Racial Limbo: A Systematic Study of the History of Coloured South Africans and their Contemporary Attitudes, Perceptions of Deprivation, and Racial Identifications

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To my son Jackson, the light of my life

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In December of 2013 the world's gaze was upon South Africa, as the nation mourned the passing of former President Nelson Mandela. The last time South Africa captured the world's attention was 20 years prior, in 1994, when the first vote of universal adult suffrage led to the election of Mandela as President. Mandela guided the nation into successful reconciliation and transformation after the fall of the racist, white-led apartheid regime. As a result, Mandela signifies hope, perseverance, forgiveness and racial harmony for many. It should be little surprise, then, that Mandela's death caused many South Africans to reflect on progress they have made since the 1994 election. The "soul-searching" (Mark 2013) was particularly salient for South Africa's coloured population, who felt the transition from white-majority to black-majority had done little to change their intermediary position. As one coloured South African confessed, "Apartheid was worse for blacks, it's true. But after everything we coloureds did to help [Mandela's Party] the ANC, they only care about their own people. I spent time in prison for the struggle, and I can't see anything is better for us coloureds today" (Lofty qtd. in Mark 2013). Another coloured South African described the choice she had to make to either "go for white" or remain a coloured during apartheid South Africa. Her soul-searching meant recognizing that her choice to be coloured resulted in a life of poverty and marginality. After many similar conversations with coloureds, the journalist poignantly concludes: "the racial limbo coloureds suffered under apartheid continues today" (Mark 2013).

Indeed, coloured South Africans represent an exemplar case of *racial limbo*, which I define as belonging to a group positioned between a dominant and subordinate group in a racial hierarchy. Currently labeled as a mixed-race population group in South Africa, the majority of

coloureds are descendants of interracial unions and/or relations between white (i.e., Dutch colonists) and black (i.e., Khoikhoi Africans) occupants in the western cape of southern Africa circa 1600 (Patterson 1953). Research suggests coloureds occupied an intermediate status in the racial hierarchy during twentieth century South Africa (Goldin 1987; Lewis 1987; Morse and Peele 1974; Patterson 1953). Furthermore, a respondent in my previous fieldwork (Laster 2008) illustrates that racial limbo shaped her everyday experience in contemporary South Africa by describing living as coloured as "walking the fence…bordering two worlds and hard to balance."

Although South Africa has "stood in the annals of social science as a monument to racial inequality" (Seidman 1999:420) and has received ample scholarly attention in regards to its rigid racial hierarchy and troubled race relations, the sociological research on coloureds remains underdeveloped. The omission is even more glaring when we consider the recent influx of research on groups with mixed race history and those holding intermediary positions today. Moreover, a limitation of the prior work on racial limbo is that the focus has been on biracials in the United States (e.g., Brunsma 2006; DaCosta 2007; Daniel 2007; Davis 1991; Telles 2004; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2008; Reuter 1969; Root 1996; Spencer 1999) or, to a lesser extent, pardos/morenas in Brazil (e.g., Nobels 2002; Telles 1995; 2004; Wade 2004). The few cross-national studies of racial limbo in South Africa and elsewhere (e.g., Frederickson 1981; Marx 1997; van der Berge 1967; Winant 2001) require a high level of abstraction and thereby minimize how well scholars understand racial limbo in any given context. Further, the extant research on coloureds occurred mostly before the fall of apartheid (Goldin 1987; Lewis 1987; Morse and Peele 1974; Patterson 1953; Stonequist 1937) and is outdated.

An additional important limitation within available literature is that it emphasizes one of two perspectives on racial limbo: *top-down* or *bottom-up*. On the one hand, the top-down perspective focuses on the historical formation of racial limbo (e.g., Adhikari 1997, 2005; Daniel 2007; Davis 1991; Marx 1998; Telles 2004). This descriptive line of research concentrates

heavily on how nation-states and ideologies construct racial limbo. On the other hand, the bottom-up perspective analyzes the social psychological perspectives of individuals belonging to groups in racial limbo (e.g., Brunsma 2006; Erasmus 2001; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2008). The two perspectives are rarely in conversation with each other, minimizing integration of what we know across the macro- and micro-levels.

Though various scholarly works allude to the sociological significance of racial limbo, past research is limited in its scope, cohesiveness, and conceptual clarity, which leaves the construct fairly fuzzy. One final reason for the fuzziness is that empirical research on racial limbo using individual level data relies on single-item self-reported racial identification rather than a multidimensional measurement, which might better account for variation in the lived experience of racial limbo.

All in all, the limited extant research leaves many questions unanswered, especially when considering coloureds. For instance, what was the role of the South African nation-state is cultivating a position of racial limbo for coloureds? Is coloureds' position maintained today? Do coloureds' attitudes or perceptions reflect their historical, intermediate position? Are there divisions within the coloured population, or do all coloureds share a phenomenological experience of racial limbo? In this dissertation project I provide a systematic study of racial limbo by exploring the history of coloureds in South Africa and examining coloureds' contemporary attitudes, perceptions of deprivation, and racial identifications. I argue findings from this project will be informative for examinations of racial limbo in other contexts and contribute to our understanding of race across social levels. Before I discuss further the specific research questions addressed in this dissertation project, I provide an overview of the concept of racial limbo.

THE CONCEPT OF RACIAL LIMBO

Positions of Limbo

Limbo represents a state of in-betweenness; it involves suspension in an intermediate position. It implies the quality of being an *outsider within* (Collins 1986). Adolescence, the state between childhood's dependence and adulthood's independence, is a familiar example of limbo (called *liminality* by Erikson 1993). There are numerous other examples: a person on parole is technically neither free nor incarcerated (e.g., Petersilia 2003); a bisexual person chooses not to define themselves as heterosexual or homosexual (e.g., Garber 1995); a first or second generation immigrant oscillates between homeland ties and host country allegiance (e.g., Kasinitz et al. 2008). Despite incoherence limbo positions seem to invoke, individuals learn to live in, with, and through limbo, because social contracts actually support in-between and/or transitional positions.

Causes of limbo positions are multi-level and interactive, and differences in its production have consequences for individuals' experience of it. At the macro-level, the nation-state can act to construct such positions instantaneously or through protracted processes (e.g., immigrants with work visas). At the meso-level, social relationships can create limbo (e.g., miscegenation) or community contracts (e.g., American Indians living reservations). Finally, at the micro-level, social interactions can create limbo (e.g., a transgender man may be asked to leave a woman's bathroom) and even individual psychology and/or genetics can produce limbo (e.g., diagnosis of bipolar disorder). What is more, limbo can be caused by volition, coercion, or both. [1]

Racial Limbo

Although limbo can be found in many social situations, the most provocative studies of limbo typically involve race (e.g., Adhikari 2005; DaCosta 2007; Daniel 2001; Degler 1986; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2008; Reuter 1969; Root 1996; Sue 2013; Telles 2004; Wade 1995; also see review by Telles and Sue 2009). This is so because race remains the most enduring social

cleavage across the globe (Winant 2001). Race is central to the organization of our personal, professional, and political lives and serves as a concrete abstraction, having created divisions among peoples and places from antiquity.

As mentioned, there are groups positioned in limbo in the contexts seminal to the sociological study of race: the United States, Brazil, and South Africa. Specifically, biracials in the United States, pardos/morenos in Brazil, and coloureds in South Africa are all cases of racial limbo. Across contexts, what remains constant is that whiteness occupies the dominant position and blackness occupies the subordinate position; what differs is who and what characterizes the middle of the racial hierarchy.

Example of titles of work on these groups include: "Race Mixture: Studies in Intermarriage and Miscegenation" (Reuter 1969), "Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States" (Degler 1986), "The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict" (Stonequist 1937), "Land of the Cosmic Race: Race Mixture, Racism, and Blackness in Mexico" (Sue 2013), "Mixed Messages: Multiracial Identities in the Colorblind Era" (Brunsma 2006), "More Than Black? Multiracial Identity and the New Racial Order" (Daniel 2001), "Between the Wire and the Wall: A History of South African "Coloured" Politics" (Lewis 1987), and "Not White Enough, Not Black Enough: Racial Identity in the South African Coloured Community" (Adhikari 2005). Descriptors repeated in the titles include "between", "more than", and "marginal". Not surprisingly, mixed race history comes to the forefront as the primary focus of race mixture research.

Similarly, the concept of *mestizaje* occupies research in the Latin American context, and it is characterized by high rates of race mixture (Telles 1995; Wade 1995). *Creolization* is another term sometimes used to describe research on these groups (Erasmus 2001), but it again emphases the mixing of cultures. Perhaps, then, a more fitting label (as opposed to racial limbo) to describe the referenced research is *race mixture.* Telles and Sue (2009:130) define race mixture studies as

encompassing research of "intimate social interaction across social boundaries" and other sociological issues (e.g., identity, social movements, national ideologies) surrounding the progeny of race mixture. Overall, however, Telles and Sue (2009) assert that the field of race mixture is concentrated and underdeveloped, and urge more systematic and comprehensive scholarship on the important subject.

I employ racial limbo as a term to describe an intermediate position in a racial hierarchy. Where my own research diverges from race mixture, then, is that it broadens the narrow focus from the creation of these groups (e.g., miscegenation, race mixture) or identities of these individuals (e.g., bi- multi-racial identity) to one that engages with structural positioning. In this dissertation project, I seek to shift the focus past race mixture to positions of racial limbo.

Coloureds: An Exemplar Case of Racial Limbo

Despite being a highly studied context for race research, the contemporary sociological research on coloureds and racial limbo in South African is insubstantial. I argue coloureds represent the strongest case of racial limbo because of South Africa's rigid hierarchy, which influenced coloureds longstanding, well-defined, and intermediate position, and because coloureds current status can not be characterized as either mixed or marginal.

The reasons that make South Africa an important context to study for race relations broadly (Seidman 1999), are the same reasons more attention is needed in analyses of coloureds. South Africa was founded on an explicitly racist ideology (Cell 1982; Frederickson 1981). The nation-states' rigid classification system and the racial discrimination coloureds have encountered directly impacts their experience of racial limbo. Furthermore, coloureds, moreso than their U.S. and Brazilian counterparts, have remained a legally sanctioned and socially distinct group for the greater part of the last century.

Also, despite the common acceptance that coloureds are a racially mixed group in South Africa, most coloureds today do not have ties to first-generation race mixture. That is, the

majority of coloureds have coloured parents and grandparents (Adhikari 2005) as opposed to having a parents belonging to different races (which often characterizes other instances of racial limbo). I argue that, although race mixture is an important aspect of coloureds' history, race mixture is not a defining feature of coloureds; rather, it is coloureds enduring 'between' status. Furthermore, I do not believe that marginality accurately captures coloureds' experiences. Although coloureds have not held substantial representation in either the majority-white or majority-black governments, they have always been an integral part of South Africa's social landscape.

For these reasons, I argue that coloureds have had the most time to come to terms with their intermediary position, which might be visibly reflected in coloureds' lived experiences. Thus, conclusions regarding variation within coloureds, or whether coloureds might push back against the macro-level forces that work to create their position, will provide a convincing, conservative argument about racial limbo more broadly. All things considered, I maintain coloureds in South Africa provide an exemplar case study for an exploration of racial limbo.[2]

Before I continue, I should note why I do not study Indians and Asians—who are also neither black nor white and potentially hold an intermediate position in South Africa—in this dissertation project. The first reason I focus exclusively on coloureds is because they make up approximately 9% of the South African population (which is equivalent to white South Africans), whereas Indians/Asians only make up 2%. Second, I develop the concept of racial limbo for groups positioned between a dominant group and subordinate group in a *racial* hierarchy. In order to achieve my goal, I included only those groups who do not have another identity or attachment that marks them as different or outsiders (e.g., ethnicity, foreigner), and could restrict their ability to be placed neatly in a racial hierarchy. Indians' and Asians' foreigner/sojourner orientation or ethnic identity means they have another social identity that sets them apart from white, coloured, and black South Africans. Kim's (1999) work on triangulation or even

Bonacich's (1973) work on middleman minority may be more applicable to these groups. This is not to say ethnic or ethnoracial groups do not fit within the bounds of racial limbo, but rather an exploration of that potential is outside of the scope of this dissertation project. Future work should examine similarities and differences between coloureds and Indians and Asians in South Africa to address whether the concept of racial limbo is suitable for all between groups. I now outline my dissertation project.

PROJECT OUTLINE

The purpose of this dissertation project is to investigate the concept of racial limbo by studying the history of coloureds in South Africa and examining coloureds' contemporary attitudes, perceptions of deprivation, and racial identifications. I conduct three empirical studies for this dissertation project. In Study One, I investigate whether the apartheid nation-state cultivated a position of racial limbo for coloureds and whether their intermediate position is maintained in post-apartheid South Africa. Conceiving of legislative data as a productive way of engaging with a nation-state's race-making processes, I analyze thirty-three legislative documents during apartheid South Africa (1948-1992) and post-apartheid South Africa (1993 to 2014) for Study One. Specifically, I examine how the South African nation-state (1) defined coloureds, (2) positioned coloureds between white and black South Africans in the racial hierarchy, and (3) distributed power and resources to coloureds relative to white and black South Africans. Findings from Study One allow me to assess the nations-state's role in constructing racial limbo across historical periods, while simultaneously allowing for coloureds' voice to be surface through legislative disputes.

In Study Two, I investigate whether the generalized attitudes and perceived relative deprivation of coloureds might align with their position of racial limbo. Specifically, analyzing two waves of the Southern African Barometer (SAB), I examine whether self-identified coloureds

in post-apartheid South Africa (1) report generalized attitudes that reflect their group's intermediate, historical position between white and black South Africans, and (2) perceive their group as both deprived and gratified compared to white and black South Africans, respectively. Findings from Study Two allow me to assess whether group position is associated with a broad array of contemporary individual level outcomes. Moreover, it provides evidence for how coloureds' intermediate, historical position may be reflected today.

Finally, in Study Three, I explore whether a multidimensional measure of coloureds' racial identification (as compared to a single-item self-reported racial identification) better reflects coloureds' position in racial limbo in contemporary South Africa. I take up recent calls for innovative approaches to measuring race and question whether identification with a race group accurately captures group experience. Specifically, I conduct latent class analysis on coloured respondents in the Cape Town Area Study (CAS). Using instruments theorized to capture of the phenomenology of race in the LCA, I attempt to locate potential latent classes (i.e., unobserved subgroups) of coloureds. I then determine whether the latent classes of coloured, as opposed to a single indicator, better demonstrates whether coloureds' position in racial limbo is reflected in attitudes and perceptions of deprivation located, on average, between white and black South Africans. Findings from Study Three allow me to explore the potential heterogeneity within coloureds' position of racial limbo. I now overview the conceptual model that ties the dissertation project together, before I conclude with a discussion of the project's contributions.

CONCEPTUAL MODEL: A RACIALIZED SOCIAL SYSTEM

I employ Bonilla-Silva's *racialized social system* as a conceptual model. Bonilla-Silva (1997) makes three key points about racialized social systems. First, he asserts that every nation-state is a racialized social system because the "placement of people in racial categories involved some form of hierarchy that produces definite social relations between races." (p. 469).

Moreover, Bonilla-Silva argues that nation-states mark groups by race and also structure these groups in a hierarchy such that race becomes an integral part of social life. [3] Second, races placed in the superior position tend to receive greater economic, political, social, and psychological benefits compared to groups in the subordinate position. For instance, Bonilla-Silva (1997) argues that the higher a group is placed on the racial hierarchy, the better labor market prospects, social esteem (e.g., smarter, better looking), and "psychological wage" (Roediger 1991) they receive.

Finally, according to Bonilla-Silva (1997:470), "[i]nsofar as the races receive different social rewards at all levels, they develop dissimilar objective interests." These interests are collective rather than individual, and based on relations between groups rather than explicit needs (Bonilla-Silva 1997). So, not only does position impact the power and resources groups have access to, it also shapes their interests and practices. Moreover, Bonilla-Silva claims that race comes to have independent effects in social life. Cultural, political, economic, social, and psychological phenomena are racialized as a result of race being a fundamental part of every nation-state's organization.

In sum, the racialized social system model proposes that a nation-state forms racial categories and dictates how the categories are arranged in a racial hierarchy. Groups' positioning in the racial hierarchy then impacts benefits they receive and their collective interests and behaviors (Bonilla-Silva 1997). This model is informed from the social structure and personality framework, which "…direct[s] our attention to the hierarchically organized processes through which the macrostructures come to have relevance for the inner lives of individual persons and, in theory, the processes through which individual personals come to alter social systems" (McLeod and Lively 1999:77) and encourages explorations of phenomena across social levels. This dissertation follows others who use the social structure and personality framework (e.g., Bobo

1999; House 1995), and specifically the racialized social system model (Bonilla-Silva 1997), as a guide for examining how social structures shape outcomes for race groups.

For instance, Forman (2003) used the racialized social system as a conceptual model to examine how race-related structural constraints (i.e., racial segmentation in the workplace) can impair African Americans' psychological functioning. Forman argued that perceptions of group position and group deprivation in the workplace are a product of racist structures, which has a direct and indirect relationship with psychological functioning for African Americans. As such, he claims the racialized social system allows for a succinct description of how structures could plausibly impact micro-level outcomes.

The racialized social system guides my dissertation project by supporting the argument that racial limbo represents one position in South Africa's racial hierarchy, and this position, in turn, influences the attitudes, perceptions, and identifications of those in racial limbo. As Figure 1 illustrates, a racialized social system shapes racial hierarchies and can directly and indirectly impact groups' lived outcomes. Relationships in this model are theoretically bidirectional (Forman 2003; McLeod and Lively 1999). On the one hand, I argue that this conceptual model is a helpful guide because it mends the top-down (i.e., structural; nations and hierarchies matter most in race-making) verses bottom-up (i.e., agency; identities and individual choices matter most in race-making) fracture of the literature regarding racial limbo by implying that racial hierarchy shapes macro- and micro-level outcomes.

Despite its strengths, the racialized social system is limited by the fact that it is a heuristic conceptual model, meaning it "describe[s] structures that constrain, shape, limit, and redirect action, rather than linear forces that determine it" (Diesing 1991:91). On the other hand, then, I acknowledge that this model is limited by its descriptive nature. Moreover, the central argument of the racialized social system cannot be empirically tested; there is no valid way to empirically *test* the social construction of a group or how structure is directly related to meso- and micro-level

social outcomes for a group. Relatedly, the racialized social system is limiting because it is ubiquitous in its consequences (i.e., everything is racialized) and for that reason is not potentially falsifiable. Finally, as it is currently treated in research, the racialized social system model leaves little room for agency by dictating that all members of a racial group share the exact same relationship to their racial group and other racial groups (see Loveman 1999 for a comprehensive critique).

Although I recognize limitations of the racialized social system, I attempt to mitigate the limitations in three important ways. I first provide a critical assessment of the South African nation-state's role in cultivating a position of racial limbo for coloureds. Although I cannot test the construction, I can, however, demonstrate the ways in which the nation-state may engineer group positions. Second, in choosing multiple individual level outcomes for analysis (e.g., generalized attitudes, perceptions of deprivation), I am able to examine multiple and specific aspects of individuals' lives that might be impacted by group positions in the racial hierarchy. Finally, I develop a multidimensional measure of coloureds' racial identification, rather than relying on the assumption that a single-item self-reported racial identification captures what it means to be coloured.

By attempting to overcome the racialized social systems shortcomings, I argue I am able to set up a clear path for analyses and background investigation of other testable theories used in each respective study. Moreover, the racialized social system conceptual model guides the funnel approach I used to structure my dissertation: I begin with evaluating the nation-state and work down levels of analysis, thus building conclusions that speak to multiple social levels.

CONTRIBUTION

I argue that the examinations of racial limbo reveal hidden facets of racial hierarchies and can likewise reveal limitations of race theories. Yet, past research on race limbo is limited in its

scope, cohesiveness, and conceptual clarity, which leaves the construct fairly fuzzy. Furthermore, South Africa's case of racial limbo is stands as an important outlier, but remains largely ignored today. The research that is available emphasizes a top-down or bottom-up perspective on racial limbo. The perspectives do not often speak with each other; thus, minimizing integration of what we know across the macro- and micro-levels. Finally, empirical research on racial limbo using individual level data relies on self-reported racial identification rather than multidimensional measurement that might account for variation in the lived experience of racial limbo.

My dissertation project contributes to the literature by: (1) examining the South African case—a context investigated rarely post-apartheid; (2) using a conceptual model that emphasizes interconnections between the macro- and micro-levels by describing how the historical construction of coloureds as a group in racial limbo might be evidenced in individual outcomes today, and (3) attempting a multidimensional measurement of the coloured racial identification that may better capture racial limbo. This systematic study of coloureds will contribute conceptual and methodological clarity to the concept of racial limbo.

The potential broader implications of this study are substantial. This dissertation project engages in one of the longstanding sociological debates: *structure versus agency*? Moreover, I engage with research informed broadly by the social structure and personality framework and apply it to one of the most pressing social cleavages today: race. Specifically, guided by the racialized social system conceptual model, I examine how hierarchies are constructed and investigate whether they have relevance and permanence in people's lives. I question whether structure can be reflected in individual level outcomes, and whether examining micro-level aspects of race reveals the phenomenological experience of race. Findings from the dissertation suggest that racial hierarchy infiltrates coloureds' lives, even when the structures (i.e., apartheid) have themselves gone away. At the same time, however, individual agency—especially among those positioned in race limbo—remains active in contesting structural constraints.

NOTES

[1] The distinction between volition and coercion in constructing limbo is often blurred and/or intersects across context and historical time. For instance, crossing a nation-state border to become an undocumented immigrant is a choice, but a choice often conditioned by adverse living situations or safety concerns in an immigrant's home country.

[2] *Racial liminaltity* was actually the first term I employed when I began working on this dissertation project in spring of 2013. However, when Mark (2013) used racial limbo to describe coloureds in her December 2013 article, I decided to borrow from her term. The fact that we both arrived to very similar conclusions suggests racial limbo might be a reliable construct.

[3] Diverging slightly from Bonilla-Silva's claims, I believe that race can be made at both institutional and individual levels. The modern creation of race circa the 1700s was largely a macro (e.g., ideological and institutional) construction (Hirschman 2004; Frederickson 1981; Winant 2001). However, social movement analyses on racial inclusion and identity politics have shown that individuals also have agency in marking and assigning meaning to their race. For instance, the multiracial movement in the United States was spearheaded by a few multiracial entrepreneurs (DaCosta 2007) who were successful in implementing their policies at the institutional level (e.g., 2000 census change for the "check more than one race" option). Furthermore, individuals have the ability to resist group membership, but whether or not others accept their resistance is variable (see Rockquemore and Brunsma's (2008) discussion of unvalidated biracial identities for example). This notion is examined in Study Three.

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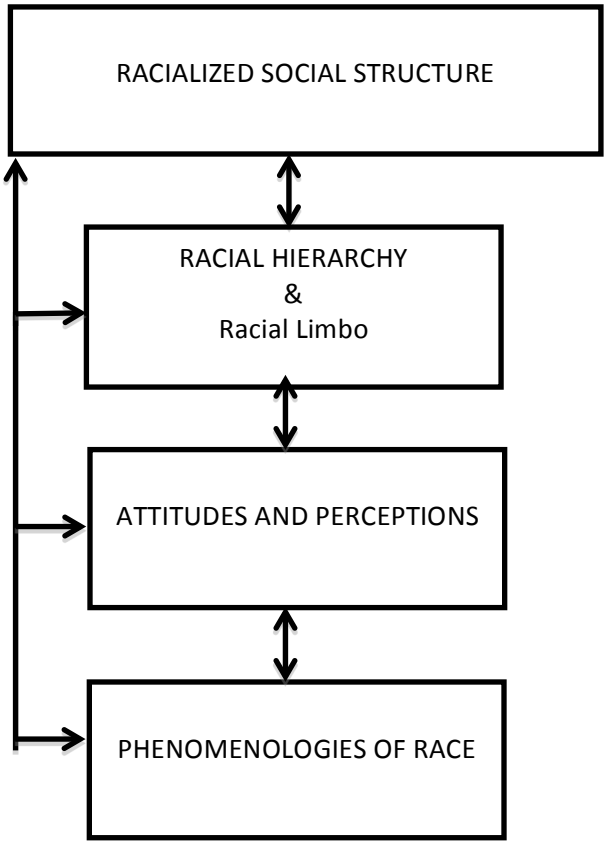
Figure 1. Conceptual Model



CHAPTER TWO

RACIAL FORMATION, PROJECTS, AND LIMBO: EVIDENCE FROM SOUTH AFRICAN LEGISLATION DURING AND AFTER APARTHEID

The South African nation-state stands out for its strict governance over race relations. Seidman (1997) declares, "As everyone knows, South Africa is unique: For fifty years, it stood in the annals of social science as a monument to racial inequality." Cell (1982) described South Africa as the highest stage of white supremacy and Frederickson (1981) claimed that South Africa enacted the most pernicious form of institutionalized racism, while South Africa was called "the world's most unabashedly racial state" by Winant and Seidman (2001:128). Put succinctly by Marx (1998:7), "South Africa's race relations bark most loudly." What all of these scholars suggest is that the very structure of the South African state was blatantly racist.

White South African's unmitigated control over the nation-state and the legally enforced subjugation of black South Africans sets South Africa apart as an extreme case. Indeed, the juxtaposition of a small white ruling class against a disenfranchised black majority has received ample consideration in social scientific research. Post-apartheid South Africa has also received much attention in regard to the long contested shift in power from white to black South Africans. Yet, white and black South Africans are not the only populations present in South Africa. Coloured South Africans, considered a racially mixed group, have made up a considerable and constant proportion of the population in South Africa in the last century.

Remarkably less social scientific attention has been given to the role of the state in shaping coloureds' position and experience in South Africa. Exceptions include historical descriptions of coloureds written during apartheid (Goldin 1987; Lewis 1987; Patterson 1953) and cross-national comparative analyses that dedicate a chapter to miscegenation and consequentially cover coloureds

(Frederickson 1981; Marx 1998; van de Berge 1967). Such scholarship suggested that coloureds held intermediate position between white and black South Africans during the early history of South Africa. More recent research on coloureds, by South African scholars such as Adhikari (2005) and Erasmus (2001), has brought the conversation into the twenty-first century. Although coloureds' position is more ambiguous today, these scholars suggest coloureds' intermediate position between white and black South Africans remains stable.

I argue that more systematic research is needed to examine the cultivation and maintenance of coloureds' position in what I call *racial limbo*. Racial limbo means belonging to a group positioned between a dominant white group and a subordinate black group in a racial hierarchy. I agree with race scholars who argue that the treatment of groups in racial limbo within highly stratified nations is informative to overall systems of domination (Daniel 2007; Brunsma 2006; Frederickson 1981; Marx 1998; Telles 2003; Telles and Sue 2009). Although these groups often have less clear boundaries than whites (as a dominant group) or blacks (as a subordinate group), examining racial limbo has value; it can reveal hidden facets of racial hierarchies.

In this study, I examine whether the South African nation-state cultivated a position of racial limbo for coloureds and whether it is being maintained today. I split my analysis into two periods: (1) apartheid South Africa from 1948-1992 and (2) post-apartheid South Africa from 1993 to 2014. I investigate how the South African nation-state defines coloureds, positions coloureds between white and black South Africans in the racial hierarchy, and distributes power and resources to coloureds relative to white and black South Africans. I conceive of legislative data as a productive way of engaging with a nation-state's race-making processes (Gordon-Reed 2002; Marx 1998; Omi and Winant 1994), and therefore analyze legislation and official state documents.

In the sections that follow, I discuss racial formation, racialized social systems, and race mixture as frameworks that inform the purpose and analytical strategy of this study. Next, I set the stage by providing background information about South Africa as a racist nation-state. I then lay out my

expectations and describe the analytic strategy. Finally, I present findings from the analysis of apartheid and post-apartheid legislation in order to assess the cultivation and maintenance of coloureds' position in racial limbo, respectively. I argue contrasting the two periods allows for a critical examination of the nation-state's role in forming the position of racial limbo for coloured South Africans.

FRAMING

Racial Formation

To understand how a nation-state comes to attach significance to race, we must first interrogate the concept of race and how it comes to have meaning. As defined by Desmond and Emirbayer (2009:336), race is "a *symbolic category*, based on phenotype or ancestry and constructed according to specific *social and historical contexts*, that is misrecognized as a natural category." I add emphasis to the term symbolic category in order to highlight that no scientific basis to race (as attached to phenotype) exists, despite the fact that race has long been thought to be a biological category. Rather, race functions as a symbolic category separating people into groups and generating feelings of similarity and difference (see Epstein 1992; Lamont and Molnar 2002). When symbolic categories are widely agreed upon they become social categories, which pattern social interactions (Lamont and Molnar 2002).

Another important aspect within the aforementioned definition of race is that it is a sociohistorical concept: racial categories must be understood within the social, economic, political, and historical context in which they are embedded (Omi and Winant 2012:18). That is, what race means or who belongs to what race varies across time and place. The process of creating the meaning of race within the applicable contexts is termed *racial formation* by Omi and Winant (1994). Racial formation takes into account the social, economic, and political forces that determine the content and importance of racial categories.

Omi and Winant further articulate that racial formation happens through a series of *racial projects*. Racial projects are defined as the "simultaneous interpretation, representation or explanation of race dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial lines" (Omi

and Winant 1994:56). Racial projects work by first identifying and signifying racial categories and then organizing resources according to the particular signification attached to the racial categories. The racial formation process has serious implications for social life. Put succinctly by Omi and Winant:

> [S]ociety is infused with racial projects, large and small, to which all are subjected. … Everybody learns some combination, some version, of the rules of racial classification, and of her own racial identity, often without obvious teaching or conscious inculcation. Thus we are inserted in a comprehensively *racialized social structure*. Race becomes "common sense"—a way of comprehending, explaining, and acting in a social world. (Omi and Winant 1994:60, emphasis added)

In other words, racial projects help spread ideas about race and classification. Once the ideas are learned they become embedded into the social structure: a process called *racialization*.

