

Solidarity and Division: The Politics of Race Relations in the 1992 Los Angeles Riots

Chloe Wang

June 27, 2025

Word Count: 2500

On March 3, 1991, George Holliday filmed four LAPD officers brutally beating Rodney King after a high-speed chase in San Fernando Valley.¹ The officers' acquittal by a predominantly white jury in Simi Valley sparked national outrage. While protests erupted across American cities, nowhere was the damage more severe than South Central Los Angeles. Over three days, 58 people died, nearly 12,000 were arrested, and the city sustained over \$700 million in damages.² At first glance, the 1992 riots seemed a tragic echo of past Black-white tensions, but examining the background revealed a larger picture. A year before the 1992 LA riots, Korean grocer Soon Ja Du shot Black teenager Latasha Harlins after a shoplifting accusation and was sentenced to probation, leading to backlash in LA's Black communities. Taking in the context of the riots, many believed that "Latasha Harlins...was the key to the catastrophic collapse of relations between LA's Korean and Black communities."³ America no longer wanted to "settle for black and white conclusions when one of the most important conflicts was the tension between Koreans and African-Americans."⁴ In the aftermath of the protests, the tension became known as the Black-Korean conflict. Emerging as a politically convenient and oversimplified explanation for the 1992 Los Angeles riots, the narrative of Black-Korean conflict was driven by the flawed frameworks of the model minority myth and urban underclass theory, ultimately serving to legitimize mainstream conservative policy.

Tensions between the Black and Korean communities in South Central Los Angeles were real, shaped by competing racial myths. By the late 1980s, Korean immigrants owned 40% of

¹ Nancy Abelmann, and John Lie. *Blue Dreams : Korean Americans and the Los Angeles Riots*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995. eBook History Collection (EBSCOhost).

² Ibid.

³ Katz, Cindi, Neil Smith, and Mike Davis. "L. A. Intifada: Interview with Mike Davis." *Social Text*, no. 33 (1992): 19–33. <https://doi.org/10.2307/466432>.

⁴ Rodriguez, Richard. "HOLLOW AT THE CORE : Multiculturalism With No Diversity." *LA Times* (Los Angeles, CA), May 10, 1992. Accessed April 7, 2025. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-05-10-op-2288-story.html>.

businesses in the area,⁵ and their economic success was frequently explained through the lens of the model minority myth. *Time Magazine* praised their “entrepreneurial spirit,” describing Korean Americans as driven by “an impulse” for self-employment.⁶ A Korean grocer told the *LA Times*, “Most Koreans would rather be self-employed... they’re hard-working, with high goals.”⁷ This narrative, also known as the model minority myth, implied that Koreans achieved the American Dream through personal discipline, feeding the notion that other groups, particularly Black Americans, lacked the same values. At the same time, conservative thinkers popularized the “urban underclass” theory, which framed Black poverty not as the result of systemic racism, but as a cultural failure. In 1992, *The Economist* described the underclass as “poor but healthy young people who cannot or will not get a job,” blaming moral weakness rather than structural barriers.⁸ These two narratives set the stage for mutual resentment. As one writer for Republican commentator *Heterodoxy* observed, public sympathy flowed toward Latasha Harlins, the Black teenager shot by Korean shopkeeper Soon Ja Du, while little attention was given to the 25 Korean merchants killed in the ghetto in the two years prior. The commentator argued that it was “impermissible” to mention the brutal work hours and family sacrifice behind Korean success, yet acceptable to label Black anger as justified frustration.⁹ This tension surfaced in popular culture. Ice Cube’s 1991 track “Black Korea,” released just months before the riots, warned: “So

⁵ Daisy Ball, and Nicholas Daniel Hartlep. *Asian/Americans, Education, and Crime : the Model Minority as Victim and Perpetrator. Race and Education in the Twenty-first Century*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017. eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost).

⁶ Doerner, William R. "Asians to America with Skills." *Time Magazine*, July 8, 1985. Accessed February 23, 2025. <https://time.com/archive/6704408/asians-to-america-with-skills/>.

⁷ "Presence of Koreans Reshaping the Region: Immigrants: A developing Koreatown in Gardena symbolizes changes a growing population is bringing to the area." *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), February 2, 1992. Accessed February 23, 2025. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-02-02-me-1860-story.html>.

⁸ “Appendix C: America’s Wasted Blacks.” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 136, no. 3 (1992): 399–409. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/986913>.

⁹ *Heterodoxy* (1992), p. 10.

pay respect to the Black fist, Or we'll burn your store right down to a crisp.”¹⁰ The anger was real, but so were the structural questions it obscured. Why had South Central been left economically desperate in the first place? And why were Korean immigrants so concentrated in poor Black neighborhoods?

