

Photo Essay Koreatown, Los Angeles

Do Khym

Geography 167

Professor Negrín

Prologue

From Ashes to Ashes, then Rising Again



Half-gate and traditional lanterns mark the entrance to Koreatown on Olympic Blvd near Vermont Avenue. There is another set on Olympic and Western. This was my suggestion to Los Angeles Korean Chamber of Commerce back in 2000. My original idea was a full gate that may have cost too much money or may have simply not cleared the city codes.

(all photos taken by Do Khym, unless otherwise noted)

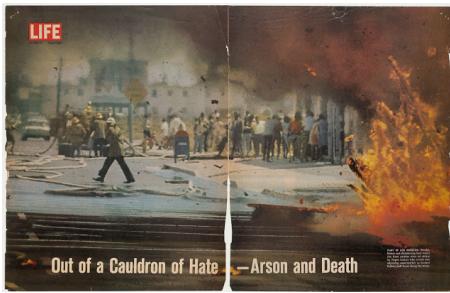


Hung Sa Dan and Ahn Chang Ho House on Bunker Hill



Although the first Koreatown in the U.S. may have been in Riverside's Pachappa Camp, the actual Koreatown in Los Angeles proper was in Bunker Hill area. The picture is of 1915, showing the house of leader for both places, Ahn, Chang Ho (Photo: Hung Sa Dan and Ahn Chang Ho House on Bunker Hill).

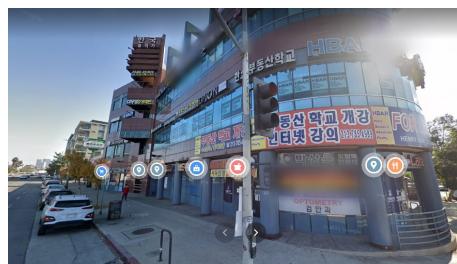
The notion of traditional Koreatown for the media and Angeleno old-timers and actual expanse of Korean businesses and residences exceed the boundary set by Los Angeles City Council. This is the most accurate map of the community (Photo: Los Angeles Times, Mapping L.A.).



A scene from Watts Riots, 1965 (Kale).

A scene from L. A. Riots, 1992 – Vermont and 3rd (Kore Limited).

Olympic Market, on 3122 Olympic at the intersection of Harvard, owned by Hi Duk Lee was the birthplace of current Koreatown. (Photo credit: Kore Limited).



Hankook Plaza occupies the same space today at 3130 Olympic. (Photo credit: Google Maps).

From Ashes to Ashes: Present day Koreatown was born in the aftermath of Watts Riots of 1965. With the completion of freeway system juxtaposed with White middle-class exodus due to the riots left a big vacuum in Mid-Wilshire area. The push factor conditions for the Whites that drove rent down served as pull factors for Koreans. 27 years later, Koreatown itself would burn along with many Korean businesses in South-Central L.A.



Mercado Benito Juarez on 8th and Normandie. This market aptly reflects the demographic makeup of Koreatown's Oaxacan population. Benito Juarez, a Zapotec, helped overthrow the Santa Ana regime and Emperor Maximillian's empire. A poor orphan himself, Juarez served five terms and instituted La Reforma del Norte during which time large tracts of church land was distributed to the poor, church was separated from state, and civil rights were expanded. After his death, Mexico returned to centralized autocracy of Porfirio Diaz ("Benito Juarez").



Hannam Korean Market on Olympic between New Hampshire and Berendo. When I was a resident in the 90's, Koreatown had four big Korean supermarkets, HK, California, Plaza, and Hannam. Now the town has added Zion, Galleria Vermont, Galleria Western, H Mart Madang Plaza, H Mart Koreatown Plaza, H Mart City Center, and Chapman Plaza. Known for good produce and meats, Korean markets cater to non-Korean clientele as well.



Guatimalteca Market at the intersection of Pico and Normandie.



Zion Market on Vermont and James M. Wood.

Markets reflect the demographic makeup of Koreatown: it is 52% Hispanic, 33% Asian, 9% White, and 4% Black. Per capita income at \$24,116 is 3/5 of California average of \$39,393 and 22.2% poverty level is double that of the state. 81.4% speak language other than English at home (Census Reporter). Foreign born is 61% of the population, with Koreans making up 30.5%, Mexicans 22.0%, Salvadorans 12.5%, and Guatemalans 12.1% of the total population (National Origin in Koreatown, Los Angeles, California (Neighborhood)).



A new building near Olympic and Berendo.



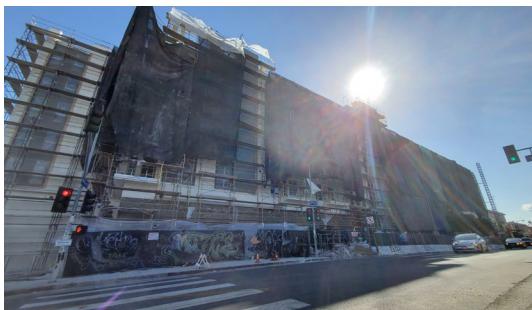
A new development on Olympic near Serrano.