Furthermore, racial formation encompasses an array of racial projects. Some are bottom-up projects that stem from individual and group agency (e.g., grassroots, social movements) and others are top-down projects that are the result of structural forces (i.e., institutions, government mandates), but all work to create racial categories. My goal is to examine the role of the South African nation-state in forming a position of racial limbo for coloureds; therefore, I emphasize a top-down perspective in this study.

The Nation-state as Racial Formation

Consistent with the racial formation thesis, Bonilla-Silva (1997) contends that nation-states act as *racialized social systems*, which means they are "societies in which economic, political, social, and ideological levels are partially structured by the placement of actors in racial categories or races" (p. 469). He argues that nation-states mark groups by race and also structure these groups in a hierarchy, and in turn, such societies are shaped by these racialized structures. Furthermore, Bonilla-Silva argues that races placed in the superior position tend to receive greater economic, political, social, and psychological benefits compared to groups in the subordinate position. For instance, he describes the correlation between being higher placed on the racial hierarchy with better labor market prospects, social esteem (e.g., smarter, better looking), and "psychological wage" (Roediger 1991).

Marx's (1998) influential book, *Making Race and Nation*, sets up a framework that is consistent with Bonilla-Silva's theorization regarding racialized social systems, but further articulates the nation-state. Marx explains, "[d]omination has been officially encoded in racial terms, suggesting that the state plays a role in constructing and enforcing the institutional boundaries of race" (1998:4). Moreover, Marx conceives of the nation-state as the focal point of analysis in racial formation. He defines the state as an association that claims control of society within a territory, whereas the nation is defined as a popular loyalty, often obliged to serve and be served by the state. Jointly, then, the nation-state is "institutional rule and allegiance to it" with the primary goal of diminishing internal conflict (Marx 1998:4). Therefore, the creation of racial categories is one means the nation-state employs to control the population, diminish conflict, and create boundaries: "states bind the nation they claim to represent by institutionalizing identities of racial inclusion and exclusion" (Marx 1998:5). Marx claims that as states work out their nation-building they simultaneously work out their race-making, and as nation-states progress, racial categories remain central to the maintenance of the social order.

The racial formation and racialized social system frameworks orient us to think about the meaning and position of racial categories and suggest the nation-state acts as a primary place for race-making. However, they do not specifically address groups positioned in racial limbo. Therefore I also consulted studies of racial mixture for my analysis of coloured South Africans.

The Nation-state, Racial Projects, and Race Mixture

Telles and Sue (2009:130) define race mixture studies as encompassing research of "intimate social interaction across social boundaries" and other sociological issues (e.g., identity, social movements, national ideologies) surrounding the progeny of race mixture. On the importance of race mixture, Frederickson (1981) argues, "the concerns a dominate group expresses about its sexual and marital relations with racial or ethnic "outsiders," what it actually does to regulate "miscegenation," and how it treats people of mixed percentage reveal much about a society's pattern of group stratification" (p.156). Although my examination of racial limbo in this dissertation project entails more than race mixture (i.e.,

miscegenation), this is a useful framework because it provides direction on how to think more critically about the way the South African state dealt with coloureds' racially mixed history.

Researchers have studied race mixture in the United States (e.g., DaCosta 2007; Daniel 2001; Davis 1991), Brazil (e.g., Degler 1986; Telles 2004), and Colombia (e.g.,Wade 1995), South Africa (e.g., Adhikari 2005; Goldin 1997; Patterson 1953) and have conducted cross-national comparisons (e.g., Daniel 2007; Frederickson 1981; Marx 1998; van der Berge 1967). This research reveals how social and historical context informs variation in the production of racial limbo—from the erasure of racial limbo to multiple iterations of racial limbo and so on. For instance, the one-drop rule can be analyzed as a racial project in the racial formation of blackness (and not racial limbo) in the United States. According to the Racial Integrity Act of 1924, a ""white person" shall apply only to the person who has no trace whatsoever of any blood other than Caucasian" (Integrity Act, State Legislature of Virginia 1924). Moreover, just one-drop of black blood meant legal and social categorization as black. This act, and its widespread, historical de jure application, diminished the existence of racial limbo in the United States during the nineteen-century. This rule had ramifications for social organization as well: it increased the base of low-wage workers (see Davis 1991).

One instructive, yet largely neglected text on race mixture is Reuter's (1969) study of white and black race mixture in the United States. According to Reuter (1969:188), a dominant group can foster three possible "distinctive social positions" for the half-castes: (1) lower segment of the dominant group; (2) members of the exploited group; or (3) an intermediate class or caste. His typology, which may be applicable to other contexts, provides a useful framework to assess the positions of those individuals with racially mixed backgrounds.[1] In my analysis, I attempt to verify the placement of coloureds as an intermediate class in South Africa's racial hierarchy: thus, occupying a position of racial limbo. Before I further lay out my expectations, I provide a brief background on the formation of the South-African nation-state and of the coloured race in South Africa.

Foundations of South African Nation-State[2]

Traders of the Dutch East India Company set up a station in the Cape of Good Hope, located at the southwestern tip of Africa, in 1652. The Dutch (initially referred to as Boers) planned to use the area as a reenergizing stop for its vessels on the way to India. They did not expand their land holdings until about five years later when they began to view their coincidental landing at the southernmost tip of Africa as more than a pit stop. The Dutch often settled in close proximity to indigenous Africans, primarily of the Khoikhoi tribe. Although the two groups occasionally worked interdependently for shared lifestyles, interactions between settlers and indigenous peoples predominantly privileged whites (Chazan et al. 1999; Frederickson 1997). For example, Africans were often forced into trade or work and small wars and foreign disease decreased Africans numbers in the area (Thompson 1996).

Interracial intimate relations, primarily between white men and Khoikhoi women were common but inegalitarian as well (Cell 1982; Chazan et al. 1999; Frederickson 1981). Before long, miscegenation in the cape resulted in a population of people of mixed parentage, sometimes socially referred to as *people of colour* (Patterson 1953). One report on parish registers reveals that 24% of marriages between 1688 and 1807 were between white males and a female with some degree of non-white ancestry (Hesse 1971:10). According to Frederickson (1981), interracial marriages in which the non-white partner was of mixed race were six times more common than interracial marriages with an indigenous black woman. Indeed, existence of racially mixed individuals means that there had to be a sizeable amount of initial miscegenation between whites and indigenous Africans, but the fact that more marriages were between whites and non-whites/non-indigenous Africans (i.e., the racially mixed) may indicate that those *between* had greater social status than their black indigenous counterparts.[3]

The racial hierarchy in South Africa was altered by miscegenation, because it introduced a racially mixed population. Moreover, the mix between two unequal status groups resulted in a population of offspring that was set apart, and possibly between, white and black South Africans. Still, no legal definition or definitive position existed for this group at this time.

In 1794 the Dutch East India Company declared bankruptcy and a year later the British Empire sought out to establish rule in Southern Africa. As the colonizers began to push inward towards the East, they encountered other African tribes, such as the Xhosa and Zulus. These African empires were fierce and clashed with Europeans (Thompson 1996). For much of the next century a plethora of wars, battles, and squabbles were fought between the Boers and the Africans, the British and the Boers, the Africans and the British, and among African tribes. They fought to determine who owned what land and who created the laws of those lands. In the end, the British, backed with strong aid, large numbers, and new technologies, came out as the primary victors during the nineteenth century (Chazan et al. 1999; Thompson 1996).

British attitudes towards Africans were inconsistent but relatively more humane compared to the Dutch (Lewis 1987; Marx 1998). For instance, the British mandated emancipation of Africans in 1833. However, after being defeated by the Zulus in a battle in 1879, the British retaliated with their growing power and established legalized segregation in the Eastern Cape in 1894.

A catalyzing event in the formation of the South African nation-state was the discovery of diamonds and gold between 1867 and 1886 in the eastern coastlines. The lure of instant wealth increased the population of Europeans in South Africa from 200,000 in 1865 to over one million by 1905 (Chazan et al. 1999). Furthermore, the demand for mineral wealth intensified altercations between all population groups. With the discovery of and antagonism over precious minerals, race and class stratification soon became a permanent fixture of South African society.

Conflict continued to plague South Africa. The South African War began in 1899 and lasted until 1902. During the war, over 500,000 British troops were sent to squash African empires, such as the Zulu, and to suppress Boer power (Chazan et al. 1999). The British implemented the South African Act of 1909 and founded the Union of South Africa. Indeed, the South African Act, made into the first constitution one year later, is known for setting in motion discriminatory social, economic and political systems because it began to legally restrict access from blacks and coloureds (Marx 1998). Despite the act,

though, conflict between the Europeans would continue. The Boers worked to increase their political base and power by pushing for even more restrictions against the black and coloureds, and by opening up voting privileges of white Dutch women (Frederickson 1981). In 1948 the National Party, a Boer political group, finally declared victory over South African rule.

South Africa as a Racist Nation-state

What is important to make explicit after this brief historical overview is that the formation of South Africa was grounded in beliefs of white supremacy (Cell 1982; Frederickson 1981; Marx 1998; Winant 2001). White supremacy is defined by Frederickson (1981:xi) as: "attitudes, ideologies, and policies associated with the rise of blatant forms of white or European dominance over "non-white" population." White supremacy serves as the ideological force that ties together various practices, laws, and institutions that have worked to form the South African nation-state, and importantly, form the structure of South Africa's racial hierarchy.

By the early twentieth century, whites rose steadily to the wealthy class in South Africa, whereas some blacks remained poor farmers and others took low paying jobs as miners and house servants. As a majority, black South Africans remained uneducated and lived in destitution (Frederickson 1981). It was during this period that 'people of colour' evolved into the category of *coloured*. It was also during this time that coloureds began to solidify a group that was different and above black South Africans. For instance, coloureds were allowed to stand and serve as elected or nominated representatives in the houses of Parliament during the beginning of the twentieth century (Frederickson 1981). Still, the nation-state had yet to be fully developed or officially decide upon the place of coloureds within South Africa's racial hierarchy.

South Africa and 'The Break'

I described the foundations of South Africa to set the stage for my analysis of the apartheid and post-apartheid nation-state's role in forming a position of racial limbo for its coloured population. Before I move to the expectations, it is important to clarify my periodization of the South African nation-state:

(1) apartheid South Africa from 1948-1992 and (2) post-apartheid South Africa from 1993-2014. This decision accounts for the crisis of racial formation (Winant 2001:135). Moreover, Winant argues that post-World War II there was a *break*; an economic, political, and cultural context in which most national racial conflicts had to be reworked. According to Winant, "once the incompatibility of the old racial system with the postwar social order both national and global was acknowledged, it became clear that the widespread social and political transformations would have to occur" (2001:135). The break resulted in a type of global racial formation that forced nations to re-conceptualize racial domination in the wake of democracy and universal humanity, but its impact hit each particular nation-state in a different way and at different times. Winant (2001) outlines four principal determining factors for the racial break: demographic change, movement mobilization, interaction with global racial networks, and reform of state policies.

Winant and Seidman argue that South Africa is an obvious choice for studies of racial formation, not only because it "was the world's most unabashedly racial state", but also because "[t]he very lateness of the coming of the break, of the beginning of the passage toward a democratic and inclusive society, makes South Africa a crucial case study." (2001:138). Apartheid, which began in 1948, used state authority to legally separate and control races, but its demise was finally written into law in 1992. Thus, the end of apartheid signifies the impact of the break in South Africa. Post-apartheid South Africa is often referenced by the colloquialism, the *new South Africa,* used to specify separation from the former, racist nation-state that most citizens are now ashamed of (see Waldmeir 1997). Post-apartheid South Africa represents a supposed democratic, nonracial, and progressive nation-state. All of the factors that Winant (2001) outlines were present in the 1990s as South Africa was transitioning away from the apartheid state, but consistent with my goals, I emphasize the reform and change of state policies after the break as the central factor in my analysis. Therefore, examining differences in legislation and state policies during and after apartheid should allow me to determine the role of the nation-state in first cultivating and then maintaining a limbo position for coloured South Africans.

HYPOTHESES

I argue that an analysis of racial projects as portrayed through legislation and official state documents makes it possible to assess how a nation-state defines racial categories, organizes the positions of racial categories, and distributes of power and resources according to these categories. Specifically, for my analysis, I investigate how the South African nation-state defined coloureds, positioned coloureds between white and black South Africans in the racial hierarchy, and distributed power and resources to coloureds relative to white and black South Africans.

I inform my hypotheses by taking into account the aforementioned frameworks regarding the making of race and nation and the brief description of South Africa's formation. Given the ideology of white supremacy that motivated the colonization and exploitation of black/African people in South Africa, and the ambiguous, but relatively higher social standing that coloureds held in South Africa, I expect that as South Africa continues demarcate its boundaries as a nation-state, it will also concretize what it means to be coloured in South Africa. Specifically, in regards to the apartheid regime, I expect to find evidence that the nation-state clearly and legally defined coloureds as a distinct racial category. I also anticipate finding evidence that apartheid South Africa crafted a racial hierarchy in which coloureds held an intermediate position between white and black South Africans. This is would be evidenced by legislation that discusses coloureds relative to white and black South Africans. Relatedly, I expect to find evidence of that the apartheid South African nation-state distributed more power and resources to coloureds compared to black South Africans (who were forced into the subordinate position), and less power and resources compared to white South Africans (who secured a superior position). Overall, this would suggest apartheid South Africa cultivated a limbo position for its coloured population.

In regard to post-apartheid South Africa, I anticipate that as the nation-state goes through the reconstruction phases, it will also have to decide on whether or not to re-define or re-organize its race categories and hierarchies. Accounting for processes of racialization (i.e., race takes on a life of its own), I posit that racial structures will remain in place (i.e., reaffirm prior categories) and expect that South

African will continue to define coloureds as a distinct race group. Further, I expect that coloureds' intermediate position within the racial hierarchy would remain intact, which again would be evidenced by legislation that discusses coloureds relative to white and black South Africans. However, accounting for the break, I expect that legislation in post-apartheid South Africa will not differentially distribute power and resources to coloureds relative to white or black South Africans. That is, I anticipate post-apartheid South Africa will neither allocate nor withhold power and resources according to race, given the goal of creating a racially harmonious nation. All things considered, I expect that coloureds' intermediate position of racial limbo will be maintained by the nation-state in contemporary South Africa. Figure 1 summarizes these hypotheses.

DATA AND METHODS

Data for this study comes from legislation implemented by the South African government. I operationalize legislation to include laws, rules, regulations, acts, ordinances or other official state documents. Informed by Marx (1998), I focus on legislation that was important in the formation of the nation-state, the enumeration of races, and/or acts that determine the allocation of power and resources by racial categories.

Data for this study are not an exhaustive survey of all legislation; rather they emphasize a broad, purposive sample that captures influential legislation across the two periods and allows me to assess the construction of coloureds' intermediate position. The sample was first informed by overviewing the work of various historical and political experts of South Africa to elicit an initial sample of legislation deemed important in shaping the racial hierarchy. Then, I used national (South African) and international databases to locate the original documents. Finally, I went back through the databases to supplement the sample to ensure breadth of legislation (e.g., penal, regulatory) passed at various historical points within the timeframe. In total, I analyzed twenty-two legislative documents from apartheid South Africa, and

eleven documents from post-apartheid South Africa. Table 1 summarizes these data. A research design that examines more quantitative aspects could serve as an interesting and complimentary future project.

My methodological strategy is informed by Omi and Winant (1994) and their conceptualization of racial projects. An analysis of racial projects makes it possible to assess how a nation-state defines racial categories, the status and meaning of racial categories, and the distribution of benefits according to racial categories. Specifically, in my reading of the data, I will document (1) representations of race and (2) re/distributions of power and resources according to those representations of race. I contend the sample of data I constructed highlights the most impactful legislation that speaks to the representation and organization of race in South Africans.

RESULTS

Apartheid South Africa

In 1948 the National Party, a Dutch political party led by Daniel François Malan, took over the South African government. The South African Act of 1909 was retained as the constitution during the 1948 takeover. Although discriminatory, it was not the constitution that set in motion unabashed racist state, but rather a series of legislations that fell under the label of "apartheid laws." Apartheid derives from the Dutch word *apart* and is explicitly based upon tenets of white supremacy. The question I engage during the analysis of apartheid South Africa is whether the state cultivated a position of racial limbo for coloureds.

Representations and Definitions of Race in Apartheid South Africa

One of the first pieces of legislation enacted by the apartheid government was the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act No. 55 of 1949. Of all the issues brought before a new government, it is interesting that the problem of mixed marriages seemed most pressing. The apartheid state decided to make marriage punishable by law if:

> "…any party to such marriage professing to be a European or a non-European, as the case may be, is in appearance obviously what he professes to be, or is able to show, in the case of a party

> professing to be a European, that he habitually consorts with Europeans as a European, or in the case of a party professing to be a non-European, that he habitually consorts with non-Europeans as a non-European." (Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act 1949, Section 1:ii).

What the fuzzy passage declared was the criminalization of any future instances interracial marriages between "Europeans" and "non-Europeans" in South Africa. The Immorality Act No. 21 of 1950, enacted one year later, took this idea a step further by making *sex* across the color line illegal. The 1950 act also amended the first Immorality Act of 1927 by stating, "we hereby amended by the substitution for the word "native", wherever it occurs, of the word "non-European" (Immorality Act of 1950: Section 5). That is, the initial act only prohibited sex between a white (i.e., European) person and a black (i.e., native African) person, but did not account for anyone between. Therefore, the amended act's purpose was to clarify that that relations between white Europeans and all non-whites would be illegal as well. Jointly, these acts made it apparent that races were to be thought of as distinct and separate, and sought to eliminate any future chances of racial mixture.

The segregation of intimate relationships was the first step in apartheid's mission to separate races, but as language of the documentation demonstrates, the government was unsure of how to actually classify the races. Thus, in 1950, the Population Registration Act No. 30 was implemented. This act named and separated the entire South African population into distinct racial categories and introduced an identity card for all persons over the age of eighteen. The act defined whites, natives, and coloureds races:

> (iii) "coloured person" means a person who is not a white person or a native
> (xv) "native" means a person who in fact is or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa
> (x) "white person" means a means a person who in appearance obviously is, or who is generally accepted as a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person.
> (Population Registration Act of 1950, Section 1: iii, xv, x)

The Population Registration Act reveals the apartheid nation-state explicitly defined coloured as a separate race. Notably, the definition rests on what they are not: neither black nor white. White South Africans were defined by their lack of non-white ancestry (i.e., pure), black South Africans were defined as native to Africa, and coloureds implicitly fell somewhere between.

The Population Act of 1950 is one of the most cited pieces of apartheid legislation and the racial categories named therein were used by all official agencies throughout the apartheid era. Enumerators of the 1951 census were first charged with the job of classifying South Africa's population, and then the Department of Native Affairs. However, classifications defined on fuzzy terms such as "appearance obviously" or "generally accepted" allowed subjective bias to factor into classification. For instance, Posel (2001a) found that classifications were based primarily on skin color and other phenotypic characteristics (e.g., hair texture), but also took into account ways of life. Consequentially, multiple amendments to the 1950 act were made throughout apartheid's reign.

The 1962 Population Registration Amendment Act No. 61 divided coloureds into seven sub-groupings: Cape Coloured, Malay, Griqua, Indian, Chinese, other Asiatic, and other Coloured. As such, coloured became a catchall for groups between white and black South Africans. Nonetheless, broadening the inclusion of coloured did little to help its clarity. A judge of the Supreme Court of Cape Town actually ruled that this proclamation was void for vagueness in 1967 (Horrell 1971). In this same year, 1967, the Population Registration Amendment Act No. 64 stretched the bounds of classification to include descent.

The move to make descent a deciding factor in determining race was the result of a very public case of racial *re*classification: the case of Sandra Laing (Stone 2004). Sandra Laing was born in 1955, to two white Afrikaners who lived in Piet Retief, a small conservative white designated area in South Africa. Like her brothers, Sandra was sent off to an all-white boarding school. At the age of ten, however, Sandra was expelled from school. Without her parent's permission, Sandra was officially reclassified as coloured and was therefore unable to attend the school. The school administration made the charge on the grounds that Sandra had brown skin and kinky hair that failed to pass the pencil test (i.e., if a pencil can stay in hair without falling out, a person was considered non-white). Despite having three-generations of white ancestry, Sandra 'looked' coloured, and because of the definitions provided in the Population Registration Act, Sandra was legally reclassified as coloured. The reclassification had damaging ramifications;

according to other apartheid laws, Sandra, a coloured, was only allowed to live with her parents if they also classified her as a servant.

In an appeal to the Supreme Court, the Laing's brought forth a scientist who claimed Sandra's appearance was result of a dormant 'throwback' gene, which refers to traits reappearing which had disappeared generations before (Stone 2004). Mr. Laing also argued that Sandra was brought up as naturally white. The public was highly divided on the issue, but the Supreme Court decided to amend the 1950 Population Registration Act to include descent as a form of classification and dictated specific directions for reclassification. As soon as the law passed, Mr. Laing successfully applied to have Sandra reclassified as white.[4] The Population Registration Amendment, No. 64 read:

> (4)If at any time it appears to the Secretary that the classification of a person in terms of subsection (1) (other than a classification in accordance with a decision of a board) is incorrect he may, after giving notice to that person and, if he is a minor, also to his guardian, specifying in which respect the classification is incorrect—
>
> (a) alter the classification of that person in the register after affording such person and such guardian (if any) an opportunity of being heard; or
>
> (b) refer the case to a board for decision as to whether the classification of that person in the register should be altered.
>
> (5) In the application of this section—
>
> (a) a person shall be classified as a white person if his natural parents have both been classified as white persons;
>
> (b) a person shall be classified as a coloured person if his natural parents have both been classified as coloured persons or one of his natural parents has been classified as a white person and the other natural parent has been classified as a coloured person or a Bantu;
>
> (c) a coloured person whose natural parents have both been classified as members of the s ame ethnic or other group, shall be classified as a member of that group;
>
> (d) a person shall be classified as a Bantu if his natural parents have both been classified as Bantus. (Population Registration Act 1967, Section 4 & 5)

The 1967 amendment's decision to include descent in racial classification meant South Africans had another factor to consider for racial classification. In general, reclassification during apartheid was not a rare occurrence (Erasmus and Ellison 2008; Posel 2001a). Thousands of cases were brought to The Office of Race Classification and sixty-nine cases were heard by the Supreme Court between 1950 and 1991 (Erasmus and Ellison 2008). One summary of racial reclassification in 1968 provides detail into patterns of reclassification. According to Bowker and Star (1999), four primary reclassifications occurred: white to coloured, coloured to black, black to coloured, and coloured to white (See Table 3). In their

estimates of 1968, ninety-one coloureds reclassified as white, with 100% of those cases brought forth on behalf of the individual. One hundred and eight black South Africans reclassified as coloured, again with 100% of those cases brought forth on behalf of the individual. Contrarily, nine white South Africans reclassified as coloured, and only one individual brought forth that case (11%). The other eight cases of white-to-coloured reclassifications occurred as a result of others wanting the reclassification to occur (e.g., Sandra Laing was reclassified from white to coloured as a result of others). Similarly, twenty-nine coloureds reclassified as black, again with only around 10% bringing forth these cases. As this summary illustrates, most reclassifications occurred when individuals attempted to move up the racial hierarchy. In the scenario in which when individuals were reclassified to a race with lower status, this occurred primarily on account of others. What's more, reclassification from the poles of white and black was extremely rare; reclassification mostly dealt with the question of who should be defined as coloured. Importantly, what reclassification highlights is that the definitions of the nation-state did not always map clearly onto individuals' experiences—especially those who teeter across the bounds of racial limbo.

In order for apartheid, a system of racial separation to succeed, the South African nation-state had to define race and racial categories. The first step was to eliminate future cases of racial mixing and then the next step was to divide the current population into distinct race groups. However, because racial mixture was a founding feature of the developing South Africa, the nation-state struggled to come up with a clear definition of the racially mixed. The naming of the group, coloured, was not the difficult part, it was the consensus of who belongs in the coloured category that was contentious. Whereas it was widely accepted that coloureds were racially mixed, it was debatable whether social acceptance, appearance, or descent should factor most prominently into determining who was coloured. Furthermore, South Africans often pushed the bounds of coloured classification, either moving into or out of the category. The constancy, though, for the group remained: coloured were something other than white or black.

Distribution of Power and Resources According to Race in Apartheid South Africa

Whereas the Population Registration Act assigned official racial categories, it said little about differential treatment of the groups in the racial hierarchy. That function was first carried out by the Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950. The Group Areas Act designated separate living (and working) areas for each race group. The purpose of the act was "to provide for the establishment of group areas, for the control of the acquisition of immovable property and the occupation of land and premises" (Section 1). According to the act, a group was white, coloured, or native, with definitions directly borrowed from the Population Registration Act.

In effect, the Group Areas Act sanctioned the forced removal of black and coloured South Africans from their homes and reassigned them to separate desolate areas. Only white South Africans were allowed to remain (yet most of the land was never developed after the removal). In the end, more than 80% of South Africa's land was reserved for the white minority (Hendricks 1990). Figure 1 shows the effects of the Group Areas Act. Shortly thereafter, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No. 49 of 1953 enforced racial segregation in all public amenities from restaurants to parks and city benches, instructing that being present as "a race or class to which he does not belong" (Section 2[ii]) would be fined.

Within five years of gaining control, the National Party had segregated every aspect of social life. All South Africans knew definitively who they were, where they could live, and with whom they could interact. Through forced removal of black South Africans and coloureds, and separation of intimate and public space, the governing white party made it certain that white South Africans held the dominant position on the racial hierarchy, whereas distinctions within the non-white category were less well-defined. However, there were a series of laws created solely to further oppress native black South Africans, which helped refine the racial hierarchy.

As a prominent example, the apartheid government decided to reestablish tribal organization for black Africans. First, the Bantu Authorities Act No. 68 of 1951, and later the Promotion of Bantu Self-

Government Act No. 46 of 1959, created ten African homelands, called Bantustans for black South Africans.[5] Not only did they create division among the black numerical majority, but they pushed them into rural areas and away from all urban centers. Most significantly, they excluded blacks from the South African body politic. Commissioner-Generals were instructed to develop their assigned Bantustan into a self-governing state. However, they were unable to execute any significant power because they remained politically and economically dependent on South Africa (Frederickson 1981). According to the legislation, in international relations, however, blacks in the homelands still had the status of a citizen of the Republic itself (Horrell 1971). In effect, these laws worked as a form of social control for black South Africans (Hendricks 1990).

Black South Africans were also the only group disadvantaged by the Native Laws Amendment Act No. 54 of 1952. The native blacks that had to travel into urban areas for work were not allowed to stay in the area longer than seventy-two hours according to the act. Furthermore, authorities were allowed to remove blacks who were "idle or undesirable" (Section 29[iii]). This law was amended in 1956, by the Native Amendment Act No. 69, which allowed for the removal to include those whose "presence was detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order" (Section 29[iv]), and those persons could be arrested and put into jail. Finally, the ironically named Natives (Abolition of Passes & Coordination of Documents) Act No. 67 of 1952 (sic) became known as "pass laws." The act mandated all black persons over the age of sixteen were to carry passes in order to gain admission into white only, urban areas. Black South Africans had to carry a valid passbook and could only travel into white/urban areas for work that had already been secured or if suitable work vacancies were known to be available (Horell 1971).

Forced removal into homelands had emotional and economic consequences for black South Africans, but it also had significant consequence for coloureds. For instance, over 60,000 coloureds were removed from District Six, a township in the Cape Town Area, after the Group Areas Act was passed (Jackson 2003; Bestman 2008). Coloureds were forced to the outskirts of urban centers into crowded areas with poor infrastructure. Many coloureds spread outward and attempted to build communities in

rural areas. The Rural Coloured Areas Act No. 24 of 1963, however, allowed areas unofficially occupied by coloureds to be re-designated to belong to coloureds. So, although all non-whites suffered at the hands of the Group Areas forced removals, blacks were the only group that had to endure confinement to a homeland and had to deal with restricted movement.

In addition, coloureds' exclusion in the pass laws and native areas laws demonstrates that coloureds received more power and resources than black South Africans. Jointly, the laws gave coloureds greater access to socioeconomic resources (e.g., work, education) by allowing them to remain citizens of South Africa, live close to urban centers, and travel without complication. Even more explicitly, coloureds were offered preference in economic opportunities. The Bantu Labour Act No. 67 of 1964 allowed employers of skilled jobs (i.e., jobs other than domestic servants, delivery-men, clerks, gasoline pump attendants etc.) to hire blacks only *if* they could provide a certificate from the Department of Labour showing that no coloured workers were available. The ramifications of these laws for coloureds' position in the racial hierarchy were obvious: coloureds were an intermediate group. Yes, coloureds were discriminated against by whites in power, but they were given significant advantages relative to black South Africans. The white-led National Party was operating strategically; coloureds fulfilled the role of a "buffer" group (Bestman 2008). Not only did they provide a needed labor force, the power and resources coloureds were granted over black South Africans were strategically implemented as a bargaining tool, and cashed in by whites to obtain a larger political base.

The Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act No. 9 was implemented in 1956 and provides an example of how coloureds benefited from relative positioning. The 1956 act amended the initial 1951 Separate Representation of Voters Act No. 46, which had eliminated the possibility of a coloured vote. However, in the 1956 amendment, coloureds were placed on a separate register and once again allowed to vote for four white representatives in the House of Assembly, one in the senate and two in the Cape provincial council. The act also made provision for the establishment of the Union Council for Coloured Affairs (UCCA). Later, the Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act No. 50 of

1968 introduced the Coloured Persons Representative Council, consisting of forty elected members and twenty nominated members.[6] Allowing coloureds to regain limited power was a small concession made by the National Party (Saks 1991).

Perhaps the most significant result of such councils and commissions was that led to the passing of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act No. 110 of 1983. This act officially instituted *The Tricameral Parliament*. The Tricameral Parliament gave chambers to three groups in South Africa: a 178 member House of Assembly for whites, an 85 member house of representatives for coloureds, and a 45 member house of delegates for Indians. The parliament defined South Africa's population as including only "the White persons, the Coloured persons or the Indians" (Republic of South Africa Act 1983: Section 4[ii]). The justification of black exclusion was that African affairs were handled in their homelands. Matters before Parliament were to be divided into 'general affairs' (to be discussed by all houses and applying to all South Africans) and 'own affairs' (relevant to one particular race group). The Constitution also gave the president executive power. Given the unequal representation, Indians and coloureds could not actually get legislation passed. As a result, the new constitution again gave symbolic power to coloureds and Indians, but continued to completely disenfranchise black South Africans.

It is important to make a note of Indian South Africans here. Although Indians are neither black nor white, and in this piece of legislation it appears they might be positioned at par with coloureds, I opted to exclude South African Indians in my analysis of racial limbo. I contend that Indians were treated as ethnic outsiders, which is qualitatively different than the white, coloured, and black South Africans whom made up the racial hierarchy for most of the twentieth century. For instance, South Africa instituted various repatriation schemes for Indians throughout its nation-building phase (see Mesthrie 1985), such as the Immigration Law Amendment Bill No. 5 of 1895 which mandated Indians had to return to India at the end of their five-year indenture period. Furthermore, Indians were not conceived of as a race group at the start of apartheid (i.e., not included in Population Registration Act) and even the language of apartheid laws constructed specifically towards Indians (and later Asians) sets them apart (e.g., Aliens Control Act

No. 40 of 1973). As such, I contend Indians/Asians have another identity (e.g., ethnicity, foreigner) above and beyond their race that distinguishes them. Thus, I focus only on coloureds for my current analysis of racial limbo. Future research should examine whether ethno-racial categories (such as Indian) also represent racial limbo.

The United Democratic Front (UDF), the largest anti-apartheid organization, was launched in 1983. It was a direct retaliation to the new Tricameral Parliament and membership soon expanded to about three million multiracial members (Marx 1998). The UDF was one successful organizer against the apartheid state. Progress towards greater racial equality swelled in the 1980s-1990s and powerful and intense anti-apartheid rebellion characterized that period.

Frederik Willem de Klerk assumed leadership of the National Party in 1989 and the presumed conservative leader shocked his constituents and all former National Party presidents with his movement towards an anti-racist South Africa. Once in power, de Klerk recognized that apartheid couldn't be sustained anymore as South Africa continued to be ostracized in trade and economic relations, banned in many sporting events, and suffered from extremely negative press due to its racism (Strauss 1993). In other words, South Africa finally felt the pressure of the break; the pressure from the universal shift towards human rights and democracy which forced nations to re-conceptualize racial domination (Winant 2001). In 1990 the ban on the African National Congress (ANC) was lifted and Nelson Mandela was released from prison.

In 1991, the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No. 108 was passed. This landmark act brought down the linchpin of apartheid, the Group Areas Act. The overall purpose was:

> To repeal or amend certain laws so as to abolish certain restrictions based on race or membership of a specific population group on the acquisition and utilization of rights to land; to provide for the rationalization or phasing out of certain racially based institutions and statutory and regulatory systems; for the regulation of norms and standards in residential environments; and for the establishment of a commission under the name of the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation; and to provide for matters connected therewith. (Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act 1991: Preamble)

This act signified beginning of the end of the apartheid era. In a shocking and discursive move away from all other apartheid documents, the act allowed the state president to "make enactments with a view to the readjustment of matters in a non-racial manner" (Section 87[i]) and the president was instructed to act "without prejudice" (Section 87[ii]). The provocative language of nonracialism in this act foreshadows much to come in post-apartheid South Africa.

In any case, I contend the South Africa "whites only" Apartheid Referendum of 1992 to be the real representation of the fall of apartheid. The referendum was crafted to elicit whites' support for the end of apartheid, and whites were warned that a "No" vote would mean South Africa would continue to be harmed by international sanctions, and the possibility of a dangerous civil war (Strauss 1993). After intense campaigning, the referendum received a majority "Yes" vote by sixty-eight percent of whites. De Klerk declared: "Today we have closed the book on apartheid. It doesn't often happen that in one generation a nation gets an opportunity to rise above itself. The white electorate has risen above itself in this referendum" (Strauss 1993:356). Likewise, Mandela noted after the outcome of the results: "In principle, the referendum signaled the end of white privilege… the 'Yes' vote means that whites are now prepared to address these problems. There is no alternative to negotiations" (Strauss 1993:352). At this point, the apartheid nation-state had come to a close. This is where I end my analysis of legislation enacted during apartheid South Africa.

Apartheid South Africa and the Racial Formation of Coloureds' Position in Racial Limbo

Apartheid as a whole was a powerful racial project that greatly influenced South Africa's racial hierarchy (Winant 2001); it encapsulated many laws, social codes, and mandates that explicitly distributed resources across state-defined racial lines. By analyzing a comprehensive array of legislation, I was able to assess how the apartheid nation-state defined and positioned coloureds in a racial hierarchy. I found that South African whites were able to use their capital to solidify themselves as the dominant group, and subsequently structured all social, economic, and political hierarchies to reflect their superior position. For example, they used the Group Areas Act to allocate over 80% of South African land to

white South Africans only. Conversely, black South Africans were explicitly marked as the inferior group, so much so that they could not gain full citizenship or access into South Africa during most of apartheid. By juxtaposing these two groups, it becomes clear that in South Africa "white supremacy was then an explicit and systematic state policy" (Winant 2001:179).

It was during apartheid that coloured was first legally encoded as a racial category and was defined as a separate and distinct race group. However, the clarity that surrounded whites and blacks did not exist for coloureds (or any other group besides white and blacks). The ambiguity in the coloured category meant the label shifted definitions throughout the era, but what remained constant was the neither/nor designation attached to coloureds.

Legislation also revealed that coloureds were relegated to an inferior position vis-à-vis white South Africans through acts declaring relocation and restrictions on political representation. Their superior position vis-à-vis black South Africans was mandated as well, through exceptions coloureds received in other acts, such as the pass laws. Furthermore, there were some laws directed solely towards coloureds which served to solidify coloureds' preferential treatment (i.e., preference in labor allowed coloureds to be hired over blacks).

In general, conclusions made regarding the position of coloureds come mostly from comparisons of coloureds to white or black South Africans. Adhikari (2005:13) argues that "because of their lack of a political and economic clout and because they formed a relatively small stratum within the racial hierarchy, the coloured people tended to be perceived in terms of the larger groups." Moreover, Adhikari argues, and I agree, coloureds' position was always relational: coloureds were both constructed and treated as relative to either whites or blacks. Thinking about this in the context of Reuter's (1969) typology of race mixture, it becomes clear that coloureds were sometimes relegated to being a "lower segment of the dominant group", but also subjugated to levels of the "exploited group". Yet primarily, coloureds were placed in "intermediate status group" (Reuter 1969). What's more, the fact that coloureds

had some fluidity within their intermediate placement further supports the idea of racial *limbo* for coloured South Africans.

In sum, legislation during apartheid reveals that the South African nation-state defined coloured as a distinct group from either white or black South Africans. Furthermore, coloureds were signified as a group with higher status compared to native blacks, but were also considered inferior compared to pure whites, which in effect placed intermediary. The power and resources distributed by the nation-state reflect these ideas about group positions in the racial hierarchy. As such, I found support in legislation for my expectation that the apartheid nation-state cultivated a position of racial limbo for coloureds.

Post-Apartheid South Africa

The end of apartheid represented a shift from an oppressive, white, minority-led apartheid system, to a black, majority-led democratic system. In the last section, I concluded that the South Africa nation-state cultivated a position of racial limbo for coloureds under apartheid. Transitioning away from apartheid to a democracy represented a significant transformation of the nation-state. As a result, nearly all state institutions were pressed to engage in reflection and rebuilding. Would apartheid era divisions stick? Would new race groups emerge? How would the transformed nation-state address racial disparities? And importantly, where would coloureds fit into the racial hierarchy? Much research (Adhikari 2006; Erasmus 2001; Jackson 2003) details ambiguous and marginalized position for coloureds. The question I engage here is whether post-apartheid South African nation-state *maintained* a position of racial limbo for coloureds.

Representations and Definitions of Race in Post-Apartheid South Africa

As a part of the initial transition out of apartheid, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 200 of 1993 was created. Poignantly, the preamble begins with:

> We, the people of South Africa declare that-
> WHEREAS there is a need to create a new order in which all South Africans will be entitled to a common South African citizenship in a sovereign and democratic constitutional state in which there is equality between men and women and people of all races so that all citizens shall be able

> to enjoy and exercise their fundamental rights and freedoms. (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 1993: Preamble)

This piece of legislation differs drastically from nearly all apartheid era legislation. Rather than preoccupation with race and racial divisions, it steers the discussion of race in South Africa towards one of a common human race. There were seven instances of the word "race", twenty-eight instances of "every person", but no specific mention of any one race group in the entire constitution. When "race" was used it was combined with a qualifier, such as "all races". These counts indicate that the new constitution embeds in its language the indistinction of racial categories. That is, the legislation suggests that all races should be accepted and treated equally, but it does not define any type of racial category.

This same year Mandela and de Klerk were both awarded Nobel Peace Prizes for their negotiations to end apartheid, and one year later, in 1994, South Africa held its first election by universal adult suffrage. A 62% majority of South Africans voted for Nelson Mandela and secured his victory as the President of the new Republic of South Africa.[7] The 1993 constitution became null when a new constitution, of the new South Africa, was implemented in 1996. The Constitution of South Africa No. 108 of 1996 has been heralded as the most progressive in the world in terms of human rights. It begins:

> We, the people of South Africa,
> Recognise the injustices of our past;
> Honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land;
> Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and
> Believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity.
> We therefore, through our freely elected representatives, adopt this Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic so as to-
> Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;
> Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;
> Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and
> Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations. (Constitution of South Africa 1996: Preamble)

Furthermore, it declares that:

> The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth. (Constitution of South Africa 1996: Section 9[iii])

Again, in this constitution there was no mention to any specific race group. Above and beyond the nonracial language, here, is an explicit declaration of non-discrimination. That is, the state was not allowed to discriminate against any one social group, including race, ethnicity, colour, or culture.

The constitutions represent prototypes of the early legislation in post-apartheid South Africa. What they demonstrate for this analysis was that searching legislation for "race" in post-apartheid South Africa was not a productive exercise: race was not a term widely used by the early post-apartheid government. The government made it explicit that race was not to be used as a method for discrimination, and at the same time pushed a post-racial ideology by implicitly asserting that race was not be to be used at all. Thus, race was able to be left undefined. Scholars (Ansell 2004; 2006; Whitehead 2010) contend that *nonracialism* was a concept purposely employed by leaders in the new South Africa; it was elicited alongside the mantra of Africanism and idea that class-based disparities trump racial disparities with the goal of moving conversations (and policies) past race.

As one means to overcome the nonracial legislation in post-apartheid, supposedly post-racial South Africa, I examined how racial enumeration was treated in the census. The first post-apartheid census was collected in 1996. The census gathered statistics not on race groups but *population groups*. As stated:

> Statistics South Africa has continued to classify people into population group, since moving away from past apartheid-based discrimination, and monitoring progress in development over time involves measuring differences in life circumstances by population group. This classification, in common with other countries such as the United States of America which uses a population group-based classification system, is no longer based on a legal definition, but rather on self-classification. (Statistics South Africa 1996:8)

Although population group refers to race (the term the United States Census employs), the government again shied away from explicitly using race in their language. The most significant aspect of this new census was the move to self-classification. Self-classifications are often applauded as an opportunity for self-empowerment and agency (see Snipp 2003) because they shift the onus of classification off of the observer and place it on to the individual. As a result of self-classification, debates about phenotype,

descent, and social acceptance that preoccupied much discourse on race during apartheid were no longer necessary in post-apartheid South Africa. In addition, reclassification was no longer needed.

According to the 1996 census, the populations groups and their proportion of the population were: black/African (76%), white (10.9%), coloured (8.9%), Indian/Asian (2.6%), and unspecified or other (0.9%). It is difficult to determine whether self-classification produced a significant change in population statistics because previous censuses merely estimated the numerical size of each population group, and the estimates are believed to be skewed toward an overrepresentation of white South Africans (Census in South Africa n.d.). According to one estimate in 1976 by Steinberg, Macmillan and London (1967), 67.5% of the population was black, 21% white, 8.6% coloured, and 2.4% Indian/Asian. The increase in the black population and decline in the white population from 1976 to 1996 was not likely due to changes in individuals' classification, but rather birth rates and emigration (Cronje 2014; Statistics South Africa 2010). Interestingly, the coloured population has remained remarkably stable, and even in 2013 the percentage of coloureds in South Africans continues to hover around 8%.

Posel (2001b) argues that racial categories in South Africa were so engrained during apartheid they persist as common sense, even for the coloured category that had the most ambiguity in its classification. For instance, Bestman (2008) and Mark (2012) give qualitative accounts of coloureds who passed as white during apartheid and still classify themselves as white in post-apartheid South Africa. Likewise, their informant's retold of other family members who did not pass during apartheid continue to self-identify as coloured. The stability in classification is worth mentioning because it reveals how the self-classification system implemented by the post-apartheid state did not result in classification changes among individuals. Furthermore, apartheid-era racial categories remained even when the language of race disappeared in post-apartheid South Africa. This does not mean that individuals necessarily supported the prior apartheid state, but rather that the impact of the classification system implemented by the prior government lingered on.

Another unique data source I examined to assess representations of race came as the result of the 1995 Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34. This act instituted South Africa's infamous *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (TRC) to "promote national unity and reconciliation in a spirit of understanding which transcends the conflicts and divisions of the past" (Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation 1995: Section 3[i]). The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act was void of any specific mention of race, despite its clear goal of creating more racial unity. Contrarily, the TRC report itself does include ample narratives divided by race. I analyzed the TRC to examine how the past racial instances and categories were framed in post-apartheid South Africa.

As outlined in the act, the TRC's goals were to (1) establish the causes of the human rights violations, (2) provide amnesty to those providing full disclosure on violations, (3) restore human and civil dignity to the victims, with potential reparations, of the violations, and (4) produce a report summarizing the events and outlining preventative measures. The TRC produced a seven volume report, with well over 10,000 pages, covering each of the aforementioned aims. Volume Three focused on gross violations of human rights from the perspective of the victim and included testimony for those living in the Western Cape, with the majority of those inhabitants (57%) being coloured. Despite coloureds' presence, "[o]f all submissions to the Commission received nationally from victims alleging gross violations of human rights, only 8.4 per cent were from the western Cape" (p. 392). Volume Three begins by further outlining unique features of the area:

> Five features distinguish the political and social terrain of both Western and Northern Cape from the rest of the country:
> a) a distinct formulation of apartheid policy declaring the Cape a 'coloured labour preference area';
> b) a unique demographic profile with a coloured majority and an African minority;
> c) extreme social and spatial engineering through the Group Areas Act;
> d) significant divisions amongst Africans between rural migrants and urban residents;
> e) an historical diversity of political groupings and ideological approaches. (TRC [Volume 3] 1996:391)

Although the commission did not define the race/population groups, the terms were used frequently to specify which group was of interest. I showed emphasis (mine) within bullets (sic) in Volume 3 that were able to speak to the experiences of coloureds. For example:

- The SAIRR gives the final death toll in the western Cape for 11 August to 28 February 1977 (including December clashes) as 153… *A strong feature of the 1976 revolt in the region was the very high percentage of violations involving coloured people***.** Of the 108 people shot dead by police in the Peninsula, fifty-three were coloured and fifty-five African. *All but one of the deaths in the rural towns involved coloured people exclusively*. (TRC [Volume 3] 1996:415)
- Late August and September saw heated protest activities in the coloured residential areas, particularly Manenberg, Bonteheuwel, Hanover Park, Elsies River, Ravensmead, Retreat, Athlone and Grassy Park. *One of the first coloured pupils to be killed by the police was fifteen-year-old Christopher Truter* [CT00411] of Bonteheuwel, who was shot on 25 August. (TRC [Volume 3] 1996:413)

In most places, the TRC discussed coloureds alongside black South Africans when they resisted and fell victim to white apartheid authorities and/or rouge racist groups. More examples include:

- The 1976 revolt and the 1980s' school protests showed *unprecedented militancy amongst coloured people and solidarity with Africans,* with a high number of deaths and injuries (TRC [Volume 3] 1996:415).
- Both protest and repression became violent, and *affected coloured as well as African areas* (TRC [Volume 3] 1996:392).
- The black townships were under siege for two weeks, with an *estimated 95 per cent of the African population as well as a substantial proportion of the coloured community in Cape Town joining the stay away* (TRC [Volume 3] 1996:398).

However, there was some discussion of instances where coloureds and whites were both victims of black political and/or militant groups. For example:

- *Among those killed by Poqo* [black militant group] members in 1962 *were several people in Paarl suspected of being police informers. Two of these were coloured women* accused of keeping members away from the Poqo meetings. *Another coloured woman was permanently disabled* (TRC [Volume 3] 1996:399).
- On 21 November 1962, Poqo members from Mbekweni, Paarl, met and resolved to attack the white town of Paarl… *Two white people, Ms Rencia Vermeulen (17) and Mr Frans Richards (21), were killed*. (TRC [Volume 3] 1996:400).

In this example, coloureds were not spoken of as an extension of whites, as they were in the earlier examples of victimization alongside black South Africans, but rather they were discussed as wholly separate (i.e., two separate bullets). A few pages further in the document, coloureds were alleged to work

with blacks in the Poqo to attack white South Africans. In this reference, coloureds are again discussed in conjunction with black South Africans.

- Poqo networks were alleged to have conspired to rise up against the white population in several small towns. In Victoria West, *twenty-six Africans and coloured people were arrested at the end of April 1968 on charges of having conspired with one another and with sixty-five others to commit sabotage* (TRC [Volume 3] 1996:401).

Distinguishing coloureds from white South Africans stands as an interesting trend that signals a clear division between the two groups, as opposed to the more blurred division between coloureds and black South Africans. Furthermore, unlike coloured or black South Africans, most white victims were named.

What an analysis of the TRC reveals is that coloureds were visible during apartheid, but considering the document's usage of special qualifiers (e.g., "unprecedented militancy"), it appears as though coloureds did not occupy as much space (figuratively in the fight against apartheid and literally in this TRC report) as white and black South Africans. Furthermore, coloureds were victims to many white-led crimes, but mostly when they chose to protest alongside black South Africans. Coloureds, to a lesser extent, were also sometimes victims to black-led crimes, but mostly when they chose to side with white South Africans. Interestingly, the commission felt compelled to make note of coloureds presence, but it was in either *combination* with black South Africans or in *contrast* to white South Africans. Moreover, the TRC report highlights and important trend in terms of signification of race for coloureds in contemporary South Africa: coloureds were relatively insignificant, sometimes distinguishable from white South Africans, but often confounded with black South Africans.

Distribution of Power and Resources According to Race in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Racial categories in post-apartheid South Africa were mainly left undefined although sometimes employed in government documents. The ideology of nonracialism was the reasoning behind the shift in language. Implicit and nonracial language also clouded legislation that directly sought to distribute or organize power and resources according to race in post-apartheid South Africa. Much legislation (e.g., penal, regulatory) embedded nonracial language, which in effect, made it difficult to determine which race groups received more or less power and resources for this analysis.

However, there are two pieces of legislation that were implemented at the turn of the century with the explicit function of organizing resources according to racial lines. The first was the Employment Equity Act No. 55 of 1998. The Employment Equity Act (EEA) begins by explaining the rationale behind the legislation. As stated, affirmative action measures were implemented to "redress the disadvantages in employment experienced by designated groups, in order to ensure their equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce" (Employment Equity Act 1998: Section 2[i]). In effect, the EEA made discrimination in the hiring of employees punishable by law and required employers (with over 50 workers) to create an affirmative action plan that must include, for instance, set goals for achieving equitable representation (i.e., quotas) and create an internal monitoring and evaluation procedure.

The highly publicized EEA was met with mixed reviews, and many debate about the success of the plan (see Oosthuizen and Naidoo 2010), but that is not of interest here. What is interesting is that the first piece of legislation exposing post-apartheid South Africa's plan regarding the organization of resources according to race, was an act that gave *more* access (as opposed to the apartheid pattern of restricting access) to designated disadvantaged race groups. Who were the designated groups? According to the Employment Equity Act, they were *blacks*: "'black people' is a generic term which means Africans, Coloureds and Indians" (Section 1). This means that, the first time a specific race was used in legislation in post-apartheid South Africa, it was employed as an umbrella term to group all non-whites together as black South Africans.

The Broad-Based Black Economic Empowering Act No. 53 of 2003 continues in the same vein as the EEA. For instance, it starts by stating "[w]hereas under apartheid race was used to control access to South Africa's productive resources and access to skills" the current government believes "further steps are [to be] taken to increase the effective participation of the majority of South Africans in the economy" (Preamble). The act established an Empowerment Council with the aim of increasing the number of black South Africans in the workforce. As defined in the act:

> "black people" is a generic term which means Africans, Coloureds and Indians; "broad-based black economic empowerment" means the economic empowerment of all black people including women, workers, youth, people with disabilities and people living in rural areas through diverse but integrated socio-economic strategies. (Broad-Based Black Economic Empowering Act 2003: Section 1).

Again, this piece of legislation gave greater access to resources to the inclusive group of black South Africans. Interestingly, the Broad-Based Economic Empowerment Act was the first act that included a racial identifier in the title. There were only nine acts that included "black" in the title from 1993-2014, and many of them had the sole purpose of repealing old apartheid laws (e.g., the Black Authorities Act Repeal Act No. 13 of 2010, which repealed the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act No. 68). No other legislation was titled with race or any other racial identifier. These set of laws were monumental in South Africa for their affirmative action policies. These laws were also significant for coloureds because they left out their position of racial limbo.

The effect of such legislation was not significant just for discursive reasons; it had ramifications for who could qualify for more power and resources. Considering how blacks were defined as the designated groups (i.e., black people), many South Africans sought to clarify who exactly fit into the designated black category. One example is the case of the *Chinese Association of South Africa v. the Ministries of Labour, Trade and Industry, and Justice and Constitutional Development* (2008). South African Chinese, who initially came to South Africa as temporary workers during the gold rush, were classified as coloured during the 1962 revision to Population Registration Act. However, the affirmative action laws of post-apartheid South Africa did not include Asian or Chinese in the so-called inclusive definition of black people. Thus, the Chinese Association of South Africa, spearheaded by Victor Chong and Albert Peter Fung, lobbied for inclusion on the grounds that Asians were discriminated against under apartheid and should therefore have the same benefits as other targeted groups post-apartheid. More specifically, the Chinese argued that they were formally treated at par with coloureds during apartheid, and therefore they should now be treated at par with blacks. In the end, the High Court of South Africa ruled that South African Chinese people who were citizens before 1994 "fall within the ambit of the

definition of "black people" in section 1 of the Employment Equity Act of 1998" and "as applied to the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act of 2003" (*Chinese Association of South Africa v. the Ministries of Labour and Others 2008: Section 1*). As a result, Asians can also be considered black in post-apartheid South Africa.

An affirmative action case involving coloureds is currently gaining attention in South Africa, which is even more applicable to the current analysis. In the case of *Solidarity and Others vs Dept. of Correctional Services and Others* (2012), ten coloureds accused the Department of Corrections in the Western Cape of discrimination, alleging they were overlooked for promotion because of their race. Unlike most other affirmative action complaints, the coloureds insisted they were denied promotion over *other* black South Africans. According to the case, the Department of Corrections used national demographics to conclude that blacks were underrepresented under EEA's quotas, which resulted in the department bringing in black correction officers from outside of the Western Cape. The prosecution for the complainants claimed that regional demographics should be used over national, arguing that if national statistics are used "in the Western Cape, coloured employees, in particular, almost have no chance anymore to be promoted or appointed" (Herman qtd. in Sapa 2014).

The judge grappled with the case, stating "a choice [had] to be made between different persons who all fall within the designated group" and "whether those of the applicants who are black persons for the purposes of the EEA and members of the coloured community in the Western Cape, have been unfairly discriminated against" (Section 23). In the end, the Labor Court judge ruled that all ten officials were *black* employees in terms of the Employment Equity Act and found the coloured complainants had suffered unfair discrimination in the selection process used for promotion to various posts. The court ordered that the department had to take immediate steps to take national and regional demographics into account when setting equity targets. However, the case has been seen again in court recently because the victims argued that no action was taken. For now the court reserved judgment and asked the parties to settle an agreement and the court will recommence later in 2014.

The Solidarity case exemplifies the cloudiness around racial categories, and especially the coloured category, in post-apartheid South Africa. As the judge argued, the law in South Africa defined coloureds as black. Yet, at the same time, he recognized coloureds as a community group different from blacks. This case demonstrated again a disjoint between South Africa's designation and organization of race with individual's experiences of race, especially when those individuals occupy a position of racial limbo.

Post-Apartheid South Africa and the Racial Formation of Coloureds' Position in Racial Limbo

The purpose of this section was to examine whether the nation-state maintained racial limbo for coloureds in post-apartheid South Africa. I analyzed a broad array of legislative and government documents that could speak to the potential redefinition of racial categories and the re-organization of racial categories that might have occurred after the break in South Africa, focusing my analytical gaze on coloured South Africans. In contrast to apartheid South Africa, data collection for my analysis of this period was more complicated than expected. Rather than finding ample evidence of when the nation-state explicitly tried to reconstruct (or even reaffirm) racial categories and organization, I found that the nation-state mostly ignored race and racial categories and thus took the form, at least initially, of a silent partner in the making of race in post-apartheid South Africa.

Moreover, early representations and definitions of race in post-apartheid South Africa were nearly non-existent; legislation stripped race and racial categories from its language and emphasized a common humanity (e.g., all people, every citizen). At the same time, however, the government continued to collect data on race, under the label of population group, and continued to utilize racial classification in its reports (e.g., TRC). Under this framing, racial categories were neither clearly defined or differentiated, nor explicitly positioned in a racial hierarchy. This nonracial language meant it was especially difficult to clarify how coloureds were being defined or distinguished as a race group in the new South Africa, though some documents signify a convergence of coloured and black distinctions.

Once post-apartheid South Africa realized that nonracialsim did not equate nicely with their goal of racial equality, the government implemented affirmative action legislation. Yet, the nation-state chose not to decide which race group was most disadvantaged, but named all non-white groups as disadvantaged under the label of black. Post-apartheid South Africa, then, became a nation of white and black,[8] with black meaning coloured, Indian, Asian, Chinese, and other. Significantly, this explicitly dismantled coloureds' position of racial limbo in legislation. In sum, expectations about coloureds being defined as separate race group and being positioned between white and black South African in the racial hierarchy were not supported by an analysis of legislation in post-apartheid South Africa. Further, my expectation that power and resources would not be differentially distributed in the law didn't stand—blacks (including coloureds) received more resources (i.e., greater access to jobs) in South African legislation.

However, as affirmative action court cases reveal, the fact that the nation-state neglected to define race or distinguish coloureds' racial category did not mean the category ceased to have meaning for individuals. Racialization's effect means race persists without explicit naming and organizing; race can become so embedded in a social system that it takes a life of its own (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Omi and Winant 1994). It appears the coloured category continued to have meaning even without the state.

Posel (2001b:109) supports the notion that racialization impacted the permanence of racial categories in South Africa:

> "[racial] categories were powerfully rooted in the materiality of everyday life. The ubiquity of the state's racial designations, and the extent to which they meshed with lived hierarchies of class and status, meant that apartheid's racial grid was strongly imprinted in the subjective experience of race…. it would be difficult to deny the extent to which the demarcation of South African society into whites, Indians, coloureds, and Africans has been normalized-for many, a "fact" of life."

In other words, the systems in place during apartheid South Africa prior to the break were so heavily embraced/enforced, they took on a life of their own and continued to structure social life in post-apartheid, while being masked through more explicit claims of nonracialism or colorblindness.

The color-blindness of post-apartheid South Africa is even more so heighted when it comes to coloureds. Moreover, the nation-state opts to generally abandon the language of race, but specifically neglects speaking directly about coloureds. Thus, I argue that over and above the colorblindness that sweeps South Africa's silence of race is *coloured blindness:* a silence specific to the nation-states implicit maintenance of coloureds' position. As inherent in the colorblind ideology, though, being blind to race does not mean it is not visible in social experiences.

So what does the analysis reveal that about where coloureds would fit into Rueter's (1969) typology? All things considered, I contend coloureds remain an intermediate group and continue to hold a position of racial limbo in the racial hierarchy; however, I argue that coloureds' position is less a result of the nation-state in post-apartheid South Africa, but rather the legacy of the nation-state during apartheid South Africa. It is the legacy of South Africa's coloured blindness.

DISCUSSION

According to racial formation theory, racial categories and hierarchies are formed and transformed throughout history to adapt to social, political, and economic contexts. Rigid racial categorization and hierarchical organization was at the crux of South Africa's apartheid state, and research suggests race remains a significant feature of social life in South Africa today. Yet, little research has examined the formation of the coloured racial category and their position of racial limbo. This study examined whether apartheid South Africa cultivated a position of racial limbo for coloureds and whether racial limbo is being maintained today in post-apartheid South Africa.

