



K I W A
Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance

STUDY GUIDE TO THE *KIWA* ARCHIVE



Southern California Library

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For information:
Southern California Library
6120 S.Vermont Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90044

www.socallib.org
(323) 759-6063
(323) 759-2252 (fax)

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Study Guide to the KIWA Archive

By Glenn Omatsu

Trabajos con dignidad. Luchando unidos.



Jobs with dignity. Struggle in unity.

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Overview

The Southern California Library is an independent library and archive that documents and preserves the history of community change in Los Angeles, founded over forty years ago. The Library holds many unique resources on L.A.'s labor history, including the records of the Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA). This study guide was created by Professor Glenn Omatsu to be used in conjunction with the KIWA collection through a project supported by the Diane Middleton Foundation.

Glenn Omatsu is an educator who works with community and labor groups and international solidarity networks. He is currently a professor at California State University Northridge and also teaches at UCLA and Pasadena City College. He is co-editor with Steve Louie of *Asian Americans: The Movement and the Moment*, published in September 2001 by UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press. He has worked with a number of inter-ethnic alliances in Los Angeles, including the New Otani Workers Support Committee in Little Tokyo and the Koreatown Restaurant Workers Support Committee, campaigns for immigrant rights, and other struggles for social justice. He is also a member of the Library's Board of Directors.

The study guide consists of three parts:

- 1) a framework for understanding the overall KIWA's significance in Los Angeles,
- 2) suggested lesson plans for teachers using materials from this archive, and
- 3) a list of resources for further study.

The lesson plans in Part II can be used by both teachers and community activists. KIWA's work is valuable for not only all racial and ethnic communities but also for all age groups. We have organized our lesson plans in terms of four age groups: grades K-3 (i.e., very young children), grades 4-6 (young children), middle school and high school (teenagers), and college and adults.

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Part I: Significance of KIWA in Los Angeles

KIWA has had a major impact on movements for worker rights, immigrant rights, race relations, and activism in Los Angeles

KIWA (originally named Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance) was founded in March 1992—one month before the 1992 Los Angeles Riots/Uprising—and during its relatively short history has had a major impact on movements for worker rights, immigrant rights, race relations, and activism in Los Angeles. Roy Hong and Danny Park, the co-founders of KIWA, initially defined the mission of the organization as filling a void in the Los Angeles Korean community by advocating for the needs of immigrant workers.

Both Hong and Park had experience in community organizing and support work for the democratic movement in Korea and envisioned KIWA as a vehicle to confront the conservative face of Korean American community politics that was largely dominated by business interests. They defined the organization as a workers' advocacy group rather than a union and pledged to work with Southern California unions in their efforts to organize Korean immigrants. To reflect the mission of the new organization, Hong and Park named it Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates. In early 2007, KIWA re-named itself Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance to more accurately reflect its multicultural composition and its expanded political mission.

Major campaigns initiated by KIWA include:

- organizing Latino and Korean immigrant workers in Koreatown's restaurant and market industries;
- providing solidarity for garment workers campaigns for justice (e.g., Garment Workers Campaign for Justice Against Jessica McClintock, Thai-Latino Garment Workers Campaign for Retailer Accountability, and Garment Workers Campaign for Justice Against Forever 21);
- and working with several union organizing efforts involving either Korean immigrant workers or Korean corporations (e.g., Wilshire Plaza Hotel and Los Angeles Hilton campaigns).

In all its campaigns, KIWA emphasizes grassroots organizing, worker empowerment, and interethnic coalition-building.

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Overall, KIWA is a significant organization in Los Angeles due to the important role it has played in six areas:

- redefining race relations in this city,
- promoting immigrant workers as leaders in Koreatown, serving immigrant workers as a worker center,
- providing activist training for young Asian American activists,
- supporting campaigns for immigrant rights in this time of nativism and xenophobia, and
- serving as a progressive voice for Asian Americans in the arena of Los Angeles activist politics.

In this study guide, we briefly examine each of these contributions in order to provide a framework to use the Southern California Library's KIWA collection.

