluations--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Workmanship: Specific Parts--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Cultural--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Cultural--negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Use--positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Use--negative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Quantitative analysis of data

After the syntactical units of analysis were coded for content, the codes for each of the participants were entered into the computer, and a similarity matrix was formed. In order to discover mutually exclusive groups of consumers, hierarchical cluster analysis was performed to determine mutually occurring content categories common to a set of participants. Cluster analysis combines a set of items into an hierarchical arrangement of homogenous subgroups. In the analysis, each participant at first formed a separate cluster. The most similar clusters were then joined such that the increase in the total for the within cluster sum of squares was as small as possible. Each member of a group was thus more similar to at least one member in that group than to the members of other groups. Ward’s method of hierarchical cluster analysis was chosen because it has the least tendency of any method to isolate a participant as a separate cluster (SAS Institute, 1985). Hierarchical cluster analysis was performed using PIM, a program in the BMDP statistical software package (Dixon et al., 1981).
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter is divided into seven sections which include discussions of: 1) the participants and their demographic characteristics, 2) the most and least preferred textiles among the ten Hmong textiles in the visual stimuli set, 3) the characteristics most important to the participants when choosing a Hmong textile, 4) the Hmong textiles most preferred for purchasing from the stimuli set, 5) Hmong textiles participants actually purchased and reasons for purchase, 6) shopping practices of the participants, and 7) consumer profiles based on the participants' discussion of their most and least preferred textiles from the stimuli set.

Participants

Of the 20 participants in the research, 17 were female and 3 were male. All but two were currently married. The number of dependent children ranged from zero to four, with the average number being one. The majority of the participants fell within the third and fourth age categories ranging from 36 to 55 years in age. No participant was less than 26 years old. Four participants were
from 26 to 35 years of age; six, from 36 to 45 years; six, from 46 to 55 years; three, from 56 to 65 years of age; and one participant was over 75 years. No one was in the sixth age category ranging from 66 to 75 years of age.

The participants composed a highly educated group with half possessing master's degrees and a tenth possessing doctoral degrees. Two participants had high school educations, one had gone to technical school, one had some college, four had bachelor's degrees, ten had master's degrees, and two had doctoral degrees. Spouses were slightly more highly educated. Two had high school educations, five had bachelor's degrees, five had master's degrees, and six had doctoral degrees.

The majority of the participants were associated with a university; the remainder held quite varying positions. Eight participants and seven spouses taught at the college level. Three participants worked at other positions within a college. Other occupations included homemaker, writer, quilting instructor, craftsperson and marketer, farm manager, merchandising assistant, and teacher of adult education. Spouses' occupations included a dentist, farmer, cardiac surgeon, air traffic controller, veterinarian, manager of a construction company, director of criminal justice, and a legal counselor.
Eleven participants resided in one city with a population of 46,000 and the remaining nine lived in four other communities, ranging in size from 300 to 200,000. Only four people had not traveled outside of the United States, while eleven people had visited Europe, eight had traveled in Asia, and five had been to Africa.

Participants most often purchased clothing in major department stores (12 people). Second in frequency were independent specialty shops (9 people) and third were small chain stores or mail-order with 5 people each. Household textiles were most often purchased in major department stores (15). Independent specialty shops came second, with 6 people, and import stores were third, with 5 people. Off-price stores and mail-order placed next, with 4 people choosing each category.

Participants indicated their personal involvement in eight categories of arts and handcrafts by circling "study", "hobby", "occupation", or "no" for each category. Greatest involvement was displayed in needlework, sewing, and fabric dyeing, with 15 people replying positively for each category. Textile printing had the involvement of 14 people, knitting and crochet had 13, and quilting had 12. Participants had the least experience with weaving (14 non-participants) and
drawing and painting (12 non-participants). Only one person claimed no involvement in any of the arts or handcrafts.

In summary, the average participant was a married female aged 36 to 55 with one dependent child. She held a master's degree, was employed by a university, and lived in a town of 46,000 people. The average participant had traveled to two areas outside the United States, one being Europe. She purchased clothing and household textiles in department stores and was interested in at least six different types of art and handcrafts.

Most and Least Preferred Textiles

Participants were asked to rank the 10 Hmong textiles in the stimuli set and then to give reasons for these rankings. Table 5 shows the mean rankings for these 10 textiles.

Most preferred textiles

The textile ranked the highest for preference was a 60" X 60" square with the design applied through embroidery stitches and applique (see slide #1). The color combinations were most often mentioned as the reason for preference, followed by the design and the embroidery, as
shown in the following comments.

- "I liked the vivid colors. The cream color kind of sets it up, makes it vibrant."

- "I like the colors and the design on this interior portion. It reminds me of a dragon."

- "I like the embroidery on it: I think that's very unusual."

Table 5. Mean Rankings for ten Hmong textiles in stimuli set

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slide Number</th>
<th>Textile</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Largest square</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Story panel</td>
<td>4.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Apron</td>
<td>4.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Purple and green square</td>
<td>4.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Gray square</td>
<td>4.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Pink square</td>
<td>5.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Smallest square</td>
<td>5.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Shoulder bag</td>
<td>6.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Green, purple, and gold belt</td>
<td>7.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Blue, green, and white belt</td>
<td>8.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The story panel ranked second highest for preference (see slide #2). The possibility that the embroidered motifs told a story, although unknown to the observer, was the reason most often given for liking this textile. The fact that this was a textile that was characteristic of the Hmong was also mentioned. The colors and design composition were appreciated. The following comments were typical.
Instead of an abstract design, there are flowers and there are people. The figures kind of tell a story."

"I find it very authentic in terms of folk art."

"This has more originality in terms of the way the colors carry through."

The textile ranked third highest for preference was the black apron with cross-stitched border, pockets, and bib. (see slide #3). This was preferred for several reasons. The fact that it was an apron and thus useful, the color combinations, the design made by the cross-stitch, and the intricacy and time involved in working the cross-stitch embroidery were all desirable characteristics for this textile. Some comments about it were:

"I think you could use an apron—that's fairly useful."

"It's a good combination of the use of colors, and they blend into their design."

"The colors on this—they're luminous."

"The handwork is exquisite."

"I think what's admirable about this is the intricacy, the detail, the time it takes to do this."

Least preferred textiles

The cross-stitched shoulder bag was ranked eighth for preference (see slide #8). This was disliked because it was not perceived as useable for a bag, nor displayable if not
used as a bag. The bright pink of the cross-stitch and of the two acrylic yarn tassels was disliked. The tassels to a great extent, and the printed fabric lining to a lesser extent, were disliked because they did not coordinate with the rest of the design of the bag. The base fabric of a cotton fiber dobby weave was also disliked by a few people. These are illustrated by the following comments.

- "I don't see how it could carry much weight so it doesn't seem functional. I wouldn't hang it on the wall."
- "I don't like the color choices. The real hot-hot bright colors don't appeal to me."
- "The tassels don't work with this."
- "The lining seemed to clash with that embroidery."
- "I don't like the fabric: it looks very cheap."

The least liked of the 10 pieces were the two belts (see slides #9 and #10). Many people tended to think of these two pieces together. Ten people ranked them consecutively and five other people commented on them as if they were one textile. As belts, the pieces were both perceived as useless because few people would wear belts. Both belts were also disliked by some people because they were made using the cross-stitch technique. The color combinations of the white belt with the blue and green cross-stitch were disliked more often than those of the other belt, which
accounted for it ranking 10th and the green, gold, and purple belt ranking 9th. Some comments about both belts:

- "Personally, I would never wear a belt."
- "You can’t hang them any place, you can’t use them as art work, and they’re too 60s to wear."
- "I don’t like the cross-stitch as much as I like the other techniques."

Comment on the green, gold, and purple belt:

- "Basically, the design is the same as the other belt, but it’s better executed, with color variation."

Comments on the blue, green, and white belt:

- "It looks kind of dull and monotonous in design and color."
- "I just don’t like the color combinations."

In summary, participants liked textiles for a wide variety of reasons. These included the color combinations, the design composition, the embroidery, telling a story with embroidery, the typical Hmong style, usefulness, and the skill and time involved in production. Reasons for disliking a textile were more limited. They included the usefulness, the color combinations, the design composition, the quality of the fabric, and the use of the cross-stitch embroidery technique.

Swan and Combs (1976) hypothesized that two factors, the instrumental and expressive attributes of a product, are
important in consumer satisfaction. Instrumental attributes relate to the physical performance of a product while expressive attributes relate to the psychological performance of a product. Participants' preferences for Hmong textiles could be categorized as expressive except for usefulness, which is instrumental. Participants' dislikes of color combinations, design composition, and the use of the cross-stitch technique could be categorized as expressive. Dislikes that are instrumental included usefulness and the quality of the fabric.