During apartheid, the South African nation-state crafted numerous legislative rulings that implemented a clear and rigid racial hierarchy. The apartheid government was led by the National Party, a white South African supremacy group, which used their power to secure for themselves the most superior position in all social, economic, and political realms. Black South Africans were conceived of as the antithesis to white South Africans; an inferior group that would be stripped of nearly all rights by the

apartheid state. Coloureds' racial category often obtained significance through its relationship to the other groups; even the founding legal definition of coloureds was a person that was neither white nor black. As such, coloureds' position hovered between black and white South Africans.

On the one hand, coloureds sometimes experienced immense oppression, such as forced removal, violence, imprisonment, and expulsion from the political system that relegated them to the nearly equivalent status of the black exploited group. On the other hand, they were sometimes given comparatively more power and resources to black South Africans, such as the ability to travel without a pass, preferences in labor, and seats in Parliament, which put them in a position closer to the lower segment of a dominant group. I contend the fluctuation between the two poles actually solidified coloureds as an intermediate group in South Africa. In conclusion, my analysis of legislation and official government documents supports my expectations that *the apartheid nation-state cultivated racial limbo for its coloured population.*

By the end of apartheid, the system was nearly unanimously condemned around the world for its inherent and explicit racism. To fully distance itself from its racist past, the new government in post-apartheid South Africa called upon drastic legislative measures to rid the nation-state from racial inequality. In doing so, though, the nation-state also seemed to rid itself of race. For instance, legislation didn't name any one race group and emphasized a common humanity. Ironically, the state continued to collect data on population groups.

South Africa promoted nonracialism and in effect operated under a colorblind ideology (Ansell 2006; 2007; Bonilla-Silva 2006). This colorblind ideology means not only are racial categories ignored, but racial injustices are often ignored as well. Post-apartheid South Africa realized that not talking about race did little to ameliorate racial inequality, especially in the workforce. Therefore, the state created affirmative action legislation as an attempt to explicitly redress the inequality against the disadvantaged designated groups—that is, all non-white groups designated as black. As a result, coloureds' position of racial limbo was left out of the law. The abandonment of a distinct coloured group complicated the

placement of coloureds in Rueter's (1969) typology. In sum, my analysis of legislation and official government documents did not support my expectations that the post-apartheid nation-state maintained racial limbo for its coloured population.

Moreover, I found that the nation-state opts to tiptoe around race, but specifically neglects speaking directly about coloureds. As consistent with the central problem in the colorblind ideology, being blind to race does not mean it is not visible in social experiences. I argued the nation-state operates under the guise of coloured blindness. Yet, just because the nation-state does not see coloureds, their intermediate status is still being upheld in social experience. I contend *coloureds' position of racial limbo is being maintained not in legislation, but in social experiences in post-apartheid South Africa*. Indeed, the rest of my dissertation will shed light into the contemporary coloured experience of racial limbo.

Limitations

There are a few limitations that should be addressed. First, I relied on a small sample of legislative documents for my data. I chose to privilege a purposive sample of influential legislation in order to provide a rich and detailed analysis. A more comprehensive analysis might assess all legislation and produce a valuable quantitative assessment of coloureds' position (i.e., a count of times coloureds was mentioned in legislation relative to black South Africans).

In addition, I only focused on legislation and state documents, which misses a lot of action in non-governmental or institutionalized agencies. For instance, in my research I did come across coloured-based commissions, some with very divergent views on the position of coloureds. Exploring the impact of coloured movements or other strategic interracial alliances (see Van Dyke and McCammon), for example, could provide a more comprehensive understand of the role of the nation-state. Adhikari (1997; 2005) has done a superb job of studying the history of coloureds and coloured social movements. Collaborations between his type of research and the type of research conducted here would be an important future project.

Theoretical Contributions

I informed this study by using frameworks of racial formation, racialized social system, and race mixture. These frameworks provide utility for an analysis of racial limbo; they are useful to engage with because they focus on the creation and construction of racial meanings (Golash-Boza 2013). However, these frameworks serve as heuristic models, which means they describe structures rather than forces that create them (Diesing 1991). In other words, they are limited by their descriptive nature, and in effect, I am unable to conclude on determination/causation. I contend the current analysis of racial limbo reveals a few limitations of the frameworks, but also opens up room for innovation.

For example, racial formation and racialized social systems locate the state as the preemptive place for race-making. Yet, Feagin and Elias (2013) contend that emphasizing the state obscures decision makers who control social institutions and hierarchies. Without interrogating who the main rulers or actors are, scholars are unable to fully take in to account the context in which race is embedded (the main goal of racial formation). As argued by Loveman (1999b:921) "the way the state is treated in the historical narratives obscures the historical complexity and contingency of the concrete political struggles among competing, crosscutting sectors of elites." The limitation is in the anthropomorphism of the state as an actor, which neglects individuals and groups as key players in race-making.

Relatedly, the frameworks were unable to predict how a change of power would change racial meanings. For instance, what happens to racial categories or hierarchies when a state transitions from a white-led government that promotes white supremacy to a black-led government that promotes democracy and racial harmony? Even more, what happens to a group in racial limbo when the transfer of power is between two groups of which your group is neither? This analysis reveals that attention to the state rulers is especially important for groups positioned in racial limbo. Apartheid South Africa cultivated a position of racial limbo for coloureds because they served as a buffer for whites in power. Contrarily, coloureds, as a political base, do not provide much utility for the black body politic in post-apartheid South Africa. Perhaps consequentially, racial limbo was not mandated in the law. At the same

time, however, coloureds' maintained their identity and position of racial limbo. Here, it seems as though Winant's (2001) conceptualization of the break is over-theorized and underperforms because such changes in political power were unimportant in the experience of coloureds.

Indeed, another limitation of the frameworks is that they carry a deterministic emphasis of race-making. That is, the nation-state functions as a superstructure, holding the majority of the power in the construction of races. This top-down approach misses the agency on the ground (Feagin and Elias 2013; Loveman 1999b). Rebellion, protest, and group-based lobbying directly impact the policies of the nation-state and group identities are not always created in a top-down manner. An example of a bottom-up process for is the making of racial limbo was the grassroots organization ProjectRACE that lobbied for representation of multiracial American in the United States census. The "multiracial entrepreneurship" has led not only to a new option of "check more than one race" in the census, but also a growing social identity attached to the idea of mixedness and multiculturalism (see DaCosta 2007). Adhikari (2005) does an exemplar job of articulating the role of coloureds' in shaping their groups' position. Future research should combine both approaches to create a comprehensive picture of racial limbo in South Africa.

Even in my analysis of legislative and official state documents, I encounter examples of resistance against the state. For example, in the court cases, both during and after apartheid, I found that individuals consistently sought to reconcile the disjoint they felt between the nation's definition and their own experiences. In agreement with Erasmus and Ellison (2008:452) such cases "demonstrate the multiplicity of meanings that can be assigned to the concept of race even within the contest of apartheid South Africa, where racial categories and racial classification were enshrined within legal statute." Notably, my analysis shows the demonstrations came primarily from those who had more ambiguity and cloudiness around their classification: coloured South Africans.

Finally, race mixture studies are important to consider for an analysis of racial limbo, but again, a three-tier typology also misses differences in individuals' choices. The top-down focus leaves little room for agency by dictating that all members of a race group share the exact same relationship to their race

group and other race groups (Loveman 1999a). Belonging to a racial category obscures the variance of experience within the category, which means analyses of this type often shy away from the phenomenology of race and racism. The biracial identity literature shows multiple identity choices for groups in racial limbo in the United States (e.g., Rockquemore and Brunsma 2008) and Erasmus (2001) outlines different identity choices that confront coloureds in contemporary South Africa. Indeed, this study revealed that it was coloureds who consistently pushed the bounds of racial classification and further suggests greater variation within the category. Study Three of this dissertation project will address this proposition.

Conclusion

This study found that coloureds' position of racial limbo was cultivated by the nation-state during apartheid, but post-apartheid nation-state contested the racial limbo of coloureds. I argue that a study of racial limbo and the state contributes to the literature of race and race meaning in important ways. It pushes scholars to consider more than just the dominant or subordinate group and orients us towards a more complex assessment of racial hierarchies. Throughout the analysis, the idea that societies can categorize groups in a neat manner was repeatedly confronted. Whether a legally racist system or a nonracial system controls the state, individuals will confront the state when it employs classifications that do not resonate. The contribution of this study is that it shows the tension between individuals' experiences of agency in constructing their own racial identifications, in a context where the nation-state is trying to determine their racial categories. Erasmus and Ellison (2008:452) conclude that "the 'true' meaning of race emerges as whatever people expected, wanted or needed it to be." Studying those in racial limbo can orient us toward these conclusions.

NOTES

[1] Reuter (1969) and Frederickson (1981) largely emphasize the role of the dominant group in making and naming the racially mixed, but because dominant groups have control over social, economic, and political institutions, and thus act through the nation-state, these studies still inform top-down analysis of racial formation.

[2] The history of a nation-state is always long and complex. I only attempt to highlight information that might provide background information for the larger goal of this study. For a comprehensive historiography of South Africa see Chazan et al. (1999), De Kiewiet (1941), Thompson (1996). For a comprehensive overview of coloureds see Cell (1982), Lewis (1987), Patterson (1953), Frederickson (1981).

[3] Wade (1995) makes this point in his study of race mixture in Colombia. Wade contends that mobility often precedes race mixture in cases when miscegenation is not forced. In other words, non-white persons had to first gain access in to white domains, which would then provide more opportunity for legal interracial unions and miscegenation. As speculated here, the racially mixed might have had a higher status which could have led to more future miscegenation between whites and those of mixed race.

[4] As an aside, Sandra Laing's school never allowed her re-entrance after she was reclassified as white, and once Sandra turned eighteen she decided to reclassify herself as coloured.

[5] The areas and corresponding tribes included: Bophuthatswana (Tswana), Ciskei (Xhosa), Gazankulu (Tsonga/Shangaan), KaNgwane (Swazi), KwaNdebele (Ndebele), KwaZulu(Sulu), Lebowa (Northern Sotho), QwaQwa (Southern Sotho), Transkei (Xhosa) and Venda (Venda).

[6] In general, the Coloureds Persons Representative Council was representative of a conservative grouping within the coloured community. This vein sought to foster coloured growth operating within the government's policy of parallel development. Parallel development was conceived of as an alternative to a homeland, but with a similar strategy that would allow coloureds to develop as a "state within the white state" (Saks 1991:47). The Theron Commission, published in 1977, whose purpose was to "Inquire into

Matters Relating to the Coloureds" (Taylor 2010) continued down the path of parallel development. Erica Theron and her partners were not against the separation of races, but argued that if South Africa should remain a heterogeneous nation, coloureds should have some political leverage. Yet, by nearly all accounts, though, these commissions and councils had no practical political implications (Lewis 1987; Taylor 2010; Whisson 1976).

[7] The majority of coloureds did not vote for Mandela. It is suggested (e.g., Adhikari 2005) that coloureds feared a slip in their relatively higher social status.

[8] The idea that South Africa is a white and black nation was generated most prominently by Mandela's successor, Thabo Mbeki, who delivered a speech to Parliament stating "South Africa is a country of two nations…One... is white, relatively prosperous, regardless of gender or geographical dispersal… The second and larger nation of South Africa is black and poor, with the worst affected being women in rural areas (Mbeki qtd. in Handland and Rantao 1999:188).

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Table 1. Expectations for the Nation-State's Cultivation and Maintenance of Coloureds' Position of Racial Limbo

	Apartheid South Africa (1948-1992)	Post-Apartheid South Africa (1993-2014)
Racial Category	Yes, distinctive	Yes, distinctive
Intermediate Position	Yes	Yes
Power/Resources Relative To Black South Africans	More	Equal
Power/Resources Relative To White South Africans	Less	Equal

Table 2. Data: Legislative and State Documents of South Africa

Apartheid South Africa 1948-1992			
Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act No. 55	1949	Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act No. 46	1959
Population Registration Act No. 30	1950	Population Registration Amendment Act No. 61	1962
Immorality Act No. 21	1950	Rural Coloured Areas Act No. 24	1963
Group Areas Act No. 41	1950	Bantu Labour Act No. 67	1964
Bantu Authorities Act No. 68	1951	Laing v. High Court of South Africa	1966
Separate Representation of Voters Act No. 46	1951	Population Registration Amendment Act No. 64	1967
Native Laws Amendment Act No. 54	1952	Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act No. 50	1968
Natives (Abolition of Passes & Coordination of Documents) Act No. 67	1952	Aliens Control Act No. 40	1973
Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No. 49	1953	Republic of South Africa Constitution Act No. 110	1983
Separate Representation of Voters Amendment Act No. 9	1956	Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No. 108	1991
Native Laws Amendment Act No. 69	1956	Apartheid Referendum	1992

Post-Apartheid South Africa 1993-2014			
Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 200	1993	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowering Act No. 53	2003
The Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34	1995	Communal Land Rights Act No. 11	2004
Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 108	1996	Chinese Association of South Africa and Others v Ministries of Labour and Others	2008
South African Census	1996	Black Authorities Repeal Act No. 13	2010
Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report	1998	Solidarity and Others v Department of Correctional Services and Others	2012
Employment Equity Act No. 58	1998		

Table 3. Racial Classification Objections in South Africa in 1968[a]

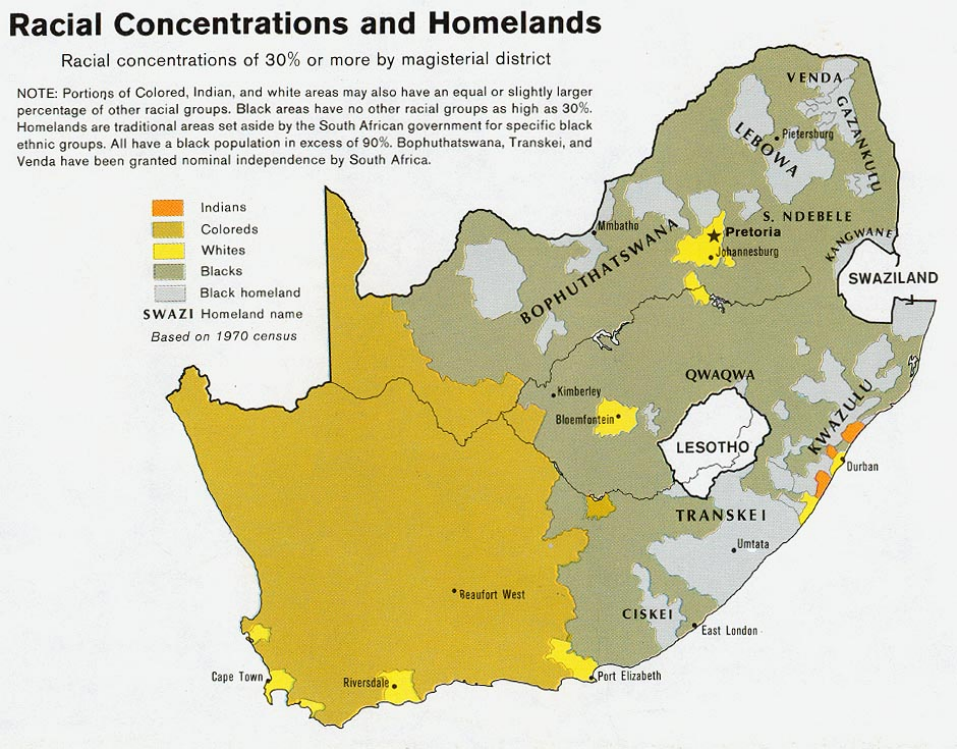
	Total number of reclassifications	Percentage made by the person concerned
White to Coloured	9	0.11%
Coloured to White	91	100%
Coloured to Bantu	29	0.10%
Bantu to Coloured	136	100%

[a] Source: Bowker and Star (1999)

Table 4. Results for the Nation-State's Cultivation and Maintenance of Coloureds' Position of Racial Limbo

	Apartheid South Africa (1948-1992)	Post-Apartheid South Africa (1993-2014)
Racial Category	Yes, distinctive	No
Intermediate Position	Yes	No
Power/Resources Relative To Black South Africans	More	Equal
Power/Resources Relative To White South Africans	Less	More

Figure 1. Racial Concentrations and Homelands in South Africa Based on 1970 Census[a]



Source: University of Texas, Library Series
(http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/africa/south_africa_racial_1979.jpg)

CHAPTER THREE

RACIAL HIERARCHY AND LIMBO: GENERALIZED ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF DEPRIVATION AMONG COLOUREDS IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Racial hierarchies are systems of stratification premised upon ideologies that assert race is real and that some groups are superior to other groups (Song 2007). Races placed in the superior position tend to receive greater economic, political, social, and psychological benefits compared to groups in the subordinate position (Bonilla-Silva 1997). Racial hierarchies are present in all modern nation-states, although their exact structure varies across context (Bonilla-Silva 1997). Across contexts, what remains constant is that whiteness occupies the dominant position and blackness occupies the subordinate position; what differs is who and what characterizes the area in-between. I define *racial limbo* as belonging to a group positioned between a dominant and subordinate group in a racial hierarchy.

I consider coloured South Africans an exemplar, yet understudied case of racial limbo. Miscegenation between white (i.e., Dutch colonists) and black (i.e., Khoikhoi Africans) occupants in the western cape of southern Africa circa 1600 formed the coloured population (Patterson 1953). It was during apartheid—the system of racial domination and segregation that controlled South Africa from 1948-1994—that coloured was first legally encoded as a racial category and was defined as a separate and distinct race group. There is considerable research that describes and assesses coloureds' position during apartheid South Africa, most of which concludes that coloureds held an intermediate position between white and black South Africans (see Frederickson 1981; Goldin 1987; Lewis 1987; Morse and Peele 1974 Patterson 1953 and Study One). In fact, some argue that coloureds' placement was purposeful because they served as a buffer between the white minority who held power and the black majority who were most disadvantaged (Besteman 2008).

Apartheid-rule ended in 1994 with the election of an African, former political prisoner, Nelson Mandela. Therefore, the last few decades in South Africa are marked by significant political transformation. However, shifts in political power have had a negligible impact on economic and ideological structures; white privilege and power remain prominent in post-apartheid South Africa (see Ansell 2006; Steyn 2001; Winant 2001). As such, the structure of South Africa's racial hierarchy has yet to be significantly altered post-apartheid (Bestsman 2008; Seekings 2007; Winant 2001).

What is most unclear about the racial hierarchy in post-apartheid South Africa is the placement of coloureds. Some South African scholars (Adhikari 2005, 2006; Erasmus 2001) theorize that belonging to a group in racial limbo acts as a master status and contend coloureds will remain a distinct and intermediate group. For instance, Adhikari (2005) argues that coloureds' position in racial limbo, or marginality as he describes it, has been and will remain remarkably stable. Alternatively, research (Posel 2001, see also Study One) has revealed that the post-apartheid South African government promotes a singular broad black base in legislation, which includes all non-whites.

Despite ambiguity, empirical research in post-apartheid South Africa has failed to comprehensively study coloureds' precarious position and their perspectives. Though there are studies that examine racial differences on an array of social outcomes (e.g., Adams, Van de Vijver and De Bruinb 2011; Mattes and Christie 1997), the research does not focus specifically on coloureds. Furthermore, some research (e.g., Ferree 2006; Møller, Dickow and Harris 1999) only focuses on one type of outcome (e.g., national pride), which limits conclusions drawn about generalized attitudes in South Africa. Finally, research is limited by its focus on black versus white South African comparisons (e.g., Duckitt and Mphuthing 1998; Gibson 2006; Tredoux and Finchilescu 2010) or, to a lesser extent, coloured versus white South African, *or* coloured versus black South African comparisons (e.g., Gibson and Claassen 2010; Swart, Hewstone, Christ and Voci 2010). Therefore, we know little about where coloureds' perspectives fall relative to white and black South Africans on an array of outcomes in post-apartheid South Africa.

The routine exclusion of coloureds is lamented but justified in various ways. For instance, in a description of his study on racial attitudes in post-apartheid South Africa, Gibson (2006) reveals:

> I [exclude coloureds and Asians] because, first, blacks and whites are by far the most politically significant groups in South Africa, and the major conflict under apartheid was between blacks and whites. Thus, there is no ambiguity whatsoever about the relevance of these groups. Second, my questions on racial tolerance asks whites their views of blacks, and blacks their views of whites, but, among Coloured people and those of Asian origin, these queries referred to blacks. Thus, there is a useful symmetry on the questions for blacks and whites, but not for the other two groups. (P. 673)

Gibson's exclusion of coloureds disregards political leverage that coloureds have had when used as a buffer within the South African racial hierarchy. What's more, the survey design, in and of itself, reinforces the neglect by ignoring the range of comparisons intermediate groups must make (i.e., it only asked coloureds their attitudes toward black South Africans).

The purpose of this chapter, Study Two, is to examine whether perspectives of coloureds in post-apartheid South Africa reflect their position in racial limbo. In Study One I argued the apartheid nation-state cultivated a position of racial limbo for coloureds, but findings also revealed post-apartheid South Africa's attempt to dismantle coloureds' position in racial limbo. Now, I move down a level of analysis and question whether coloureds' intermediate position in the racial hierarchy is reflected in social outcomes in contemporary South Africa. Specifically, I ask whether persons who self-identify as coloured (1) report generalized attitudes that reflect their groups' intermediate, historical position between white and black South Africans, and (2) perceive their group as deprived and gratified compared to white and black South Africans, respectively.

In the sections that follow, I first discus the theoretical frameworks used to guide this study: I employ group position theory, which makes predictions about dominant groups' view toward subordinate groups, and relative deprivation theory, which makes predictions about groups' perceptions of disadvantage relative to another group. I extend these theories to make predictions about coloureds, who are simultaneously dominant and subordinate. Considering the pervasive hierarchy and social awareness of group positions, I expect coloureds' position in racial limbo to be reflected in post-apartheid South

Africa. Next, I overview the data and methods used to test my hypotheses, and then discuss the results. Though I found support to suggest coloureds' position in racial limbo is reflected in attitudes today, findings also implied that coloureds' position might be one that is transitioned out of.

FRAMING

Group Position Theory

Group position theory (Blumer 1958) posits that dominant group members' superior location in a racial hierarchy shapes their orientation toward members of other groups in the racial hierarchy. Specifically, dominant group members' racial prejudice is predicated on a sense that they belong at the top of the racial hierarchy. Allport (1954) defines prejudice as "an aversive or hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group, and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group" (p.7). Blumer (1958) articulates the importance of racial identification in prejudice, contending that "prejudice is a matter (a) of the racial identification made of oneself and of others, and (b) the way in which the identified groups are conceived in relation to each other" (Blumer 1958:3). Furthermore, Blumer outlines four feelings that shape a dominant group members' prejudice towards subordinate group members: a feeling of superiority, a feeling that the subordinate group is inherently different, a feeling of rightful claim to privilege and advantage, and a feeling of fear and threat that the subordinate group wants what the dominant group possesses.

Blumer (1958) also emphasizes that a sense of group position is an on-going collective process emerging from historical and shared judgments about positioning. Judgments operate in public discourse, legislation, every-day interpersonal interactions so that individuals learn to what group they belong and what power and resources their group membership awards them. The public arena is discussed as the medium through which power holders, operating with self-interests in mind, spread beliefs about other groups and dictated what kind of position the dominant group should hold (Blumer 1958). In South Africa, one explicit collective process was legislation, which dictated what group individuals belong to

and what group membership meant for where they could live, eat, work, and so on. During apartheid, the racial hierarchy was well-defined; every South African knew their racial identification and how it related to their position within the racial hierarchy (e.g., Frederickson 1981). These racial identifications continue to have utility in post-apartheid South Africa (Siedman 1999).

Importantly, a sense of group position becomes a "general kind of orientation" that "guides, incites, cows, and coerces" (Blumer 1958:5). What this means is that group position not only guides how dominant group members feel about other groups, but translates into broader attitudes about the social order—or more specifically, how to preserve the prevailing social order and protect the group's interests (Blumer 1958:7). As further articulated by Bobo (1999:456), there are meaningful interests attached to group position: "Blumer's emphasis on areas of felt proprietary claim and on perceptions of threat as the central features of racial prejudice, again, raise to a prominent place the stake or interest dominant group members have in particular racial order." In South Africa, there is evidence to support that white South Africans' feel prejudice toward groups below them in the racial hierarchy, and concomitantly developed an orientation to protect their position (e.g., Cell 1982; Marx 1998; Frederickson 1981; Winant 2001).

The original theorization of group position theory was in fact created to rationalize dominant groups' orientation toward subordinate groups. Fortunately, the theory has since been expanded, most notably by Bobo and his colleagues (e.g., Bobo 2000; Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Bobo and Tuan 2006). For instance, Bobo and Hutchings (1996) used data from the 1992 Los Angeles County Social Survey, a large multiracial sample, to analyze perceived group competition and prejudice among blacks, Latinos, and Asians living in the United States. Results revealed that individuals who perceive members of their own group as generally facing unfair treatment in the larger social order are more likely to regard members of other groups as competitive threats and have more negative attitudes toward them. For instance, blacks reported the highest levels of unfair treatment and felt the most competition towards Asians and Hispanics, and these perceptions were also associated with negative attitudes towards those groups. Conversely, Asians did not report much competition and had less negative attitudes toward other

groups. Bobo and Hutchings (1996) concluded that group position theory offered the most parsimonious explanation of competition, prejudice, and threat—even among subordinate groups. Bobo's work is important because it (1) demonstrated that group position theory could help explain prejudice among non-dominant groups, and (2) considered how a sense of group position related to attitudes about the government. One significant limitation though, is that their work did not ask the subordinate groups' attitudes toward a dominant group (i.e., how blacks felt about whites in the United States).

Despite its limitations, I contend that group position theory is helpful to understanding generalized attitudes in South Africa. Indeed, it is not surprising that both Allport (1954) and Blumer (1958) mention South Africa in their original work on prejudice and group position. As I explain above, the South African racial hierarchy is consistent with individuals' general orientation that white South Africans are the dominant group, black South Africans are the subordinate group, and coloureds are somewhere between (they capture what "*ought to be"* Blumer 1958:6). This means white South Africans should sense their status as the dominant group and their generalized attitudes should be consistent with their superior group position. Hypothetically, the same could be true of coloureds in their semi-dominant group position compared to black South Africans. However, coloureds' generalized attitudes should not be as extreme as white South Africans' attitudes, given coloureds do not hold the most dominant position in the racial hierarchy.

Relative Deprivation Theory

I now turn to relative deprivation theory to help explain variation in levels of deprivation by race groups in post-apartheid South Africa. Stouffer and colleagues (1949) first developed the concept of relative deprivation in a study of *The American Solider*. They observed that members of the American army division with rapid promotion were actually less happy than members of the army division that did not have rapid promotion. They discovered that soldiers evaluated their own position relative to those they compared themselves to—in this case, soldiers within their division. With this premise, the authors concluded that social comparisons within and across groups impacted the extent to which a person could

perceive their own position as deprived or gratified. Moreover, relative deprivation was considered the result of social comparisons.

Indeed, social comparison theory (Festinger 1954; Pettigrew 1976) informs the concept behind relative deprivation. It proposed that self-evaluations, in the absence of an objective truth, are made from social comparisons. When applied to relative deprivation, understanding of one's position and what power and resources should be attached to that position occurs through social comparisons with a similar referent.

Runciman (1966:10) provided the clearest definition of relative deprivation to date: "A is relatively deprived of X when (i) he does not have X, (ii) he sees some other person or persons, which may include himself at some previous or expected time, as having X (whether or not this is or will be in fact the case), (iii) he wants X, and (iv) he sees it as feasible that he should have X." Thus, the sense of being denied resources relative to a comparison group results in perceived deprivation. Furthermore, Runciman (1966) argued that individuals can be personally deprived, deprived at the group level, or both. Individual deprivation is referred to as *egoistic* and group deprivation is referred to as *fraternal*. Pettigrew and colleagues (2008) examined individual and group deprivation using Eurobarometer data and concluded, contrary to past research that relies on the individual measure, that deprivation measured at the group level is necessary in explorations of collective behavior and group attitudes (Pettigrew et al. 2008). Of interest here is coloureds' fraternal relative deprivation.

Some researchers (Marmot 2004; Wilkinson 2005) have used relative deprivation to explain why those positioned lower on the social hierarchy have worse health outcomes. For example, Marmot (2004:1) contends those in lower social positions "acknowledge that some are higher than you in the social hierarchy: they may have more money, bigger houses, a more prestigious job, more status in the eyes of others, or simply a higher class way of speaking." According to Marmot, this acknowledgment can be a stressor, which in turns leads to negative health implications. In addition, research in political psychology on intergroup conflict (e.g., Kahn et al. 2009; Sidanius and Pratto 1999) suggests that

members of groups in societies with complex racial hierarchies understand their position by comparing it to the positions of other groups.

Considering the notion that group positions are acknowledged through comparisons, I contend that perceived fraternal relative deprivation is applicable to examinations of racial hierarchies because it suggests we can link a group's sense of position in the hierarchy (i.e., above or below another group) to their reported levels of deprivation. For example, I assume black South Africans, who have historically held, and continue to hold, the least amount of power and resources (Nattrass and Seekings 2001; Seekings 2007), would perceive themselves to be the most deprived group. Alternatively, white South Africans should perceive the least amount of perceived fraternal relative deprivation, considering their dominant position historically and continued privilege (Nattrass and Seekings 2001; Seekings 2007). In other words, a group's perception of deprivation should reflect their vertical positioning in the racial hierarchy.