A. KIWA's Role in Redefining Race Relations in Los Angeles

Founded one month before the Los Angeles Riots/Uprising, KIWA quickly immersed itself in community organizing in the immediate aftermath of the four days and nights of civil unrest. The upheaval devastated the lives of many Korean immigrants. Across Los Angeles, more than 2,000 Korean immigrant small businesses were looted, burned, or destroyed. Of the total property damages in Los Angeles, more than 50 percent of these damages were sustained by Korean immigrants.

Most mainstream social scientists and public policy analysts attribute the severe losses suffered by Korean immigrants as due to racial conflict between Korean merchants in inner-city neighborhoods and Black customers. According to this analysis, the original rage against the acquittal of white policemen for the beating of Rodney King that precipitated the upheaval quickly transferred over to Korean merchants due to several highly publicized shootings involving Blacks and Koreans culminating from everyday tensions caused by cultural and language differences. Underlying the mainstream analysis is the belief that race relations in the post-Civil Rights era has shifted from Black-White conflict to interethnic and interracial conflict among minority groups due to the struggle for shrinking resources and economic opportunities.

However, scholars in Ethnic Studies and many community activists argue that the analysis of mainstream social scientists and public policy special-

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A largely untold story of the riots is its impact on immigrant workers—Korean and Latino—working in small businesses that were looted, burned, or destroyed

ists is incorrect because it omits larger historical, economic, and political factors connected to the 1992 Uprising/Riots. These scholars and activists—many of whom are Korean immigrants themselves—point to the long history of racial oppression in Los Angeles that is intricately related to the region's economics. They identify the area's corporate-driven economic restructuring during the late 1970s and early 1980s and the accompanying loss of high-paying industrial jobs once held by Blacks and Latinos as critical for understanding the poverty in the regions hardest hit by the unrest. They situate Korean immigrant merchants in inner-city neighborhoods as the latest in a long line of "outsider" merchants caused by racist practices of banks and insurance companies against Black small business ownership.

Scholars from Ethnic Studies also identify the ways that mass media highlighted tensions among Blacks, Latinos, and Koreans, shifting scrutiny away from the larger structural roots of economic restructuring. These scholars also point out how key city officials and the police chief—perhaps in reaction to public outcry against police for the Rodney King beating and the resulting calls for police reform—deployed the city's police force after the initial stages of the unrest away from the poorest areas of the city, setting up police lines to protect wealthy areas. In the resulting four days and nights of the riots, people from all racial and ethnic groups were among the dead and the victims of property loss. Among those arrested, Latinos—especially immigrants—accounted for the largest numbers. And in addition to the severe losses sustained by Korean immigrant merchants, other small business owners suffering property losses included Latinos, Chinese, Arab and other Middle Eastern immigrants, and Blacks.

Koreatown was one of the areas of Los Angeles most heavily devastated, and KIWA quickly initiated a campaign to gain relief funds for immigrant workers affected by the unrest. A largely untold story of the riots is its impact on immigrant workers—Korean and Latino—working in small businesses that were looted, burned, or destroyed. KIWA became involved in relief efforts when these immigrant workers were excluded from the relief campaign launched by Koreatown business groups and Korean community organizations. The relief campaign helped only Korean merchants, and its organizers collected donations from thousands of Korean Americans throughout the United States. KIWA aggressively advocated for the needs of immigrant workers.

Opposing KIWA were powerful business interests who wanted to restrict the fund to property owners only. Moreover, these businessmen, motivated both by nationalist sentiments and racism, refused to consider Latino workers for any type of relief. KIWA patiently organized a grass-roots campaign in support of immigrant worker relief, mobilizing support

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from Korean community groups and educating Korean Americans about the importance of addressing race relations through the relief campaign. Ultimately, KIWA's efforts were successful, and the relief campaign provided some compensation to immigrant workers.