Rather than stemming from isolated tensions, racist sentiments by white Angelenos prevented minorities from accessing housing and social mobility, disproving the idea of an “urban underclass.” In 1968, the Open Housing Act eliminated legal housing barriers¹¹ for minorities in Los Angeles, but informal racism by civilians persisted. In 1993, over one hundred fifty neighborhoods attempted to physically gate their communities from encroaching Black residents.¹² Whitley Heights, an influential neighborhood directly northwest of Los Angeles, was among those leading the effort: “a judge ruled last week that the city of Los Angeles could not allow the neighborhood up the hill [Whitley Heights] to close its gates to the rest of the world.”¹³ Inequitable access to housing severely limited social mobility. As a result, in 1990, two-thirds of minority students attended schools funded below neighboring suburban districts like Whitley Heights.¹⁴

Beyond general racist sentiments in LA, deindustrialization in South Central Los Angeles affected Black Americans disproportionately, suggesting that economic slowdowns were an

¹⁰ Jackson, O'Shea, Sr. "Black Korea Lyrics." Genius.com. Last modified October 29, 1991. Accessed February 25, 2025. <https://genius.com/lce-cube-black-korea-lyrics>.

¹¹ 1968 Civil Rights Act, S. 90-284. Accessed February 22, 2025. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/COMPS-343/pdf/COMPS-343.pdf>.

¹² Luis Daniel Gascón, and Aaron Roussell. *The Limits of Community Policing : Civilian Power and Police Accountability in Black and Brown Los Angeles*. New York: NYU Press, 2019. eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost).

¹³ Moffat, Susan. "Both Sides of the Fence: Issue of Gated Public Streets Echoes Through Hollywood After Ruling." *LA Times* (Los Angeles, CA), January 5, 1993. Accessed February 22, 2025. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1993-01-25-me-1635-story.html>.

¹⁴ Gascon, 2019.

impact of circumstance, rather than the “poverty culture” cited by the urban underclass theory. In the 1970s, the US economy experienced deindustrialization, as large corporations moved overseas for lower operating costs.¹⁵ From 1970 to 1985, US manufacturing declined by 1.5%, but Southern California’s manufacturing increased exponentially, with a 24.2% gain that established Los Angeles as a national manufacturing powerhouse.¹⁶ However, in reality, while areas like Orange County thrived as high-tech industries grew, the auto industry and rubber plants in South Central, which had been the second largest in the 1970s, had essentially vanished by the mid-1980s. Ten of the twelve aerospace factories closed down, displacing over 50,000 workers.¹⁷ In addition, the new preference for nonunionized laborers in low-wage industries, due to lower wages and likelihood of striking, affected African Americans at a higher rate than other ethnic groups. Throughout Los Angeles in the 1980s, unionization rates of manufacturing workers fell from 30% to 23% in Los Angeles County.¹⁸ However, 10% of African Americans were union members, despite composing only 6% of the LA workforce (See Appendix A). As a result, African American communities in South Central felt the effects of deindustrialization the hardest, with the annual median family income falling \$5,900-\$2,500 below the city median in the 1970s.¹⁹

Urban renewal projects further displaced working-class residents of color. The Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) demolished entire neighborhoods under the guise of modernization. One such neighborhood was Bunker Hill, a district north of South Central, which received federal grant funding for urban renewal in 1955. The 133-acre

¹⁵ Abelmann, 1995.

¹⁶ Camille Zubrinsky Charles. *Won't You Be My Neighbor : Race, Class, and Residence in Los Angeles*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006. eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost).

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ball, 2017.

¹⁹ Abelmann, 1995.

residential neighborhood, lined with stately Victorian homes, had originated in the 1860s. However, a wave of immigration in the 1920s and 30s prompted a “white flight” into Brentwood and the Pacific Palisades, enabled by the Pacific Electric Company’s trolley lines.²⁰ The Victorian houses left behind were subdivided into housing for workers arriving from the Midwest, Europe, and Mexico, quickly making Bunker Hill a target for the CRA (See Appendix B). 9,000 residents—mostly Black and immigrant—were displaced without relocation assistance.²¹ The result of redevelopment and neglect was what locals called the “Cotton Curtain,” a racial boundary that cut off South Central from opportunity and investment. One resident testified before Congress in 1981, describing the divide as a dumping ground for toxic waste, junkyards, and neglect: “Not one of you sitting in this room would want your daughter to go to Jordan High School and walk that corridor down there.”²² At the time of the testimony, Jordan High School in South Central had a 60% graduation rate, significantly lower than the state average of 72.2%.²³

Similarly, the model minority myth proved equally oversimplified. The myth of Korean Americans as naturally entrepreneurial masked reality, as many immigrants turned to small business ownership as a last resort. Professional degrees earned in Korea were often invalidated in the US, with licensing boards refusing to recognize foreign credentials. In 1975, the California Commission on Civil Rights estimated “there are at least 300 experienced pharmacists in

²⁰ *Los Angeles Herald* (Los Angeles, CA, United States). "HUNTINGTON ASKS RAILWAY FRANCHISE." June 23, 1909. Accessed February 25, 2025. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH19090623.2.72>.