One limitation with relative deprivation theory is that it assumes groups do not simultaneously compare themselves to multiple reference groups, which is what I hypothesize happens for coloureds in South Africa. Coloureds are positioned between white and black South Africans and thus I speculate are *simultaneously relatively deprived and gratified*. As explained by Morse and Peele (1974: 327) "the perceptual or attitudinal walls that separate most ethnic and racial groups from other such groups are underdeveloped for coloureds, allowing more comparison and more contrast." The upward social comparison (to white South Africans) should produce relative deprivation but their downward social comparison (to black South Africans) should produce relative gratification, countervailing perceptions that cancel each other out. Thus, coloureds' average level of deprivation should fall between white South Africans and black South Africans.

HYPOTHESES

To review, group position theory explains that dominant group members' position in a racial hierarchy shapes their prejudice toward other groups and has been expanded to suggest that group attitudes and interests should align with positions the racial hierarchy. Relative deprivation explains that groups' perceive their position relative to other groups and this perception drives the extent to which they feel deprived or gratified. These theories are useful because they may explain how a racial hierarchy can be reflected in social outcomes (i.e., generalized attitudes and perceived relative deprivation). Specifically, informed by group position theory I set up the following expectations:

H1: I expect that coloureds would report generalized attitudes that, on average, fall between the attitudes of white and black South Africans.

H2: I expect that coloureds' generalized attitudes would remain intermediary over time, which is consistent with the notion that a sense of group position is an on-going process.

Informed by relative deprivation theory I set up the following expectations:

H3: I expect that coloureds' perceptions of relative deprivation would, on average, fall between the levels of white and black South Africans.

H4: I expect that coloureds' perceptions of relative deprivation would remain intermediary over time.

A limitation I have highlighted, however, is that neither theory directly explains how the hierarchy might influence the perspectives of groups positioned in racial limbo. As such, this study extends these theories to the post-apartheid South African context and assesses their utility for understanding coloureds' perceptions. The next section describes the data and methods.

DATA AND METHODS

Data

I used survey data from the South African Barometer (SAB) for this study. The SAB is part of the Afrobarometer research project (Afrobarometer Data), which measures the social, political, and economic atmosphere in various African countries. The Afrobarometer research project has surveyed over twenty countries on the African continent.

The SAB is a complex, probability sample of respondents 18 years and older living in South Africa. SAB data allow me to examine the persistence of racial limbo as reflected in outcomes over time because of its repeated cross-section design. Of the four available waves of the SAB, I used Wave 2 and Wave 4. Each wave uses a slightly different survey instrument and I selected Wave 2 and Wave 4 because of the similarity of survey items. Wave 2 was collected in 2002 and included 2,400 respondents, with 11.4% reporting a coloured racial identification. Wave 4 was collected in 2008 included 1,200 respondents, with 9.6% reporting a coloured racial identification. Table 1 provides descriptive statistics (e.g., range, mean, standard deviation, and alphas) of study variables. No one variable had more than 5.5% of cases missing and results are based upon listwise deletion.

Analytic techniques

Analyses were completed in Stata 11.2. Results account for the SAB's complex survey design and sampling weights were applied such that results generalize to population parameters. Using standard t-tests, I first examined whether coloureds' mean levels of generalized attitudes and perceived relative deprivation were numerically between and statistically significantly different from white and black South Africans. Since preliminary analysis confirmed sample composition differences in control variables by racial identification (see Table 2), I also examined multivariate associations to assess the robustness of the bivariate results. Using regression models, I predicted generalized attitudes and perceived relative deprivation by racial identifications. The type of regression model used was contingent on the outcome in question (e.g., ordinary least squares regression was used for continuous variables, ordered logistic

regression was for dichotomous variables). Coloureds were the excluded group in the multivariate analysis, thus allowing me to determine whether their outcomes were between and statistically significant from white and black South Africans.

Finally, I replicated my results across Wave 2 and Wave 4, when possible. The repeated cross-sections are not longitudinal samples. That is, the samples were comprised of different respondents, and do not speak to intra-individual change. However, to assess trends over the six-year period, I compared patterns in coloureds' generalized attitudes and perceived relative deprivation from Wave 2 to Wave 4. To do so, I concatenated the two waves of data and completed two-sample mean-comparison tests for the outcomes by racial identification. I was unable to adjustment for the complex survey corrections across the two waves, so results here are not robust.

Primary Independent Variable

The primary independent variable was *racial identification*. As articulated by Blumer (1958), racial identifications are important to understanding racial hierarchy and attachments to group position. Racial identifications are equally important for understanding perceived fraternal relative deprivation, as groups compare their relative standing to other groups (Runciman 1966). For the analyses, racial identification was captured by dummy variables indicating respondents' self-identification as black/African, coloured, and white.

Dependent variables

Generalized Attitudes. I used *generalized attitudes* as a broad label for a set of outcomes that assess respondents' views of the social structure and government policies, and respondents' political ideologies and involvement. The outcomes required respondents to reflect on the past (apartheid) and present (post-apartheid). The set of outcomes also included non-specific (e.g., attitudes toward the future government) and race-related (e.g., attitudes toward apartheid or anti-racism) outcomes. I selected both types because previous research shows that race differences in attitudes are largest when considering support for race-based attitudes (Bobo 2000; Dawson 1994; Tate 2010).

The first four outcomes captured attitudes toward apartheid. First, *rank of apartheid*, asked respondents to rank whether apartheid was the best form of government, with 0="worst form" and 10="best form." Second, *approval of apartheid* asked respondents whether they would approve if the country returned to the old system we had under apartheid, with 1= "strongly disapprove" to 5="strongly approve". *Equality of apartheid*, asked respondents to compare the current government with the apartheid government on freedom to (a) say what you think, (b) join political parties, (c) fear of arrest, (d) voting freedom, (e) ability to influence government, (f) safety from crime, and (g) equal treatment of all. Items were reverse coded so that 1= "much better" and 5="much worse" and were constructed as a mean scale item. Finally, *efficacy of apartheid*, asked respondents to compare the current government with the apartheid government on efficacy of (a) enforcement of the law, (b) delivery of service, (c) corruption, and (d) trustworthiness. Items were reverse coded so that 1="much better" and 5="much worse" and were constructed as a mean scale item. I hypothesized that those who benefited most from the apartheid's social order would have attitudes that align with maintaining that order. As applied to these apartheid-based outcomes, such respondents would be most likely to report attitudes that are positive toward or supporting apartheid.

Contrarily, respondents whose interests align with a changing the social order in post-apartheid South Africa would be the most supportive of the following outcomes, which capture attitudes toward the current government. *Approval of the government on anti-racism* was comprised of four items, in which respondents were asked how well or badly they thought the current government is handling: (a) reparations to people identified as victims by the Truth and Reconciliation Committee, (b) uniting all South Africans into one nation, (c) promoting affirmative action, and (d) resolving conflicts between communities. Respondents chose from 1= "very badly" to 4= "very well." I should note that Wave 2 of the SAB had a greater number of outcomes that captured attitudes of interest, particularly attitudes toward apartheid and anti-racism. Equality of apartheid, efficacy of apartheid, and approval of government on anti-racism were the Wave 2 outcomes *not* included in Wave 4.

Rank of future government was asked in a similar way to rank of apartheid government; respondents ranked the political system as they expected it to be in 10 years' time from 0="worst form" to 10="best form." *United Nation* captured whether respondents believe it possible to be one united South African nation out of all the different groups who live in this country, where 1="strongly disagree" and 5="strongly agree".

The final three generalized attitudes outcomes deal with political attitudes and engagement. Although these diverge slightly in type from other attitude measurements, they are equally important in accessing South African's views of the social order. Moreover, I contend those that are invested in changing the social order would report the highest levels on these outcomes. *Political identification* was a dichotomous measure capturing whether the respondent identified with a political party (1=yes). *Protest* captured whether respondents have attended a protest or political march, and categories include 0="No, would never do this", 1="no, but would do if had the chance", 2="yes, once or twice", 3="yes, several times" and 4="yes, often". Finally, for *political conflict*, respondents were asked, "Does competition between political parties lead to conflict?" Answers ranged from 0= "never" to 3= "always".

Relative Deprivation. The final outcomes captured fraternal relative deprivation. In order to derive fraternal measurements, I had to restrict analyses to respondents who chose "race/ethnicity" as their primary identity group. At Wave 2, respondents were asked to select their most salient identity from a list of options; respondents who selected either "race" or "tribe/ethnicity" were coded '1' for *racial/ethnic identity salience*. At Wave 4, respondents were asked whether their racial/ethnic *or* national identity was more important; respondents who selected racial/ethnic were coded as '1'.

The first measure was fraternal *economic deprivation*, which was captured by the question, "Would you say that over the last five years, your identity group has been economically a lot better off, better off, the same, worse off, or a lot worse off than other groups?" Answers ranged from 1="much worse" to 5="much better." The second measure was fraternal *treatment deprivation*, which was captured

in the question, “How often is your identity group treated unfairly by the government?” Answers ranged from 1=“never” to 4=“always”.

Control Variables

Control variables included *sex* (1=male; 0=female), *age* (continuous), and frequency of *religious attendance* (higher values represent more frequent attendance). The range of religious attendance was 1-6 in Wave 2 and 1-4 in Wave 4. I also controlled for socioeconomic status. It was captured by: *educational attainment* (continuous), *employment status* (1=employed; 0=unemployed), and *financial strain*, which was comprised of five items measuring whether respondents had sufficient funds to cover monthly necessities/bills (e.g., food, rent, water, etc.).

RESULTS

Table 3 shows mean levels of generalized attitudes and perceived relative deprivation by racial identification. Statistical significance was reported at the $p < .05$ level. It is denoted as a, b, and c, where ‘a’ denotes a statistically significant difference between coloureds and white South Africans; ‘b’ denotes a statistically significant difference between coloureds and black South Africans; and ‘c’ denotes a statistically significant difference between white South Africans and black South Africans. Table 3 is divided into two vertical panels corresponding to the Wave 2 and Wave 4 results. Results consistent with my hypotheses would mean there are significant differences between white South Africans, coloureds, and black South Africans in all outcomes, and that coloureds’ mean levels would be numerically between white and black South Africans.

Generalized Attitudes at Wave 2

Beginning with results for Wave 2 in the left panel of Table 3, coloureds’ generalized attitudes were significantly different from white South Africans’ attitudes across nine out of ten outcomes, and coloureds’ generalized attitudes were significantly different from black South Africans’ attitudes in all outcomes. White and black South Africans were also significantly different from each other on all

outcomes. Analyses show that coloureds were significantly different from white and black South Africans, and their mean generalized attitudes were intermediary between white and black South Africans 90% of the time at Wave 2. Thus, coloureds generalized attitudes reflected their intermediate, historical position in racial limbo.

Regarding whether apartheid ranked as a best form of government, coloureds ranked apartheid at 4.5, whereas white South Africans ranked apartheid higher as a better form of government (mean=6.3) and black South Africans ranked it lower, as a bad form of government (mean=3.1). Coloureds were less favorable toward the apartheid government (mean=2.3) than white South Africans (mean=2.8), but more favorable than black South Africans (mean=2.0). In terms of equality and efficacy of apartheid, respectively, coloureds' attitudes (mean=2.6, 3.1) fell between white (mean=3.1, 3.4) and black South Africans (mean=2.2, 2.9). Overall, white South Africans had relatively positive attitudes toward the apartheid government, coloureds were less positive, and black South Africans were the least positive.

White South Africans were least likely to agree that the post-apartheid government was responsible for anti-racism work (mean=2.3), coloureds agreed to a greater extent (mean=2.5), and black South Africans were the most likely to agree (mean=2.8). White South Africans ranked the future government as an average form, at 5.1 (interestingly, this is lower than they ranked the apartheid government). Coloureds' ranked the future government as moderately better (mean=6.2), whereas black South Africans ranked it high (mean=7.3). Black South Africans were also most optimistic that the South African government could unite all groups (mean=4.1), coloureds were less optimistic (mean=3.9), and white South Africans were the least optimistic (mean=3.5). Overall, black South Africans had the most positive attitudes toward the current government, coloureds were less positive, and white South Africans were the least positive.

Forty-three percent of coloureds identified with a political party, compared to 29% of white South Africans and 66% of black South Africans. The frequency of attending a protest or political march was also intermediary for coloureds (mean=.5), compared to white South Africans (mean=.3) and black South

Africans (mean=1). Coloureds (mean=2.1) did not significantly differ from white South Africans (mean=2.0) on whether political parties causes conflict. That is, black South Africans (mean=1.5) reported that political competition does more good than bad, whereas coloureds and white South Africans were significantly more likely to report it is detrimental. All in all, coloureds reported levels of political party identification and involvement in political marches that were between white and black South Africans, however they were least likely to believe political competition was good.

Generalized Attitudes at Wave 4

Results for Wave 4 (shown in the right panel of Table 3) display that coloureds' generalized attitudes were significantly different from those of white South Africans on all outcomes. White South Africans' generalized attitudes were significantly different from those of black South Africans on all outcomes. Contrarily, coloureds' generalized attitudes were significantly different from those of black South Africans on only five of seven outcomes (71%). This means there were fewer differences in generalized attitudes between coloureds and black South Africans at Wave 4, compared to Wave 2. Nonetheless, on five outcomes, coloureds' generalized attitudes were significantly different from, and fell between, white South Africans' and black South Africans' generalized attitudes.

Regarding the rank of apartheid as a form of government, coloureds ranked it at 4.1. Black South Africans ranked apartheid lower (mean=3.0), whereas white South Africans still ranked apartheid as a moderately good form (mean=6.5). Coloureds were less favorable toward the apartheid government (mean=2.1) than white South Africans (mean=2.8), but did not significantly differ from black South Africans (mean=2.0). Coloureds' ranked the future government (mean=5.7) lower than black South Africans (mean=6.3), but higher than white South Africans (mean=3.8). Coloureds and black South Africans felt South Africa could be united (mean=4.0), whereas white South Africans were significantly less optimistic (mean=3.5). Overall, white South Africans' attitudes toward apartheid were the most positive and their attitudes toward the current government were least positive. Black South Africans reported the least positive attitudes toward the apartheid government and most positive attitudes toward

the current government. Coloureds' mean levels remained between white and black South Africans, however they did not differ significantly from black South Africans' attitudes toward apartheid or whether the South African government could unite all South Africans.

At Wave 4, 61% of coloureds identified with a political party, compared to 39% of white South Africans and 74% of black South Africans. The frequency of attending a protest or march was also intermediary for coloureds (mean=.6), compared to white (mean=.3) and black South Africans (mean=.9). Finally, coloureds' judgments regarding whether competition between political parties causes conflict (mean=1.6) fell between white (mean=2.0) and black South Africans' (mean=1.4) judgments. Overall, black South Africans were the most engaged in political parties, protests, and believed political competition was good. In contrast, white South Africans were the least engaged in political parties, protests, and believed political competition would result in conflict. Coloureds' attitudes fell between white and black South Africans.

Generalized Attitudes: Tracking Changes from Wave 2 to Wave 4

I also examined trends in generalized attitudes across Wave 2 and Wave 4. On six of the seven measures (86%) that were asked at both waves, there were significant differences in mean level generalized attitudes between Wave 2 and Wave 4 for coloureds. White South Africans' attitudes differed across the waves for only three of seven outcomes (40%), whereas black South Africans' attitudes differed for four of seven outcomes (57%). To illustrate, white South Africans ranked apartheid at 6.3 at Wave 2, and then ranked it at 6.5 at Wave 4. These rankings were not statistically significant different across the waves. Neither was black South Africans' ranking of apartheid significantly different across waves (3.1 to 3.0). However, coloureds' ranking of apartheid decreased, going from 4.5 to 4.1, which was a statistically significant change. Coloureds attitudes toward apartheid significantly decreased at Wave 4, and did so in a direction closer to black South Africans. In fact, coloureds and black South Africans converged across every generalized attitude from Wave 2 to Wave 4. In contrast, mean level differences between white South Africans and coloureds grew over time.

Generalized Attitudes: Multivariate Associations

I next examined whether associations between racial identification and generalized attitudes (as reported above) were robust after controlling for age, gender, religious attendance, education, employment status, and financial strain. Results for Wave 2 are shown in Table 4; results for Wave 4 are shown in Table 5. In Table 4, coefficients for white and black South Africans were in the opposite direction of each other for nine of ten outcomes (coloureds were the excluded group). In other words, when white South Africans had significantly more positive attitudes than coloureds, black South Africans had significantly less positive attitudes. When white South Africans had significantly less positive attitudes than coloureds, black South Africans had significantly more positive attitudes. Thus, introducing control variables did not change the relationship between racial identification and generalized attitudes in Wave 2.

In regressions shown Table 5 (Wave 4), coefficients for white and black South Africans were in the opposite direction of each other on all outcomes. However, coloureds did not significantly differ from black South Africans on approval of apartheid or the possibility of South Africa being a united nation. Again, associations between racial identification and generalized attitudes did not change once control variables were introduced. I turn now to analyses involving perceived relative deprivation.

Perceived Relative Deprivation at Wave 2

Contrary to the generalized attitudes results, coloureds did *not* report levels of perceived relative deprivation that fell, on average, between white and black South Africans (see the bottom of Table 3). In fact, coloureds reported the *highest* levels of perceived relative deprivation. The left panel at the bottom of Table 3 shows that coloureds mean level of economic based deprivation was 3.7 and their mean level of treatment deprivation was 2.7. White South Africans perceived less economic deprivation (mean= 3.2) and greater treatment deprivation (mean=2.2) than coloureds, as did black South Africans (mean=3.4, 2.0 respectively). White and black South Africans did not significantly differ from each. This result suggests

that coloureds' perceive the most deprivation compared to white or black South Africans, however their reports do not significantly differ from black South Africans in terms of economic deprivation.

Perceived Relative Deprivation at Wave 4

At Wave 4, coloureds also reported the highest levels of perceived relative deprivation. Specifically, coloureds reported mean levels of perceived deprivation of 3.9 for economic based deprivation and 3.1 for treatment based deprivation. White South Africans reported lower levels of perceived relative deprivation in terms of economic deprivation (mean= 3.6) and treatment deprivation (mean=2.7), but not significantly different levels from coloureds. Black South Africans reported the lowest level of deprivation in terms of economic deprivation (mean=3.3) and treatment deprivation (mean=2.2), and their levels were significantly different from coloureds and white South Africans. Thus, although coloureds continued to perceive the most deprivation relative to white or black South Africans, they did not significantly differ from white South Africans in terms of fraternal economic or treatment deprivation at Wave 4.

Perceived Relative Deprivation: Tracking Changes from Wave 2 to Wave 4

Tracking trends in perceived relative deprivation over time, I found that coloureds and white South Africans showed statistically significant differences in their reports of perceived deprivation from Wave 2 to Wave 4, whereas black South Africans reported comparable levels of perceived relative deprivation across waves. Although coloureds' and white South Africans' perceived deprivation increased over time, white South Africans' change in perceived deprivation was the most drastic. Therefore, the difference between coloureds and white South Africans perceived deprivation at Wave 4 was small and non-significant. In other words, white South Africans' level of perceived relative deprivation trended toward coloureds' levels of perceived deprivation over time.

Perceived Relative Deprivation: Multivariate Associations

I next examined whether associations between racial identification and perceptions of relative deprivation (as reported above) were robust after controlling for age, gender, religious attendance,

education, employment status, and financial strain. Results for Wave 2 are shown in Table 6; results for Wave 4 are shown in Table 7. Coefficients for white and black South Africans remain negative, meaning coloureds' reported the highest perceived relative deprivation, even after introducing control variables. However, the non-significant difference between coloureds and black South Africans on economic deprivation observed at the bivariate level became statistically significant in the multivariate analyses. Furthermore, the statistically significant difference between white South Africans and coloureds in perceived deprivation in terms of treatment deprivation observed at the bivariate level was attenuated after introducing control variables. Thus, Wave 2 control variables altered the relationship between racial identification and perceived deprivation.

Table 7 shows results of regressing perceived relative deprivation on racial identification at Wave 4, adjusting for the control variables. Again, the coefficients' signs for white and black South Africans remain negative, meaning coloureds reported the highest economic and treatment deprivation, even after adjusting for control variables. However, and consistent with the bivariate analyses, white South Africans and coloureds did not significantly differ from each other; thus, results at Wave 4 for perceived deprivation were not altered by inclusion of control variables.

Contrary to my predictions, coloureds' levels of perceived relative deprivation were not numerically between white and black South Africans. Next, I further discuss the results and evaluate evidence for the continuance of historical racial limbo among coloureds as reflected in their post-apartheid attitudes and perceptions.

DISCUSSION

I defined racial limbo as belonging to a group positioned between a dominant group and a subordinate group in a racial hierarchy, and argued that coloureds in South Africa represent an exemplar case. Considering the demise of apartheid and the state's weakened control over individuals' and groups' racial identifications, I asked whether coloureds' intermediate, historical position in racial limbo is

consistent with their post-apartheid attitudes and perceptions. Group position theory informed two hypotheses (H1 and H2) about coloureds' generalized attitudes. I argued that just as white South Africans' attitudes should align with their dominant group position, coloureds' attitudes would align with their dominant position vis-à-vis black South Africans. Specifically, I hypothesized that coloureds would report generalized attitudes that fall, on average, between the generalized attitudes of white and black South Africans (H1). Accounting for the premise that a sense of group position is learned through on-going processes, I also hypothesized that coloureds' generalized attitudes would remain intermediary (H2) over time. Result supported the hypotheses. In fact, analyses at Wave 2 and Wave 4 of the SAB revealed that across over 93% of the outcomes, coloureds reported generalized attitudes that were significantly different from, and between, the generalized attitudes of white and black South Africans.

Results from the multivariate analyses were consistent with the bivariate results; coloureds' attitudes were between white and black South Africans, after controlling for age, gender, religious attendance, and socioeconomic status. Notably, coloureds did not differ from black South Africans in terms of years of education or employment status at the bivariate level. That is, coloureds were similarly disadvantaged in terms of socioeconomic status to black South Africans, yet their attitudes were not altered when accounting for their disadvantage. This finding emphasizes the importance of race in shaping attitudes over and beyond socioeconomic status; despite the fact that coloureds occupy an economic position close to black South Africans, their generalized attitudes are aligned with their intermediate, historical position in South Africa's racial hierarchy.

Although H2 was supported, results showed that coloureds' generalized attitudes changed over time and at a rate greater than either white or black South Africans. Coloureds' attitudes at Wave 4 were closer, on average, to black South Africans than they were at Wave 2. For instance, coloureds' attitudes toward the favorability of apartheid decreased whereas their political engagement increased. The direction and magnitude of these changes in generalized attitudes could insinuate a movement among coloureds to a position more similar to black South Africans. Such transition could be the result of coloureds' greater

awareness of (1) their disadvantaged socioeconomic status relative to white South Africans, or (2) the current South African government's decision to redefine coloureds as black South Africans in recent legislation. Whatever the case, scholars must monitor future changes in coloureds' generalized attitudes. If coloureds willfully band together with black South Africans, this could become coalition with considerable political power. Significantly, this may mean coloureds' position in limbo is a true transitional state. Group position theory should be amended to consider the notion that groups positioned in racial limbo may join forces with subordinate groups when those subordinate groups are challenging the status quo that protects dominant groups.

Relative deprivation theory informed hypotheses (H3 and H4) regarding the coloureds' perceived deprivation in terms of economics and treatment from the government. I hypothesized that coloureds should perceive relative deprivation when they compare themselves to white South Africans and simultaneously perceive relative gratification when they compare themselves to black South Africans. Note that relative deprivation theory does not typically consider simultaneous upward and downward comparisons. Given such comparisons, I hypothesized that coloureds would report levels of perceived relative deprivation that were between white and black South Africans (H3). That is to say, the effects of perceiving both relative deprivation and relative gratification would cancel out. I also hypothesized that coloureds' perceived deprivation and perceived gratification would be consistent over time such that they would report intermediary levels in both waves (H4).

I found that coloureds' reported the highest levels of perceived relative deprivation, in terms of economic opportunities and mistreatment across the waves. At Wave 2, coloureds' perceived relative deprivation was significantly higher than white South Africans, but not different from black South Africans in terms of economic deprivation. Black South Africans and coloureds did perceive higher levels of relative deprivation than white South Africans when evaluating mistreatment from the government. Conversely, at Wave 4, coloureds' perceived relative deprivation levels were statistically significantly higher than black South Africans' levels, but not significantly different from white South Africans on

either deprivation measure. White South Africans and coloureds felt more deprived in terms of economics and mistreatment than black South Africans. Thus, H3 and H4 were not supported, suggesting that coloureds do not perceive offsetting levels of relative deprivation and gratification.

Further consultation with social comparison theory (Festinger 1954; Pettigrew 1967) might help us understand why coloureds' perceive the highest mean levels of deprivation. Social comparison theory undergirds the concept of relative deprivation by contending that individuals are most likely to choose *similar others as referents*. For instance, in Dreyer's (1953) classic study of social comparisons, students with average exam scores had the greatest motivation to do better on subsequent exams because they felt as though they were close to the top (i.e., best grades). Conversely, the students who scored poorly did not consider the highest exam scores as obtainable and were therefore more content with their exam scores. Thus, individuals who landed in the middle (compared to individuals who scored poorly), perceived themselves to be more similar to those who scored better. Importantly, as a result of believing a higher score was obtainable, the average students felt the least satisfied with their position.

As applied here, dramatically divergent groups (theoretically, white and black South Africans) are less motivated to partake in comparisons, whereas coloureds in racial limbo diverge less from white or black South Africans and are more likely to make comparisons (Morse and Peele 1974). Coloureds may be more likely to consider white South Africans, who control most economic resources, their reference group. If coloureds compare themselves to white South Africans, but have a disadvantaged socioeconomic position (i.e., closer to black South Africans), then their perceived deprivation should be heightened. That is, incongruence between expectation and experience might be what drives coloureds' elevated deprivation. Still, this conclusion is speculative because I cannot test whether coloureds' reference group is white South Africans.

Whereas introducing control variables did not alter the relationship between racial identification and generalized attitudes, introducing control variables did alter the relationship between racial identification and perceived relative deprivation at Wave 2. Specifically, adding control variables

increased the coefficient for black South African racial identification on economic deprivation by 27%. Adding control variables decreased the impact of white South African racial identification on treatment deprivation by 7%. Thus, results of the perceived relative deprivation measures were not robust after accounting for control variables at Wave 2.[1]

In regard to change in perceptions of relative deprivation over time, white South Africans reported higher levels of deprivation at Wave 4 compared to Wave 2, despite having the highest objective levels of socioeconomic status. Furthermore, although coloureds' reported the highest mean levels of deprivation, they went from perceiving significantly higher deprivation at Wave 2 compared to white South Africans, to not being significantly different from white South Africans at Wave 4. This trend could be the result of white South Africans responding to (recent) decreases in their political power and moderate decreases in their economic power. That is, as time goes on, white South Africans might perceive a decrease in their dominant status, which would, in turn, increase their feelings of resentment. An alternative explanation could be that coloureds no longer use white South Africans as their reference group. That is, white South Africans might not be the most obtainable group and this lessens the extent to which coloureds perceive relative deprivation.

Limitations

There are several limitations that should be addressed. First, the SAB survey does not always include the same measures across its repeated cross-sectional waves. As a result, I did not have the same number of generalized attitudes across waves. Inconsistent survey measurements also reduced the utility of other waves of the SAB. However, Wave 5 of the SAB was collected in 2012 and should be released to the public in the near future. Future research should replicate present analyses of group contrasts as the South African political and economic landscape continues to change. Further, the repeated cross-sectional design means my results come from different population samples. Future research should also examine coloureds' attitudes and perceptions using a longitudinal study design to make more reliable conclusions about how political and economic changes impact intra-individual variation.

The data present a second limitation. Asking respondents if they are worse off than others (as did the question for economic deprivation) did not allow me to know what "others" the respondent was referring to. Gibson (2006), reviewed in the introduction, used a survey that restricted coloureds' comparison group to black South Africans, yet there are reasons to believe, as I have argued above, that white South Africans are often coloureds' reference group. Capturing respondents' comparison group(s) is especially important when considering racial limbo, but the critique has been voiced in more general relative deprivation research (see Walker and Smith 2002). One potential solution for the general critique is to examine social networks (Gartell 2002).

A final limitation is that analyses which rely on identification with a group often miss variations between individuals within a group. For instance, Loveman (1999:892) argued there is a difference between "imposed categories, the identity of the categorized, and experienced groupness." This suggests that a single indicator of racial identification is limited in capturing the phenomenology of race. Furthermore, recent research (e.g., Erasmus 2001) on coloureds intimates their phenomenology of race is theorized to be multidimensional. That is, there is reason to believe that individuals belonging to a group in racial limbo may not be homogeneous. Analyses from this study provide preliminary evidence of larger variation for coloureds in attitudes and perceptions among coloureds: coloureds had the largest standard errors in the majority (over 70%) of outcomes examined. This could be an indication that coloureds' responses vary more around the mean, as compared to other groups.

Theoretical Implications

Group position theory and relative deprivation theory describe perspectives of individuals and groups trying to understand where they fit in various hierarchies and to whom they should compare themselves. Taking a rational approach, Blumer (1958) developed group position theory to explain a white dominant groups' prejudice toward a black subordinate group while refuting the popular tendency to portray racially prejudiced whites as ignorant and lacking moral character. Group position theory has since been expanded (Bobo 2000; Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Bobo and Tuan 2006) to suggest group

attitudes and interests align with the position of groups in a racial hierarchy. Group position theory initially considered a two group situation only, and thus it could not fully generalize to contexts like South Africa with multiple group racial hierarchies. Hypotheses should continue to be expanded to consider other groups than just dominant v. subordinate.