Preferred Characteristics

A second method used to identify preference for Hmong textiles was to have people choose all important characteristics for a Hmong textile from a list provided to them. Participants then were asked to discuss the two most important to them (see Table 6).

The characteristics checked most frequently were quality workmanship, overall beauty, and appealing colors. Participants rated workmanship and beauty as equally important when asked to limit the important characteristics to two. The characteristics not chosen as first or second in importance on the second list in Table 6 are also at the
Table 6. Percentages for preferred characteristics of Hmong textiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics of textiles</th>
<th>Percent choosing characteristic as important</th>
<th>Percent choosing characteristic as first or second in importance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quality of workmanship</td>
<td>.90\textsuperscript{a}</td>
<td>.55\textsuperscript{b}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall beauty</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colors are appealing</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buying will support the Hmong</td>
<td>.70</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motifs/pattern are appealing</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unique, one-of-a-kind textile</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An example of Hmong craft</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could be used in my home</td>
<td>.55</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price</td>
<td>.45</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souvenir of an area I visited</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suitable for a gift</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could be used for clothing</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fits in with a collection of textiles</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy to care for and clean</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{a} Percentages do not equal 100% because participants could check as many characteristics as they wished.

\textsuperscript{b} Percentages equal 200% because participants chose the two most important characteristics.

Bottom of the first list for overall importance. Price was the only characteristic with fewer than 50% of the participants checking it as important that was at the same time included in the list for first or second in importance. This indicated that although not important for the majority
of participants, a few people felt that price was very important for them.

Comparison of the important characteristics derived from the open-ended question format used in ranking textiles and from the forced-choice format of choosing from a list showed similarities and discrepancies. Color was very important for participants using either format, while workmanship and beauty were more often mentioned in choices derived from the forced-choice format of the lists. Workmanship might be mentioned less often when discussing the ranked textiles because the pieces chosen for the stimuli set, on average, included better quality workmanship than pieces available in the general market. The visual stimuli set was chosen to represent both very good and mediocre workmanship, but it included no pieces that were very poor. Beauty might be mentioned less often when ranking the stimuli set because this term included many of the other characteristics that could be mentioned individually and in greater detail during the verbal discussions of the textiles. When asked to define beauty, participants often described beauty as incorporating more specific characteristics such as color, workmanship, design, or usefulness.
Participants were also asked to choose the two textiles from the stimuli set that they would be most likely to purchase, the two textiles that they would be the least likely to purchase, and to discuss their reasons. See Table 7 for the rankings for preference to buy.

Table 7. Textiles ranked for preference to buy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slide Number</th>
<th>Textile</th>
<th>Number of participants who preferred to buy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Story Panel</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Largest square</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Apron</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Purple and green square</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Gray square</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Pink square</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Shoulder bag</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Green, purple, and gold belt</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Smallest square</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Blue, green, and white belt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When choosing two textiles to buy, most participants would buy at least one of the two textiles they most preferred overall. Eight people would buy both the pieces they most preferred; nine other people would buy only one of the two they most preferred; and three people would purchase two totally different pieces from those they ranked...
the highest for preference. Two reasons were given for choosing a different piece to buy. Three participants stated that they already owned a piece similar to the one they had preferred. All three people were speaking of the gray, reverse applique square as being similar to their own textile. Nine other people stated that the item they preferred was not as useful as the item they would purchase.

Although people liked the neutral colors of the gray and cream reverse applique square, they would not buy two pieces that they perceived as the same. Their own pieces differed from this one in motifs, size, and actual color schemes, but were all reverse applique with a monochrome effect. Creating the same type of textile can lead to diminishing sales.

Evaluation and Actual Purchases of Textiles

First the participants' personally purchased Hmong textiles were listed in categories by type and size. Participants were then asked whether they had given Hmong textiles as gifts, which of their Hmong textiles they liked the most and why, what qualities they liked and disliked about Hmong textiles in general, what were their reasons for purchasing Hmong textiles, and what made Hmong textiles unique from other handcrafted textiles.
Small squares, 10 inches or less, and medium size squares up to two feet were the most often purchased. Large pieces, including bedspreads, were less often purchased. Actual purchases totaled 57 small squares, 41 medium squares, and 18 large pieces. Seven story panels and two aprons were bought. The average number of pieces purchased was 9.6.

Actual purchases of Hmong textiles contrasted with those textiles ranked highest in the stimuli set. The largest textile of the visual stimuli was ranked first for preference and second for willingness to buy, the story panel ranked second in preference and first in willingness to buy, and the apron ranked third in preference and third in willingness to buy. The cost of the larger piece may deter a consumer from actually buying. Story panels and aprons may be purchased infrequently because they are less often available, or the price may again be a factor in their purchase. Aprons range from $40 to $80 in price, while story panels vary in price by size, with the average price over $100. The story panel in the stimuli set was a smaller piece (16" x 24") than those often available, which may also have contributed to its desirability.

Thirteen people gave Hmong textiles as gifts. Again, most people gave small or medium size squares as gifts. Two
people purchased bookmarks or hot pad mittens by the dozen to give as gifts. Other textiles given were belts, eyecases, pillows, aprons, and a story panel.

Most participants had also purchased other kinds of handcrafted textiles, the average being fifteen textiles apiece. When the 9.6 Hmong textiles owned on average by each participant is included with this, the total average for all handcrafted textiles purchased was 24.6. Hmong textiles thus composed 40% of all handcrafted textiles purchased.

When asked what they liked most about Hmong textiles in general, participants cited good workmanship, the color combinations, and the designs. However, when participants listed important qualities about their own most liked Hmong textile, they mentioned good workmanship, the color combinations, and usefulness. This seems to equate with the greater importance of the characteristic of usefulness for a textile participants chose to buy over textiles they simply preferred. Aspects of a textile most often disliked about their own textiles were the color combinations, the poor workmanship, and that applique sawtooth borders were often added to give a piece greater size without being compatible with a finely detailed center area.

Reasons for having purchased Hmong textiles were that
they were unique, they were useful as gifts or in the home or office, that the purchaser appreciated the handwork, and that they liked the cultural aspects of the textiles. This contrasts with the forced-choice list where 60% of the participants found a textile’s unique quality important, 55% chose a textile’s suitability for use in the home, 30% chose suitability for a gift, and 55% chose the importance of a textile as an example of Hmong craft. Appreciation of the handwork does not fully equate with any of the choices in the list, although it might be included in the quality of workmanship, which 90% of the participants found important.

Participants saw Hmong textiles as most unique because of their combination of different techniques: applique, tiny cross-stitch, and reverse applique. The designs, the color combinations, and the cultural background of the Hmong were also mentioned as making the Hmong textiles different from other handcrafted textiles.

Shopping

Participants were asked to check where they had shopped for Hmong textiles from a list of seven types of places. They were then asked to choose two places they would prefer to shop and discuss why. Participants were also asked to
describe an ideal place to shop and what the salespeople would be like. Finally, they were asked what questions they would like to ask the salespeople when purchasing Hmong textiles and if they would like the craftspeople's name to accompany the textile.

Purchasing Hmong textiles from a non-Hmong intermediary person such as a friend, a teacher of the Hmong, or a member of a group sponsoring the Hmong, was the most common method for acquiring Hmong textiles among the participants. This was followed by shopping at craft shops or craft fairs. In contrast, buying directly from the Hmong in their homes was the most preferred shopping method because shoppers wanted all the money to go to the Hmong without an intermediary. The shoppers would also like to meet the craftspeople who make the textiles and ask them questions about the textiles. Buying at a craft shop or a shop exclusively selling Hmong textiles was also desirable because the shoppers would be apt to go to a craft shop for other items anyway, and there would not be the inconvenience of searching for a person selling Hmong textiles, calling the person for an appointment, and then going to buy. Participants also liked a shop where there would be a variety of choices available and the shoppers would have a chance to deliberate about a piece and then return to it.
Who made the textile and the meaning of the pattern were the two questions shoppers asked most frequently of salespeople. Some shoppers would like a limited biography of the craftsperson or knowledge of where they live. Three shoppers also wanted to know the fiber content and care requirements of the textile. Having the craftsperson’s name accompanying the textile was thought very important by a majority of participants. People believed that this gives credit to the craftspeople and shows the craftspeople’s pride in the item by identifying their names with it. Knowing the name would make the textile more special because the craftsperson then seems closer and better known to the purchaser.

Having salespeople who could answer questions about who made each textile, the name of the design and its history, and about a store’s inventory, were more important than having sales people who were Hmong. Only five participants said the salespeople should be Hmong, and four said the salespeople should not be pushy, but should let the buyer feel free to browse.