A new development near Olympic and Hobart.



A new building near Olympic and Irolo.



A new development near 2825 W 7th St.

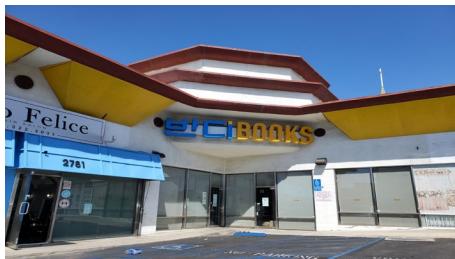


A new development near 8th and Oxford.

Openings and Gentrification: the most densely populated neighborhood in Los Angeles County is becoming more crowded. In January of 2017, 30 new buildings, most of them 10-30 stories high were proposed. Close to three major freeways (10, 101, and 110) and served by Red Line and Purple Line, Koreatown is undergoing building boom. Median income being lower than Boyle Heights threatens displacement of the poor (Aron).



IB Plaza located on Western between 8th and James M Wood had many businesses catering to Korean clientele before it closed its doors.



Olympic and Berendo.



Denny's Restaurant on Vermont and Wilshire was the restaurant of choice for many family's weekend brunches and late-night snacks/coffee in the area.



Vandalized Koreadaily vending machine by Olympic and Ardmore. Koreadaily is tied to Korea's Joongang Ilbo.



This restaurant at Olympic and Kenmore had one of the best monkfish stew in town.

Closings and Degradation

3223 W 4th St3165 W 6th St

Da Wool Jung, meaning “harmonious gathering place” is on Normandie just north of Olympic. Planned and paid in part by the Los Angeles Korean Chamber of Commerce, it took six years from the board to completion. Craftsmen from Korea were flown in to construct the building (“Korean Gazebo: Dawooljung”) (Academy of Korean Studies). When I visited the place at the end of March, the pagoda that remained closed for a year due to COVID, was inhabited by an elderly Korean gentleman.

Homelessness:

Koreatown, with just 2.7 square miles, is home to 600 homeless people - a high rate for Los Angeles that counts 27,200 unhoused residents. When residents rose to protest the city’s plan to build a temporary shelter in Koreatown without going through the process of hearing, grassroots group “Koreatown for All” sprang into action in support of the homeless. Protests from the locals forced the shelter to be built half a mile away (Yearwood).



The city's oldest Jewish B'nai B'rith congregation since 1862 (History - Wilshire Boulevard Temple), this temple was built in 1929 at then western edge of Los Angeles (3663 Wilshire Blvd) with the support of film industry's titans Thalberg, Laemle, Mayer, and Warner (Baum). Besides one isolated time when Jewish clergy met with some Korean residents (Kadosh), there's not much interaction between the church and the community. "I hate your race" grafitti along with a Nazi symbol was sprayed on the building in January 2021 (Gomez).



Immanuel Presbyterian Church completed in 1928, served the congregation dating back to 1888. Today it serves the local Latinx, Filipino, Korean, and Ethiopian communities ("Immanuel Presbyterian Church | Los Angeles Conservancy").



I frequented this church in the 90's when it was Korean Philadelphia Presbyterian Church. Now it is another Korean church but as the façade states, this Romanesque style building erected in 1926 housed the oldest conservative Jewish synagogue. Located at 407 S. New Hampshire Avenue, it is a by-product of Los Angeles Jewish population's westward migration. Temple Sinai moved to a new location in Westwood in 1961 and was sold a decade later (*Korean Philadelphia Presbyterian Church | Los Angeles Conservancy*).



St. Basil Catholic Church was originally built in 1920 and rebuilt in 1969 to replace the building damaged by 1943 fire. The dedication was met with Chicanx protests calling for social engagement. Today, masses are offered in three languages: English, Korean, and Spanish ("St. Basil Catholic Church | Los Angeles Conservancy").

Churches: Christian churches provided crucial support - social interaction, community services, and financial aid. About 700 churches are in Los Angeles and 70 percent of Koreans claim to be members of a congregation (Kim), just like the bailes and support system of Yalaltecos (Cruz-Manjarrez).



Guelaguetza, which translates as “to receive and to give” is a big annual festival in Oaxaca. In a place where there are many children of Oaxacan immigrants who don’t know about their heritage and amidst the sea of non-Mexican businesses, the owners of La Guelaguetza wanted to make a statement that they are there. In keeping with the notion of “sharing”, a girl is holding an ear of corn while a boy is holding a chicken. The girl is also wearing a mask, a clear indication of solidarity to the resistance by Oaxacan and Chiapas’ campesinos. Two artists from the LaPiztola collective from Oaxaca, whose art is often banned by the government, was invited to paint the mural in 2013. In a place that media is controlled by the government, street art many times is the only avenue of expression. The corn is also an expression of resisting outside influence. Oaxacan farmers have been resisting genetically modified corn (Artsy). Heavily subsidized U.S. corn and other staples poured into Mexico thanks to NAFTA, 2 million farmers lost their jobs (Carlsen). Ironically, corn was domesticated and improved from teosinte some 9,000 years ago by Mexicans (“Corn”).