In addition, group position theory does not fully explain how changes in structural positions might impact group attitudes. For instance, the racial hierarchy in South Africa did not correspond perfectly with a change in political systems; white South Africans still occupy the most privileged position for power and resources whereas black South Africans remain the most disadvantaged (Marx 1998; Seidman 1999; Seekings, Jooste, and Maughan-Brown 2005). Despite the seemingly unaltered racial hierarchy, changes within public discourse, legislation, and every-day interpersonal interactions (see Study One, and consistent with what Blumer [1958] theorizes) might be influencing a change in groups' generalized attitudes. In fact, my findings suggest a slight transition of coloureds' attitudes toward alignment with black South Africans over time.

Social psychologists contributed to the development of relative deprivation theory (Runciman 1966; Stouffer et al. 1949), which aimed to explain perceptions of deprivation that emerge inevitably when individuals and groups, believing they deserve a resource that they do not have, compare themselves to individuals and groups having attained said resource. Relative deprivation has since been expanded (Marmot 2004; Wilkinson 2005) to explain resentment that arose among disadvantaged individuals and groups doing social comparisons. Relative deprivation theory focuses typically on upward social comparisons; yet, coloureds in post-apartheid South African may do simultaneous upward social comparisons (to white South Africans) and downward social comparisons (to black South Africans).

Relative deprivation theory did not correctly predict the imbalance of deprivation that coloureds' perceived. Rather than discounting the utility that relative deprivation theory has for explaining how groups in racial limbo perceive their position, though, it is important that scholars more carefully consider social comparisons (Festinger 1954; Pettigrew 1976). Intermediate groups' position is relatively closer to

the dominant position (compared to those that occupy the subordinate position) and perceiving the dominant position as obtainable could increase relative deprivation. Moreover, I contend that high levels of perceived relative deprivation may actually support the proposition that those in racial limbo recognize their intermediate position; they recognize they are positioned between two groups and they want to change such position. Indeed, more research is needed test this theory in other multiple group contexts. It might be useful to note here that a related research agenda regarding race in Latin America. Researchers named the social process in which individuals attempt race mixture as a mean to achieve higher status *blanqueamiento* (see Telles 2006 and Wade 1995, 2010 for more information). This research suggests members of a group in racial limbo consider whites a similar referent and actively try to achieve whiteness.

I have argued that neither group position theory nor relative deprivation theory is wholly adequate for understanding the experiences of coloureds in post-apartheid South Africa. Yet, I found much utility in expanding upon these mainstream theories. Notably, this project suggests the racial hierarchy can be reflected in individual level outcomes to some extent.

Conclusion

Given the repercussions that attitudes and perceptions can have on social action and racial antagonism (Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Frazier 1957; Morse and Peele 1974; Pettigrew 1967; Pettigrew et al. 2008), analyzing the attitudes and perceptions of a group in racial limbo, especially in a context with a changing political landscape, is an important to contribution. Coloureds' generalized attitudes in post-apartheid South Africa do reflect their intermediate, historical position. However, their movement toward black South Africans might reflect something more important, a transformation in group boundaries. Contrarily, rather than reporting levels of perceived relative deprivation that were between white and black South Africans, coloureds reported the highest levels of both economic and treatment deprivation. This reveals that coloureds may expect to have greater access to power and resources and are not satisfied with their current position, which they perceived to be deprived. If a racial hierarchy were to be

conceptualized as a continuum between the poles of white and black, the pendulum for coloureds would have been suspended in the middle during apartheid. By most accounts, coloureds' intermediate, historical position remains suspended in the twenty-first century and evidence suggests it might be a permanent state. At the same time, however, this analysis alludes to movement in coloureds' position.

NOTES

[1] I speculate that socioeconomic status most affected the inconsistent pattern of significance in relative deprivation findings. For instance, financial strain was significant in the relative deprivation models at Wave 2. In supplementary analyses (not shown), I found a significant interaction between financial strain and white racial identification in Wave 2 only. I consider that financial strain is correlated with racial identification and perceived relative deprivation, and therefore larger differences among financial strain at Wave 2 (compared to more comparable mean levels at Wave 4) may have the potential to mediate the relationship between racial identification and perceived relative deprivation.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Study Variables

	WAVE 2 – 2002				WAVE 4 – 2008			
Race	Range	Mean	SE	Alphas	Range	Mean	SE	Alphas
White (1=yes)	0,1	12.14%	.015	--	0,1	11.99%	.013	--
Coloured (1=yes)	0,1	15.98%	.011	--	0,1	9.88%	.010	--
Black (1=yes)	0,1	71.88%	.018	--	0,1	78.13%	.016	--
Control Variables								
Age	18-91	38.139	.428	--	18-97	37.865	.448	--
Male (1=yes)	0,1	51.59%	.006	--	0,1	46.53%	.002	--
Religiosity	1-6	3.970	.044	--	1-4	3.351	.028	--
Education	0-9	4.065	.061	--	0-9	4.185	.051	--
Employed (1=yes)	0,1	45.12%	.014	--	0,1	45.59%	.016	--
Financial Strain	0-24	4.578	.181	.829	0-20	4.547	.164	.822
Racial/Ethnic Identity Salience (1=yes)	0,1	21.44%	.012	--	0,1	11.02%	.010	--
Generalized Attitudes								
Favorable Rank of Apartheid	0-10	3.772	.099	--	0-10	3.489	.102	--
Equality of Apartheid	1-5	2.427	.025	.829	--	--	--	--
Efficacy of Apartheid	1-5	2.986	.027	.674	--	--	--	--
Approval of Government on Anti-Racism	1-4	2.694	.023	.703	--	--	--	--
Favorable Rank of Future Government	0-10	6.947	3.116	--	0-10	5.874	2.969	--
Possibility of a United Nation	1-5	4.007	.030	--	1-5	3.906	.038	--
Identification with a Political Party (1=yes)	0,1	.445	.015	--	0,1	69.13%	.015	--
Protest	0-4	.815	.032	--	0-4	.774	.032	--
Political Competition Causes Conflict	0-3	1.663	1.030	--	0-3	1.573	.981	--
Fraternal Deprivation								
Economic Based Deprivation	1-5	3.394	.064	--	1-5	3.40	.087	--
Treatment Based Deprivation	1-4	2.123	.059	--	1-4	2.377	.104	--

Source: Southern African Barometer

Table 2. Race Differences of Control Variables

	WAVE 2 – 2002						WAVE 4 – 2008					
	White		Coloured		Black		White		Coloured		Black	
Control Variables												
Age	41.867	a	39.113	b	37.141	c	41.215		42.829	b	36.718	c
	(1.183)		(.948)		(.484)		(1.181)		(1.264)		(.512)	
Male (1=yes)	50.71%		48.16%	b	52.36%		46.19%		44.38%		46.85%	
	(.017)		(.018)		(.008)		(.012)		(.017)		(.003)	
Religiosity	4.062	a	4.471	b	3.865		3.381	a	3.620	b	3.311	
	(.095)		(.103)		(.054)		(.081)		(.048)		(.034)	
Education	5.632	a	3.821		3.761	c	5.251	a	4.067		4.036	c
	(.104)		(.115)		(.068)		(.077)		(.103)		(.060)	
Employed (1=yes)	62.40%	a	46.80%		41.00%	c	64.50%	a	47.48%		42.45%	c
	(.468)		(.037)		(.016)		(.040)		(.040)		(.018)	
Financial Strain	.755	a	3.056	b	5.685	c	1.428	a	3.037	b	5.218	c
	(.134)		(.344)		(.205)		(.314)		(.324)		(.191)	
Racial/Ethnic Identity Salience (1=yes)	14.40%		21.65%		22.97%	c	10.55%		14.94%		10.57%	
	(.029)		(.029)		(.014)		(.028)		(.026)		(.011)	

Source: Southern African Barometer

Notes: *a* represents significant differences between coloureds and white South Africans; *b* represents significant differences between coloureds and black South Africans; *c* represents significant differences between white and black South Africans. Significance is at the $p < .05$.

Table 3. Race Differences of Generalized Attitudes and Perceived Relative Deprivation

	WAVE 2 – 2002						WAVE 4 – 2008					
	White		Coloured		Black		White		Coloured		Black	
Generalized Attitudes												
Favorable Rank of Apartheid	6.278	a	4.533	b	3.102	c	6.527	a	4.133	b	2.956	c
	(.132)		(.239)		(.100)		(.268)		(.217)		(.094)	
Favorable Approval of Apartheid	2.755	a	2.306	b	1.984	c	2.793	a	2.139		1.989	c
	(.084)		(.099)		(.042)		(.120)		(.125)		(.044)	
Equality of Apartheid	3.119	a	2.611	b	2.244	c	--		--		--	
	(.052)		(.055)		(.021)							
Efficacy of Apartheid	3.431	a	3.063	b	2.874	c	--		--		--	
	(.059)		(.080)		(.029)							
Approval of Government on Anti-Racism	2.325	a	2.472	b	2.813	c	--		--		--	
	(.043)		(.055)		(.025)							
Favorable Rank of Future Government	5.101	a	6.212	b	7.326	c	3.810	a	5.723	b	6.308	c
	(.227)		(.248)		(.105)		(.207)		(.241)		(.117)	
Possibility of a United Nation	3.540	a	3.865	b	4.132	c	3.501	a	3.963		3.961	c
	(.069)		(.070)		(.032)		(.115)		(.068)		(.044)	
Identification with a Political Party (1=yes)	29.22%	a	42.64%	b	66.21%	c	39.02%	a	60.97%	b	74.05%	c
	(.031)		(.036)		(.015)		(.045)		(.038)		(.016)	
Protest	.309	a	.529	b	.976	c	.270	a	.592	b	.879	c
	(.050)		(.067)		(.037)		(.059)		(.071)		(.037)	
Political Competition Causes Conflict	1.982		2.126	b	1.508	c	1.901	a	1.633	b	1.445	c
	(.058)		(.074)		(.036)		(.089)		(.065)		(.041)	
Fraternal Deprivation												
Economic Based Deprivation	3.179	a	3.703		3.377		3.607		3.949	b	3.261	c
	(.145)		(.174)		(.076)		(.183)		(.182)		(.110)	
Treatment Based Deprivation	2.163	a	2.718	b	2.029		2.707		3.076	b	2.195	c
	(.103)		(.189)		(.065)		(.245)		(.150)		(.121)	

Source: Southern African Barometer

Notes: *a* represents significant differences between coloureds and white South Africans; *b* represents significant differences between coloureds and black South Africans; *c* represents significant differences between white and black South Africans. Significance is at the $p < .05$.

Table 4. Models Predicting Generalized Attitudes

	Favor Apartheid	Approve Apartheid	Equality of Apartheid	Efficacy of Apartheid	Favor Government Anti-Racism	Favor Future Government	Possibility to be United	Political Involvement	Propensity to Protest	Political Competition Cause of Conflict
White	1.792***	.710***	.575***	.337**	-.160*	-1.409***	-.506*	-.668**	-.829**	-.444*
	(.305)	(.176)	(.082)	(.112)	(.080)	(.374)	(.208)	(.230)	(.252)	(.205)
Black	-1.525***	-.623***	-.397***	-.248**	.377***	1.404***	.632***	.977***	.986***	-1.405***
	(.269)	(.155)	(.060)	(.092)	(.064)	(.282)	(.163)	(.167)	(.183)	(.180)
Age	.007	.005	-.001	.005**	-.000	-.016*	-.003	.007	-.014***	.002
	(.006)	(.004)	(.001)	(.002)	(.001)	(.007)	(.004)	(.004)	(.004)	(.004)
Male	-.355*	-.125	-.058	.014	-.000	-.021	-.112	.266**	.157	.044
	(.142)	(.089)	(.033)	(.044)	(.036)	(.199)	(.096)	(.097)	(.109)	(.094)
Religiosity	-.061	-.026	.002	-.033*	.018	-.016	-.009	.060	.002	-.049
	(.046)	(.032)	(.011)	(.016)	(.012)	(.070)	(.034)	(.037)	(.035)	(.033)
Employed	-.116	.049	.019	-.003	.007	.175	.129	.257*	.309**	.134
	(.146)	(.097)	(.036)	(.050)	(.037)	(.174)	(.097)	(.109)	(.099)	(.103)
Education	-.022	-.062*	-.000	.019	-.005	-.014	-.080*	.073*	.163***	.086*
	(.051)	(.031)	(.012)	(.016)	(.012)	(.054)	(.031)	(.035)	(.036)	(.034)
Financial Strain	.013	-.000	.012***	.013*	-.005	-.113***	-.020*	.032**	.003	.056***
	(.017)	(.011)	(.003)	(.005)	(.005)	(.022)	(.010)	(.011)	(.011)	(.012)
Constant	4.830***		2.605***	2.925***	2.434***	7.266***		-1.468***		
	(.491)		(.098)	(.147)	(.109)	(.571)		(.350)		
cut1										
Constant		-.895**					-3.663***		1.116***	-2.067***
		(.302)					(.323)		(.333)	(.330)
cut2										
Constant		.337					-2.580***		2.389***	-.964**
		(.296)					(.299)		(.347)	(.317)
cut3										
Constant		1.049***					-1.619***		3.291***	.758*
		(.303)					(.293)		(.362)	(.311)
cut4										
Constant		2.245***					.588*		4.525***	
		(.317)					(.293)		(.372)	
Observations	2135	2083	2151	2119	2100	2031	2027	2149	2132	2026
R^2	.157		.210	.058	.082	.112				
F	49.574	16.197	38.256	11.185	15.403	2.698	1.663	14.267	19.526	12.892

Source: Southern African Barometer, Wave 2

Notes: Coloured is the excluded group. Standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 5. Models Predicting Generalized Attitudes

	Favor Apartheid	Approve Apartheid	Favor Future Government	Possibility to be United	Political Involvement	Propensity to Protest	Political Competition Cause of Conflict
White	2.572***	1.048***	-2.001***	-.726**	-.948***	-1.219***	.555**
	(.364)	(.241)	(.322)	(.237)	(.266)	(.260)	(.201)
Black	-1.280***	-.318	.711*	.154	.817***	.508**	-.559***
	(.257)	(.195)	(.282)	(.139)	(.195)	(.162)	(.143)
Age	-.001	.008*	-.001	-.000	.008	.002	-.003
	(.005)	(.004)	(.006)	(.004)	(.005)	(.004)	(.004)
Male	.046	-.171*	.185	.003	.243*	.123	.050
	(.118)	(.078)	(.125)	(.089)	(.113)	(.097)	(.084)
Religiosity	.048	-.091	.014	-.045	.100	-.041	.011
	(.067)	(.050)	(.082)	(.055)	(.074)	(.055)	(.050)
Employed	.110	.117	.237	-.057	.028	.184	-.047
	(.138)	(.113)	(.157)	(.106)	(.134)	(.116)	(.105)
Education	-.126*	-.058	-.019	-.004	.024	.086*	-.002
	(.049)	(.035)	(.055)	(.039)	(.051)	(.038)	(.037)
Financial Strain	.044**	.043**	-.051*	-.043***	-.043**	.029*	.064***
	(.017)	(.013)	(.021)	(.013)	(.016)	(.013)	(.013)
Constant	4.322***		5.754***		-.348		
	(.431)		(.516)		(.407)		
cut1							
Constant		-.412		-3.731***		1.028**	-1.642***
		(.311)		(.361)		(.318)	(.314)
cut2							
Constant		.536		-2.355***		2.336***	-.192
		(.313)		(.339)		(.321)	(.306)
cut3							
Constant		1.600***		-1.335***		3.208***	1.413***
		(.327)		(.329)		(.326)	(.312)
cut4							
Constant		3.097***		.233		4.438***	
		(.359)		(.330)		(.362)	
Observations	2059	2052	2050	2056	1893	2121	2034
R^2	.178		.085				
F	24.793	9.062	16.427	3.208	8.583	11.188	6.753

Source: Southern African Barometer, Wave 4

Notes: Coloured is the excluded group. Standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 6. Models Predicting Perceived Relative Deprivation

	Economic	Treatment
White	-.893*	-.870
	(.433)	(.451)
Black	-.808*	-1.527***
	(.337)	(.369)
Age	.020**	.009
	(.007)	(.007)
Male	.398	.198
	(.212)	(.205)
Religiosity	-.140*	-.097
	(.066)	(.085)
Employed	.110	.203
	(.228)	(.211)
Education	-.018	-.004
	(.066)	(.088)
Financial Strain	.086***	.067**
	(.023)	(.023)
cut1		
Constant	-3.622***	-1.917*
	(.693)	(.783)
cut2		
Constant	-1.407*	.229
	(.662)	(.759)
cut3		
Constant	.256	1.278
	(.670)	(.766)
cut4		
Constant	1.801**	
	(.694)	
Observations	429	415
F	5.030	3.768

Source: Southern African Barometer, Wave 2
Notes: Coloured is the excluded group. Standard errors in parentheses.
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 7. Models Predicting Perceived Relative Deprivation

	Economic	Treatment
White	-.636	-.910
	(.582)	(.564)
Black	-1.244**	-1.918***
	(.454)	(.406)
Age	.017	-.005
	(.013)	(.013)
Male	.541	-.359
	(.326)	(.347)
Religiosity	.137	-.343
	(.192)	(.182)
Employed	-.275	.417
	(.370)	(.373)
Education	-.195	.082
	(.140)	(.104)
Financial Strain	-.057	.132**
	(.035)	(.043)
cut1		
Constant	-3.597**	-3.002*
	(1.164)	(1.186)
cut2		
Constant	-2.510*	-1.670
	(1.135)	(1.180)
cut3		
Constant	-.791	-.089
	(1.131)	(1.211)
cut4		
Constant	1.114	
	(1.180)	
Observations	211	207
F	2.545	4.835

Source: Southern African Barometer, Wave 4
Notes: Coloured is the excluded group. Standard errors in parentheses.
$^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

CHAPTER FOUR

RACIAL MEASUREMENT AND LIMBO: EXPLORING A MULTIDIMENSIONAL MEASURE OF RACIAL IDENTIFICATION AMONG COLOUREDS IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

Coloured South Africans are an exemplar case of *racial limbo*, meaning they are positioned between a dominant and subordinate group in a racial hierarchy. The coloured racial category, and coloureds' intermediate position, was mandated by the apartheid government (Frederickson 1981; Marx 1998; Lewis 1987). Although the current post-apartheid government maintains an ambiguous definition for coloureds, research suggests their historical, intermediate position continues to be reflected in their life experiences (Adhikari 2005; Erasmus and Ellison 2008; Posel 2001).

For instance, in Study Two of this dissertation project I asked whether coloureds in post-apartheid South Africa report levels of generalized attitudes and perceived relative deprivation that reflect their intermediate, historical position between white and black South Africans. Informed by group position theory (Blumer 1956), I argued that just as white South Africans' attitudes align with their dominant group position, coloureds' attitudes would align with their dominant position vis-à-vis black South Africans. Result supported the hypotheses; across 80% of the outcomes, coloureds reported generalized attitudes that were significantly different from, and between, the generalized attitudes of white and black South Africans. Informed by relative deprivation theory (Runciman 1966; Stouffer et al. 1949), I hypothesized that coloureds should perceive relative deprivation when they compare themselves to white South Africans and simultaneously perceive relative gratification when they compare themselves to black South Africans. Contrary to my expectations, I found that coloureds' reported the highest levels of perceived relative deprivation. Jointly, results supported the expectation that coloureds' attitudes reflect their immediate, historical position, but results also hinted that coloureds may feel deprived by their position and insinuate a transition of their position could occur. In addition, analysis in Study Two also

revealed that coloureds showed greater variation (i.e., had larger standard errors) in the majority of outcomes compared to white and black South Africans.

Although evidence does suggest coloureds are a group positioned in racial limbo, research also suggests that coloureds' identifications with this position may be multidimensional. Erasmus explains that "[c]oloured identities were constructed out of fragmented cultural material available in the contexts of slavery, colonialism and cultural dispossession. This leaves their constructed and composite historical nature always evident and their dislocation always present. These are identities produced and re-produced in the place of the margin" (2001a:20). Moreover, scholars (e.g., Adhikari 2005; Erasmus 2001a, 2001b; Jackson 2003) often characterize coloureds' position in racial limbo as containing assorted phenomenologies of race.

In order to further explore findings from Study Two and scholarship on coloureds' lived experiences, I here investigate whether multidimensional measure of coloureds' racial identification (as opposed to a single-item self-reported racial identification) provides stronger evidence of the coloureds' intermediate, historical position in contemporary South Africa. In this chapter, Study Three, I take up the call for innovative approaches to studying racial identification in survey research (Loveman 1999; Martin and Yeung 2003; Wacquant 1997; Zuberi 2001) and present latent class analysis as an innovative approach. Specifically, I conduct latent class analysis using a set of instruments theorized to capture phenomenology of race in order to locate potential latent classes (i.e., unobserved subgroups). I then determine whether the latent classes of coloured, as opposed to a single indicator, better demonstrates whether racial limbo is reflected in attitudes and perceptions of deprivation located, on average, between white and black South Africans.

In the sections that follow, I overview the background and framing for this study. I begin by first defining and critiquing conceptualizations of race. I consider the argument that social scientists should employ innovative approaches to studying the meaning and significance of belonging to a race group, and contend such approaches are most needed among groups positioned in racial limbo. Such research situates

my expectations that I will find multiple latent classes that correspond with coloureds' position in racial limbo: a class pulled towards white South Africans, a class pulled towards black South Africans, and an intermediate class. Next, I overview the data and measures, and explain how I will conduct latent class analysis on coloured respondents in the Cape Town Area Study. Finally, I discuss the results and suggest that although unobserved subgroups may be present among those with a coloured racial identification, the intragroup divisions are not strong enough to claim a new multidimensional racial identification is most beneficial.

FRAMING

Conceptualizations of Race

Race is defined as "a symbolic category, based on phenotype or ancestry and constructed according to specific social and historical contexts, that is misrecognized as a natural category" (Desmond and Emirbayer 2009:336). Racial categories are popularly perceived as distinct because shared physical or biological characteristics are believed to be real, despite the fact that no biological basis to race as attached to phenotype has been scientifically proven. Expressing membership with or being labeled a member of a racial category is known as *racial identification* (Clark and Clark 1939; Thorton, Taylor and Brown 2000). Whereas race often captures structural categories, racial identifications capture individuals' associations with such race categories.

Racial identifications help explain how race is encoded; yet, racial identifications still do not fully uncover the complex processes that link race to ones' self-concept. Tatum (1997) describes *racial identity* as defining for oneself the personal significance and social meaning of belonging to a particular racial group. Moreover, racial identities are learned through racial socialization, the process of learning about the social meaning and consequence of ones' ethnicity and race, which occurs through the family, schools, media, etc. (Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-Brown, and Ezell 2007).

As such, racial identity better encapsulates the *phenomenology of race*: "Phenomenological descriptions of racial identity can reveal a differentiation or distribution of felt connectedness to others" (Martin 1999:21). Adloff (2005) describes phenomenological accounts of race as exploring the lived experience of racial identity. For this project, I conceptualize the phenomenology of race as the experience, significance, and meaning of race as understood by individuals. Indeed, examinations of the phenomenology of race focus on extrapolating experience, understanding, and embodiment from the source studied (*see* Fanon 1956). Limitations of race research come to bear when racial identification (i.e., a single-item self-reported racial identification) is used without attention the multiplicity of lived experiences (i.e., phenomenologies of race) of those sharing the same racial identification.

Problems in the Measurement of Race Concepts

In 2003 the American Sociological Association took a stance that "as long as Americans routinely sort each other into racial categories and act on the basis of those attributions, research on the role of race and race relations in the US falls squarely within scientific agenda." Whereas most sociologists and other social scientists (in the United States and abroad) agree that scholarship on race and racial divisions remains important, some scholars contend the type of research being conducted on race is less than fruitful. Critics have argued that the social sciences' claim to understand race as a social construct is negated by their repeated use of racial identification as if it were a non-problematic set of categorical divisions (Martin and Yeung 2002: 522). For instance, after examining four top social science journals (i.e., *American Sociological Review*, *Demography*, *American Journal of Sociology*, and *Population Studies*), Zuberi (2001) found that racial identification was most often employed as a cause variable in regressions and argued that such practice leads to reifying and essentializing race. Martin and Yeung's (2003) investigation of the way race was analyzed from 1937-1999 in the *American Sociological Review* led them to similar conclusions. The authors found that the odds of analyzing race have increased over time, but linked the increase in odds to an increase in quantitative methods. They too concluded that social science researchers rely on a broad but shallow understanding of race by only controlling for racial

identification. This trend supports the normalization of race—meaning that race helps explain other variables, but does not itself need explained (Martin and Yeung 2002).

This limitation extends beyond quantitative studies of race. Loveman critiques theoretical frameworks on race (e.g., racial formation, racialized social system) on the grounds that the frameworks over-theorize the significance of structurally-based racial categories. Moreover, Loveman (1999) argues that there is a difference between "imposed categories, the identity of the categorized, and experienced groupness" and that often research "does not recognize the variability and contingency of the 'real' consequences of 'race' as… a principle of vision and division of the social world" (p. 892). Loveman advocates for a reconsideration of race, in which scholars study race as a 'category of practice' rather than taking for granted racial 'categories of analysis' (*see also*, Wacquant 1997). These limitations are summarized by Bobo and Fox (2003):

> "sociologists have done much to examine the material economic and political consequences of socially recognized membership in particular ethnoracial categories. In themselves, however, such differences do not explain how people develop such categorization and identities, how they imbue ethnoracial groups with meaning, or when and how they draw on salient identities, beliefs, and feelings in any particular context or setting" (p 325).

Innovative Approaches to Measuring Race

In the last decade, scholars began to consider innovative approaches to better capture the variation, meaning, and significance of race. Some researchers (e.g., Campbell and Troyer 2007; Harris and Sim 2002; Roth 2010; Saperstein 2006) have explored variations in racial identification as a useful way to understand differences within the phenomenology of race. For example, Roth (2010) suggests operationalizing a respondent's reply to a race question on a survey as an expressed racial identification, an interviewer's assessment of a respondent's race during a survey as an observed racial identification, or interviewer assessed skin color as phenotype-based classifications. Consistent with this operationalization, scholars have found that youth report various racial identifications within the same survey depending on the context in which it was asked (Harris and Sim 2002), and across surveys over time (Hitlin, Brown, and Elder 2006; Saperstein and Penner 2012).

Roth (2010:1307) claims each form of racial identification "represent[s] different dimensions of the lived experience of race". For example, research examining more than one type of racial identification has revealed meaningful differences in outcomes by identification type (e.g., Bailey, Loveman, and Muniz 2012; Campbell and Troyer 2007; Saperstein 2008) and other research contends that inconsistent racial identifications might represent a weakened racial identity or self-concept (Laster and Brown, in progress). Although research using multiple measures of racial identification is an improvement to a single-indicator of self-reported racial identification, the meaning and salience of belonging to a racial category is not fully addressed.

Psychologists have begun novel attempts to distinguish and capture aspects of racial identity. Phinney (1992) conducted factor analysis on data from 417 high school students and 136 college students, which led to the creation of the *Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure* (MEIM). The analysis revealed that affirmation/belonging (i.e., ethnic pride, being happy with one's membership, feeling good about one's background, feelings of belonging and attachment), ethnic identity achievement (i.e., continuous measurement, ranging from lack of commitment to a clear understanding of the role of ethnicity for oneself), and ethnic behaviors (i.e., involvement in social activities with ethnic group members, participation in cultural traditions) loaded onto separate factors of ethnic identity. Phinney (1990; 1992) uses ethnicity rather than race in her framework, because she contends such measures can apply universally to all groups.

Sellers and colleagues (1998) also developed a multidimensional approach to racial identity. As opposed to a universal/mainstream approach like Phinney's (1990; 1992), Sellers and colleagues emphasized the unique history of blackness to inform their model of black racial identity called the *Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity* (MMRI). The MMRI is made up of four dimensions. Racial salience refers to the extent to which one's race is a relevant part of one's self-concept at a particular moment or situation. Racial centrality refers to the extent to which one defines themselves normatively concerning race. Unlike salience, centrality is thought to be relatively stable and emphasizes the rank race

has among self-concepts. Racial regard refers to a person's affective and evaluative judgment of their race in terms of positive-negative judgment. Private regard emphasizes one's own regard towards being black while public regard emphasizes how individuals feel others view black. Finally, racial ideology is composed of individual's beliefs, opinions, and attitudes with respect to the way she or he feels that members of the race should act. For instance, a nationalist ideology stresses the uniqueness of being a particular race group, whereas a humanist ideology emphasizes the similarities among all humans. Both Phinney (1990; 1992) and Sellers et al. (1998) emphasize that in order to capture the phenomenology of race, measurements must include dimensions of meaning, attachment, beliefs, and behaviors.

Importantly, Sellers and colleagues (1998) link their concepts of multidimensional racial identity to other social outcomes. They argue that for the most part, race-related behaviors and activities should be highly correlated with the person's subjective beliefs about the importance of race in their self-concept. Further, they contend regard and ideology are most linked to influencing behavior, but argue that regard and ideology will have a greater influence on behaviors when the salience and centrality of one's identity within a situation is high.

Finally, researchers have also begun to take more seriously phenotype as an additional measure that is also important for differentiating phenomenological experiences of race. In societies in which race is highly salient and often used as a device for discrimination, skin color is one easily utilized marker for race (Keith and Herring 1991). Phenotype is also important for individuals' racial identification. For instance, researchers found that the majority of respondents sampled in a national phone survey of the United States, used color (e.g., black), as opposed to racial category (e.g., African American), to identify themselves (Davis, Jackson and Aicardi 2012). In addition, Roth (2010:1309) argues that the reliance on racial categories over phenotype in social science research might actually "associate racial categorization too closely with biology". Considering how the social construction of race is often inferred from phenotype characteristics, it is important to acknowledge and explore the impact of phenotype characteristics, such as skin color, in social scientific research on race as well.