There were a variety of other aspects that were desirable for a shop. The most frequently mentioned was that the shop should include other crafts or ethnic items or oriental merchandise for sale as well as Hmong textiles.
Some people wanted a small shop: in a mall, in an older shopping area with unusual stores, or at least not in a pricey, exclusive area. Others wanted a shop owned by Hmong with the craftspeople working on the premises.

Display was mentioned by several people as being important. Two people wanted to be able to handle the merchandise, unfold it in a clean area and deliberate about the textile. Another person wanted the textiles mounted on boards hinged to the wall, as paintings sometimes are, so the textiles could be visually examined without being handled. Textiles could be displayed as they might be used in a home and prototypes of different kinds of textiles available could be displayed in order to see representative pieces. Printed information could be available on the history of the Hmong and the textiles. Good light was also desirable as was accessible parking.

In summary, participants most often purchased Hmong textiles from non-Hmong intermediary people, craft shops, or craft fairs. They would prefer to purchase Hmong needlework directly from the Hmong in their homes, in a craft shop, or a shop exclusively selling Hmong textiles. By comparison, participants most often purchased other clothing and household textiles in department stores or independent specialty shops. The third most preferred choice for
purchasing Hmong textiles, the exclusively Hmong textile shop, might equate with the independent specialty shop, but participants did not consider buying Hmong textiles in department stores. This seems to indicate that participants would choose an alternative shopping method for purchasing Hmong textiles versus other types of textiles and apparel.

Profiles of Consumers

Participants' responses to why they liked their two highest-ranked textiles and disliked their lowest-ranked textiles were first analyzed for categories of content. Hierarchical cluster analysis was performed which allowed the researcher to group the participants into consumer types. Separate analyses were run for preferred and for disliked textiles. Both analyses were originally run so that five, four, three, and two clusters were formed. Every run compiled percentages of total responses in all the categories of content for each participant and each cluster.

The proportion of responses for the clusters were compared to each group's mean responses for the other questions from the interview and questionnaire. These comparisons showed consistent and meaningful patterns of behavior for four groups of participants from the analysis.
of the data for the preferred textiles and for two groups of participants from the analysis of the data for disliked textiles. Table 8 shows the four consumer profiles for most preferred textiles. The percentages of responses for each category of content are presented.

In summary, the profiles are based on 1) the percentages of responses for the content categories and 2) the groups' mean responses for the remaining questions from the interview and questionnaire. Percentages of responses for the content categories indicate only reasons for preference for textiles in the stimuli set and compose only one part of the syntheses of the profiles.

Consumer profiles for most preferred textiles

The four consumer profiles from the analysis of the data for the participants' most preferred textiles included respectively 1) seven, 2) three, 3) five, and 4) five participants. The Fine Workmanship Consumers preferred textiles that were finely executed. They often examined specific aspects of a technique such as the symmetry of the corners of a square border, the fineness of the stitching, or the way the cross-stitches crossed. They greatly appreciated the amount of time and skill involved in the detailed stitching of the handwork. For these consumers, as
Table 8. Consumer profiles for most preferred textiles: Percentages of responses for content categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content Category</th>
<th>Fine Workmanship</th>
<th>Supporters of the Hmong</th>
<th>Pragmatic of Hmong</th>
<th>Patrons of Hmong Folk Art</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Evaluations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</table>

Note. Percentages were rounded to the nearest hundredth.
well as fine workmanship, a textile should have a pleasing color scheme and design. The color combinations of a textile were important and the consumers were able to explain their preferences by analyzing the overall contributions of the colors to a textile.

The Fine Workmanship Consumers were well-educated and had traveled extensively. They often purchased textiles when they traveled. They had experience in several types of arts and handcrafts. Having the name of the craftsperson accompany the textile was less important for this group than for any of the other groups. Textiles that appealed to the Fine Workmanship Consumers were the large 60" X 60" square with its several embroidery techniques (slide #1), the apron with its finely worked cross-stitch (slide #3), and the purple and green reverse applique square (slide #4). All of these textiles have deep, contrasting colors which appealed to this type of consumer.

The second consumer group, Supporters of the Hmong People, were most interested in the textiles as examples of Hmong craftsmanship. The fact that purchases supported the Hmong people was also important to these consumers. One participant in this group had fought in the Vietnam War, one participant was a member of a church sponsoring several Hmong families, and one learned about the Hmong from a
friend professionally involved with the Hmong. This experience with and knowledge of the Hmong led to learning about and purchasing the Hmong textile crafts. They preferred to buy directly from the Hmong in order to give the Hmong the maximum percentage of profit. This group had less education than the other groups and had traveled abroad very little.

While the Supporters of the Hmong People may themselves have practiced needlework and been knowledgeable about technique, they were unfamiliar with handmade textiles from other cultural traditions. These consumers appreciated the traditional techniques but not necessarily the traditional forms and colors such as shown in the traditional shoulder bag (slide #8) or the purple and green cross-stitch belt (slide #9). They concentrated on what the specific parts of the design, such as an embroidery technique or color, contributed to the whole textile. This group liked the 60" X 60" square (slide #1) because of the deep red, blue, and green color combination and the central couched embroidery design. The purple and green reverse applique square (slide #4) also appealed because of its colors and its embroidery embellishment.

In the third category of consumers, the Pragmatic Consumers liked textiles that could be displayed in their
homes as wall-hangings or pillows. These consumers were generally older and had enjoyed some travel. They were well-educated and well-grounded in handcrafts. The Pragmatic Consumers preferred to shop at craft stores for Hmong textiles since a variety of other crafts could also be examined. They might also deliberate on a piece in a store and return to purchase it; accordingly, the consumers avoided the crowd at a fair or a time-limited exhibit. This group did not like and would not purchase the 60" X 60" square (slide #1) because it used too many colors which did not blend and it was too large to be useful as a wall-hanging. The story panel (slide #2) was also disliked because of the bright pink embroidery. The gray reverse appliqué square (slide #5) was preferred because of its subtle color combination and orderly design.

In the final group, Patrons of Hmong Folk Art, all the consumers preferred the story panel textile (slide #2). They liked its having flowers and people rather than an abstract design, that it showed Hmong life, and that it might tell a story. Such consumers wanted the salesperson to be able to relay the story the piece was illustrating as well as the meanings of the motifs used. These consumers were the most interested of any group in having the name of the craftsperson accompany the textile. They also were very
interested in helping support the Hmong people with their purchases, although they were not aware of the Hmong before purchasing a textile. This was the only group for whom price was mentioned as a consideration. These consumers were fairly well-educated and had traveled, but not extensively. Although attracted to the story panels as folk art, they had little knowledge about the techniques the Hmong employ.

**Consumer profiles for least preferred textiles**

The two consumer profiles from the analysis of the data for the participants' least liked textiles included respectively 1) 6 and 2) 14 participants. Table 9 shows the percentages of responses for each category of content for the two consumer profiles. **Function Oriented Consumers** disliked textiles that they would not wear, use in the home such as a pillow or bedspread, or display as a work of art. A piece that they could not visualize as fulfilling some function in their lives was not desirable. Good workmanship such as small stitches was very important for these consumers, as well as the uniqueness of the textile.

**Function Oriented Consumers** preferred to shop at a craft store or museum shop where small handcrafted objects from various countries would be available along with a variety of Hmong textiles. They liked to browse in this
Table 9. Consumer profiles for least preferred textiles: Percentages of responses for content categories

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content Category</th>
<th>Function Oriented</th>
<th>Color Centered</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>0.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>negative</td>
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<td>5.05</td>
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</table>

Note. Percentages were rounded to the nearest hundredth.
type of shop. This group had traveled extensively and was familiar with handcrafted ethnographic textiles. They had some knowledge of arts and handcrafts, but it was not extensive. The craftperson’s name accompanying a Hmong textile was not important for this group. The green and blue on white cross-stitched belt (slide #10) was the least liked and the least likely to be purchased because it was perceived as limited in use. These consumers would not wear it or hang it on the wall as art.

The second consumer group, Color Centered Consumers, disliked textiles with color combinations that they found displeasing. They also held certain colors in aversion. Some people disliked gray or some pastel colors which they thought were outside the tradition of the Hmong, while others disliked the traditional bright pink which they found fluorescent and gaudy.

This group liked to shop directly from the Hmong in order to meet the craftperson who made the textiles and to reminisce about that meeting when looking at the textile. They also preferred to shop at a Hmong textile store because of the variety of choice and because of the convenience of shopping at an established store.

