14,000 refugees per month, by the middle of 1981 there should be nearly half a million
Indochinese in the U.S.

California, with over 80,000, has the largest Vietnamese population, followed by Texas
(25,000), Pennsylvania (10,000), Washington state (9,500), and Louisiana (8,500).
Washington, D.C., Maryland, and Virginia have a combined Vietnamese population of
over 12,000, a significant proportion of which is settled in the greater Washington area.
The secondary settlement phenomenon also frequently involves movement within a state to
nearer centers of Vietnamese concentration.

Ames, with a population of approximately 40,000, has about 90 Vietnamese, about 40 of
whom are students at Iowa State University. Almost all of the remaining 50 are spouses,
children, siblings or parents of Iowa State University students. Many of their kin are based
in Des Moines or neighboring central Iowa towns (e.g., Boone, Madrid, Nebraska, and
Jefferson).

This sample of twelve persons consisted of two students, two secondary school teachers,
three housewives, a key punch operator, a waiter, two secretary-typists, and a retired
government official.

According to the Interagency Task Force for Indochinese Refugees, 16.6 percent of the first
wave Vietnamese over 18 years of age had at least some university education, while 37.9
percent had some secondary schooling (Kelley 1977: 48). Approximately one third (31.2
percent) of the heads of households were earlier employed in professional, technical, and
managerial capacities (Montero 1979: 23).

Of the 43 Vietnamese students at Iowa State in 1979-80, thirty (69.8 percent) were
majoring in engineering, three (7.0 percent) in chemistry, three in computer science, and the
remainder were scattered among various other (mainly scientific and technical) fields.

The Vietnamese recognition of the critical need for English skills is evidenced by the fact
that 70 percent of those in Camp Pendleton participated in the language program,
spending, on the average, four hours a day studying English (Montero 1979: 25).

Tet, Hung Vuong, "Fall of Saigon Day," and Christmas.

In Denver there has been much tension and some violence between Indochinese and
Chicanos. In Seadrift, Texas conflict over fishing rights between Vietnamese and American
fishermen led to the harassment and retaliation of refugees, resulting in the shooting death
of one American. Other cases of conflict arising from competition for educational resources,
housing, and government assistance, have been documented in Florida, Wisconsin and

Cases of expulsion of alien Africans include, the Dahomeyans from Ivory Coast (1958),
Congo-Brazzaville (1962), and Niger (1962), Ghanaians from Sierra Leone and Guinea,
Nigerians from Zaire (1971), and over a million Nigerians and other West Africans from
Ghana (1969). Some Igbos were also deported from Cameroon during the Nigerian Civil
War for their alleged involvement in the Biafran war effort (Challenor 1979: 67).

3. Reaching Out to the Poor

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In the developing countries one of the major problems has been: how to reach out
to the poor segments of society. This is because whenever these countries register some
measure of economic growth, the benefits of such a development hardly trickle down to
the poor. On the contrary, in such societies economic development has often been
accompanied by a rapid rise in the cost of living, a near stagnant agricultural wage

structure, real or contrived scarcity of articles of daily needs, and an increased volume of visits by bureaucrats and politicians often restating the problems rather than solving them. It is in this context that Robert McNamara's following statement becomes significant: "It is becoming increasingly clear that the critical issue within the developing countries is not simply the pace of growth, but the nature of growth"!

So great has been the neglect of the poor that neither the politicians nor the bureaucrats, nor indeed the social scientists, have a clear idea of who the poor are, in specific human and social terms, and what constitutes their continuing powerlessness to evoke response in terms of suitable public policy and its implementation. The entire phenomenon of poverty, and who constitutes the poor, are often grossed up in quantitative terms. Rarely a discriminating social analysis is undertaken to break up the statistical mass of the poor in realistic contextual terms to be able to explore what specific strategies would produce results, in short and long terms, given their specific social and economic peculiarities.

Although few and far between, there are now some instances of specific strategies which have succeeded in reaching out to the poor in India in the shortest possible time. In this connection the burgeoning milk cooperatives of India deserve a special mention. They with their veterinarians have succeeded in reaching out to the poorest of poor in rural India. In some cases, as we shall see, in a span of less than two years the vets have succeeded in raising the income of the villages in western India, largely inhabited by tribal population, considerably.

In western India the vets have taken on the function of modernizing the dairy industry and through it the rebuilding of the rural economy in which the poor are beginning to be integrated as producers. Increasingly the vets carry their demonstratable skills in animal health care and improvement of cattle breed to remote villages, and establish milk cooperatives to procure milk for urban centres which in turn bring the much needed cash to rural areas.

In the early years of the spread of milk cooperatives in India, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s, political workers used to go to villages to persuade village folks to join cooperative societies and eliminate the exploitative middlemen. That was then followed up by dairy organizers, finally by the vets. Now the role of the first two has been minimized. It is the vet who has taken over the function of organizing the grass roots unit from the start to finish. He first of all identifies the area within the district which needs to be developed, visits villages and addresses rural folks on how they could organize the milk coop, approaches, on their behalf, the bank in the vicinity for loans for the purchase of milch animals, does most of the paper work relating to loans and gets their signatures or thumb impressions, discusses the problems of animal health care, cattle feed, testing of milk for its fat content, organizes transport, and the mode of payment for the milk to be collected.

But unlike in the past, the vets have now become conscious of the fact that unless their efforts are also directed to the poorest segments of the community or to the economically depressed regions of the district, they have not done their best. While the top dairy organizers and technologists get deeply immersed in running large organizations, and in protecting themselves from the know all, arrogant, and increasingly socially insensitive bureaucrats, on the one hand, and wiley, support-building politicians, on the other, the village level operating vets cannot remain impervious to the scene of human misery. His attention, out there, therefore, shifts from the technical problems of milk procurement to human beings who are involved or can be involved in the enterprise.