In addition to addressing race relations within Koreatown, KIWA faced the challenge of educating fellow activists in the Los Angeles progressive movement about the impact of the riots on Korean immigrants. KIWA staff spoke at forums, attended conferences, and joined coalitions to dispel stereotypes about Koreans and to emphasize the importance of interethnic coalition-building. With the help of academics such as Miliann Kang, KIWA published *Bridge Toward Unity* in 1993. This publication provides KIWA's analysis of the 1992 uprising and its impact on the Korean community and puts forward KIWA's approach to interethnic coalition-building at the grassroots level.

B. KIWA's Role in Promoting Immigrant Workers as Leaders in Koreatown

In Koreatown—like most U.S. communities—when people are asked to identify community leaders, they name businessmen, politicians, heads of community groups, and professionals such as lawyers. Few identify immigrant workers as leaders in their communities. In Koreatown, until the founding of KIWA, immigrant workers—both Korean and Latino—were invisible in community politics. Immigrant workers were regarded as a cheap labor force to be exploited. They silently endured harsh and unsafe working conditions and often were cheated out of hard-earned wages.

Today, busboys, kitchen helpers, waitresses, warehouse workers, and grocery stockers have transformed into community leaders, and the voices of immigrant workers are a vibrant part of Koreatown politics. These immigrant workers developed their leadership skills through picketlines and other job actions at restaurants and markets and through testimonies at public hearings. Immigrant workers are fighting not only for rights in workplaces but also redefining race relations between Koreans and Latinos, challenging gender relations in traditional immigrant cultures, and reconfiguring power dynamics in Koreatown. The nurturing of these immigrant worker leaders is one of the most remarkable accomplishments of KIWA.

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Up until recently Asian immigrants were excluded from most unions due to racist exclusionary policies, so worker centers—and not unions—have been the main form of worker organizing

C. KIWA's Role in Serving Immigrant Workers as a Worker Center

Unions today usually refer to worker centers as “pre-union formations.” This viewpoint reflects the dominant perspective of the labor movement where unions are defined as the highest and most important formations. However, in the context of today’s post-industrial society where unions now represent a fraction of the workforce, activist Miriam Ching Louie has remarked that worker centers can be more accurately seen as “post-union formations.” Moreover, in the context of Asian American history, where up until recently Asian immigrants were excluded from most unions due to racist exclusionary policies, worker centers—and not unions—have been the main form of worker organizing. Typically, worker centers emphasize community-based labor organizing rather than workplace-based organizing. They bring together workers across industries. They also function as community organizations taking up issues beyond the confines of labor issues.

Historically, worker centers have grappled with the tension of organizing workers while not becoming independent unions. KIWA co-founders Roy Hong and Danny Park consciously defined KIWA as a worker center and not an independent union. They believed that following this path would allow them to work in partnership with unions while at the same time responding to the need in Koreatown for a labor organization advocating for the rights of immigrant workers. Hong and Park envisioned KIWA eventually becoming an immigrant worker membership organization spanning workplaces and industries within Koreatown.

However, accomplishing this vision has been challenging. Through its restaurant worker organizing, KIWA has been somewhat successful in forming the Restaurant Workers Association of Koreatown. The association, consisting of both Latino and Korean immigrants, emerged from KIWA’s painstaking organizing at the three hundred restaurants in Koreatown employing more than two thousand workers and grassroots actions initiated by workers, including picketing and a hunger strike, at more than two dozen establishments. However, the Koreatown restaurant industry is marked by frequent changes of ownership and a mobile workforce, making it difficult to maintain a membership organization.

KIWA’s other major organizing effort, focusing on the six major Korean-owned supermarkets in Koreatown employing more than a thousand workers, represented a shift in KIWA strategy. The organizing effort at Assi Market began as a campaign to forge an independent union but later reverted back into a campaign to uphold worker rights. The shifts in strat-

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egy in this organizing campaign—along with the challenges posed in the restaurant worker organizing campaign—illustrate the unique set of challenges facing worker centers.

For example, can a worker center effectively organize workers without becoming a union?

What is the difference between forming a workers' association and forming a union?

Why are independent unions difficult to create and sustain?

Compared to unions, what strengths do worker centers have?

In this period of labor organizing, how can worker centers and unions work effectively together?