Color Centered Consumers were well-grounded in arts and handcrafts. They were less well-traveled than the first
group, but just as likely to have purchased handcrafted cultural textiles. They also purchased, on average, over a third more Hmong textiles apiece than the consumers in the first group. Price was a consideration for over half of these consumers. This group disliked the green and blue on white cross-stitched belt (slide #10) the most and it tied for least likely to buy. The colors were not rich or bright enough so that the overall effect was considered dull and monotonous. A few of these consumers also disliked this piece because they disliked the cross-stitch technique.

A comparison of the consumer profiles for most and least preferred textiles showed no consistent pattern between the two for participant inclusion (see Table 10). No group of participants from the most preferred textiles was equivalent in membership to either of the groups for least preferred textiles. Participants included in three of the four consumer groups for most preferred textiles belonged to both of the consumer groups for least preferred textiles. However, the fourth group, Patrons of Hmong Folk Art, was a subset of the Color Centered Consumers' group for least preferred textiles. Patrons of Hmong Folk Art composed slightly over a third of the participants in the Color Centered Consumers' group.
Table 10. Comparison of participants composing the consumer profiles for most and least preferred textiles

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<th>Least preferred textiles</th>
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<td>Participants:</td>
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CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This section has been divided into five parts. Conclusions refer to comparisons based on Swan and Combs' model for consumer satisfaction, marketing practices for Hmong textiles, and methodology used in the research. Recommendations relate to both method and content of future research.

Consumer Preference and Satisfaction for Hmong Textiles

According to Swan and Combs (1976), there are two factors important for consumer satisfaction. These are instrumental attributes, which relate to the physical performance of a product, and expressive attributes, which relate to the psychological performance of a product. Their first hypothesis states, "Satisfaction will tend to be associated with expressive outcomes while dissatisfaction will tend to be associated with instrumental outcomes" (p. 27).

The present study applied this two factor theory to the participants' discussion of their reasons for choosing their two top-ranked Hmong textiles and their two bottom-ranked textiles from among the stimuli set of 10 Hmong textiles. Participants' responses were classified as being associated with either instrumental or expressive attributes. Those considered to be instrumental attributes included usefulness
of a textile, durability, or quality of the fabric. Those considered to be expressive concerned color, design, quality of workmanship, and cultural aspects of a textile.

Expressive attributes of a textile were most often cited for preferring a textile, while both expressive and instrumental attributes were given as reasons for disliking a textile. This supports the first part of Swan and Combs' theory that expressive attributes will be associated with satisfaction, but does not support the second part that instrumental attributes will be associated with dissatisfaction.

Two other aspects of this study also indicated that attributes associated with satisfaction and dissatisfaction differed. First, while expressive attributes were given both for satisfaction and dissatisfaction, the content for those expressive attributes was different. All of the expressive categories-color, design, quality of workmanship, and cultural aspects of a textile-were cited for textiles that were ranked the highest. Only color and cultural aspects were often repeated when participants discussed their two bottom-ranked textiles. Second, while some participants used opposites of expressive attributes for both liked and disliked textiles, most participants used one set
of expressive qualities to explain satisfaction and another set to explain dissatisfaction.

Participants also differentiated between preferring a textile and purchasing a textile. When asked which of the ten Hmong textiles they would be most likely to buy, 12 people would buy at least one textile they had not ranked the highest. Nine of these participants stated that the textile they would purchase was more useful than the textile they preferred. Usefulness is an instrumental attribute, so both expressive and instrumental attributes were important in preference for purchasing a textile. This may support another hypothesis of Swan and Combs (1976) that, "Satisfaction is based on a hierarchy of product performance dimensions in which the product must meet expectations in terms of instrumental performance first and expressive performance second" (p. 27).

Conclusions for Production and Marketing of Hmong Textiles in Iowa

One objective of this study was to provide ideas for production and marketing of textiles that appeal to Iowa consumers. Several conclusions can be drawn from the findings.
Workmanship and technique

Good quality workmanship was a universally desired textile characteristic for the participants, although fine workmanship consumers were especially appreciative of it. Hmong craftspeople need to maintain a certain level of competence of workmanship. Pieces do not have to be exquisite, but consumers do look at both embroidery and sewing stitches, folded edges on cut-work, and symmetry of the design. Textiles that feature a central area surrounded by applique sawtooth borders should keep the borders in proportion so that the central area remains the focal point and does not get lost inside a large border. Thirty percent of the participants disliked the cross-stitch technique but no one disliked applique or other embroidery techniques. Pieces using applique and reverse applique will have a greater market appeal than pieces featuring cross-stitch.

Function

The perceived function was often a reason for choosing to purchase a textile or for rejecting the textile. Function oriented consumers immediately tried to conceive of a use for a textile when they examined it and did not like a textile they could not personally use. Pragmatic consumers were interested in textiles that fit into their homes. Fifty-
five percent of all participants listed 'textile could be used in my home' as an important characteristic for buying as compared to fifteen percent for 'textile could be used for clothing'. Consumers wanted to display Hmong textiles in their homes rather than personally wear them, possibly because it is harder to integrate them into the Western style of dress than into the eclectic style of interior design. This could also be why only five percent of the participants were concerned about the care of the textiles, since home furnishings are cleaned less often than clothing.

Several types of textiles were preferred for purchase because they were perceived as more useful than others. Devising new ways to use squares is important since people will buy a piece that is useful even if it is not the most preferred. The apron is one new product that evidently fills a niche and is perceived as useful since it is the third ranked textile for preference to buy. However, textiles with specific functions such as the shoulder bag and the belts may actually appeal to fewer people than the squares if they are not fashionable and fit in with what is being used at a certain time by a specific group. Again, knowing what is popular in home furnishings in a local area, rather than knowing about clothing, would be important in devising new articles or uses.
Size was one reason for usefulness in a square. Both the smaller and larger pieces were seen as more displayable given the participant's wall space. Any size other than the very small coaster-size square was desirable for wall display. Small and medium-sized squares up to two feet by two feet will be more likely to sell, and story panels in small and medium sizes will probably appeal to a wide market. Larger squares should be available for variety, but will have more limited appeal. Craftspeople who make squares in sizes for couch pillows, pillow shams, tablecloths, and bedspreads, should look at the dimensions of these articles in home furnishings departments in order to make these textiles versatile. Small, inexpensive pieces such as pot holders, book-marks, coin-purses, belts, and eye-cases might be displayed as useful for gifts and be available in several colors and designs.

Colors

The colors used in the textile are very important in appealing to a consumer. Color combinations were often cited as the most liked aspect of a textile, but could also cause strong dislikes. Colors do not always have the same applicability across cultures. Color centered consumers rejected textiles solely because of their color combinations,
supporters of the Hmong people focused on specific colors in a textile, and pragmatic consumers desired colors that blended with their home decor.

Very high intensity colors are not used in homes in the United States and the traditional Hmong bright or fluorescent pink was one of the most disliked colors. It should be avoided for most items. However, traditional colors other than bright pinks were often desired as they were considered bright and cheerful or representative of the Hmong. On the other hand, reverse applique squares with a subdued, monochromatic color scheme were liked but rejected for purchase in some instances because they had become too common. This indicates that some market saturation has become a problem and that producers of Hmong textiles need to continually search for new ideas.

Color used in home furnishings should be observed for ideas in color combinations. Since people differ very much in what they consider appealing, it is important to include a wide range of color combinations.

Shopping

A store selling Hmong textiles will be attractive to Iowan consumers if it also carries other high quality crafts or craft items from a variety of cultural groups.
Customers should be able to browse and handle the merchandise without being constantly questioned. The area where the shop is located is important. It should not be intimidating to possible shoppers but should be with other like shops with quality merchandise.

Textiles should not be in huge stacks, which intimidate the customer, but in small stacks, with some unfolded or mounted on a vertical surface such as a wall or screen. A few pieces should also be displayed to suggest ways to use them or hang them, such as a piece on a dowel rod, a framed piece, or a pillow.

Education

There is a need for education of both the salespeople and the customers of Hmong textiles. Both Hmong and non-Hmong salespeople should be educated about the usual questions consumers ask. They should be able to answer typical questions about the craftpersons' names, places of abode, and the meanings and names of design motifs and story panels. Also, the craftpersons' names could be printed on a card accompanying the textile, along with the city where they live, and the motifs' names, if they have any.

Most consumers know little about the history of the Hmong or their needlework. They cannot distinguish applique
from reverse applique or even know that several techniques are involved. They do not know what techniques or items are traditional. In order to educate the customer, written articles about the history of the Hmong, the textiles, and the Hmong in the United States today could be available to take home or displayed on shop walls or screens at a fair.