²¹ Marks, Mara A. "Shifting Ground: The Rise and Fall of the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency." *Southern California Quarterly* 86, no. 3 (2004). Accessed February 25, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.2307/41172224>.

²² *Hearings Before the SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR*, 97th Cong., 1st Sess. 49 (1981) (statement of Watkins). Accessed February 22, 2025. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED215134.pdf>.

²³ *Ibid.*

Southern California born and educated in Korea, who cannot practice their profession.”²⁴ Koo-in Choi, a Korean grocer trained as a nurse in Seoul, put it plainly: “That is why so many from my country own grocery stores... It doesn’t need too much English.”²⁵ Shop ownership wasn’t an expression of cultural values, it was an adaptive response to exclusion. In fact, between 1980-1990, the affluent South Bay community saw its Korean population double,²⁶ emphasizing the community’s true goals of social mobility rather than small business ownership.²⁷ Moreover, the success of Korean businesses in the 1980s was due to circumstantial advantages, notably loosened capital export laws from South Korea, family networks to provide labor and startup funds, and the commercial vacuum left by white flight and disinvestment in South Central.²⁸ When capital export laws loosened in the 1980s, Koreans could come to the US with increasingly more capital, and family members or relatives could support around 60% to 80% of initial startup costs.²⁹ By 1986, Korean-owned enterprises in southern California became the largest import concerns for South Korean products.³⁰ South Korea also experienced a per capita

²⁴ California Advisory Body US Commission on Civil Rights. *Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples: A Case of Mistaken Identity*. February 1975. Accessed February 23, 2025. <https://www2.law.umaryland.edu/marshall/usccr/documents/cr12as4.pdf>.

²⁵ Belkin, Lisa. "FOR THE CITY'S KOREAN GREENGROCERS, CULTURE OFTEN CLASHES WITH THE LAW." *New York Times* (New York City, NY), August 11, 1984. Accessed March 27, 2025. <https://www.nytimes.com/1984/08/11/nyregion/for-the-city-s-korean-green-grocers-culture-often-clashes-with-the-law.html>.

²⁶ Park, Lisa Sun-Hee. "Continuing Significance of the Model Minority Myth: The Second Generation." *Social Justice* 35, nos. 2 (112) (2008): 134-44. JSTOR.

²⁷ National Center for Bilingual Research Department of Education.

²⁸ Alesina, Alberto, and Geoffrey Carliner. "U. S. Trade Policy-making in the Eighties." In *Politics and Economics in the Eighties*, by IM Destler, 270. UChicago, 1991. Previously published in *Politics and Economics in the Eighties*. UChicago Press, 1991. Accessed March 27, 2025. <https://www.nber.org/books-and-chapters/politics-and-economics-eighties>.

²⁹ Alesina, Alberto, and Geoffrey Carliner. "U. S. Trade Policy-making in the Eighties." In *Politics and Economics in the Eighties*, by IM Destler, 270. UChicago, 1991. Previously published in *Politics and Economics in the Eighties*. UChicago Press, 1991. Accessed March 27, 2025. <https://www.nber.org/books-and-chapters/politics-and-economics-eighties>.

³⁰ National Center for Bilingual Research Department of Education. KOREAN-AMERICANS IN LOS ANGELES: THEIR CONCERNS AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE. By Kenneth Kong-On Kim, Kapson Lee, and Tai-Yul Kim. May 1981. Accessed February 23, 2025. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/>

GNP increase from below 1,000 to 5,040 between 1980 and 1990, further increasing the invaluable advantages of flexible export policy.³¹ In fact, early Korean immigrants struggled with business in the early 1900s, demonstrating the importance of circumstance: “many Koreans took the first opportunity to go into business, no matter how small Many Korean small businesses exacted long hours of work from the owners and their families and yet yielded little income.”³²

The reality of South Central Los Angeles in the aftermath of the 1992 riots was much more complex than the reports of mainstream media and social discourse. The urban underclass theory and model minority myth justifying a Black-Korean conflict as one of the primary factors of the 1992 riots were just that — *myths*. The urban underclass theory, predicated on the idea that poverty was a cultural phenomenon, was undermined by structural racism, deindustrialization, and urban redevelopment programs, while the model minority myth was disproved by the circumstantial advantages as well as professional goals of Korean immigrants. Correspondingly, public perception of the riots was equally distorted, often sensationalized by media coverage. Angela Oh, a Korean American trial lawyer who found herself as the spokesperson for the Korean community after the riots, explained in a speech that her words were often twisted during TV appearances on NBC’s “Sunday Today”:

What’s happened is that the producer will call you up and say, we are going to talk about where we go from here, and they interview you and do this whole little prep, and when you go to the station—and this literally happened to me on a national network station—the issue becomes ‘Black-Korean conflict, the reason for the riots in LA.’ Then I sat on the panel with people who are 3,000 miles away whom I couldn’t even see, who are saying these really inflammatory things, leaving me in a position to do nothing more than