Photo credit (Kim, K. Los Angeles's Koreatown) VIP Palace was built in 1975 by Hi Duk Lee who brought not only the same blue tiles that’s on Korean presidential palace (Meares) but also dancheong (traditional coloring on wooden buildings) experts from Korea (Koreadaily). “Youngbinkwan” [VIP Palace] was built on 3122 W. Olympic Boulevard in 1971. In 1975, Lee built a mini-mall to house several Korean businesses, now called VIP plaza. His restaurant, with a Korean pagoda-style roof ,is now a Zapotec restaurant, *La Guelaguetza*, (Park and Kim).



Mask worn by this man has different meanings from the mask the Oaxacan girl is wearing.



I found this old sign that says “New Palace Buffet” in the back of the restaurant.

La Guelaguetza Restaurante: is the epitome of what immigrant community across the U.S. has shown historically – the fluid, migrating nature of neighborhoods. Just like Little Italy in New York that is no longer inhabited by Italians, Koreatown’s demographics has changed and will change. Before new developments topple old buildings, the new residents will make the best use of the buildings.



Kim Bang Ah, meaning Kim miller, was started by Myung Han Kim on Western, back in 1969 and moved to this location on Olympic and Irolo in 1973, to the south of Seoul International Park. A Korean owned investment firm bought the building in order to build a 7 story, 18-unit low-income housing through the city's Transit Oriented Communities (TOC) Incentive Program ("Kim Bang Ah Sold...A Town Legend for 40 Years 김방앗간 건물 팔렸다...40 여년간 한인타운 명물") ("Transit Oriented Communities Incentive Program | Los Angeles City Planning"). The old Kim had invented a kind of milling machine and ran a grain milling operation in Korea before he came to the U.S. The business boomed for decades as demand for rice powder and rice cakes grew as Koreatown grew ever bigger. A native of Korea's north, Kim had served the Korean community with a scholarship program that ran for years. Kim's grandson was running the shop when it was sold amid new competitions and lack of business (Kim, D).



Olympic and Kenmore.



Ardmore and 11th.



La Guelaguetza
on Olympic and
Irolo.

Graffiti:

Where do you draw the line between freedom of expression and vandalism? What is one's freedom if it infringes upon someone else's right to have clean, graffiti free walls?



Photo credit: Daily Sports Seoul USA

Western Department Store on Western and James M Wood was a town favorite for 33 years for Koreans wanting to buy merchandise from Korea, especially ladies' apparel. Well, before more sophisticated Korean clothing shops popped up in nicer, newer malls. This department

store has everything from traditional Korean garments to colorful socks and underwear freshly imported from Korea. Lately, townspeople have complained that the place is a pricy indoor swap meet. This art deco style market that emulates Seoul's Dongdaemun Market has a unique story to tell in these troubling COVID times: the owner of the business, Kenneth Lee, charged either half or no rent for the whole year from his 46 tenants. He believes in "co-existence" where if there are no tenants, then there would be no market (Lee) ("Sale, Thirty-three Year Tradition '33 년 전통의 세일이 왔어요'"). This concept of co-existence makes me to ponder on the subject of Central American migration attempts to the U.S. Granted that there would be criminals in the mix just like some president insisted, the vast majority of those trying to make it to this country are fleeing devastating conditions in their native El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. Many of them deserve refugee protection. Migrations throughout history undeniably had deteriorating economic conditions as their impetus. Some Central American farmers are even feeling the effects of climate change as some crops are not producing with higher temperature and drought conditions. Drug and gang violence has become an part of everyday life in these countries. They are not trying to come to the U.S. because it is a fashionable, trendy thing but because they have no other viable way for a dignified existence. Then, I believe unless something happens to make the economic conditions in Central America better so that the people can lead a life, migration attempts will not cease. U.S. has made the Mexican government proxy in the war against migrants, forcing the latter's police and immigration agency to function as a subsidiary in stopping the migration. Lately, that proxy role has been gone to the Guatemalan government as well. In January 2021 Guatemalan officials blocked a caravan of 7,000 people, composed mostly of Hondurans (BBC News).

Changing Times, Challenging Times



Young Oak Kim Academy, located at 615 Shatto Place, is the only school in LAUSD to practice single gender small learning communities. It is one of three to bear the name of a Korean American. Young Oak Kim was not only the first Asian American to lead as a colonel in a combat, but also founded the Korean Health, Education, Information and Research Center, the Korean American Coalition, the Korean American Museum, the Korean Youth and Cultural Center, and the Center for Pacific American Families (I personally had benefited from and had ties with every single one of them. I co-sponsored a national level essay contest about Col. Kim). As he fought alongside Japanese Americans in the 100th Battalion (Go for Broke) during WWII, he helped to found Japanese American National Museum. I think Kim's attitude towards his parents' country Korea - although he was first and foremost an American, he volunteered to fight in the Korean War ("Young Oak Kim"), is mirrored by the young kids' generation of immigrant parents in Koreatown - whose majority, 71% of children aged 5-17, speak Spanish at home (Census Reporter).