In a store, many types of displays could be created to educate consumers. For instance, several Hmong craftspeople could be featured with a photograph of each with their name, a few lines about their background, and a few pieces of their needlework. Another display could center on techniques by showing and labeling applique, reverse applique, cross-stitch, satin stitch, and chain stitch embroidery. Older pieces of similar technique could be contrasted with new pieces to show the history and evolution of the needlework. A third type of display could focus on a motif by giving all the names for it and showing several pieces incorporating the motif. At a fair, a screen behind the selling table or on top of it could display a photograph of the Hmong salesperson, her background and name, and a few of her needlework pieces.

Consumers are interested not only in the actual textile artifact, but in the wealth of information it represents. The Hmong are a pre-literate people and did not originate a written means of communication; however, United States
consumers are literate and like to place these purchases in a frame of written reference. Patrons of Hmong folk art were especially interested in knowing the craftsperson's name and about the story panels as embroidered journals of Hmong life. Consumers who are educated about the Hmong can understand what they see in displayed textiles and have greater satisfaction in a textile when they have purchased it.

Conclusions for Methodology

Visual stimuli

The use of artifacts for visual stimuli worked very well for this study. As the participants manipulated the textiles and sorted them by rank, the participants became interested and involved in the interview. Participants often examined a textile closely to look at stitches of embroidery or sewing, or at the folded edges of applique. Some participants draped a textile over a chair and looked at it from a distance, held the textile up to a wall to imagine it there, or tried it on if it were a garment.

The disadvantages of using actual textiles were that 1) a large space was needed to spread out the textiles; 2) the textiles were awkward to get out and pack up; and 3) they became wrinkled after many uses and had to be steamed or
ironed. However, these were minor problems compared to the advantage to the interviewer of the immediate impact of the textiles on the participants. Use of textiles brought forth a more realistic and thorough reaction compared to the use of small photographs.

Open-ended questions

The use of open-ended questions to elicit response was appropriate in an exploratory, first-stage study. There are two ways of analyzing the experiences of a group of people: 1) the emic approach where a group’s own language and descriptions are used to derive categories of meaning, or 2) the etic approach where the researcher’s language and categories of meaning are used for analysis. In this research, the use of open-ended questions and content analysis of the responses was an emic approach to studying consumer behavior. Through open-ended questions, the terminology and categories of content actually important to consumers of Hmong textiles were elicited, not simply categories the researcher thought might be appropriate. The categories of content elicited included: specific colors or qualities of a color, color combinations, the specific parts of a design, the comparison of parts of a design, detail, the workmanship of specific parts of a textile, the cultural
aspects of a textile, and its use. Both the categories of meaning and the specific terminology used by the participants were evaluated for each group in order to understand and profile each consumer type.

Recommendations for Methodology

Two areas of recommendations can be made for future research involving marketing Hmong textiles. Suggestions for methodology include using bi-polar adjective scales and changing questions included in the interview schedule.

Bi-polar adjective scales

The emic approach of using open-ended questions and content analysis was appropriate for this research in order to gather information as to what is actually important for consumer preference of Hmong textiles. However, these methods are time-consuming both as an interviewing technique and in analyzing the data. For a larger, more definitive study of consumer preference, bi-polar adjective scales could now be developed based on this research. These scales could be substituted for the open-ended questions used for discussing the ranking of the stimuli set of Hmong textiles for preference and for desirability of purchase. For example
some bi-polar adjectives might include cheerful/dreary, symmetrical/unsymmetrical, exciting/monotonous, unique/common, fluorescent/subdued, and orderly/haphazard.

Interview Schedule

Several changes could be made to the interview schedule used for this research. In the present study, the interviewer used two check lists to enumerate the types of Hmong textiles and the types of other cultural textiles participants had purchased. These were sometimes time-consuming questions. However, viewing and discussing the participants' other cultural textiles often elicited enthusiastic responses which helped establish rapport between the participant and interviewer. Actually viewing Hmong and other cultural textiles also helped the participants reflect on the characteristics that were important to them and gave the interviewer a frame of reference for adjectives used to describe these characteristics. For any future research it is recommended that the participants fill out these lists which enumerate types of textiles purchased in order to decrease the amount of time involved. Then the researcher should review them to ascertain that these were purchases, not gifts. Viewing could be limited to one special Hmong textile and one special other cultural textile.
Some questions could be eliminated or changed in any future research. First, the questions in section two (see Appendix B) asking about the qualities of participants' own textiles that please them and their major reasons for purchasing Hmong textiles could be left out. These two questions were not as informative as responses for ranking the stimuli set and for choosing important characteristics for purchasing Hmong textiles. Second, the questions in section three asking about preference for color, design, and workmanship were too vague and were also better answered by the discussion of ranking the stimuli textiles. All three questions on page seven of the interview schedule could be eliminated. Finally, the question asking about where people gained knowledge about the Hmong was difficult for most participants to answer, as most only vaguely recalled reading newspaper articles or watching television programs. A better question might be to ask the participants how they first learned about Hmong textiles.

Recommendations for Content

Future research involving Hmong textiles can be recommended in four areas. First, a study along similar lines to this research could be conducted with many more
participants. Bi-polar adjective scales could be used to reduce the time involved in interviewing. Sample size and composition involved could be enlarged to include 1) people who had purchased two or more textiles, 2) consumers from other states and metropolitan areas who would have a different frame of reference than most Iowan consumers, and 3) consumers who were owners of interior design businesses and were wholesale buyers from the Hmong. These added types of Hmong textile consumers would increase the applicability of the results to more closely parallel a broad range of Hmong consumers.

Second, the present research indicated the need for a separate study of the quality of workmanship for Hmong textiles. While almost all participants chose workmanship from a list of characteristics as being one of their top priorities in purchasing a textile, this was not reflected in their responses to why they chose a textile for preference or desirability of purchase. It was also not reflected by participants’ choosing the textiles with better quality workmanship as their top-ranked textiles. What one person means by good quality may not equate with another’s definition. The range of workmanship considered good or poor quality needs to be explored as well as the specific criteria for these terms.
A third area of possible research is the investigation of successful marketers of Hmong textiles in the United States today. Who becomes a successful marketer and what skills do they possess? Do the abilities these marketers possess stem from activities they were involved with before emigrating, or have they come from newly acquired skills in the United States? How have they developed their abilities and how could these be translated to help other Hmong textile marketers? Does the successful marketer possess skills and personal qualities similar to entrepreneurs in other business endeavors?

A fourth area for recommended research is to interview the remaining Hmong weavers who still have a market of in-group textile consumers. Where do these weavers live and what circumstances enable them to continue practicing? What kind of textiles do they produce, how do they market them, and to whom? Such areas of research will enlarge our knowledge of what is happening today in this area of marketing of Hmong textiles and will facilitate the task of helping the Hmong to more successfully compete in marketing their needlework.
Historically, craftspeople produced handcrafts for use within their local communities; today, many of these crafts have been replaced by machine-produced products. Accordingly, craftspeople must turn to markets outside their local communities if their crafts are to survive. In out-group markets, craftspeople from one cultural tradition produce crafts which they hope will appeal to consumers of another cultural tradition. While in the past craftspeople were aware of their local patrons' aesthetic and product preferences, these standards cannot be applied to consumers from another culture.

The Hmong are one refugee group in the United States with an established internal craft tradition. Many Hmong fought on the side of the United States in the Vietnam War and were forced to move after the war ended. Since 1970, 40,000 Hmong have migrated to the United States from refugee camps in Thailand (Stout, Reilly, and Nelson, 1983). Since moving to the United States, the Hmong have adopted Western-style dress; as a result, the traditional market for Hmong needlework has declined. The Hmong women now apply their needlework skills to Western clothing and household textile items, but the Hmong have had varying success in
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selling articles produced to suit tastes of consumers in the United States.

Objectives

The first purpose of this research was to develop profiles of the midwestern patron of Hmong textiles. This included the patrons' aesthetic and socio-economic criteria for purchases, their shopping practices for Hmong textiles, and their knowledge and impression of Hmong textiles. The second purpose was to make recommendations based on these profiles for improved product design and marketing of Hmong textiles.

Method

Twenty residents of a midwestern state participated in a two-hour, in-depth interview. Central to the interview was 1) the informants' examination and ranking, according to personal preference, of a set of 10 handcrafted Hmong textiles, followed by 2) discussion of the participants' reasons for placement of specific textiles at the top and bottom ranks. Additional interview questions were used to elicit information about actual craft purchases, shopping
practices of the participants, and their knowledge about the Hmong. Participants also completed a short questionnaire concerning their textile-related experiences.

Data from the ranking and discussion of the stimuli set of textiles were first coded using a content analysis system developed to fit the data. First, each participant's words were divided into units of analysis based on syntactical rules. Each syntactical unit of analysis expressed one idea referring to the stimulus textile. Second, a categorization system was devised to analyze the content in all the units of analysis. Each participant's coded responses were converted to a similarity matrix, and hierarchical clustering of participants was conducted using a cluster analysis statistical program (BMDP PIM). Separate profiles were developed based on the cluster analysis of the reasons for the most and least-liked of the textiles in the stimuli set.