ED205666.pdf.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Yim, Sun Bin. "The Social Structure of Korean Communities in California, 1903-1920." In *Labor Immigration under Capitalism*, 534. University of California Press, 1984.

respond...you've [NBC] just fucked the whole city of Los Angeles as far as I'm concerned, and all the hard work we've put into building coalitions..."³³

While tension *did* exist, as NBC claimed, so did a sense of community solidarity. In Santa Cruz, a group of "Korean shopkeepers took a step toward easing tense relations with blacks by agreeing last week to hire a few gang members to work in their South Central Korean shops which were especially hard hit by rioters."³⁴ The gang truce was one of many community coalition programs initiated between Korean and Black Americans. More casual day-to-day interactions confirmed that relations between the communities were more nuanced than at first glance, like Korean shopkeeper Chung Jin Moo's recovery from the riots. Upon Moo's return, he was welcomed home by former patrons:

'You made it! You made it! Thank you, Jesus' yelled Lashon Henry, a customer of Chung's 47th Broadway Food Market...Her eyes full of tears and disbelief, she wrapped her arms around him for a long embrace... 'How ya feelin', man?' asked Carlester Hall, 17, slapping Chung with a handshake. 'OK,' Chung said. Several other youths got out of a car to greet Chung. 'What's up, man' one asked. 'You comin' back?' 'Yes,' Chung said. 'All right!' the youth said.³⁵

While tense relations between Korean shopkeepers and their largely Black customers certainly existed, so did positive interactions.

Yet, the persistence of the Black-Korean conflict narrative in mass media and social discourse was no minor accident. It served as a politically convenient explanation that aligned with mainstream conservative efforts to undermine social welfare programs and defend conservative policy agendas, shifting the blame onto marginalized groups. Marlin Fitzwater, a spokesperson for the Bush administration, argued against welfare, stating that "many of the root

³³ Hicks, Joe. Speech presented at ACLU Forum, Los Angeles, CA, October 1992. Marxist Online Archive. Accessed February 25, 2025.

<https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/atc/5111.html>.

³⁴ *Santa Cruz Sentinel* (CA). "Gang truce offers hope in wake of LA riots." May 29, 1992. Accessed February 24, 2025. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SCS19920529.1.8>.

³⁵ *Napa Valley Register* (CA). "A Miracle on 47th Place ; Chung Jin Moo returns." December 27, 1992. Accessed February 24, 2025. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=NVR19921227.1.16>.

problems that have resulted in inner-city difficulties were started in the '60s and '70s and that they have failed.”³⁶ In the weeks following the riots, the Bush administration “on March 20 [sought] to eliminate from the budget for the 1993 fiscal year \$547.7 million to build new public housing.”³⁷ The housing proposal was one of many reductions part of the 3.6 billion in federal programs Bush hoped to eliminate. The riots couldn’t have happened at a better time, as for Bush and other conservative politicians, the “...thrust of European-American identity is to defend the individualistic view of the American system, because it portrays the system as open to those who are willing to work hard and pull themselves over barriers of poverty and discrimination.”³⁸

However, in 1992, conservative politicians were still grappling with the lasting impact of the 1960s civil rights movement and the 1965 Watts Rebellion in LA, which directly challenged the ideals of American individualism. The frustration voiced by one LA resident captured a broader national sentiment: “I’ve had it with equality and all these lies about opportunities.”³⁹ The disillusionment was not unfounded. Between 1979 and 1989, 4.3 million Americans joined the ranks of those living below the poverty level, undermining the mainstream conservative claim that hard work can overcome systemic challenges.⁴⁰ Frustrated by the seemingly blind Republican leaders, critics began to make their presence known. In reply to Marlin Fitzwater’s attack on social welfare in LA, Democratic nominee Bill Clinton stated, “Republicans have had

³⁶ Horvitz, Paul F. "White House Blames the Unrest On the Democrats and Welfare : In Scarred L.A., Political Fallout as Curfew Is Lifted." *International Herald Tribune* (Paris, France), May 5, 1992. Accessed March 20, 2025. <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/05/05/IHT-white-house-blames-the-unrest-on-the-democrats-and-welfare-in-scarred-la.html>

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Alba, Richard. "Conclusion: The Emergence of the European Americans." In *Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America*, 317. Yale University Press, 1990. JSTOR.

³⁹ Jones, Jack. "You're Black and That's All There Is to It!" *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA, United States), October 1965, 1. Accessed February 25, 2025. <https://documents.latimes.com/view-watts-seven-part-times-series-1965/>.

⁴⁰ Jencks, Christopher, and Paul E. Peterson. *The Urban Underclass*. Brookings Institute, 1991.

the White House for 20 of the last 24 years, and they have to go all the way back to the 60's to find somebody to blame.”⁴¹ In response, Bush used the Black-Korean conflict narrative to defend the conservative platform. The conflict verified that it was possible for minorities to succeed in America without aid, just like Korean immigrants. The resentment of African Americans toward Koreans was concrete, undeniable evidence of their success.

