
The Black Middle Class as a Racial Class

Rutledge M. Dennis

About forty years ago, E. Franklin Frazier (1957) ignited an emotional and intellectual debate among black Americans, the reverberations of which have not yet abated, when he wrote a trenchant account of the psychology and sociology of the black middle class. A decade later, Martin Luther King (1967) continued Frazier's critique of this middle class by asserting that "It's time for the Negro middle class to rise up from its stool of indifference, to retreat from its flight into unreality and bring its full resources—its heart, its mind, and its checkbook to the aid of the less fortunate brother." Three years later, Nathan Hare (1970), one of Frazier's former students, entered the fray with an even more vitriolic attack on the black middle class. The issues raised, and the accusations hurled, by these scholars continue to shape the discourse surrounding the contemporary black middle class (Blackwell, 1985; Cruse, 1987; Landry, 1988; Hooks and West, 1991; Lehmann, 1991; Billingsley, 1992; Cose, 1993). Given the ideology of race in American social thought, Frazier's poignant arguments are best viewed within the context of an anomaly: the strange phenomenon of the emergence of a "middle" class in a society where race relations were predicated on white supremacy which meant, historically, centuries of preferential treatment for white Americans. Indeed, as Du Bois (1901) earlier declared, the very idea of a black middle class within a racially divided country amounts to a "double paradox" or a "paradox within a paradox."

Given the race and class parameters of the United States, any analysis of the black middle class must address, simultaneously, class as well as racial issues. The term *racial class* will be used to describe this unique situation. Viewing the class as a racial class suggests several features: that any comparisons made between it and any version of the white middle class must be carefully delimited (Early, 1994; Martin and Martin, 1978; Willie, 1979, 1991). Second, that discussions relative to race cannot be rigidly demarcated from discussions involving class.

This paper examines two dimensions of the black middle class as a racial class: its historical formation and development as a class, and its class consciousness. A delineation of these features illustrates how this class is not only different in origins from the white middle class; it also demonstrates how, and against great odds, blacks have sought to carve out niches, as much as doing so is possible, in a society which has historically devalued and undermined them.

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