

How Does It Feel to Be a Problem? The Missing Kerner Commission Report



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Using an intersectional lens of race and gender, this article offers a critique of the Kerner Commission report and fills the gap of the missing analysis of white rage and of black women. A protracted history of white race riots resulted in the loss of black lives, black-owned property, and constitutional rights. However, only black riots, marked by the loss of white-owned property but few white lives, was the issue that prompted the formation of a national commission to investigate the events. Then and now, the privileging of white property rights over black life and liberty explains why black revolts result in presidential commissions, but white terror campaigns have never led to any comparable study.

Keywords: race riots, civil disorders, Kerner Commission report, white terror campaigns, racial and gender violence, National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders

In 1903, W. E. B. Du Bois wrote of the implicit awareness and curiosity of his white counterparts that he, as an African American man in America, was viewed as a problem. Even at that time, he remarked that it would be considered “indelicate” to state outright that black people

are a problem, even if it was believed to be true.¹ Sixty-five years later, President Lyndon Johnson formed the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968), better known as the Kerner Commission, to help understand and control the surge of black urban uprisings that

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1. In *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois discusses how when his white counterparts ask him about other black men or about “Southern outrages” that their underlying question is in fact “How does it feel to be a problem?”

How Does It Feel To Be A Problem

Ying Liu



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