Located where Koreatown meets the agglomeration of Salvadoreños at 2670 W 11th St, Monseñor Oscar Romero Charter School educates grades 6-8 of the community. Archbishop Romero spoke out against social injustice and violence under dictatorship in El Salvador and was shot (Lovett). UN commission concluded that right wing party's Roberto D'Aubuisson had ordered the killing (Wikipedia Contributors). "Romero's focus on church's "preferential option for the poor" principle and his call for an end" of the regime's oppression of the poor was viewed well by adepts of Liberation Theology (The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica), a concept often mentioned by Profesora Negrín (Negrín). Were he alive now and in Los Angeles, he would condemn injustices committed against the poor undocumented migrants – those that have no ally nor spokesperson. The archbishop would have been a strong advocate of counter narratives for those undocumented and poor in Koreatown that otherwise have no voice. Unfortunately, the undocumented, who inevitably are poorer than citizens and permanent residents, have little counter narratives (De Leon) (Census Reporter).



Built on the grounds of former Ambassador Hotel, Robert F. Kennedy Community Schools honor the politician who fought for social justice. He was shot to death at the hotel in 1968 when he was campaigning for the presidency of the United States. Sitting on 24 acres that the hotel occupied, six schools serve K-12 students of Koreatown. The legendary Cocoanut Grove became a 582-seat theater for all six schools while the Embassy Ballroom was rebuilt as the library (*Robert F. Kennedy Community Schools*). Before it was demolished in 2006, the hotel hosted Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev in 1959 and hosted six Academy Awards ceremonies. Here Vivien Leigh got her Oscar for "Gone with the Wind" in 1940 (Loc).



New Covenant Academy at Shatto Place and 6th St, began educating under Christian principles in 1999. Today students K-12 number 170 (*New Covenant Academy*).

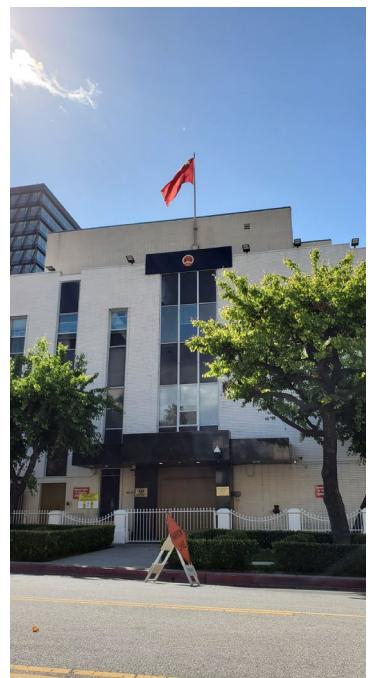
Schools



Consulate of Korea, Wilshire and New Hampshire.



Consulate of Indonesia, 3457 Wilshire.



Consulate of China, 443 Shatto Place.



The consulate of Mexico is by MacArthur Park, less than a mile away from Koreatown.

Consulates: besides the value of Wilshire Blvd. being in close proximity to government buildings, consulates from various countries reflect strategic placement near the population clusters of each countrymen. Koreatown is served by consulates of Korea, The Philippines, Ecuador, El Salvador, Peru, Nicaragua, Bolivia, Honduras, Paraguay, Indonesia, Myanmar, Taiwan, China, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, and Kenya.



For all current and future Dreamers and also dreamers of Koreatown.

Koreatown is a unique affirmation of “Koreanness” in the U.S., more unique in that Koreans don’t constitute the majority, but it is a place that makes statements for otherwise voiceless immigrants. Los Angeles County has more Koreans than anywhere in the US, with the biggest concentration being in Koreatown (Census Demographics and Citizenship”), but “Koreatown is surrounded by Salvadorans and Mexicans” (Laboy), meaning Koreatown is a multi-racial, multi-class community whose residents deal with enduring poverty in the shadow of wealth, rising housing costs, and growing low-wage jobs that are straining immigrant Korean and Latino residents.

According to my correspondence with City of Los Angeles Planning Department, there’s no set boundaries for Koreatown except what the City Council action ratified on August 23, 2010 that roughly identified Olympic Boulevard on the south, Vermont Avenue on the east, Third Street on the north, and Western Avenue on the west (“Koreatown / Community Naming and Renaming Application”). The boundary set by Los Angeles Times’ Mapping L.A. defining Koreatown’s four extremes as Beverly to the north, Olympic to the south, Crenshaw to the west, and Virgil to the east (L.A. Times) is more in tune with what people in and out of Koreatown traditionally viewed as its boundaries. In 2009, when Koreans finally realized that no Koreatown was defined by the city administration and set out to have an official delineation, not only Koreatown got reduced in all four directions but an area on 3rd Street was newly cut out as Little Bangladesh (Macias).