Findings

Analysis of the data for the participants' most liked textiles revealed four consumer profiles. The Fine Workmanship Consumers preferred textiles that were finely executed. They often examined specific aspects of a technique such as the symmetry of the corners of a square
border, the fineness of the stitching, or the way the cross-stitches crossed.

The second consumer group, Supporters of the Hmong People, were most interested in the textiles as examples of Hmong craftsmanship. The fact that purchases supported the Hmong people was also important to these consumers. They preferred to buy directly from the Hmong in order to give the Hmong the maximum percentage of profit.

In the third category of consumers, the Pragmatic Consumers liked textiles that could be displayed in their homes as wall-hangings or pillows. These consumers were generally older and had enjoyed some travel. They were well-educated and well-grounded in handcrafts.

In the final group, Patrons of Hmong Folk Art, all the consumers preferred the story panel textile. They liked its having flowers and people rather than an abstract design, that it showed Hmong life, and that it might tell a story. These consumers were the most interested of any group in having the name of the craftsperson accompany the textile.

Analysis of the data for least preferred textiles revealed two consumer profiles. Function Oriented Consumers disliked textiles that they would not wear, or use in the home such as a pillow or bedspread, or display as a work of
art. A piece that they could not visualize as fulfilling some function in their lives was not desirable.

The second consumer group, Color Centered Consumers, disliked textiles with color combinations that they found displeasing. They also held certain colors in aversion.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The present study applied Swan and Combs' (1976) model for consumer satisfaction to the participants' discussion of their two top-ranked Hmong textiles and their two bottom-ranked textiles from among the stimuli set of 10 Hmong textiles. Support was found for the first part of the theory that expressive attributes will be associated with satisfaction, but not for the second part that instrumental attributes will be associated with dissatisfaction.

The research has implications for product design and marketing strategies among the Hmong. For instance, the Hmong need not adopt only the colors popular in the United States; many consumers appreciate the colors and design indigenous to the Hmong textile tradition. In addition, patrons seem eager for fine detail and workmanship. Finally, the potential use for a Hmong textile is often a restricting factor in purchasing; various prospective
functions should be clearly defined and displayed for the impending buyer.

Future research involving Hmong textiles can be recommended in four areas: 1) a larger study along similar lines to this research could be conducted using bi-polar scales to reduce the time involved in interviewing; 2) a separate study exploring the range of workmanship considered good or poor quality and the specific criteria for these terms; 3) investigation of the skills and background of successful marketers of Hmong textiles in the United States today; and 4) interviews with the remaining Hmong weavers who still have a market of in-group textile consumers.
I would like to thank my major professors Mary Littrell and Jane Farrell-Beck for their prolonged meeting with me and for their time taken beyond regular hours. This thesis reflects their steadfast encouragement and abilities in editing.

I would also like to thank my husband Peter McNabb for his support of my work and his forgoing times together.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX A: SLIDES OF THE TEXTILE STIMULI SET
APPENDIX B: THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
Iowan Consumers of Hmong Handcrafted Textiles Purchased in the Midwest

I. SAMPLE SET OF HMONG TEXTILES

We are interested in your reactions to a set of Hmong handcrafted textiles available in the Midwest.

Q-1 Examine the textiles and place them in order from the ones you like the most to those you like the least. At this point I'm asking you to rank the textiles based just on what you like and dislike. Place the textiles in order from your most preferred textile on your right on down to your least preferred textile on your left. Please feel free to open the textiles and handle them as it will help you to make your rankings.