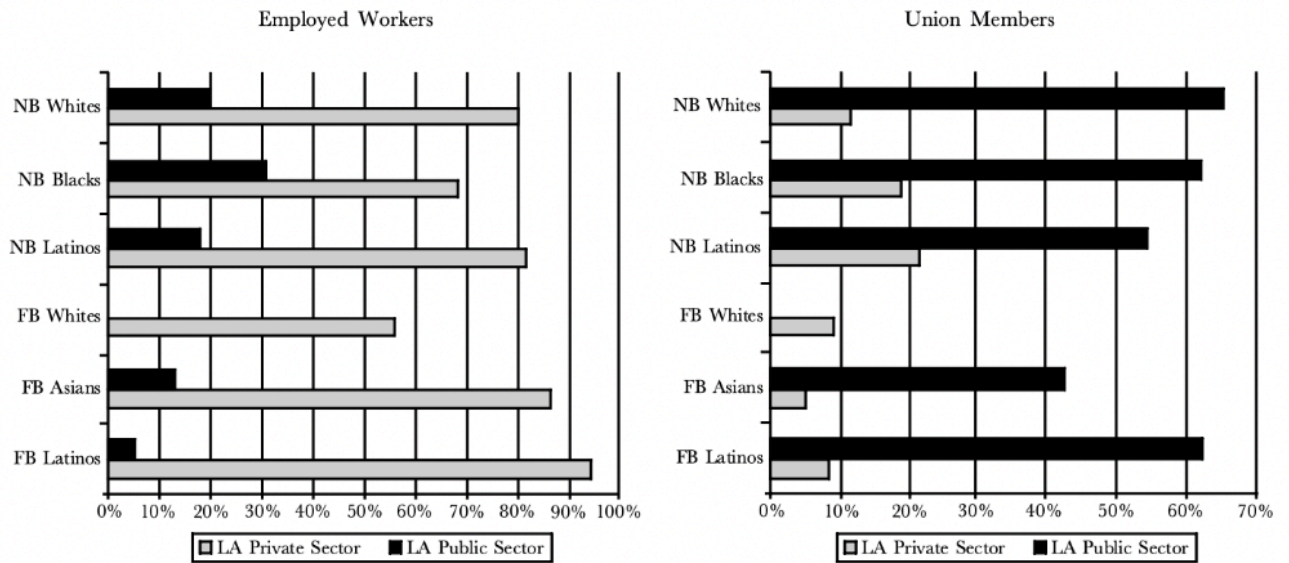
In the early morning of April 17, 1993, a federal jury convicted two of the four LAPD officers involved in the Rodney King beating, avoiding the riots that followed the previous year's acquittals. Though many, including Attorney General Janet Reno, felt “justice was done,”⁴² the country turned to speculating on the deeper causes behind the 1992 unrest. A popular explanation—framed as the Black-Korean conflict—attributed the riots to tensions between African Americans and Korean immigrants, justified by the model minority myth and urban underclass theory. However, this oversimplified view, despite systemic issues like deindustrialization, discriminatory urban policy, and structural racism, advanced conservative attacks on welfare spending. While progress has been achieved since, the political weaponization of racial conflict remains powerful, shaping public discourse and policy. As Black and Korean community leaders continue their work toward solidarity today, the challenge remains for all minorities: ensuring that tensions are not distorted into rhetoric that exploits and divides, but instead understood in full complexity—paving the way for real solutions to injustice.

⁴¹ Pear, Robert. "THE 1992 CAMPAIGN: Democrats; CLINTON, IN ATTACK ON PRESIDENT, TIES RIOTS TO 'NEGLECT.'" *New York Times* (New York City, NY), May 6, 1992. Accessed March 25, 2025. <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/05/06/us/the-1992-campaign-democrats-clinton-in-attack-on-president-ties-riots-to-neglect.html>.

⁴² Fulwood, Sam, III. "Clinton Praises Judgment of Jury, Urges Healing, Harmony Across U.S. : Administration: President speaks before giving address on economy. His new attorney general, Janet Reno, says, 'Justice was done.'" *LA Times* (Los Angeles, CA), April 18, 1993. Accessed April 7, 2025. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1993-04-18-mn-24495-story.html>.

Appendix A

Figure 5. Employed Workers and Union Members in Greater L.A., 1994–97, by Sector, Nativity and Ethnicity



Source: Milkman, Ruth. "IMMIGRANT ORGANIZING AND THE NEW LABOR MOVEMENT IN LOS ANGELES."

Infographic. City University of New York. Accessed February 25, 2025.

<https://files.commonscs.gc.cuny.edu/wp-content/blogs.dir/13230/files/2020/08/>

Milkman_Immigrant-Organizing-and-the-New-Labor-Movement-in-Los-Angeles.pdf.