D. KIWA's Role in Providing Activist Training for Young Asian Americans

A largely unknown story from the 1992 L.A. Uprising/Riots is the political mobilization by young Korean Americans for justice and peace in the weeks and months immediately following the upheaval. On college campuses in Los Angeles, Korean American students dedicated themselves to community service and volunteered to help immigrant small businesses devastated by the unrest. However, because many of these Korean Americans spoke mainly English, they were limited in their interactions with immigrants. One organization, however, opened its doors to these young activists, welcoming their commitment and helping them overcome their limited bilingual skills. This organization was KIWA.

KIWA's dedication to provide "a home" for young Korean American activists culminated in its decision to launch a Summer Activist Training (SAT) for college students in June 1993. This three-day intensive training was designed to acquaint young activists associated with KIWA to community organizing, especially with immigrant workers. The training provided was hands-on and related to KIWA's ongoing campaigns in Koreatown. In succeeding years, KIWA's student activist program attracted not only Korean Americans but other young Asian Americans. Within the Asian American

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community of Los Angeles, it served as the only activist training program for youth.

To respond to this growing need, KIWA decided to cosponsor the program with other progressive Asian American community groups. Currently, four other groups partner with KIWA in organizing SAT each summer: Nikkei for Civil Rights and Redress (NCRR), Pilipino Worker Center (PWC), Garment Worker Center (GWC), and Thai Community Development Center (Thai CDC). Many past participants of Summer Activist Training now serve in the ranks of community groups, unions, and other progressive formations.

E. KIWA's Role in Mobilizing Support for Immigrant Rights

Historically, the U.S. has gone through cycles of anti-immigrant agitation. Generally, these periods of nativism and xenophobia coincide with economic upheavals. For the last half of the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century, the targets of anti-immigrant agitation were Chinese and other Asian immigrants. In the last half of the twentieth century, anti-immigrant agitation shifted toward Latinos. Thus, anti-immigrant agitation in the U.S. during the past 150 years has been intricately related to racism and racial oppression. The current anti-immigrant agitation—linked to the passage of Proposition 187 in California in 1994—has a particular focus on undocumented immigrants, especially those from Latin America, but can only be understood in the historical context of attacks on the rights of all immigrants, both legal and undocumented.

Until fairly recently, the union movement in the U.S. has been linked to anti-immigrant agitation. In the late nineteenth century, union leaders associated with the Knights of Labor and AFL led campaigns to end Chinese immigration and expel all Chinese living in the U.S. These campaigns were motivated not only by economic concerns to protect jobs and wages of other Americans but by racism. For example, in the late nineteenth century, union leaders joined with racist politicians to call for an end to Chinese immigration by arguing that Chinese could never be assimilated into the U.S. and that the continued presence of Chinese laborers in America would degrade the well-being of American society. Today, similar

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arguments are used against Latino undocumented immigrants, although most unions are no longer associated with the most virulent forms of anti-immigrant agitation.

Historically, worker centers formed by immigrant activists have been at the forefront of both mobilizing support for immigrant rights and also educating unions about the importance of upholding rights of immigrant workers. In this sense, worker centers can be regarded as the pioneers for recognizing true labor solidarity through advocacy of immigrant worker rights and challenging unions to repudiate racism. Today, KIWA continues this important legacy.

F. KIWA's Role in Serving as a Progressive Voice for Asian Americans

Today in Los Angeles County, Asian Pacific Americans account for about 13 percent of the population. However, although the Asian Pacific population is larger than the African American population and Asian Pacific Americans have a long tradition of political activism, the stereotypes persist that Asian Pacific Americans are politically conservative, focused on money-making, and shun community activism. Community groups like KIWA counteract these prevailing stereotypes.