Record ranking (Leave textiles spread out):

```
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
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Now I would like to ask you some questions about the two textiles you like the best. Later we'll discuss the two you liked the least.

Rank #1: First, you ranked this textile the highest. Why do you like it the most?

Rank #2: Now to number two. Why did you also rate this textile high?

Now, let's discuss the textiles you least preferred.

Rank #10: Why do you like this textile the least?

Rank #9: Why did you also rank this textile low?
Now I want you to consider the textiles a second time in terms of your willingness to buy the textiles. This time you will not rank the entire set. Rather, identify the two textiles you would be most likely to buy, and the two textiles you would be least likely to buy.

Record ranking:
Most likely to buy:          Least likely to buy:

Now, I want to ask you about the two textiles you would be most likely to buy, and then the two least likely to buy.

Rank #1: Why would you be most likely to buy this textile?
(If ranked #1 or #2 on pg. 1: Are there reasons why you would buy this textile that are different from why you ranked it high for general preference?)

Why would you use the textile? (If same as on pg. 1, do not need to ask.)

What price would you be willing to pay? __________

Rank #2: Why would you also be likely to buy this textile?

How would you use the textile?

What price would you be willing to pay? __________

Now to the two least likely to buy.

Rank #10: Why would you not buy this textile?
(If ranked #9 or #10 on pg. 1: Are there reasons why you would not buy the textile that are different from why you ranked it low for general preference?)

Rank #9: Why would you also not buy this textile?

**NOTES:** If textile #1 or #2 on pg. 1 are not ranked #1 or #2 here, ask why.
In addition to the textiles you just evaluated, I am also interested in learning about the Hmong textiles you have purchased and about how you use the textiles.

First, I'll name some categories in a checklist fashion. Please indicate if you have purchased any Hmong textiles in the category. Include textiles that you have purchased for yourself, for family members, or for gifts.

**Squares or Rectangles**
- [ ] small (less than 10"
- [ ] medium (approximately 10" to 22"
- [ ] large (more than 22"

How have you used the squares or rectangles?

**Story Panel** (an embroidered rectangle which shows one or several activities from the life of the Hmong)

**Household Textiles**
- [ ] quilt
- [ ] table runner
- [ ] pillow or cushion cover
- [ ] wall piece (already framed or made with a muslin sleeve or velcro strip ready for hanging)
- [ ] holiday items (Christmas decoration, coasters, etc.)
- [ ] other

**Clothing**
- [ ] belt
- [ ] hat
- [ ] apron
- [ ] skirt
- [ ] vest
- [ ] other

**Accessories**
- [ ] tote bag
- [ ] check book cover
- [ ] book marks
- [ ] purse
- [ ] baby carrier
- [ ] other

**Other**
Q-2 For the next few questions I want you to think about all of your Hmong textiles. What qualities do they possess that please you the most?

Q-3 Of all the Hmong textiles that you have purchased, I would like you to identify the one textile that you like the most.

Item: Describe:

Why is this textile "special" to you? Why do you like the textile?

How do you use (intend to use) this textile?

Q-4 Previously, we talked about what qualities your Hmong textiles possess that you like. Now think about your Hmong textiles again as a group. What qualities do they possess that you dislike?

Q-5 For the next question I want you to think about your Hmong textiles as a whole. What would you summarize as your major reasons for purchasing handcrafted Hmong textiles?

Q-6 Have any of the Hmong textiles you purchased been used as gifts?

   No
   Yes: What types have you found useful as gifts?

Up to now we have been restricting our discussion to Hmong textiles. In the next few questions I'll be asking you about your purchases of handcrafted textiles in a broader sense, not just Hmong.
First, I'll list some categories of handcrafted textiles and clothing. Please indicate if you have purchased any textiles in these categories. The purchases could have been made anywhere in the U.S. or abroad, but should not have included your Hmong pieces. I'm defining a handcrafted textile or piece of clothing as one that has been completely produced by hand as well as those that have some machine stitching. An example might be a hand-embroidered shirt sewn together by machine.

____ Quilts

____ Handwoven rugs or carpets

____ Embroidered or other needleworked textiles or clothing such as embroidered blouses, lacework, or sweaters

____ Hand printed textiles or clothing such as screen printed cloth, printed scarves

____ Hand dyed textiles or clothing such as batik or tie-dye or ikat

____ Other types of handwoven textiles or clothing such as table linens, ponchos, silk yardage, or a couch throw

Q-8 Of all the handcrafted textiles you have purchased, what piece is most special to you?

Item: Describe:

Country:

Why is this textile "special" to you?

Q-9 Do you consider yourself a textile collector?

____ No

____ Yes: any special types?
Next, I am interested in learning about the criteria you would use when buying Hmong textiles.

Q-1 We'll start with a list of criteria. On this list, which characteristics are important to you when purchasing Hmong textiles? Please circle all that apply.

(Hand card to participant)

1. Colors are appealing
2. Quality of workmanship
3. Fits in with a collection of textiles
4. Price
5. Easy to care for and clean
6. Size
7. Overall beauty of the textile
8. Textile could be used in my home
9. Motifs or pattern are appealing
10. Souvenir of an area I have visited
11. An example of Hmong craft
12. Buying will help support the Hmong people
13. Suitable for a gift
14. Unique, one-of-a-kind textile
15. Textile could be used for clothing
16. Other (Describe) ____________

Q-2 Of the characteristics you circled in the list, which two are most important to you when purchasing Hmong handcrafted textiles? (Put number in box)

☐ Most important for purchases
   (Describe why)

☐ Second most important for purchases
   (Describe why)
Q-3 In general would you be willing to buy colors and designs that were in the ethnic tradition of the Hmong even though they weren't colors or designs that you found personally appealing?

____ No: why?

____ Yes: why?

Q-4 When you considered buying a Hmong textile, which influenced you more: excellence of workmanship or design appeal?

_____ excellence of workmanship

_____ design appeal

Q-5 Traditionally Hmong needleworkers used primary colors such as red, black, green, pink, and gold, and the same motifs repeated and re-combined. Newer pieces are now made using light pastel colors or darker grayed blues, greens, and browns, and new motifs are devised according to the likes of the individual Hmong craftsperson. Which do you prefer?

_____ the traditional motifs and colors retained from use in Southeast Asia

_____ new colors and motifs developed by the individual craftsperson
IV. SHOPPING FOR HMONG TEXTILES IN THE MIDWEST

The next set of questions concerns how you have shopped for Hmong textiles.

Q-1 As with a previous question, I'll have you look at a list. This describes possible places to buy a Hmong textile. Please circle the places where you looked at Hmong textiles as well as where you actually purchased them.

(Hand card to participant)

1. Directly from the Hmong artist in her home
2. In a shop exclusively selling Hmong textiles
3. In a craft shop selling other crafts in addition to Hmong textiles
4. At an art or craft fair
5. In a museum shop
6. From a non-Hmong intermediary person
7. Other (Describe) __________________________

Q-2 Of the possible places to buy Hmong textiles, which two do you prefer? These need not be places whose numbers you circled on the list.

_____ Most preferred place
(Describe why)

_____ Second most preferred place
(Describe why)

Q-3 When you purchase a Hmong handcrafted textile, what do you want to know about the textile? What kinds of questions do you often ask the salesperson or craftsperson?

Q-4 Some craftspersons place their names directly on a textile itself or on a card accompanying the textile. Of the following three ratings, how important is a craftsperson's signature or name when buying a Hmong textile?

1. Very important: Why?
2. Somewhat important: Why?
3. Not important: Why?
I'll end this section with a hypothetical question. If you were to buy textiles in an ideal shop or setting for you, what would the shop or setting and the salespeople be like?

Shop or setting:

Salespeople:
V. AWARENESS AND ASSESSMENT OF HMONG TEXTILES

The final group of questions concerns your awareness of Hmong textiles and your overall assessment of Hmong textiles.

3-1 Before you bought your first Hmong textile, were you aware of the Hmong and the textiles they make?

____ No
____ Yes: Describe

3-2 People have many ways they may broaden their knowledge about the Hmong people. I'll read you a list of possible sources. Please indicate if you have used any of these to broaden your knowledge of the Hmong and their textile crafts.

1 Reading books
2 Reading the newspaper
3 Reading magazines
4 Watching TV
5 Attending an exhibition of Hmong handcrafts
6 Attending talks or lectures about the Hmong
7 Talking with other people who know about the Hmong
8 Shopping at a store or craft fair that has Hmong crafts
9 Other (Describe)

3-3 Finally, to end the interview, based on your own experiences, what makes a Hmong textile unique from other handcrafted textiles you can find in the U.S.?
APPENDIX C: THE QUESTIONNAIRE
Finally, we would like to ask a few questions about yourself in order to describe the people who participated in the study.

Q-1 Your sex (Circle number)
   1 Female
   2 Male

Q-2 Are you currently married? (Circle number)
   1 No
   2 Yes

Q-3 Number of dependent children:

Q-4 Your age (Circle number)
   1 Under 26 years
   2 26-35 years
   3 36-45 years
   4 46-55 years
   5 56-65 years
   6 66-75 years
   7 Over 75 years

Q-5 What is your highest level of education completed? (Circle number)
   1 high school
   2 junior or community college
   3 technical school
   4 some college
   5 bachelor's degree
   6 master's degree
   7 Ph. D.

Q-6 Describe your occupation. (If retired, write retired and then describe your work before retirement)

Title ____________________________________________

Kind of work you do __________________________________

Kind of business or institution _________________________________
Q-7 If married, what is your spouse's occupation?

Title

Kind of work spouse does

Kind of business or institution

What is the highest level of education your spouse has completed? (Circle number)
1 high school
2 junior or community college
3 technical school
4 some college
5 bachelor's degree
6 master's degree
7 Ph. D.

Q-8 In what city do you reside? If you live on a farm or in a rural area, please state that and list the town from where your mail comes.

Q-9 In what areas have you lived or travelled? (Circle all that apply)
1 Europe
2 Africa
3 Asia
4 Central America
5 South America
6 Australia
Q-10 Where do you most often make clothing purchases? (Circle two numbers)

1. Through the mail
2. In off-price stores (Marshall's, T. J. Maxx, Loehman's, etc.)
3. In large discount stores (K-Mart, etc.)
4. In major department stores (Brandeis, Younker's, Dayton's, etc.)
5. In small chain stores (Seifert's, etc.)
6. In independent specialty shops
7. In import stores
8. Craft fairs
9. Second hand or antique stores
10. Other: describe

Q-11 Where do you most often make household textile purchases? (Circle two numbers)

1. Through the mail
2. In off-price stores (The Linen Center, etc.)
3. In large discount stores (K-Mart, etc.)
4. In major department stores (Brandeis, Younker's, Dayton's, etc.)
5. In small chain stores
6. In independent specialty shops
7. In import stores (The Scandinavian Store, etc.)
8. Craft fairs
9. Second hand or antique shops
10. Other: describe
We are interested in your personal involvement in arts and handicrafts. For each of the arts and handicrafts below, circle the appropriate word or words.

**STUDY means:** you have done independent reading, tried the art or craft, or taken classes.

**HOBBY means:** you practice the art or craft during your leisure time.

**OCCUPATION means:** you are an artist, craftsperson, teacher or researcher, and earn money from your work.

**NO means:** you have little or no involvement with the art or craft.

(Circle all that apply)

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<td>Batik or other fabric dyeing</td>
<td>STUDY</td>