Source: Conner, Palmer. *Olive Street block being leveled south of 1st Street*. Photograph.

The Huntington Museum, February 20, 1963. Accessed March 1, 2025.

<https://hdl.huntington.org/digital/collection/p15150coll2/id/7654/rec/1>.

Bibliography

- Alba, Richard. "Conclusion: The Emergence of the European Americans." In *Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America*, 317. Yale University Press, 1990. JSTOR.
- Alesina, Alberto, and Geoffrey Carliner. "U. S. Trade Policy-making in the Eighties." In *Politics and Economics in the Eighties*, by IM Destler, 270. UChicago, 1991. Previously published in *Politics and Economics in the Eighties*. UChicago Press, 1991. Accessed March 27, 2025.
<https://www.nber.org/books-and-chapters/politics-and-economics-eighties>.
- Auletta, Ken. *The Underclass*. Open Road Media, 1982.
- Belkin, Lisa. "FOR THE CITY'S KOREAN GREENGROCERS, CULTURE OFTEN CLASHES WITH THE LAW." *New York Times* (New York City, NY), August 11, 1984. Accessed March 27, 2025.
<https://www.nytimes.com/1984/08/11/nyregion/for-the-city-s-korean-green grocers-culture-often-clashes-with-the-law.html>.
- Blake Clark and Oland D. Russell. "Hail Our Japanese-American Gis!" *JSTOR*.
<https://jstor.org/stable/community.30952682>.
- Bush, George H. W. "Address to the Nation on the Civil Disturbances in Los Angeles, California." Address presented at Oval Office, White House, Washington DC, Maryland, United States, May 1, 1992. US Government Publishing Office. Accessed February 25, 2025.
<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/PPP-1992-book1/html/PPP-1992-book1-doc-pg685.htm>.
- California Advisory Body US Commission on Civil Rights. *Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples: A Case of Mistaken Identity*. February 1975. Accessed February 23, 2025.
<https://www2.law.umaryland.edu/marshall/usccr/documents/cr12as4.pdf>.
- . *A Dream Unfulfilled: Korean and Pilipino [Filipino] Health Professionals in California*. Compiled by Herman Sillas. May 1975. Accessed February 23, 2025.
<https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED117283.pdf>.
- Camille Zubrinsky Charles. *Won't You Be My Neighbor : Race, Class, and Residence in Los Angeles*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006. eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost).
- Conner, Palmer. *Demolishing the Charles R. Hadley Company Building*. Photograph. The Huntington Museum, February 20, 1963. Accessed March 1, 2025.
<https://hdl.huntington.org/digital/collection/p15150coll2/id/7654/rec/1>.
- Daisy Ball, and Nicholas Daniel Hartlep. *Asian/Americans, Education, and Crime : the Model Minority as Victim and Perpetrator*. Race and Education in the Twenty-first Century. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017. eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost).

- Davis, Mike. "Chinatown, Part Two? The 'Internationalization' of Downtown Los Angeles." *The New Left*, July 1987. Accessed February 23, 2025.
<https://newleftreview.org/issues/i164/articles/mike-davis-chinatown-part-two-the-internationalization-of-downtown-los-angeles>.
- Doerner, William R. "Asians to America with Skills." *Time Magazine*, July 8, 1985. Accessed February 23, 2025. <https://time.com/archive/6704408/asians-to-america-with-skills/>.
- Fulwood, Sam, III. "Clinton Praises Judgment of Jury, Urges Healing, Harmony Across U.S. : Administration: President speaks before giving address on economy. His new attorney general, Janet Reno, says, 'Justice was done.'" *LA Times* (Los Angeles, CA), April 18, 1993. Accessed April 7, 2025.
<https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1993-04-18-mn-24495-story.html>.
- Go for Broke*. Directed by Robert Pirosh. Produced by Dore Schary. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1951. Digital file.
- Goldman, Abigail. "Welfare Rights Pioneer Tillmon-Blackston Dies : Activism: In the 1960s, a single mother in a Watts housing project helped form a group that sought better treatment and services for the poor." *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), November 25, 1995. Accessed February 25, 2025.
<https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1995-11-25-me-7043-story.html>.
- Hartlep, Nicholas, D. "Model Minority." In *Encyclopedia of Diversity and Social Justice*, edited by Sherwood Thompson. Lanham, MD, USA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2014. Credo Reference.
- Hearings Before the SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR*, 97th Cong., 1st Sess. 49 (1981) (statement of Watkins). Accessed February 22, 2025.
<https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED215134.pdf>.
- Hicks, Joe. Speech presented at ACLU Forum, Los Angeles, CA, October 1992. Marxist Online Archive. Accessed February 25, 2025.
<https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/atc/5111.html>.
- Horvitz, Paul F. "White House Blames the Unrest On the Democrats and Welfare : In Scarred L.A., Political Fallout as Curfew Is Lifted." *International Herald Tribune* (Paris, France), May 5, 1992. Accessed March 20, 2025.
<https://www.nytimes.com/1992/05/05/IHT-white-house-blames-the-unrest-on-the-democrats-and-welfare-in-scarred-la.html>.
- Hsu, Madeline Y., and Ellen D. Wu. "'Smoke and Mirrors': Conditional Inclusion, Model Minorities, and the Pre-1965 Dismantling of Asian Exclusion." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 34, no. 4 (2015): 43-65. <https://doi.org/10.5406/jamerethnhist.34.4.0043>.