The Phenomenology of Race in Groups Positioned in Racial Limbo

I argue that a multidimensional measurement of racial identification (as opposed to a single-item self-reported racial identification) is especially needed for groups positioned in racial limbo. I inform this argument by considering biracial identity theory in the United States and descriptions of coloureds' varied identification options in contemporary South Africa. First, Tatum (1992) explains racial identity development is more complex for biracials in the United States because they must balance racial socialization into two separate racial groups. Moreover, they sometimes encounter dissonance when contrasting their more malleable understanding of racial identifications with others' rigid categorizations (e.g., can I see myself as biracial if others do not accept me as that?).

Further, Rockquemore and Brunsma's (2008) qualitative interviews with black-white biracials led to the creation of what they called the "taxonomy of racial identity options." Their interviews suggested that American biracials chose from: a singular identity (singular black or white); a border identity (exclusively biracial); a protean identity (sometimes black, sometimes white, and sometimes biracial, depending on context); and a transcendent identity (no racial identity). Rockquemore and Brunsma contend that U.S. biracials' identity options are less constrained because of their intermediary position on the racial hierarchy.

Rockquemore and Brunsma's (2002) quantitative work revealed that various factors were linked to the taxonomy of racial identity options for biracial respondents. These authors found that the racial composition of respondents' social networks (i.e., living in majority white neighborhoods), push and pull factors from whites and blacks (i.e., negative treatment from blacks/whites), socioeconomic status, and physical appearance (i.e., skin color) all impact identity choices. For example, respondents with primarily white social networks were more likely to identify as singular white, whereas respondents who reported negative treatment from whites were more likely to identify as singular black. To sum, Rockquemore and Brunsma's work (2002, 2008) suggests that belonging to a group positioned in racial limbo is not a singular phenomenological experience, and that many social factors influence the way they identify.

Coloureds in South Africa and biracials in the United States share commonalities regarding the legacy of miscegenation between whites and blacks and their contemporary position in racial limbo (Frederickson 1981; Marx 1998). For instance, in my previous fieldwork, I found that both U.S. biracials and South African coloureds spoke about fluidity in racial identification (Laster 2008). With specific regard to coloured South Africans, Morse and Peele (1974:327) explain, "the perceptual or attitudinal walls that separate most ethnic and racial groups from other such groups are underdeveloped for coloureds, allowing more comparison and more contrast." Furthermore, research has suggested that coloureds in South Africa often fluctuate between two worlds (Laster 2008). According to Erasmus (2001a:3), "being Coloured means being the privileged Black and the 'not quite White' person." Jackson (2003) also comments on coloureds' dynamic lived experiences stating, "the fact that Coloureds are diasporic and fragmented mixture of several different, spatially dispersed groups means their history offers none of the conventional qualities associated with ethnically distinct populations" (p. 69).

Through her personal experience as coloured and research on coloureds, Erasmus (2001b) was also led to create a taxonomy of racial identity options for coloureds. According to Erasmus, coloured identity ranges from striving towards whiteness, eagerness to be authentically black, clinging to Khoisan (i.e., slave) history, or by trying to transcend racial category, often signaled by qualifying their coloured identification with 'so-called'(i.e., "Us 'so-called' coloureds"). What is important to note here, is the idea that coloureds' "groupness" that some scholars emphasize, may not fully capture differences in coloureds' phenomenology of race.

Furthermore, skin color is an important factor in the categorization of coloured South Africans. Erasmus explains how variation in skin color can impact a coloured racial identification: "dark skin and kinky hair are the markings of coloureds constructed as 'other coloured', inferior or lower class. These excluding relations are reflections of unresolved internal contradictions at the heart of coloured identity formation. Living with these contradictions is part of the pain of being coloured" (2001a:23). Erasmus

reiterates that coloured South Africans are not always accepted as one distinct racial category, and suggests markers of phenotype such as skin color, can create divisions within who is considered coloured.

Together the research overviewed suggests that a single indicator of self-reported racial identification is limited in capturing the phenomenology of race, and that this might be especially true for groups positioned in racial limbo. Rather than treating coloureds as a monolithic group, this study asks whether coloureds should be examined by using a multidimensional measure of racial identification. More specifically, I use latent class analysis as a methodological approach to capture the variation in phenomenologies of race within a sample of coloured South Africans.

Latent Class Analysis as a Methodological Approach for Capturing the Phenomenology of Race

Latent class analysis (LCA) is a statistical technique that classifies similar individuals into groups based on their responses to a set of observed categorical variables (Madgison and Vermunt 2001; Vermunt and Magidson 2004). Latent class analysis has been used in various research areas. For example, it has been used to assess classes of depression (Lanza, Flaherty, and Collins 2003), teaching styles (Aitkin, Anderson and Hinde 1981), and as a multivariate way to study poverty (Dewilde 2004) and substance abuse behaviors (e.g., Chung, Flaherty and Schafer 2006; Lanza and Collins 2006; Velicer, Martin, Collins 1996).

Latent class analysis has yet to be capitalized on in the race research. One exception was Huang's (2006) piece, "Dimensions of Taiwanese/Chinese Identity and National Identity in Taiwan." Huang sought out to confirm whether there was a difference between Taiwanese and Chinese ethnic identities. Using LCA to analyze twelve instruments from the Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study (TEDS) 2001 survey, Huang located four groups: dual-identifiers, social Taiwanese identifier, hard Taiwanese identifier, and Chinese identifier. As a result, Huang argued that the standardly employed four major ethnic groups (based on respondents' fathers' ethnicity) did not correspond with the dimensions of identity. Moreover, he concluded that identity politics in Taiwan are multidimensional in nature and deserve more careful attention. Likewise, I argue those in racial limbo might have identifications that are

multidimensional and therefore adapt the latent class analysis technique to the current study. I argue that in using instruments theorized to capture the phenomenology of race, the latent class analysis will produce a multidimensional measure of coloured identification.

HYPOTHESES

In Study One I found evidence to support the assertion that the apartheid nation-state cultivated a position of racial limbo for coloureds, and in Study Two I found that coloureds' attitudes in post-apartheid South Africa reflect their intermediate, historical position. I extend previous findings by exploring whether a multidimensional measure of coloured racial identification (as opposed to a single-item self-reported racial identification) provides better support that coloureds' position in racial limbo is reflected in outcomes.

Although this analysis is exploratory, I consider findings from Study Two and the aforementioned literature regarding innovative approaches to measure race in order to formulate hypotheses. First, I expect the latent class analysis to uncover multiple unobserved subgroups within those reporting a coloured identification. The selected instrumental variables used in the latent class analysis are theorized to capture the phenomenology of race. As such, I postulate those who score similarly on items linked to racial centrality, behaviors, and ideologies will be placed in the same latent class. In addition, I expect that skin color will impact the structure of the latent classes, such that differences in skin color will be linked to the distribution of coloureds' across the latent classes.

Second, I expect that the latent classes will differ on criterion variables. This means the coloured classes purporting different phenomenologies of race will also have different attitudes and perceptions of deprivation. Third, I expect the latent class analysis will produce subgroups within the coloured population that map unto their position in racial limbo; the experience of being pulled toward either white or black South Africans. That is, I expect to find a subgroup of coloureds with similar generalized attitudes and perceptions of deprivation to white South Africans, a subgroup of coloureds with similar

generalized attitudes and perceptions of deprivation to black South Africans, and a subgroup of coloureds with intermediary generalized attitudes and perceptions of deprivation. This finding would allow me to I assess whether coloureds as a whole are positioned in racial limbo, or whether the racial limbo is the result of multiple subgroups.

Figure 1 illustrates the limitation of initial analyses which relied on a single-indicator; it shows how coloureds' attitudes can be intermediary between white and black South Africans, but can also have a wider range of variation (i.e., error bar). Figure 2 illustrates the subgroups within the coloured category (located using LCA) that might better explain the variation within coloureds as a group positioned in racial limbo.

DATA AND METHODS

Data

I used survey data from the Cape Town Area Study (CAS) for this study (Seekings et al. 2005). CAS was collected as a part of the multi-wave Cape Town Panel Study (CAPS), and as a part of an international, multi-city study called the Social Hubble project. The purpose of CAPS was to study the lives of youths and adults in metropolitan Cape Town. CAPS began in 2000 with Wave 1 and Wave 4 concluded in 2004. In 2005, researchers re-interviewed respondents for CAS, this time using a survey instrument crafted by researchers of the Social Hubble project. The CAS survey was one of many surveys directly modeled after the Detroit Area Study (conducted by the University of Michigan in the United States). Serving as an addition to both the CAPS and Social Hubble project, the primary goal of CAS was to study diversity and inequality in Cape Town. CAS data is employed in the current analysis because it includes measurements needed for the instruments theorized to capture the phenomenology of race (e.g., racial identification, racial centrality, skin color).

With a population of almost three million people, Cape Town is the oldest and one of the largest cities in South Africa. Most coloured history is grounded in this area; only 5% of coloureds have

immigrated to the area since the 1990s (Seekings et al. 2005). Cape Town continues to be meaningful space for preservation of coloured identity (Bestman 2001; Jackson 2003). According CAS researchers, Cape Town is also a valuable research site is due to its racial heterogeneity and the apartheid government's stronghold over the area (Seekings et al. 2005). Figure 3 was taken from the report of CAS (Seekings et al. 2005) and shows Cape Town's racial demographics by race.

CAS used a two-stage cluster sample design to generate a representative sample of 1,200 respondents over eighteen years of age, spread across metropolitan Cape Town. The response rate was 66%. Forty-one percent of respondents reported a coloured racial identification. Table 1 provides descriptive statistics (e.g., range, mean, standard deviation) of study variables. Control and instrumental variables had no more than 5.2% missing and results are based upon listwise deletion.

Methods and Analytical Techniques

All analyses were conducted in Stata 11.2. Results account for CAS complex survey design and sampling weights were applied such that results generalized to population parameters. The analysis for this study was completed in three steps.

Part One. First, I replicated analysis from Study Two using the CAS. Specifically, I used standardized t-test and regression models in this part of the analysis to determine whether coloureds' generalized attitudes and perceived relative deprivation were numerically between and statistically significantly different from white and black South Africans. This represents a baseline analysis of the criterion variables. Having a baseline analysis will allow me to compare post-LCA analyses in order to explore my hypotheses that the subgroups of coloureds are different from each other and are more or less similar to either white or black South Africans.

Part Two. Next, I conducted the latent class analysis. In latent class analysis, individuals are assumed to belong of a set of latent classes, with the number of classes and their sizes not known a priori. Individuals belonging to the same class should be similar with respect to their observed scores, which are assumed to come from the same probability distributions. Furthermore, latent class analysis is a model-

based, person-centered clustering approach. "The basic idea underlying latent class analysis is a very simple one: some of the parameters of a postulated statistical model differ across un-observed subgroups" (Vermunt and Magidson 2004:1). Latent class analysis uses a probability clustering approach, with the goal of minimizing within-cluster variation and maximizing between-cluster variation (Vermunt and Magidson 2000). The latent class model for nominal or ordinal variables takes the form of:

$$f(\mathbf{y}_i|\theta) = \sum_{k=1}^{K} \pi_k \prod_{j=1}^{J} f_k(y_{ij}|\theta_{jk}) \,.$$

Here, $\mathbf{y}_i$ denotes an object's scores on a set of observed variables, K is the number of clusters, and π_k denotes the prior probability of belonging to latent class k, or the size of class k. J denotes the total number of instruments and j is a particular instrument. The distribution of $\mathbf{y}_{ij}$ given the model parameters θ, $f(y_{ij}|\ \theta_{jk})$, is assumed to be a multinomial distribution.

To conduct the latent class analysis, I used the LCA Stata Plugin developed by *The Methodology Center* at Pennsylvania State University (Lanza et al. 2014). Using the LCA Stata Plugin, parameters are estimated by maximum likelihood using the expectation–maximization (EM) algorithm. I used the standard model selection tools (i.e., AIC, BIC, Adjusted BIC, and G^2 statistic) to determine the best fit solution (Nylund, Asparouhov, Muthen 2007; Madigson and Vermunt 2001; Vermunt and Madgison 2000).

Part Three. Finally, I concatenated the new latent class data with the existing data and using the full data, I replicated the first set of analyses. That is, I examined whether the latent classes of coloureds' generalized attitudes and perceived relative deprivation were statistically significantly different from each other and white and black South Africans. This allowed me to explore how a multidimensional measure of coloureds' racial identification performs in terms of demonstrating whether coloureds' generalized attitudes and perceptions of deprivation reflects their position in racial limbo.

Measures

Instrumental Variables - In this analysis, instrumental variables refer to those measures that distinguished subgroups in the coloured population. The selected instruments come from Module F of the CAS, which was created with the goal to explore "race and culture, including both the respondents' own identities and their perceptions of and relationships with people of different races or cultures" (Seekings et al. 2005:29). I argue the instrumental variables in Module F speak to the phenomenology of race. Out of the twelve initial Module F instruments I explored, I kept seven instruments that produced valuable item response probabilities for the latent classes.[1]

First, whether the respondent would marry out of their race was captured in three separate dummy variables (1=yes): *pro-marriage to black South Africans*, *pro-marriage to Indian South Africans*, and *pro-marriage to white South Africans*. Then, *interracial contact in last week* was captured by the question "In the last seven days, have you spent a social evening or some free time with friends or acquaintances who are not your race, either at home, going out to eat, or at a community or religious gathering? Answers were 1="yes" and 0="no." Next, respondents were asked to respond to the statement, "You do not feel comfortable around people who are not your race." Answers for the variable, *comfortable around other races*, were reverse coded so that 1="comfortable" and 0="not comfortable." Broadly, these measures capture attitudes and interactions towards other groups and are therefore associated with racial ideologies and behaviors (Phinney 1992; Sellers et al. 1998). Furthermore, respondents who favor within-group interactions are likely to correspond with Sellers et al. (1998) conceptualization of nationalist ideology, whereas respondents who are more open to interracial interactions and relationships hold more humanist ideologies.

Next, *inconsistent racial identification* captured whether the respondent's self-racial identification was inconsistent (i.e., did not match) with the interviewer's racial identification of the respondent, or if the respondent's answer to the question, "How do most other people see you?" was inconsistent with their own self-racial identification. Respondents that received a '1' on this variable had at least one form of

inconsistency, whereas those that received a ‘0’ were inconsistent across all measures. This measure is linked to racial centrality, which refers to the extent to which one defines themselves with regard to race across situations and captures belonging and attachment (Sellers et al. 1998). If coloureds have high and consistent racial identifications, they most likely send off strong and consistent signals of their race to others. Such signaling is linked to higher consistency (Laster and Brown, in progress; Roth 2010).

Racial identification importance captures whether the respondent said their race was the most important to them in the question “Sometimes we have preferences as to how you would like other people to see us. You have told us that you see yourself in racial terms as [race], in cultural terms as [culture], and in class terms as [class]. Which of these is most important to you?” As such, respondents who answered that their race was most important received a ‘1’ on *racial identification importance* and all other respondents received a ‘0’ on this variable. Importance of racial identification is related to high racial centrality (i.e., the rank of race in terms of self-concept) as well (Sellers et al. 1998).

Finally, I included *skin color* as an additional instrumental variable, but one that has the potential to group respondents across classes. Skin color was an interviewer-report ranging from “very light” to “very dark.” Responses were concatenated so that 1-4= “light”, 5=“medium”, and 6-10=“dark”. Skin color is one important and easily utilized marker for race (Davis, Johnson, and Aicardi 2012; Keith and Herring 1991). Skin color differences can also be linked to differential phenomenological experiences of race. For that reason, it is important to consider skin color in a multidimensional measure of racial identification. However, skin color diverges from other instruments because reported from others’ (i.e., interviewers) perceptions. Therefore, treated skin color was treated as a grouping variable in the latent class analysis.

Independent Variables. The primary independent variable was *racial identification*. For the baseline (i.e., part one) analysis, racial identification was captured by dummy variables indicating respondents’ self-identification as black/African, coloured, and white. For the replicated (i.e., part three) analysis, coloured racial identification was derived from the latent classes. Therefore, racial identification

was captured by dummy variables indicating black and white South Africans self-identification and dummy variables indicating coloureds' latent sub-grouping.

Outcome Variables. Dependent variables for this study stand as criterion variables for this analysis. The outcomes selected were consistent with those analyzed in Study Two: generalized attitudes and perceived relative deprivation. *Pride in being South African* captured whether or not the respondent believed being South African was important, with 1="important" and 0="not important." *Race relations improved since 1994* asked respondents, "do you think relations between people of different races in South Africa are better or worse than they were before 1994 or are they about the same?" Answers were coded so that 1="better" and 0="the same or worse". Likewise, *race relations will improve* asked respondents, "do you think relations between people of different races in South Africa will be better or worse in 2015 than they are now, or will they be about the same?" Answers were coded so that 1="better" and 0="the same or worse".

The next two outcomes dealt with political attitudes and engagement. *Identification with a political party* was a dichotomous measure capturing whether the respondent identified closely with a political party, with 1="yes" and 0="no". *Protest* captured whether respondents have attended a protest or political march in the last year, and categories include 0="No, would never do this", 1=" yes, and would do if had the chance".

The final two outcomes captured perceptions of relative deprivation. For the measure of *egoistical economic deprivation*, respondents were asked, "How rich you are, relative to others in South Africa?" Answers ranged from 0="very rich" to 10="very poor". This measure is considered egoistical because respondents are asked about individual level comparisons (see Runciman 1966). For the measure of *fraternal treatment deprivation*, respondents were asked, "Since 2000 were you treated worse or benefited because of your race?" Answers ranged from 1= "benefited", 2= "neither", and 3= "treated worse". This measure is considered fraternal because respondents are asked about group level comparisons.

Control Variables. Control variables included *sex* (1=male; 0=female), *age* (continuous), and *religious attendance* (1=yes, 0=no). I also controlled for socioeconomic status. It was captured by: *educational attainment* (continuous), *employment status* (1=employed; 0=unemployed), and *household accommodations*, which recorded how many flush toilets were in a respondent's home. Measures such as household accommodations can better capture SES than income in South Africa (Seekings et al. 2005). These controls were consistent with the controls used in Study Two.

RESULTS

Part One: Baseline Analysis

Table 2 shows mean levels of control and outcome variables by racial identification. Statistical significance is denoted as a, b, and c, where 'a' denotes a statistically significant difference between coloureds and white South Africans; 'b' denotes a statistically significant difference between coloureds and black South Africans; and 'c' denotes a statistically significant difference between white South Africans and black South Africans. Table 2 represents the baseline analysis for this study.

In terms of the outcomes, presented in the bottom of Table 2, coloureds' generalized attitudes and perceptions of deprivation were significantly different from white South Africans in five out of seven outcomes (71%), and coloureds' generalized attitudes and perceptions of deprivation were also significantly different from black South Africans in five out of seven outcomes (71%). Black and white South Africans were significantly different from each other on all outcomes. Furthermore, results show that coloureds' were significantly different from white and black South Africans, and their mean level on the outcomes were intermediary between white and black South Africans in four out of the seven outcomes (57%). Those outcomes were pride in being South African, protest, egoistical economic deprivation, and fraternal treatment deprivation. Black South Africans reported the most pride in being South African, the highest propensity to protest, the highest individual-level economic deprivation, but the lowest amount of group-level mistreatment from the government. Contrarily, white South Africans

were the least prideful in being South African, reported the lowest propensity to protest, lowest individual-level economic deprivation, and the highest amount of group-level mistreatment from the government. Coloureds' attitudes and perceived relative deprivation on those measures were intermediary between white and black South Africans. Altogether, coloureds' mean level of generalized attitudes and perceptions of relative deprivation modestly reflect their position in racial limbo in the CAS data.

Given the differences in sample composition, I next examined whether associations between racial identification and the outcomes (as reported above) were robust after controlling for age, gender, religious participation, education employment, and household accommodations. Results are shown in Table 3. Models for pride in being South African, race relations will improve, political identification, and protest were consistent with bivariate results. The inclusion of control variables did alter the relationship between racial identification and the remaining three outcomes, which diminished the number of outcomes coloureds were significantly different from both white and black South Africans. Taking these changes into account, support that coloureds' attitudes and perceptions reflect their position in racial limbo is diminished.

Part Two: Latent Class Analysis

After completing the baseline analysis, I moved onto the latent class analysis, which was conducted on the coloured subset of CAS. Seven latent instruments were used in the latent class model. I began by specifying one latent class and then repeated the process, increasing the specified latent class number each time. I determined the most reliable and valid model solution using various fit measures. According to fit measures shown in Table 4, the two-class model was the best solution. The two-class model (bolded) had the lowest AIC, BIC, and adjusted BIC. Furthermore, the drop in the G^2 relative to the drop in degrees of freedom was the most substantial from one latent class to two latent classes.

I next checked for identification issues by repeating the estimation using different seeds. The model was identified because the two-class solution was dominant across various sets of start values (Lanza et al. 2007). Finally, class probabilities and substantive considerations were taken into account.

Informed by Nylund, Asparouhov and Muthen (2007), these results suggest, with confidence, that the two-class solution best fits the data.[2] The Latent Class Plug-In (Lanza et al. 2014) bases assignment into a class from twenty pseudo-class draws, which come from the multinomial distribution defined by each individual's posterior probability.

I named the two classes the *coloured core* and the *coloured fringe*. Approximately 82% of coloured respondents best fit into the coloured core category, and 18% best fit into the coloured fringe category. Therefore, my first hypothesis (H1) that the latent class analysis would locate multiple subgroups was supported.

Table 5 shows the item response probabilities for each latent class. The coloured core is generally supportive to interracial marriage, with a probability of over .99 for pro-marriage to white and black South Africans and a probability of .98 for pro-marriage to Indian South Africans. Conversely, the coloured fringe was more generally against interracial marriage; a probability of .96 for being against marriage to black South Africans, .68 for being against marriage to Indian South Africans, and a probability of .49 for being against marriage to white South Africans. The coloured core had a probability of .27 for having interracial contact in the last week, compared to a probability of .16 for the coloured fringe. Finally, the coloured core had a probability of .87 for feeling comfortable around other races, whereas the coloured fringe had a probability of .67. The coloured fringe held negative attitudes toward interracial marriage, felt less comfortable around other races, and had less contact with people of a different race. In general, the results suggest the coloured fringe class conveys racial behaviors and racial ideologies that favor coloureds, which is associated with more with nationalist ideology regarding their race (i.e., self-contained among coloureds), compared to the more humanist ideology (i.e., diverse and collective) as purported by the coloured core.

Racial identification inconsistency was not common among the respondents, but the coloured fringe had a higher probability of being inconsistently identified (.20) compared to the probability for the coloured core (.09). Greater inconsistency could indicate less racial centrality because it suggests such

respondents might not strongly signal their race. However, the coloured fringe had a probability of .40 for reporting that their racial identification was important, compared to a probability of .22 for the coloured core. Thus, the coloured fringe scored higher on this measure of racial centrality. Jointly, this could insinuate the coloured fringe believes their coloured identification is important, and therefore might be more cognizant of when they are incorrectly identified. Figure Two plots item response probabilities for the two classes.

After I selected the best-fit latent class model, I then incorporated a grouping variable for skin color. Given the potential for skin color to pattern coloureds' phenomenological experience of race, my expectation was that class structure would vary across skin color levels. Thus, to test whether measurement was invariant across skin color categories, the model was run with all parameters freely estimated and then again with the constrained model (i.e., item-response probabilities constrained equal across groups). The G^2 statistic was 188.58 (df=338) for the freely estimated model and 212.60 (df=366) for the constrained model. This resulted in a likelihood-ratio difference test statistic of 24 (df=28). This difference was not statistically significant, providing evidence that the latent classes have the same meaning across levels of skin color; thus my expectation was not supported.[3] I present a table and figures documenting item-response probabilities for the three skin color levels in the appendix.

Finally, in additional supplementary analyses, I examined whether the control variables influenced the results. I found that age and education were significant ($p < .05$) predictors of class membership. For every year increase in age, respondents were 19% more likely to be in the coloured fringe class. For every unit increase in education, respondents were 2% less likely to be in the coloured fringe class. Even with the inclusion of covariates, the two-factor model remained the best fitting model. In other words, the results confirmed that two dimensions of coloured identification was robust even after controlling for the potentially confounding factors.

Part Three: Replication Analysis using Latent Classes

Table 6 shows the replication of the baseline analysis. The difference in Table 6 compared to Table 2 is that coloured racial identification is now two categories, representing the coloured core and coloured fringe classes. Significance is denoted as a, b, c, and d. The first column of 'a's denotes a statistically significant difference between the coloured core and white South Africans, the second column of 'a's denote a statistically significant difference between the coloured fringe and white South Africans; the first column of 'b's denote a statistically significant difference between the coloured core and black South Africans, and the second column of 'b's denote a statistically significant difference between coloured fringe and black South Africans; 'c' denotes a statistically significant difference between white South Africans and black South Africans; and 'd' denotes a statistically significant difference between the coloured core and coloured fringe. I first describe results comparing the two coloured classes on the criterion variables and then discuss comparisons between the two classes with white and black South Africans, respectively.

The coloured fringe were significantly older than the coloured core (43 compared to 38 years old). The coloured fringe also had lower socioeconomic status compared to the core, although only education level was significantly different. Moreover, the coloured fringe had significantly less education than the coloured core class (9.9 years compared to 8.6). There were no other statistically significant differences in control variables across the two coloured classes.

The coloured core and coloured fringe were significantly different from each other on only two outcome variables—the two variables related to racial attitudes. The coloured fringe held a bleak outlook on race relations; only 52% reported that race relations had improved since 1994 and 63% reported that race relations would improve in the future. This significantly differs from the 72% of the coloured core who believed race relations had improved and the 79% who believed they would improve. The coloured fringe did not significantly differ from the coloured core on any other attitudes or perceived relative deprivation.

Introducing control variables in the regression analyses (shown in Table 7), did not change the relationship between the two coloured classes and the outcomes; the coloured fringe was significantly different from the coloured core for the outcomes capturing whether respondents felt race relations had improved since 1994 or that race relations would improve. On the whole, the coloured core differed from the coloured fringe in less than 30% of the outcomes. Therefore, my expectation (H2) that the coloured classes would significantly differ on criterion variables was not supported.

Recognizably, my hypothesis (H3) that the latent class analysis would produce three subgroups that would map unto white-coloured-black distinctions did not hold, given the LCA only located two subgroups. However, I did assess the extent to which either of the coloured classes were similar white or black South Africans. In terms of latent class differences compared to white and black South Africans, the coloured fringe was statistically different from white South Africans in 71% of the criterion variables and statistically different from black South Africans in 57% of the criterion variables. Conversely, the coloured core was statistically different from white South Africans in 57% of the outcomes and statistically different from black South Africans in 86% of the outcomes. As such, the results suggest that the coloured core reported attitudes and perceptions of deprivation that aligned more with those of white South Africans. Contrarily, the coloured fringe reported attitudes and perceptions of deprivation that aligned more with black South Africans. Perhaps results could be interpreted as indicating the two classes are pulled slightly toward either white or black South Africans. Yet, taken all together, the two coloured classes are significantly different from both white and black South Africans in the majority (>50%) of all criterion variables. Indeed, the coloured core and fringe were more alike each other on the criterion variables than they were to white or black South Africans. Therefore my final hypotheses were fully rejected.

DISCUSSION

In Study Two of this dissertation project I found evidence that coloureds' attitudes in post-apartheid South Africa reflected their historical position in racial limbo. In this current study, I further interrogated the concept of racial limbo by attempting to create a multidimensional measurement of coloured racial identification. The recent wave of research that suggests a single-item racial identification does not fully nor accurately capture the phenomenology of race (e.g., Loveman 1999; Martin and Yeung 2003; Wacquant 1997; Zuberi 2001) informed the rationale behind this study. I argued these critiques were especially important to consider in research of groups positioned in racial limbo. Research suggests push and pull factors might be linked to differences in lived experiences within these groups (e.g., Adhikari 2005; Erasmus 2001a, 2001b; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2008; Tatum 2003).

I first replicated analyses from Study Two in the baseline analysis to determine whether coloureds' generalized attitudes and perceived relative deprivation were numerically between and statistically significantly different from white and black South Africans. I found moderate support; coloureds had mean levels of attitudes and perceptions of deprivation that were between and statistically significant from white and black South Africans in 57% of the outcomes. I then used regression models to explore whether these results were robust after adding in controls. In the regression analysis, coloureds' attitudes and perceived relative deprivation were only intermediary in only 29% of the outcomes.

Results in Study Three, using data from the Cape Town Area Study (CAS), were inconsistent with those in Study Two, which used data from the Southern African Barometer (SAB). Generalized attitudes and perceived relative deprivation were less distinguished across racial groups in those sampled in the CAS, compared to those included in the national level sampling used by the SAB. Moreover, social demographics had a stronger impact on the relationship between racial identification and the outcomes in the Cape Town sample. I speculate that living in Cape Town, the most racially diverse city in South Africa, might pattern individuals' social experiences, which could diminish the differences across those groups all living in the same metropolitan area compared to those surveyed nationally. In addition,

the outcome variables used were different across the CAS and SAB. Therefore, both sampling and measurement variability could account for the inconsistent results.