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<td>Sewing, fashion design</td>
<td>STUDY</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>Embroidery, needlepoint, or other needlework</td>
<td>STUDY</td>
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<td>Other art or craft (Describe)</td>
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Thank you very much for participating in this research project. The results of the interviews form a large portion of this project, so you are a vital part of the research. If you would like to receive a summary of the results of the study, please check 'yes' below, and give your name and an address where you can be reached next June. (all questionnaires will be cut at the dotted line to preserve questionnaire confidentiality.)

___ YES ___ NO

Name:

Address:
APPENDIX D: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION
and
TELEPHONE PROTOCOL
I am a graduate student at Iowa State University in the Textiles & Clothing Department conducting research on Hmong textiles for my master's thesis. The purpose of my research is to develop a descriptive profile of midwestern consumers of Hmong textiles. I am interested in knowing what consumers like and dislike about Hmong textiles and about their experiences of buying the textiles. Knowing more about why people select Hmong textiles will enable the Hmong and people working with the Hmong, to better merchandise the textiles and to improve product design.

For the research I will be interviewing a group of Iowans who have purchased Hmong textiles. Your name was selected from a list of people who have bought Hmong textiles from Elizabeth Perkins. I would like to invite you to be a participant in my research. During the interview I would show you a group of Hmong textiles and ask your preferences and dislikes from among the group. In addition we would discuss the Hmong textiles you have purchased, the criteria you use when selecting Hmong pieces, and your shopping experiences with the Hmong. The interview would last about 1½ hours. I would prefer to conduct the interview in your home; however, we could meet some place on the ISU campus. I will telephone you to discuss any questions you might have and to set up a time when we could meet together. Thank you very much for your time.

Sincerely,

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Ames, IA 50011
(515) 294-5264
Hello, this is Jeanette Slaybaugh. I'm a graduate student at Iowa State University in the Department of Textiles and Clothing. I am doing research to develop a descriptive profile of midwestern consumers of Hmong textiles. Recently I sent you a letter describing my project. Did you receive the letter? Do you have any questions about it?

I will be interviewing a group of Iowans who have purchased Hmong textiles to find out what they like and dislike about Hmong textiles. I understand that you bought some Hmong textiles from Elizabeth Perkins. Did you buy several pieces? Would you be willing to participate in my research project?

I would like to set up a time when we can meet together. Would you be able to meet at your house on the ___? When we meet, I would like to see two or more Hmong pieces that you have purchased so that we can talk about them. I will tape the interview in order to more accurately record the information, but these tapes will be erased and your opinions kept confidential. Do you have any questions about what we will be doing? Thank you for talking with me. I look forward to seeing you on the ___ at ___ o'clock. Goodbye.
APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW LETTER OF EXPLANATION and FORM FROM THE HUMAN SUBJECTS' RESEARCH COMMITTEE
Market Research
Hmong Handcrafted Textiles

The purpose of this research is to gather opinions from people living in Iowa concerning Hmong handcrafted textiles purchased in the midwest. The survey is in two parts and takes approximately 1.5 hours to complete.

Part I: Interview in which you will be asked for your opinions concerning a) a sample set of textiles, b) your personal textile purchases, and c) shopping for textiles.

Part II: Questionnaire in which you will be asked to provide some background information about yourself. This information will help us describe the people who participate in the survey.

Your responses in the survey will be confidential because your name is not associated with the survey in any way. The number on the questionnaire is only for record keeping. The interview will be tape recorded in order to insure accuracy of detail in recording your opinions. The tape recording will be erased immediately after your responses have been transferred to a survey form.

We appreciate your willingness to participate in this market research. Your responses will help us learn more about how Hmong textiles can be produced to meet the needs of people living in the midwest. If you have any questions about the survey, please feel free to discuss them with the interviewer. If at any time you feel uncomfortable with the questions asked, you may state this and withdraw from the interview.

Jane Sloan
Graduate Student
Department of Textiles & Clothing

Mary L. Cutler
Associate Professor
Department of Textiles & Clothing

Garrell-Beck
Associate Professor
Department of Textiles & Clothing
Title of project (please type): A Profile of the Midwestern Patron of Hmong Textiles

I agree to provide the proper surveillance of this project to insure that the rights and welfare of the human subjects are properly protected. Additions to or changes in procedures affecting the subjects after the project has been approved will be submitted to the committee for review.

Jeanette Slavbaugh
Typed Name of Principal Investigator

9/15/86
Date

8415 Franklin #12
Campus Address

Des Moines, IA 50322
Campus Telephone

270-1267

Signature of Principal Investigator

Date

Relationship to Principal Investigator

Major Professor

Major Professor

2. ATTACH an additional page(s) (A) describing your proposed research and (B) the subject(s) to be used, (C) indicating any risks or discomforts to the subjects, and (D) covering any topics checked below. CHECK all boxes applicable.

- Medical clearance necessary before subjects can participate
- Samples (blood, tissue, etc.) from subjects
- Administration of substances (foods, drugs, etc.) to subjects
- Physical exercise or conditioning for subjects
- Deception of subjects
- Subjects under 14 years of age and (or)
- Subjects 14-17 years of age
- Subjects in Institutions
- Research must be approved by another institution or agency

3. ATTACH an example of the material to be used to obtain informed consent and CHECK which type will be used.

- Signed informed consent will be obtained.
- Modified informed consent will be obtained.

Anticipated date on which subjects will be first contacted: 9/26/1986
Anticipated date for last contact with subjects: 12/19/1986

If Applicable: Anticipated date on which audio or visual tapes will be erased and (or) identifiers will be removed from completed survey instruments: 3/1/1987

Signature of Head or Chairperson

Date

Department or Administrative Unit

Department of Textiles & Clothing

Decision of the University Committee on the Use of Human Subjects in Research:

- Project Approved
- Project not
- No action required

Name of Committee Chairperson

Date

Signature of Committee Chairperson

Iowa State University

(Please follow the accompanying instructions for completing this form.)
Overall Evaluations

(1) Positive:
- I think everything works well together
- It's interesting in a number of different directions
- Simple
- Not flamboyant

(2) Negative:
- It doesn't have any oomph
- I've seen worse
- It's lukewarm
- I don't dislike it
- I don't desire it
COLOR: OVERALL EVALUATIONS

(3) Positive:
- Maybe it's the novelty of the color I like
- Nice use of color

(4) Negative:
- Monotonous in color
- They're not as striking color-wise

COLOR: SPECIFIC COLORS OR QUALITIES OF A COLOR

(5) Positive:
- I like the darker colors
- The colors on this--they're luminous
- I like that gold touch (couching)
- Partly because I'm very partial to purple
- Purple and green--my eye's been thirsting for that

(6) Negative:
- But that, the real hot, hot, bright colors don't appeal to me
- Although I used to have a number of pieces that had blues and greens, I don't have hardly anything now
COLOR; COLOR COMBINATIONS

(Use of the word colors in the plural implies combinations)

(7) Positive:
- I like the colors
- The use of colors is well balanced
- Fewer colors
- Interesting sense of color as far as juxtapositions
- The color sense was unusual
- I think the colors work well together
- The colors (purple & green) are fashionable
- (Burgundy is probably one of my favorite colors) and then with dark greens

(8) Negative:
- The colors don’t offend me
- The colors don’t appeal
- If they had held this to three colors
- The colors don’t blend
- The lining on this other belt worked much better in terms of the color sense
DESIGN: OVERALL EVALUATIONS

(9) Positive
   - Good sense of design
   - It's a nice design
   - A large overall design
   - I think probably the size is what I liked
   - It's all like sharp corners and edges
   - It has a lot of movement
   - It's beautiful in it's order
   - The pattern does have a reasonable amount of detail

(10) Negative:
   - The pattern, although it's probably not one of the more intricate ones
DESIGN: SPECIFIC PARTS

(Including specific handwork, techniques, motifs, fabrics, or selected parts of the whole)

(11) Positive

-(I like) the embellishment with the couching stitches

-I like the embroidery on it

-It's not that I like the cross-stitches better than the cut-work

-The insets are whole

-The insets don't start part way

-I like part of the apron the most

-I like the edging in general

(12) Negative:

-I don't like the fabric

-It (the fabric) looks cheap

-I would like it better if it weren't every other one (alternating motifs)

-Alternating motifs don't really bother me

-The lining is obtrusive

-The pieces that are reverse applique...are the ones that appeal to me (and this isn't one)
DESIGN: COMPARISON OF PARTS

(13) Positive:
- The use of small patterns with the larger patterns
- The inner part goes well with the border
- How they play against each other here
- The repeat in the embroidery that kind of picks the triangle back up
- The pattern is not one where the cross-stitch is marginal--around the borders and a little bit in the center

(14) Negative:
- The tassels don't work with this
- The lining clashes with the embroidery
- It (the fabric) looks cheap considering the amount of work that's put into it (embroidery)
WORKMANSHIP: OVERALL EVALUATIONS

(15) Positive:
- Nice sense of craftsmanship
- Craftsmanship is very good
- The work itself is flat (not puckered)
- It's like super-super good work

(16) Negative:
- The workmanship isn't killing hot
- Poor workmanship

WORKMANSHIP: DETAIL

(17) Positive:
- Exquisite type of detail
- Small, minute type of detail

(18) Negative: (none)

WORKMANSHIP: SKILLS OF THE PRODUCER/CONSUMER

(19) Positive:
- The fact that I know how much time it takes to do counted cross-stitch makes a difference
- How people have the patience!

(20) Negative:
- If I were a needlewoman, I think I would like this a great deal (but I don't)
WORKMANSHP: SPECIFIC PARTS

(21) Positive:

- The embroidery is gorgeous
- The lines are super crisp
- Especially impressive are the circular spirals
- The cross-stitches themselves are small
- The area is well-filled with cross-stitch
- There's nothing about its (the cross-stitches) quality that offends me

(22) Negative:

- These points are not reinforced
- You can see all the little stitches around the edge
- Not as regular folded edges
- Their alignment at the corners (is bad)
CULTURAL

(23) Positive:
- I know the Hmong make strips like the border on this apron
- I like this the best of all the story pieces
- I'm sure it has something (a story) because here is a worm crawling up a tree

(24) Negative:
- I would have expected cotton fabric with the Hmong
- The fabric feels synthetic
- The ones that tell a story have not appealed to me
- Weepy eyes on embroidered story pieces don't reach me
- I own a piece from Ecuador or Bolivia (already)
USE

(25) Positive:
- I don't think it would be a piece you'd get tired of
- I thought you could use it on the wall
- If this were a skirt, I might say I like that
- I would likely pick this out to send somebody
- I have friends I can envision wearing that because of the color
- I like its end use

(26) Negative:
- It was not functional as a tablecloth
- I don't see how it could carry much weight
- I wouldn't hang it on the wall
- I couldn't see this used as art
- I'm not an apron person
- And they're too 60's to wear
- Because it was a belt, I wouldn't think about it