- Jackson, O'Shea, Sr. "Black Korea Lyrics." Genius.com. Last modified October 29, 1991. Accessed February 25, 2025. <https://genius.com/Ice-cube-black-korea-lyrics>.
- Jencks, Christopher, and Paul E. Peterson. *The Urban Underclass*. Brookings Institute, 1991.
- Jones, Jack. "You're Black and That's All There Is to It!" *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA, United States), October 1965, 1. Accessed February 25, 2025. <https://documents.latimes.com/view-watts-seven-part-times-series-1965/>.
- LA Weekly* (Los Angeles, CA). "The Culmination." May 14, 1992. Accessed February 24, 2025. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAW19920514.1.10&srpos=3&e=-----en--20--1--txt-txIN-1992+LA+riots----1992--->.
- Lee, Mary Paik. *Quiet Odyssey*. University of Washington Press, 1990. JSTOR.
- Los Angeles Herald* (Los Angeles, CA, United States). "HUNTINGTON ASKS RAILWAY FRANCHISE." June 23, 1909. Accessed February 25, 2025. <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=LAH19090623.2.72&e=-----en--20--1--txt-txIN----->.
- Luis Daniel Gascón, and Aaron Roussell. *The Limits of Community Policing : Civilian Power and Police Accountability in Black and Brown Los Angeles*. New York: NYU Press, 2019. eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost).
- Manzanar Free Press* (Manzanar, CA), July 10, 1943. Accessed November 30, 2024. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/sn84025948/1943-07-10/ed-1/?sp=2&st=text>.
- Marks, Mara A. "Shifting Ground: The Rise and Fall of the Los Angeles Community Redevelopment Agency." *Southern California Quarterly* 86, no. 3 (2004). Accessed February 25, 2025. <https://doi.org/10.2307/41172224>.
- McNelis-Ahern, Margret. "Anything changed since the riots? Irked by slow pace, many retain hope for the future." *Los Angeles Business Journal* 15, no. 17 (1993). Accessed February 24, 2025. <https://www.proquest.com/docview/233608332?sourcetype=Trade%20Journals>.
- Milkman, Ruth. "IMMIGRANT ORGANIZING AND THE NEW LABOR MOVEMENT IN LOS ANGELES." Infographic. City University of New York. Accessed February 25, 2025. https://files.commonsc.gc.cuny.edu/wp-content/blogs.dir/13230/files/2020/08/Milkman_Immigrant-Organizing-and-the-New-Labor-Movement-in-Los-Angeles.pdf.
- Millican, Anthony. "Presence of Koreans Reshaping the Region : Immigrants: A developing Koreatown in Gardena symbolizes changes a growing population is bringing to the area." *LA Times* (Los Angeles, CA), February 2, 1992. Accessed February 22, 2025. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-02-02-me-1860-story.html>.

- . "Presence of Koreans Reshaping the Region: Immigrants: A developing Koreatown in Gardena symbolizes changes a growing population is bringing to the area." *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), February 2, 1992. Accessed February 23, 2025.
<https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-02-02-me-1860-story.html#:~:text=%E2%80%9CMost%20Koreans%20would%20rather%20be,was%20a%20high%20school%20teacher.>
- Mitchell, John. "Baldwin Hills Estate Weighs Plan for Gated Community." *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA), April 22, 1990. Accessed February 23, 2025.
<https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1990-04-22-we-434-story.html>.
- Moffat, Susan. "Both Sides of the Fence: Issue of Gated Public Streets Echoes Through Hollywood After Ruling." *LA Times* (Los Angeles, CA), January 5, 1993. Accessed February 22, 2025.
<https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1993-01-25-me-1635-story.html>.
- Mydans, Seth. "Conversations/Angela Oh; Giving Voice to the Hurt and Betrayal of Korean-Americans." *The New York Times* (New York City, NY, United States), May 2, 1993. Accessed February 25, 2025.
<https://www.nytimes.com/1993/05/02/weekinreview/conversations-angela-oh-giving-voice-hurt-betrayal-korean-americans.html>.
- Nancy Abelman, and John Lie. *Blue Dreams : Korean Americans and the Los Angeles Riots*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995. eBook History Collection (EBSCOhost).
- Napa Valley Register* (CA). "A Miracle on 47th Place ; Chung Jin Moo returns." December 27, 1992. Accessed February 24, 2025.
<https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=NVR19921227.1.16&srpos=4&e=-----en--20--1--txt-txIN-1992+LA+riots----1992--->.
- National Center for Bilingual Research Department of Education. *KOREAN-AMERICANS IN LOS ANGELES: THEIR CONCERNS AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE*. By Kenneth Kong-On Kim, Kapson Lee, and Tai-Yul Kim. May 1981. Accessed February 23, 2025.
<https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED205666.pdf>.
- Nicholas D. Hartlep. *The Model Minority Stereotype: Demystifying Asian American Success (Second Edition)*. Second ed. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2021. eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost).
- "1990 US Census Bureau." Chart. US Census Bureau, 1990. Accessed February 22, 2025.
<https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1990/cp-1/cp-1-6-1.pdf>.
- 1968 Civil Rights Act, S. 90-284. Accessed February 22, 2025.
<https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/COMPS-343/pdf/COMPS-343.pdf>.