Koreatown had a population of 114,832 in 2019, in an area 2.9 sq. miles for a population density of 39,905.3 people per square mile (Census Reporter). It is the most densely populated in L.A. County and one of the highest in the U.S. (“The Demographic Statistical Atlas of the United States - Statistical Atlas”). In 2000, 78,221 (68.0%) residents were foreign born, with

Korea (28.6%) and Mexico (23.9%) being the most common foreign places of birth (L.A. Times). 81.4% speak languages other than English at home (Census Reporter). Although Mexicans are the biggest Latinx group, Salvadorans (13%) and Guatemalans (12%) started coming to the area in the 80s, fleeing wars in their respective countries (Sanchez).

The fact that both Koreans and Hispanics are majority immigrants may explain why the two groups can live alongside each other, better than with a combination of other ethnic groups, such as Korean and Black. Common status as immigrants reduces feelings of social distance between the two groups, a condition that Blacks and other immigrants don't share (Yoon). Cheng and Espiritu also concluded that "immigrant hypothesis," high percentage of Koreans and Latinos being immigrants explain why racial antagonism between the two racial groups is mildest (Cheng and Espiritu).

The number of Koreans remained small until the Immigration Act of 1965 that lifted national quotas, going from 11,200 in 1960 to 1.1 million in 2013 ("Koreatown / Community Naming and Renaming Application"). Although other settlements in Hawaii and Pachappa Camp in Riverside, CA may be older, the first Koreatown in L. A. proper was in Bunker Hill area where about 300 Koreans made it their home, until 1930 when they moved to West Adams near Jefferson Blvd. Due to racially restrictive covenants in effect until 1948, Koreans lived there alongside other minorities (Meares). Then Watts riots of 1965 juxtaposed with the completion of expansive freeway system in Los Angeles worked as push factors that prompted White middle-class residents of Mid-Wilshire – which is today's Koreatown - to move out and spread into the suburbs (Kim, K.) (Loc). The vacuum created by that exodus led to an economic depression and brought in low rents that attracted Koreans (Loc), who by the late 70s would operate the majority of businesses on Olympic Blvd and 8th Street, Western Avenue, and Vermont Avenue (Park and

Kim). Many say that Koreatown began with the opening of Olympic Market in 1968 by Hi Duk Lee who also built VIP Palace that later became Guelaguetza Restaurante (Koreadaily).

The statement that Guelaguetza makes through its mural and musical presentations is an affirmation of new space by invoking Oaxacan heritage in the sea of Korean signage and is somewhat of an act of reterritorialization (Negrín Feb. 27, 2021). This same concept applies to Koreans of nearby towns and even neighboring states – Koreatown is not only a simple point of reference where you occasionally go have barbecue along with cold noodles but also an emotional mecca, a place where Korean Americans consider as their mental hometown. All immigrants have been displaced of and from their original hometown and having a Guelaguetza or other Korean restaurant has more than simple economic implications but far greater cultural engagement on the part of the people who identify with them. These spaces are occupied by trilingual speakers (Marshall). In addition to 75% of Korean businesses in L. A. employing at least one Hispanic person in 1997 it was estimated that 20,000 Koreans that came to L. A. via South America speak Spanish (Laboy). Mexicans populate Korean restaurants and Koreans serve barbecue beef in a taco (Steinhauer).

Koreatown has many undocumented immigrants. So much that the residents themselves formed a grassroots organization called The Koreatown Rapid Response Network in order to protect the vulnerable community members from ICE (Institute for Public Affairs). Pew Research Center's 2017 estimate puts the undocumented at 10.5 million - with 4.95 million Mexicans, 1.9 million Central Americans, and 1.5 million Asians (Kamarck and Stenglein). Koreans number 186,415 (Wong) who according to Alexandra Suh of Koreatown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA) – which advocates for Koreans and Hispanics living in the community – live in silent fear (Hayoun). Undocumented families in Los Angeles struggle to

make a living with about half the income made by native families - \$26,300 to \$50,300 (Fortuny et al.), Koreatown Popular Assembly volunteers work hard to alert the residents of ICE raids and to keep it out of Koreatown (Davis) (Targonski-O'Brien).

Ethnic groups in Koreatown show solidarity as in Occupy LA and protests against fair wages at Assi market, as well as for urban green space ("Koreatown: A Contested Community at a Crossroads"). Koreans and Latinos also joined their forces during demonstrations for immigration reform of 2006 and in efforts to bar ice from coming into the community ("Community Activists in Koreatown Fight to Keep ICE out of Their Neighborhoods"). KIWA which is a Korean organization, helps more Latinx than Koreans as they achieved living wages for restaurant workers and market workers who are mostly Latinx (Chavez) and in the process have produced strong counter narratives for undocumented immigrants.

Koreatown is where different ethnicities learn to live alongside each other as neighbors, but it is a heterogeneous rather than homogeneous space where interethnic identities are forged through interactions (Lee and Park). Rather than a fusion of cultures, people have found a happy medium as a collective group of hybrid units and have forged a distinct identity as "Koreatowners". Telles said that the idea of race "is an important social construct" (Negrín Feb.2, 2021) and people of Koreatown, as diversely clumped as they are, would have found a common ground as immigrants.