From the beginning, KIWA co-founders Roy Hong and Danny Park envisioned KIWA as filling a void in the Korean community by mobilizing immigrant workers as a counter-voice to dominant business interests. Through its important worker organizing campaigns and its participation in numerous coalitions of organizations in Los Angeles, KIWA has emerged as not only a progressive voice in Koreatown but within all Asian Pacific communities. KIWA's Summer Activist Training has nurtured the activism of hundreds of Asian American students, and past participants now are leaders in community groups. KIWA has also provided support for the formation of several important community groups, such as the Thai Community Development Center (Thai CDC), Garment Worker Center, and Multi-ethnic Immigrant Workers Organizing Network (MIWON). It has also provided solidarity and resources for South Asian Network (SAN) and its taxi drivers organizing campaign at Los Angeles International Airport.

KIWA fills a void in the Korean community by mobilizing immigrant workers as a counter-voice to dominant business interests

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Conclusion

Like all activist formations, KIWA has grappled—both successfully and unsuccessfully—with numerous challenges in political organizing. These challenges include:

- upholding gender equity in the context of working within a patriarchal Korean community and an equally patriarchal American society;
- defining the mission of an immigrant worker center without either becoming an appendage to powerful unions or becoming an independent union;
- advancing the leadership vision of low-income immigrant workers in a society that devalues immigrants and workers;
- linking local community campaigns with struggles against globalization and international support work, especially in Korea's democratic movement;
- connecting labor issues in Koreatown to other issues relating to social justice for immigrants, such as housing and community economic development; and
- discovering a path for leadership transition in a progressive organization from immigrant founders to American-born youth.

There are, of course, no easy answers to these challenges because they are embedded in the mission social and personal change that is at the heart of all activism and political organizing. However, the experiences of KIWA provide rich lessons for all activists.

Part II. Lesson Plans

A. Lesson Plans for Very Young Children (Grades K–3)

Teachers and community activists working with very young children can use materials in the KIWA archive to teach about the importance of teamwork and sharing. Very young children like to be told stories, and they like to draw. Very young children also like stories about animals—something consumer psychologists are very familiar with. The following lesson plans are based on these interests.

Materials Needed:

- From the KIWA archive, make copies of the children's coloring book *The Assi Tree*. For an online version of the storyline and some images from the comic book, see the following website:
www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc/classweb/winter04/aas116/
- Crayons

Suggested Procedure:

- Lead a short discussion with the children about the importance of teamwork and sharing. Ask them to give examples from their own lives.
- Tell the children you will read a story to them about squirrels and pigeons and how the two groups learned to work together. Tell them this story is about the importance of teamwork and sharing. Let them know that after you read the story, the children will be able to use crayons to make a coloring book of the story.
- Read to the children the story of *The Assi Tree*. Ask the children about how the story illustrates the important concepts of teamwork and sharing.
- Distribute copies of *The Assi Tree* and let the children add their own colors to the drawings.

Variations

Instead of having each child work on an individual coloring book, give out different pages of the coloring book to the group of children. When they finish coloring their pages, put the finished pages on a wall to recreate the story of "The Assi Tree." Then re-read aloud the story highlighting each child's contributed drawing.

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B. Lesson Plans for Children (Grades 4–6)

The lesson plan on *The Assi Tree* can also be used for older children, but the lesson plan can be expanded to include the importance of cultural diversity and the importance of different ethnic groups in a community working together.

Suggested Procedure:

After reading *The Assi Tree* to the children, lead a short discussion not only about teamwork and sharing but also about the importance of different groups working together. Ask what prevented the squirrels and pigeons to join together in the beginning of the story. By the end of the story, how and why did the pigeons and squirrels join together? Ask the children if they see any similarities between what happened in the story and their own neighborhood. Do they often see people of different racial and ethnic groups join together? What keeps different groups of people separated? From the story, how can different groups of people join together?

For additional ideas for educating and mobilizing children around campaigns for social justice, see the article by Tony Osumi, "Teamwork and People Power: Liberatory Teaching in the Elementary Classroom," *Amerasia Journal* 29:2 (2003) — also available online:

<http://www.kuidaosumi.com/TOWriting/amerasia-teaching.html>

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C. Lesson Plans for Teenagers (Middle School and High School)

In many schools in Los Angeles—especially in low-income neighborhoods—teenagers separate themselves by race and ethnic group. Even in schools where there is one main racial and ethnic group (e.g., heavily Latino schools), it is common for teenagers to separate into cliques (American-born vs. recent immigrants) and for each group to stereotype the other. Materials from the KIWA archive can be used by teachers and community organizers to help teenagers learn how to overcome ethnic and racial stereotypes and understand why unity between different groups of people can achieve important results.