- 1965 Immigration Act, Pub. L. No. 89-236, 66 Stat. (Oct. 3, 1965). Accessed November 30, 2024. <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-79/pdf/STATUTE-79-Pg911.pdf>.
- 1935 Alien Veteran Naturalization (aka Nye-Lea Act), Pub. L. No. 74-162, 49 Stat. (June 4, 1935). Accessed November 30, 2024. <https://aadha.binghamton.edu/items/show/264#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0>.
- Nobuko Miyamoto. *Not Yo' Butterfly : My Long Song of Relocation, Race, Love, and Revolution*. American Crossroads. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2021. eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost).
- Park, Lisa Sun-Hee. "Continuing Significance of the Model Minority Myth: The Second Generation." *Social Justice* 35, nos. 2 (112) (2008): 134-44. JSTOR.
- Pear, Robert. "THE 1992 CAMPAIGN: Democrats; CLINTON, IN ATTACK ON PRESIDENT, TIES RIOTS TO 'NEGLECT.'" *New York Times* (New York City, NY), May 6, 1992. Accessed March 25, 2025. <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/05/06/us/the-1992-campaign-democrats-clinton-in-attack-on-president-ties-riots-to-neglect.html>.
- Petersen, William. "Success Story, Japanese-American Style." *The New York Times* (NY), January 9, 1966. Accessed November 30, 2024. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1966/01/09/356013502.html?pageNumber=180>.
- Platte, Mark. "On a Block in South L.A., Merchants Ponder Future." *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, CA, United States), May 22, 1992. Accessed February 25, 2025. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-05-22-mn-281-story.html>.
- Public Law 87-885, Pub. L. No. 87-885, 76 Stat. (Oct. 24, 1962). Accessed November 30, 2024. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/87th-congress/senate-bill/3361/text?overview=closed>.
- Reagan, Ronald. "Address Before a Joint Session of Congress on the State of the Union." Speech, January 27, 1987. Ronald Reagan: Presidential Library and Museum. National Archive. Accessed February 25, 2025. <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/address-joint-session-congress-state-union-1987>.
- Reuter, E. B., and W. E. B DuBois. "The American Dilemma." *Phylon* (1940-1956) 5, no. 2 (1944): 4. <https://doi.org/10.2307/272453>.
- Rodriguez, Richard. "HOLLOW AT THE CORE : Multiculturalism With No Diversity." *LA Times* (Los Angeles, CA), May 10, 1992. Accessed April 7, 2025. <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-05-10-op-2288-story.html>.
- Santa Cruz Sentinel* (CA). "Gang truce offers hope in wake of LA riots." May 29, 1992. Accessed February 24, 2025.

<https://cdnc.ucr.edu/?a=d&d=SCS19920529.1.8&srpos=6&e=-----en--20--1--txt-txIN-1992+LA+riots----1992--->.

- Vobejda, Barbara. "Bush, Senator Draw Different Messages from L.A." *The Washington Post*, May 10, 1992. Accessed February 29, 2025.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1992/05/10/bush-senator-draw-different-messages-from-la/d82160bd-2c05-4141-845c-a8bd6655482d/>.
- Wilkinson, Tracy, and Frank Clifford. "Korean Grocer Who Killed Black Teen Gets Probation." *LA Times* (Los Angeles, CA), November 16, 1991. Accessed December 1, 2024.
<https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1991-11-16-mn-1402-story.html>.
- Wines, Michael. "RIOTS in LOS ANGELES: The President; WHITE HOUSE LINKS RIOTS to WELFARE." *The New York Times* (New York City, NY), May 5, 1992. Accessed February 25, 2025.
<https://www.nytimes.com/1992/05/05/us/riots-in-los-angeles-the-president-white-house-links-riots-to-welfare.html>.
- Yim, Sun Bin. "The Social Structure of Korean Communities in California, 1903-1920." In *Labor Immigration under Capitalism*, 534. University of California Press, 1984.
- Yu, Jerry C. Interview. Los Angeles, CA.