Works Cited

- Academy of Korean Studies. “세계한민족문화대전.” *Encyclopedia of Overseas Korean Culture*, 2018,
www.okpedia.kr/Contents/ContentsView?contentsId=GC95100094&localCode=naw&menuGbn=category&searchCnd=%EC%A7%80%EB%AA%85%2F%EC%8B%9C%EC%84%A4&parentName=%EC%A7%80%EB%AA%85&categoryName=%EC%9C%A0%ED%98%95.
- Ambassador*, Los Angeles School District, 2012, rfkschools-lausd-ca.schoolloop.com/.
- Aron, Hillel. “Koreatown Is About to Get Even More Crowded.” *LA Weekly*, 22 May 2019,
www.laweekly.com/koreatown-is-about-to-get-even-more-crowded/.
- Artsy, Avishay. “Oaxacan Street Artists Bring Mexican Muralism to Los Angeles.” *KCRW*,
 KCRW, 13 Mar. 2013, www.kcrw.com/culture/articles/oaxacan-street-artists-bring-mexican-muralism-to-los-angeles.
- Baum, Gary. “Hollywood's Hottest \$150 Million Project Is an 83-Year-Old Synagogue.” *The Hollywood Reporter*, The Hollywood Reporter, 30 May 2012,
www.hollywoodreporter.com/movies/movie-news/hollywood-jewish-wilshire-boulevard-temple-renovation-150-million-330471/.
- BBC News. “Migrant Caravan: Guatemala Blocks Thousands Bound for US.” *BBC News*, BBC, 18 Jan. 2021, www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-55699540.
- “Benito Juárez.” *Biography.com*, A&E Networks Television, 5 Mar. 2020,
www.biography.com/political-figure/benito-juarez.
- Carlsen, Laura. “What We've Learned From Nafta.” *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 24 Nov. 2013, www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2013/11/24/what-weve-learned-from-nafta/under-nafta-mexico-suffered-and-the-united-states-felt-its-pain.

- “Census Demographics and Citizenship.” *Korean American Coalition*, Korean American Coalition, 2020, www kacla org/census-demographics-and-citizenship.html.
- Census Reporter. “Census Profile: Los Angeles County (Central)--LA City (Central/Koreatown) PUMA, CA.” *Census Reporter*, 2019, censusreporter.org/profiles/79500US0603733-los-angeles-county-central-la-city-centralkoreatown-puma-ca.
- Cheng, Lucie, and Espiritu, Yen. “Korean Businesses in Black and Hispanic Neighborhoods: A Study of Intergroup Relations.” *Sociological Perspectives*, vol. 32, no. 4, Dec. 1989, pp. 521–534, doi:10.2307/1389136.
- “Community Activists in Koreatown Fight to Keep ICE out of Their Neighborhoods.” *KCET*, 19 Jan. 2021, www kcet org/shows/socal-connected/community-activists-in-koreatown-fight-to-keep-ice-out-of-their-neighborhoods.
- “Corn.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., www britannica com/plant/corn-plant.
- Cruz-Manjarrez, Adriana. *Zapotecos on the Move: Cultural, Social, and Political Processes in Transnational Perspective*. Rutgers University Press, 2013. *JSTOR*, www jstor org/stable/j ctt5hjc97. Accessed 12 Apr. 2021.
- Davis, Charles. “Meet the Grassroots Organizers Who Stood Up Against ICE’s 7-Eleven Raids.” *In These Times*, 18 Aug. 2020, inthesetimes com/article/grassroots-organizers-ice-7-eleven-raids-immigration-koreatown-deportation.
- De León, Jason, and Wells, Michael. *The Land of Open Graves: Living and Dying on the Migrant Trail*. 1st ed., University of California Press, 2015. *JSTOR*, www jstor org/stable/10 1525 j ctv1xxvch. Accessed 12 Apr. 2021.
- Fortuny, Karina, et al. The Urban Institute, 2007, *The Characteristics of Unauthorized Immigrants in California, Los Angeles County, and the United States*.

Gomez, Melissa. "Graffiti on Koreatown Temple Investigated as a Possible Hate Crime, Police Say." *Los Angeles Times*, Los Angeles Times, 19 Jan. 2021,
www.latimes.com/california/story/2021-01-18/graffiti-koreatown-temple-possible-hate-crime.

Google Maps, Google, 2021, www.google.com/maps/@34.0525269,-118.3040699,3a,75y,144.06h,102.25t/data=!3m7!1e1!3m5!1se8OUlOqHT1f1f7vtggVYcw!2e0!6shttps:%2F%2Fstreetviewpixels-pa.googleapis.com%2Fv1%2Fthumbnail%3Fpanoid%3De8OUlOqHT1f1f7vtggVYcw%26cb_client%3Dsearch.revgeo_and_fetch.gps%26w%3D96%26h%3D64%26yaw%3D28.567984%26pitch%3D0%26thumbfov%3D100!7i16384!8i8192.

Hayoun, Massoud. "Undocumented Asian Americans Struggle in Silence." *Donald Trump News | Al Jazeera*, 1 Apr. 2017, www.aljazeera.com/features/2017/4/1/undocumented-asian-americans-struggle-in-silence.