Suggested Procedure:

- Have the students do a quick investigation of social interactions and social groupings at their school. Ask whether most students clump together with others from their same racial or ethnic group or with people from different groups.

At lunchtime, are there certain places on campus where different racial and ethnic groups hang out?

In certain clubs and activities, are there mainly students from one ethnic or racial group?

Ask the students to create a list of reasons why this kind of separation exists at their school.

- Introduce a discussion on stereotypes and the dangers of young people stereotyping others based on race and ethnicity. Ask how the separation of students on the campus affects racial stereotypes.

Specifically, does the separation lessen or increase stereotypes?

Why?

How would their campus be different if students did not separate themselves?

- Introduce KIWA and talk briefly about its work uniting Korean and Latino immigrant workers in Korean restaurants and their efforts to gain rights and justice.

Ask the students to identify some of the problems facing immigrant workers in a restaurant.

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Ask the students why they think it would be difficult for Korean and Latino workers separately to fight for better wages and better working conditions.

Ask the students to identify things making it difficult for Korean and Latino immigrants to unite.

Ask them whether the two groups would have stereotypes of each other. Ask the students what they think the two groups of immigrant workers would need to do in order to unite.

- Have students download and read one of the following three comic books about the campaign for justice by Latino and Korean restaurant workers in Koreatown.

In the comic books, why is it important for Korean and Latino immigrants to join together to gain rights and justice?

- *The Amazing Adventures of KIWA — Starring Mrs. Lee*
- *K-Town Kimbap* (versions in English and Korean languages)
www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc/classweb/winter07/m116/comic.html
- *Work Shouldn't Hurt, You Come First*—a trilingual health and safety comic book for Koreatown restaurant workers (in English, Spanish, and Korean)
www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc/classweb/winter06/aas119/classprojects.html

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D. Lesson Plans for College Students and Adults

For college students and adults, materials in the KIWA archive can be used to explore questions relating to the challenges of organizing multiethnic alliances, upholding immigrant worker rights, nurturing leadership in immigrant workers, developing worker centers for immigrant workers, and fostering activism in communities, especially among youth.

The following are suggested discussion questions around each of these important topics.

Organizing interethnic alliances:

- For activists who work in multiethnic communities, what are the main challenges of creating multiethnic communities?
- How is KIWA's grassroots approach that focuses on empowering low-income workers different from the approach of larger community groups that emphasize a more traditional top-down approach?

Upholding immigrant worker rights:

- How is the struggle to gain and protect immigrant worker rights related to the overall struggle for upholding rights of all workers?
- How is it related to the struggle to expand immigrant rights?

Nurturing immigrant worker leadership:

- How did bus boys, waitresses, and market workers in Koreatown transform into community leaders?
- How have immigrant workers in Koreatown redefined race relations between Latinos and Koreans?
- How have immigrant workers challenged traditional notions of patriarchy in Korean and Latino communities?
- How have the campaigns of immigrant workers and KIWA moved beyond issues in the workplace to embrace larger community issues, including issues of community economic development and globalization?

Developing worker centers for immigrant workers:

- In this period of worker organizing, are worker centers best defined as "pre-union" or "post-union"?
- Why?
- What strengths do worker centers have in immigrant communities that unions do not have?

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- What limitations do worker centers have compared to unions?

What is community-based labor organizing?

- In the beginning, how did KIWA reach out to immigrant workers in Koreatown?
- What is the difference between a worker center and an independent union?
- Why at the initial stages of the market workers organizing campaign at Assi Market did KIWA decide to form an independent union?
- Why did it later move away from this strategy and return to its founding mission as a worker center?
- In this period of labor organizing, how can worker centers and unions effectively work together?