"History - Wilshire Boulevard Temple." *Wilshire Boulevard Temple*, 2021,
www.wbtla.org/about/history.

"Hung Sa Dan and Ahn Chang Ho House on Bunker Hill." *Seoul of LA Hung Sa Dan and Ahn Chang Ho House on Bunker Hill Comments*, 2011, seoullofla.com/2013/05/10/ahnhouse/.

"Immanuel Presbyterian Church | Los Angeles Conservancy." *Los Angeles Conservancy*, 2020,
www.laconservancy.org/locations/immanuel-presbyterian-church.

Institute for Public Affairs. "Meet the Grassroots Organizers Who Stood Up Against ICE's 7-Eleven Raids." *In These Times*, 18 Aug. 2020, inthesetimes.com/article/grassroots-organizers-ice-7-eleven-raids-immigration-koreatown-deportation.

Kadosh, Dikla. "Koreatown Residents Visit the Synagogue next Door." *Jewish Journal*, 9 Mar. 2007, jewishjournal.com/community/14540.

Kale, Shelly. "The 50th Anniversary of L.A.'s Watts Riots: Anna Halprin and the Studio Watts

Workshop.” *Experiments in Environment: The Halprin Workshops, 1966-1971*, California Historical Society, 12 Dec. 2015, experiments.californiahistoricalsociety.org/the-50th-anniversary-of-l-a-s-watts-riots-anna-halprin-and-the-studio-watts-workshop/.

Kamarck, Elaine, and Christine Stenglein. “How Many Undocumented Immigrants Are in the United States and Who Are They?” *Brookings*, 27 Oct. 2020, www.brookings.edu/policy2020/votervital/how-many-undocumented-immigrants-are-in-the-united-states-and-who-are-they.

“Kim Bang Ah Sold...A Town Legend for 40 Years 김방앗간 건물 팔렸다...40 여년간

한인타운 명물.” *Koreadaily 중앙일보*, Koreadaily, 21 Sept. 2018, news.joins.com/article/22995340.

Kim, Dong Hee. “가업 있는 ‘김방아간’ 손자 - 미주 한국일보.” *The Korea Times*, The Korea Times, 30 Sept. 2009, m.koreatimes.com/article/550779.

Kim, Katherine Yungmee. *Images of America: Los Angeles’s Koreatown*. Charleston, South Carolina, Arcadia Publishing, 2011.

Kore Limited. “A History of LA’s Koreatown.” *KORELIMITED*, 7 Apr. 2021, korelimited.com/blogs/korelimited/a-history-of-la-s-koreatown.

Koreadaily. “올림픽마켓 열어 LA 코리아타운 역사를 만들다.” 미주중앙일보, Koreadaily, 4 Apr. 2016, www.koreadaily.com/news/read.asp?art_id=4147326.

“Korean Gazebo: Dawooljung.” *Koreatown LA*, 19 Sept. 2020, visitkoreatown.org/korean-pavilion-garden-dawooljung.

Korean Philadelphia Presbyterian Church | Los Angeles Conservancy, Los Angeles

Conservancy, 2020, www.laconservancy.org/locations/korean-philadelphia-presbyterian-church.

“Koreatown / Community Naming and Renaming Application.” *LA City Clerk Connect*, LA City City Council,
cityclerk.lacity.org/lacityclerkconnect/index.cfm?fa=ccfi.viewrecord&cfnumber=09-0606. Accessed 23 Apr. 2021.

Laboy, Julio. “Koreans and Hispanics Build Ties in Los Angeles.” *WSJ*, 29 Jan. 1997,
www.wsj.com/articles/SB854476842668224500.

Lee, Hwang. “웨스턴 백화점 ‘이길훈’ 회장 입점 업주들 위해 또 렌트비 50% 삭감.”

라디오코리아 뉴스, Radio Korea News, 4 Dec. 2020,
www.radiokorea.com/news/article.php?uid=356781.

Lee, Youngmin, and Park, Kyonghwan. “Negotiating Hybridity: Transnational Reconstruction of Migrant Subjectivity in Koreatown, Los Angeles.” *Taylor & Francis, Journal of Cultural Geography*, 2008, www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/08873630802433822.

Loc, Tim. “10 Things You May Not Know About Koreatown.” *LAist*, KPCC, 11 July 2018,
laist.com/news/entertainment/10-things-koreatown.

Los Angeles Times. “Mapping L.A. Neighborhoods.” *Los Angeles Times Local*, Los Angeles Times, 2008, maps.latimes.com/neighborhoods.

Lovett, Seán-Patrick. “Remembering St Oscar Romero: 40 Years after His Assassination.” *Vatican News, Holy See*, 24 Mar. 2020, www.vaticannews.va/en/church/news/2020-03/oscar-romero-forty-years-assassination-anniversary0.html.

Macias, Martin. “In LA’s Koreatown, Little Bangladesh Stakes Its Claim.” *Courthouse News Service*, 8 May 2018, www.courthousenews.com/in-las-koreatown-little-bangladesh-stakes-its-claim.