Fostering activism in communities, especially among youth:

- Through its Summer Activist Training project, how does KIWA promote activism in Koreatown, especially among youth?
- How does KIWA define the relationship between immigrant workers and activists who are not workers?
- What can activist youth learn from immigrant workers?
- How can activist youth serve immigrant workers?

Part III. Resources for Further Study

KIWA website

- www.kiwa.org

Articles online about KIWA

- "In Koreatown, Los Angeles Workers Center Fights for Immigrant Worker Rights," by Cindy Cho, *Labor Notes* (October 2003)
<http://labornotes.org/node/743>
- KIWA, Wikipedia
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Korean_Immigrant_Workers_Advocates

Other articles and books about KIWA

- Namju Cho, "Check Out, Not In: Koreana Wilshire/Hyatt Takeover and the Los Angeles Korean Community," *Amerasia Journal* 18:1 (1992).
- Angie Y. Chung, *Legacies of Struggle: Conflict and Cooperation in Korean American Politics* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007)
- Jack Doherty, "Activists Train to Aid Korean Workers," *Los Angeles Times* (July 4, 1993)
- Daisy Ha, "An Analysis and Critique of KIWA's Reform Efforts in the Los Angeles Korean American Restaurant Industry," *Asian Law Journal* 8:1 (May 2001)
- June Hibino and Janice Murabayashi, "Possibilities for a Janitorial Cooperative: Discussion paper for KIWA," M.A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1994
- Peter Y. Hong, "Working for Less." *Los Angeles Times* (May 7, 1995)
- Hoon Lee, "Displaced and Demanding Justice," *Third Force* September/October 1994
- John Lee, "Real Good Food at a Price," *Gidra* (Spring 1999)
- Tram Nguyen, "Showdown in K-town," *ColorLines* (Spring 2001)
- Glenn Omatsu, "Asian Pacific American Workers and the Expansion of Democracy," *Amerasia Journal* 18:1 (1992)
- Glenn Omatsu, "Labor Organizing in Los Angeles: Confronting the Boundaries of Race and Ethnicity," in Eui-Young Yu and Edward Chang, eds., *Multiethnic Coalition Building in Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Institute for Asian American and Pacific American Studies, California State University, Los Angeles, 1995)

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- Edward J.W. Park, "Competing Visions: Political Formation of Korean Americans in Los Angeles," *Amerasia Journal* 24:1 (1998)
- Edward J.W. Park, "Labor Organizing Beyond Race and Nation: The Los Angeles Hilton Case," *International Journal of Sociology and Social Research*, Volume 24:7/8
- Gina Thornburg, "Koreatown's Workers Find a Voice," *The Progressive* (July 1998)
- Asian Pacific Islander Labor Organizing Bibliography: Historical Struggles, 1840s-1960s: www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc/classweb/winter02/aas197a/apapart1.html
- Asian Pacific Islander Labor Organizing Bibliography: Contemporary Struggles from the 1960s: www.sscnet.ucla.edu/aasc/classweb/winter02/aas197a/apapart2.html

Documentaries and videos featuring KIWA

- *Grassroots Rising: Asian Immigrant Workers in Los Angeles*, directed by Robert Winn and produced by Visual Communications
www.vconline.org/grassroots/index.html

Worker Centers: articles and books

- Tiffany Ten Eyck, "Worker Centers Increasingly Are Forming Alliances with Union," *Labor Notes* (January 2007):
<http://labornotes.org/node/474>
- Janice Fine, "Non-Union, Low-Wage Workers Are Finding a Voice as Immigrant Worker Centers Grow," *Labor Notes* (August 2003)
<http://labornotes.org/node/735>
- Mary Hollens, "Workers Center: Organizing in Both the Workplace and Community," *Labor Notes* (September 1994)
- Miriam Yoon Ching Louie, *Sweatshop Warriors: Immigrant Women Workers Take On the Global Factory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: South End Press, 2001)
- N. Reuka Uthappa, "First National Meeting of Worker Centers Discuss Strategies, Visions," *Labor Notes* (October 2003)
<http://labornotes.org/node/745>