Marshall, Colin. "A Los Angeles Primer: Koreatown." *KCET*, Public Media Group of Southern California, 1 Jan. 2017, www.kcet.org/history-society/a-los-angeles-primer-koreatown.

Meares, Hadley. "How LA's Koreatown Became 'the Best Koreatown Outside of Korea.'" "

Curbed LA, 6 May 2019, la.curbed.com/2019/5/6/18523959/koreatown-los-angeles-guelaguetza-riots.

"National Origin in Koreatown, Los Angeles, California (Neighborhood)." *The Demographic Statistical Atlas of the United States - Statistical Atlas*, 2018, statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/California/Los-Angeles/Koreatown/National-Origin.

Negrín, Diana. "Migration, Border Geographies and Decolonial Movements." *Zoom*, uploaded by Diana Negrín, University of California, Berkeley. 18 Mar. 2021, <https://bcourses.berkeley.edu/courses/1502167/files/folder/Recorded%20Lectures/Week%209?preview=80092035>

Negrín, Diana. "Migration, Border Geographies and Decolonial Movements." *Zoom*, uploaded by Diana Negrín, University of California, Berkeley. 2 Feb. 2021, <https://bcourses.berkeley.edu/courses/1502167/files/folder/Recorded%20Lectures/Week%203?preview=79621228>

New Covenant Academy, 2021, www.e-nca.org/.

Park, Kyeyoung and Kim, Jessica. "The Contested Nexus of Los Angeles Koreatown: Capital Restructuring, Gentrification, and Displacement." *Amerasia Journal*, 34:3, 126-150, 2008. DOI: 10.17953/amer.34.3.d03g386u007n286w

"Sale, Thirty-three Year Tradition ('33 년 전통의 세일이 왔어요')." *Daily Sports Seoul USA*, Daily Sports Seoul USA, 18 Feb.

2021, www.koreatowndaily.com/index.php/articles/20210219173211.

Sanchez, Jared, et al. "Koreatown: A Contested Community at a Crossroads." *Koreatown*

Immigrant Workers Alliance, Apr. 2012.

Southern California Public Radio. “Before Koreatown: The Origins of Korean Migration to LA.”

Southern California Public Radio, 5 Jan. 2016,

www.scpr.org/blogs/multiamerican/2014/12/05/17645/koreatown-origins-korean-migration-los-angeles.

“St. Basil Catholic Church | Los Angeles Conservancy.” *St. Basil*

Catholic Church, 2020, www.laconservancy.org/locations/st-basil-catholic-church.

Steinhauer, Jennifer. “Tofu-Chili Taco With Kimchi: The New Los Angeles Fusion.” *The New York Times*, 25 Feb. 2009, www.nytimes.com/2009/02/25/dining/25taco.html.

Targonski-O’Brien, Marie. “Community Activists in Koreatown Fight to Keep ICE out of Their Neighborhoods.” *KCET*, 19 Jan. 2021, www.kcet.org/shows/socal-connected/community-activists-in-koreatown-fight-to-keep-ice-out-of-their-neighborhoods.

“The Demographic Statistical Atlas of the United States - Statistical Atlas.” *Population of Koreatown, Los Angeles, California*, 2018,
statisticalatlas.com/neighborhood/California/Los-Angeles/Koreatown/Population.

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. “Saint Oscar Romero | Biography & Death.” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, 20 Mar. 2021,
www.britannica.com/biography/Oscar-Arnulfo-Romero.

“Transit Oriented Communities Incentive Program | Los Angeles City Planning.” *Los Angeles City Planning*, City of Los Angeles, 2021, planning.lacity.org/plans-policies/transit-oriented-communities-incentive-program.

Wong, Tom K. “Reaching Undocumented Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the United

States.” *The Center for Migration Studies of New York (CMS)*, 9 Jan. 2019, cmsny.org/publications/reaching-undocumented-asian-americans-and-pacific-islanders-in-the-united-states.

Wikipedia contributors. “Óscar Romero.” *Wikipedia*, Wikipedia, 25 Apr. 2021, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%93scar_Romero.

Yearwood, Lori Teresa. “Living on the Streets of L.A.” *Slate Magazine*, The Slate Group, 7 Feb. 2020, slate.com/news-and-politics/2020/02/homeless-koreatown-unhoused-people-los-angeles-community.html#:~:text=Between%202018%20and%202019%2C%20according,we're%20living%20on%20the%20streets.

Yoon, In-Jin. “Who Is My Neighbor?: Koreans' Perceptions Of Blacks And Latinos As Employees, Customers, And Neighbors.” *Development and Society*, vol. 27, no. 1, 1998, pp. 49–75. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/44396776. Accessed 24 Apr. 2021.

“Young Oak Kim.” *Home - Young Oak Kim*, Young Oak Kim Academy, 11 Nov. 2008, yokadragons.org/apps/pages/index.jsp?uREC_ID=367716&type=d.

Epilogue



The truck says “Best Mexican in K-Town.” There is a Korean man waiting for his delectable taco. This picture epitomizes the quintessential Koreatown of today where subtle and slow transculturation is happening.

This picture was taken from the south side of Olympic, in between Western Avenue and Manhattan Place.