In part two of this analysis, I presented latent class analysis as an innovative methodological approach to capture the phenomenology of race. More specifically, the instrumental variables were theorized to capture differences in the phenomenology of race such that those with divergent responses on these measures would placed in different latent classes. I found that the two-class solution was the most reliable, which lends support for two unobserved subgroups among those who identify as coloured. Considering how the majority of coloureds fit into one class (82%), I named this largest class the coloured core. The remaining 18% represented the coloured fringe class. Item-response probabilities revealed that ideologies and behaviors were the strongest drivers of these divisions, moreso than instruments that captured racial centrality. Specifically, those belonging to the coloured core class were more open to interracial relationships, had more contact with and felt more comfortable round other races. The coloured core also had more consistent coloured identification, but their racial identification was slightly less important to them, compared to those belonging to the coloured fringe class. Conversely, the coloured fringe held strong racial ideologies that favored coloureds and reported within-group behaviors. The coloured fringe also reported higher importance (i.e., centrality) of race. To borrow from Sellers et al. (1998), the coloured fringe might actually represent a wing of coloured 'nationalists', meaning they most concerned with, and perhaps believe it is best to support, their own group. The majority, represented in the coloured core, held a more open and humanist orientation.

Contrary to my expectation, I found that skin color did not impact the structure of the latent classes. That is, although there were modest differences in probabilities for the two classes across skin color level (see Table 8 in appendix), skin color was invariant across the coloured core and coloured fringe, suggesting that others' perceptions of coloureds' skin color does not differentiate coloureds' lived experiences. I did find that that age and education were predictive of class membership: older and less educated respondents were more likely to be in the fringe class. Perhaps some of the respondents who

lived through, and were disadvantaged by apartheid, best characterize the divergent coloured fringe group. Although this assumption is speculative because I do not have measures that could test this assumption, it may be that exposure to heighted levels of racial segregation and racial discrimination (as mandated through various apartheid laws) could have caused older and less educated coloureds to have a different, more isolated, phenomenology of race.

Finally, using the full data, I replicated the first set of analyses to examine how the latent classes of coloureds performed on criterion variables. Consistent with my test of covariates in the latent class analysis, only age and education significantly differed across the two groups. Thus, the coloured core and coloured fringe were not different across most social demographic variables. In addition, the two coloured classes were only significantly different from each other on the outcomes measuring whether respondents felt race relations had or would improve. The coloured fringe held the bleakest attitudes when it came to those race-related measures, compared to all other groups.

Part three of the analysis also revealed that both coloured classes were statistically different from white and black South Africans in over half of the outcomes. Although the attitudes and perceived relative deprivation reported by the coloured core were slightly more aligned with those of white South Africans, whereas attitudes and perceptions of deprivation reported by the coloured fringe reported that aligned more with black South Africans, the results were not robust enough to suggest a fully white-leaning or black-leaning subgroup of coloureds.

In sum, I argue the subgroups of coloureds were more like each other than either white or black South Africans. Even more, although the latent class analysis, which used instrumental variables theorized to capture the phenomenology of race, did produce a division within coloureds, the resulting latent classes did not correspond to significant differences across the criterion variables. All things considered, I argue a single-item, self-reported racial identification performs sufficiently well. In other words, a multidimensional measure of coloureds' racial identification did not provide stronger evidence that coloreds' position in racial limbo is reflected in outcomes in post-apartheid South Africa.

I consider four possibilities for these results. First, there may not be meaningful underlying classes of coloureds; coloreds could have a largely singular phenomenology of race. The legacy of apartheid and the rigid hierarchy could influence coloureds' homogeneity. Second, the instrumental variables may not have been powerful enough to adequately capture the differences in coloureds' phenomenology of race. That is, there could be underlying classes that were just not captured here. Third, the selection of criterion variables might not be the best selection or comprehensive enough to distinguish the classes. Fourth, and relatedly, these results could suggest that differences in the phenomenology of race is linked to racial attitudes, but are not robust enough to distinguish the members on other non race-based social outcomes.

Limitations

There are a few limitations that should be addressed. The CAS survey was used because it contained valuable instruments for the latent class analysis, but future research should replicate the present findings using national level data. Results here are constrained to the Cape Town area. For instance, adding similar race-probing questions to the Southern African Barometer could broaden the scope. Using other data sources could also help test the possibility that the criterion variables explored here underperformed.

Thinking more broadly, analyses could be replicated across the Social Hubble project to determine if groups positioned in racial limbo in other contexts (e.g., pardos in the Belo Horizonte Area Study) contain unobserved subgroups. Perhaps coloureds are unalike other racially limbo groups. Though there were theoretical grounds for suggesting that innovative approaches are perhaps most needed for groups positioned in racial limbo, future analyses could also replicate latent class analysis on all racial groups. Such analyses could help determine if subgroups are more prominent in one racial group compared to the other. All of the aforementioned limitations and future recommendations would help improve the generalizability of this study.

As mentioned, instruments used in the latent class analysis may not be effective measures for capturing the differences in coloureds' phenomenology of race. Racial identity measures directly informed by Sellers (e.g., "being black is an important reflection of who I am", "I have a strong sense of belonging to coloured people") or Phinney (e.g., "I am active in coloured organizations", "I have spent time trying to find out more about my group, such as its history, traditions, and customs") might perform better and should be explored.

Importantly, survey research can be limiting in and of itself. Focusing on categories of analysis, rather than praxis (Loveman 1999) is an important limitation the current work does not address. Following up with qualitative interviews could help researchers determine whether such divisions are meaningful for individuals. Such research really allows for distinctions between imposed categories and individual's choices and experiences to surface.

Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

Despite the widespread rejection among social scientists that race is a biological or essential concept, research often relies on one measure of racial identification, and if we are not careful, this has the potential to reify race. Such methods are problematic because they reduce the phenomenology of race to a single-indicator that only captures individuals' self-identification into a pre-ascribed racial category (Loveman 1999; Martin and Yeung 2003; Wacquant 1997; Zuberi 2001). Critics suggest alternative methods to overcome this limitation, such as using multiple forms of racial identification or measuring racial identities. Furthermore, biracial identity theory (e.g., Rockquemore and Brunsma 2008; Tatum 2003) and reviews of contemporary coloured identifications (e.g., Adhikari 2005; Erasmus 2001a; 2001b) argued that examinations of groups positioned in racial limbo are in greater need of novel methods. Those in racial limbo are forced to juggle processes of racial identity development for multiple groups, which both complicates the development of such identities and opens up room to hold multiple or changeable identifications. To extend this literature, I contributed a multidimensional measurement of racial identification for coloured South Africans.

The latent class analysis, which used instruments theorized to capture differences in the phenomenology of race, did in fact locate two latent factors. These two classes of coloureds initially suggested support that there are complex and nuanced divisions separating those who share membership into the coloured racial category. However, when assessed at the aggregate, I found the latent classes were not linked to strong divisions across criterion variables. Less than one in five coloureds fit into the fringe class, and the minority in the coloured fringe were more like the coloured core than either black or white South Africans. Rather than suggesting there is one 'true' group of coloureds in racial limbo and the others are pulled towards white or black South Africans, then, my analyses suggest that belonging to a group positioned in racial limbo might be a unifying experience of the phenomenology of race.

Moreover, these analyses suggest imposed racial categories remain meaningful in quantitatively based social science research. That is, although there may be a modest amount of within-group heterogeneity in terms of the phenomenology of race, these differences do not remain significant when extending the examination to differences in social outcomes across race groups. Erasmus (2001a) contends: "in the context of post-apartheid South Africa we need to acknowledge the fluidity and the openness of identity" (p. 4) and further encourages "the need for moving beyond the replication of binary categories" (p.6). However, this current analysis suggests that, accounting for membership into the coloured category might actually suffice for analysis of racial differences within South Africa. Notably, this research suggests that even in an examination of a group in racial limbo, thought to be especially dynamic, a single-indicator of racial identification was sufficient.

Conclusion

Failing to gather and analyze data on race would mean failing adequately understand racial hierarchies and address inequality (ASA 2003). Yet, failing to think critically about the measurements of race can have unintended consequences, which could also meaning failing to adequately understand racial hierarchies and address inequality. This caution is especially important for research on racial limbo. Groups positioned in racial limbo often share more complicated paths to identity development because

they have to figure out where they fit into their society's deterministic racial hierarchy. Further, the complex histories in the construction of racial limbo results in larger within-group variation in lived experiences of race. Findings from this analysis on coloureds reveal that taking into consideration psychologically informed measures of the phenomenology of race might locate unobserved subgroups. However, the latent classes showed no criterion validity; the *intra*group dimensions were not associated with *inter*group variation. As such, using a single-indicator continues to be a useful and effective measurement when analyzing groups in a highly racialized society. Moreover, findings from this study question the value of micro-level concepts of race in a society where race categories are still treated as essential and normalized.

NOTES:

[1] The instruments that did not perform well were: (1) *parents' racial identification*, captured whether respondent's had parents with a different ancestry; (2) *racial mistrust,* which captured whether respondents were mistrustful of people who belonged to different racial categories; (3) *racial homophily*, which captured the number of friends the respondent had of the same race; and (4) *rational for racial identification,* which was a categorical measurement asking why respondents chose their racial identification. Preliminary analyses revealed that the item response probabilities for these variables were not differentiated across the latent classes and overall fit measures were improved when these items were not included.

[2] I conducted sensitivity analyses using the four instrumental variables that were left out of the final analyses. Running the analysis with the four items included (despite their low performance) still suggested the two-class solution was best. However, one analysis did report the smallest AIC measure for the three-class solution. In addition, analyses consistently suggest that differences between the two- and three- class solution are small. While this could suggest that the three-class solution is probable, the two-class solution remains the most robust.

[3] I also ran analyses with skin color as an instrumental variable. The two-class solution was still the best fit and probabilities on skin color categories did not differ across the two classes.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics of Study Variables

Race Variables	Range	Mean	SE
White (1=yes)	0,1	17.62%	.022
Coloured (1=yes)	0,1	41.96%	.030
Black (1=yes)	0,1	44.42%	.023
Control Variables			
Age	18-87	36.742	.641
Male (1=yes)	0,1	49.00%	.021
Religious Participation (1=yes)	0,1	62.26%	.032
Education	0-13	1.290	.177
Employed (1=yes)	0,1	53.72%	.031
Household Accommodations	0-8	1.106	.075
Instrumental Variables			
Pro-Marriage to Blacks (1=yes)	0,1	81.86%	.020
Pro-Marriage to Indians (1=yes)	0,1	82.99%	.025
Pro-Marriage to Whites (1=yes)	0,1	81.32%	.019
Interracial Contact in Last Week (1=yes)	0,1	17.32%	.021
Comfortable Around Other Races (1=yes)	0,1	11.91%	.017
Inconsistent Racial Identification (1=yes)	0,1	19.00%	.019
Racial Identification Important (1=yes)	0,1	17.84%	.021
Skin Color	1-3	1.942	.044
Outcome Variables			
Pride in being South African (1=yes)	0,1	83.25%	.020
Race Relations Improved Since 1994 (1=yes)	0,1	72.71%	.020
Race Relations Will Improve (1=yes)	0,1	76.76%	.020
Political Participation (1=yes)	0,1	42.37%	.026
Protest (1=yes)	0,1	27.33%	.023
Egoistical Financial Deprivation	1-11	6.694	.109
Fraternal Treatment Deprivation	1-3	1.822	.029

Source: Cape Town Area Study 2005

Table 2. Race Differences of Study Variables

	White		Coloured		Black	
Control Variables						
Age	43.041	a	39.202	b	34.173	c
	(1.652)		(1.034)		(.587)	
Male (1=yes)	45.86%	-	45.92%	-	49.09%	-
	(.040)		(.035)		(.023)	
Religious Participation (1=Yes)	45.73%	a	62.68%	-	67.56%	c
	(.080)		(.053)		(.035)	
Education	12.222	a	9.717	-	9.589	c
	(.170)		(.261)		(.204)	
Employed (1=yes)	66.04%	a	52.51%	b	41.72%	c
	(.039)		(.043)		(.027)	
Household Accommodations	1.977	a	1.163	b	.579	c
	(.197)		(.049)		(.077)	
Outcome Variables						
Pride in being South Africa (1=Yes)	57.69%	a	82.30%	b	95.35%	c
	(.078)		(.029)		(.013)	
Race Relations Improved Since 1994 (1=Yes)	81.08%	a	69.09%	-	71.98%	c
	(.055)		(.031)		(.027)	
Race Relations Will Improve (1=Yes)	81.95%	-	76.78%	-	70.94%	c
	(.049)		(.032)		(.023)	
Political Identification (1=Yes)	15.78%	-	23.03%	b	74.22%	c
	(.059)		(.030)		(.036)	
Protest (1=Yes)	7.82%	a	23.53%	b	39.91%	c
	(.026)		(.040)		(.031)	
Egoistical Financial Deprivation	5.463	a	6.875	b	7.148	c
	(.195)		(.144)		(.154)	
Fraternal Treatment Deprivation	2.083	a	1.940	b	1.584	c
	(.025)		(.055)		(.040)	

Source: Cape Town Area Study 2005
Notes: *a* represents significant differences between coloureds and whites; *b* represents significant differences between coloureds and blacks; *c* represents significant differences between whites and blacks. Significance is at the $p < .1$.

Table 3. Models Regressing Race Identification on Outcome Variables

	Pride in being South African	Race Relations Improved Since 1994	Race Relations Will Improve	Political Identification	Protest	Egoistical Financial Deprivation	Fraternal Treatment Deprivation
White	-1.114**	.240	.042	-.266	-1.190**	-.792***	-.081
	(.382)	(.395)	(.396)	(.324)	(.392)	(.204)	(.269)
Black	1.435***	.329	-.171	2.249***	.773**	.120	-1.248***
	(.336)	(.232)	(.230)	(.252)	(.267)	(.201)	(.244)
Age	.013+	-.001	-.003	.014*	-.004	-.005	.000
	(.008)	(.006)	(.006)	(.005)	(.006)	(.004)	(.006)
Male	-.163	-.013	-.003	-.100	.144	-.067	-.155
	(.159)	(.174)	(.177)	(.172)	(.168)	(.143)	(.167)
Religious Participation	.497*	.135	-.087	.169	.346+	.181	-.161
	(.204)	(.190)	(.203)	(.218)	(.200)	(.142)	(.165)
Education	-.023	.078*	.013	-.040	.019	-.108***	.060+
	(.062)	(.036)	(.039)	(.036)	(.035)	(.027)	(.034)
Employed	.124	-.111	.125	.433*	.215	-.445**	-.004
	(.257)	(.201)	(.207)	(.186)	(.183)	(.153)	(.155)
Household Accommodations	.099	.375**	.235+	-.323	.106	-.156	.353**
	(.133)	(.131)	(.127)	(.218)	(.089)	(.147)	(.120)
Constant	.927	-.366	.895	-1.402**	-1.896**	8.417***	
	(.770)	(.608)	(.577)	(.491)	(.595)	(.372)	
cut1							
Constant							-.851
							(.434)
cut2							
Constant							2.929***
							(.541)
Observations	1044	979	943	1031	1042	1044	983
F	6.510	3.834	1.538	15.827	4.606	11.535	13.710

Source: Cape Town Area Study 2005

Notes: Coloured is the excluded group. Standard errors in parentheses.

$^{+}p < .10$, $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

Table 4. Comparison of Baseline Models for Latent Class Analysis

No. of Classes	AIC	BIC	Adjusted BIC	Likelihood Ratio G^2	DF
1	440.638	468.700	446.488	426.638	120
2	**136.420**	**196.552**	**148.954**	**106.420**	**112**
3	141.361	233.564	160.582	95.361	104
4	148.006	272.279	173.911	86.006	96
5	157.597	313.940	190.188	79.597	88

Source: Cape Town Area Study 2005
Notes: Boldface type indicates the selected model. AIC = Akaike's Information Criterion; BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion; DF = Degrees of Freedom

Table 5. Item-Response Probabilities for Latent Classes

Classes	**Coloured Core**	**Coloured Fringe**
Percentage of Cases	82.32%	17.69%
Instruments		
Pro-Marriage to Blacks	.9989	.0382
Against Marriage to Blacks	.0011	.9618
Pro-Marriage to Indians	.9787	.3159
Against Marriage to Indians	.0213	.6841
Pro-Marriage to Whites	.9999	.5003
Against Marriage to Whites	.0001	.4997
Interracial Contact in Last Week	.2784	.1607
No Interracial Contact in Last Week	.7216	.8393
Comfortable Around Other Races	.8726	.6712
Not Comfortable Around Other Races	.1274	.3288
Inconsistent Racial Identification	.0937	.2023
Consistent Racial Identification	.9063	.7977
Racial Identification Salient	.2226	.4088
Racial Identification Non-Salient	.7774	.5912

Source: Cape Town Area Study 2005

Table 6. Race and Latent Class Differences of Study Variables

	White			Coloured Core		Coloured Fringe			Black	
Control Variables		1	2				1	2		
Age	43.041	a	-	38.081	d	42.350	b	b	34.173	c
	(1.652)			(1.171)		(2.180)			(.587)	
Male (1=yes)	45.86%	-	-	47.23%	-	38.43%	-	b	49.09%	-
	(.040)			(.037)		(.064)			(.023)	
Religious Participation (1=yes)	45.73%	a	-	64.72%	-	55.29%	-	-	67.56%	c
	(.080)			(.054)		(.098)			(.035)	
Education	12.222	a	a	9.964	d	8.695	-	b	9.589	c
	(.170)			(.267)		(.472)			(.204)	
Employed (1=yes)	66.04%	a	a	55.35%	-	42.61%	b	-	41.72%	c
	(.039)			(.046)		(.080)			(.027)	
Household Accommodations	1.977	a	a	1.181	-	1.108	b	b	.579	c
	(.197)			(.056)		(.069)			(.077)	
Outcome Variables										
Pride in being South African (1=yes)	57.69%	a	a	81.46%	-	85.66%	b	b	95.35%	c
	(.078)			(.035)		(.066)			(.013)	
Race Relations Improved Since 1994 (1=yes)	81.08%	-	a	72.36%	d	51.82%	-	b	71.98%	c
	(.055)			(.036)		(.076)			(.027)	
Race Relations Will Improve (1=yes)	81.95%	-	a	78.85%	d	62.91%	b	-	70.94%	c
	(.049)			(.037)		(.071)			(.023)	
Political Identification (1=yes)	15.78%	-	-	22.69%	-	24.28%	b	b	74.22%	c
	(.059)			(.029)		(.070)			(.036)	
Protest (1=yes)	7.82%	a	a	22.57%	-	28.87%	b	-	39.91%	c
	(.026)			(.041)		(.101)			(.031)	
Egoistical Financial Deprivation	5.463	a	a	6.845	-	6.937	b	-	7.148	c
	(.195)			(.151)		(.274)			(.154)	
Fraternal Treatment Deprivation	2.083	a	-	1.946	-	2.000	b	b	1.584	c
	(.025)			(.050)		(.111)			(.040)	

Source: Cape Town Area Study 2005

Notes: *a* represents significant differences between whites and coloureds (in each respective class); *b* represents significant differences between blacks and coloureds (in each respective class); *c* represents significant differences between whites and blacks; *d* represents significant difference between coloureds in latent class 1 and coloureds in latent class 2. Significance is at the $p < .1$.

Table 7. Models Regressing Race Identification and Latent Classes on Outcome Variables

	Pride in being South African	Race Relations Improved Since 1994	Race Relations Will Improve	Political Identification	Protest	Egoistical Financial Deprivation	Fraternal Treatment Deprivation
White	-1.166*	0.861+	0.576	-0.133	-1.428*	-0.633*	-0.365
	(0.514)	(0.473)	(0.409)	(0.455)	(0.567)	(0.283)	(0.528)
Black	1.393**	0.932*	0.361	2.385***	0.524	0.279	-1.555**
	(0.471)	(0.362)	(0.315)	(0.417)	(0.491)	(0.255)	(0.492)
Coloured Fringe	-0.092	0.679+	0.597+	0.124	-0.314	0.198	-0.294
	(0.406)	(0.341)	(0.300)	(0.373)	(0.454)	(0.225)	(0.426)
Age	0.013+	-0.001	-0.003	0.014**	-0.005	-0.005	-0.000
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.006)
Male	-0.179	-0.020	-0.029	-0.097	0.146	-0.090	-0.101
	(0.160)	(0.171)	(0.174)	(0.174)	(0.173)	(0.144)	(0.166)
Religious Participation	0.524*	0.137	-0.106	0.161	0.331	0.161	-0.160
	(0.207)	(0.187)	(0.203)	(0.223)	(0.200)	(0.144)	(0.164)
Education	-0.022	0.066+	0.005	-0.048	0.024	-0.107***	0.059+
	(0.064)	(0.037)	(0.039)	(0.035)	(0.034)	(0.028)	(0.034)
Employed	0.126	-0.110	0.129	0.466*	0.183	-0.451**	-0.019
	(0.261)	(0.200)	(0.207)	(0.196)	(0.185)	(0.152)	(0.154)
Household Accommodations	0.104	0.391**	0.246+	-0.316	0.099	-0.159	0.352**
	(0.135)	(0.133)	(0.124)	(0.217)	(0.091)	(0.148)	(0.120)
Constant	0.942	-0.843	0.457	-1.475*	-1.648*	8.286***	
	(0.823)	(0.647)	(0.642)	(0.569)	(0.744)	(0.360)	
cut1							
Constant							-1.169*
							(0.543)
cut2							
Constant							2.632***
							(0.621)
Observations	1028	967	929	1015	1026	1028	974
F	5.790	3.748	1.819	14.357	4.111	9.774	12.529

Source: Cape Town Area Study 2005

Notes: Coloured is the excluded group. Standard errors in parentheses.

$^{+}p < .10$, $^{*}p < .05$, $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

Figure 1. Evidence Supporting the Generalized Attitudes and Perceptions of Deprivation of Coloureds Reflects their Position in Racial Limbo

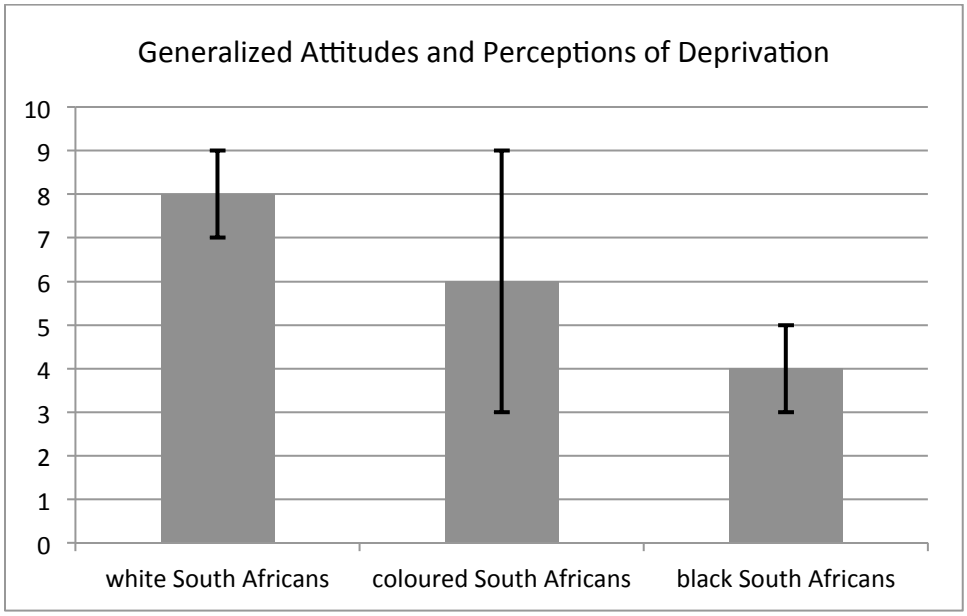


Figure 2. Evidence Supporting the Generalized Attitudes and Perceptions of Deprivation of Coloured Subgroups Supports their Position in Racial Limbo

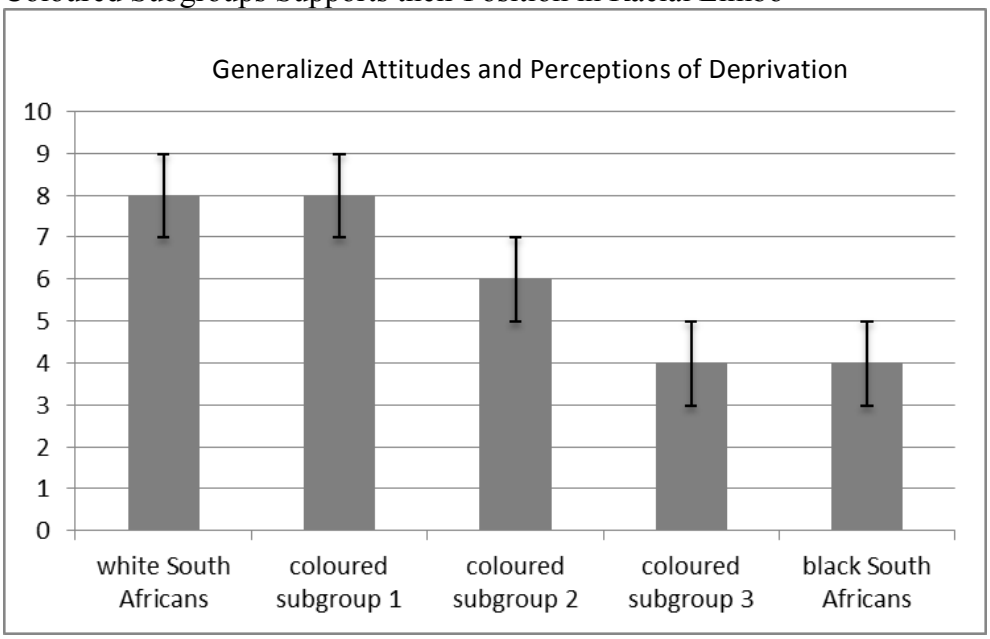
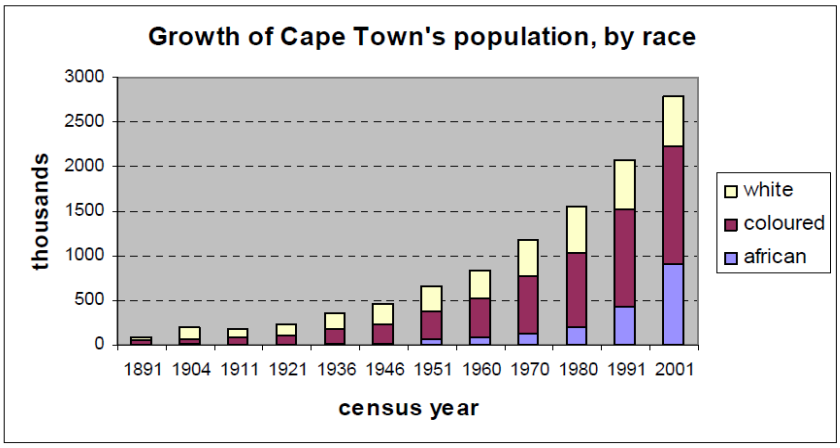
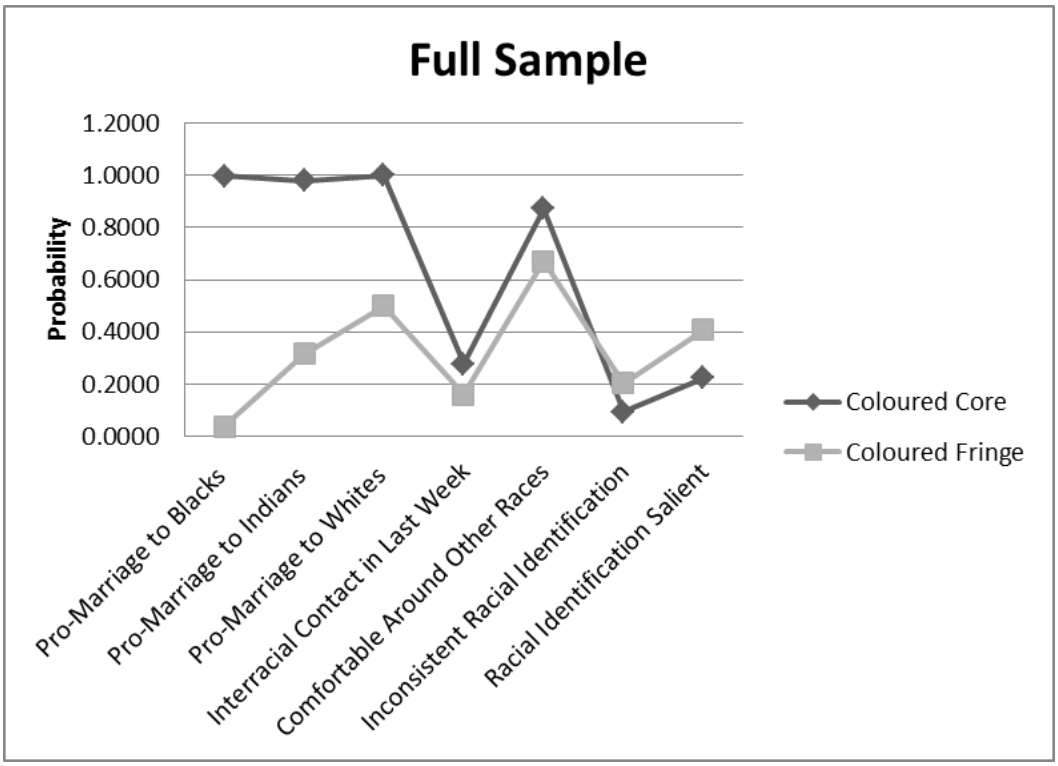


Figure 3. Growth of Cape Town's Population, by Race



Source: Cape Town Area Study 2005; Seekings et al. 2008.

Figure 4. Item-Response Probabilities By Latent Classes



Source: Cape Town Area Study 2005

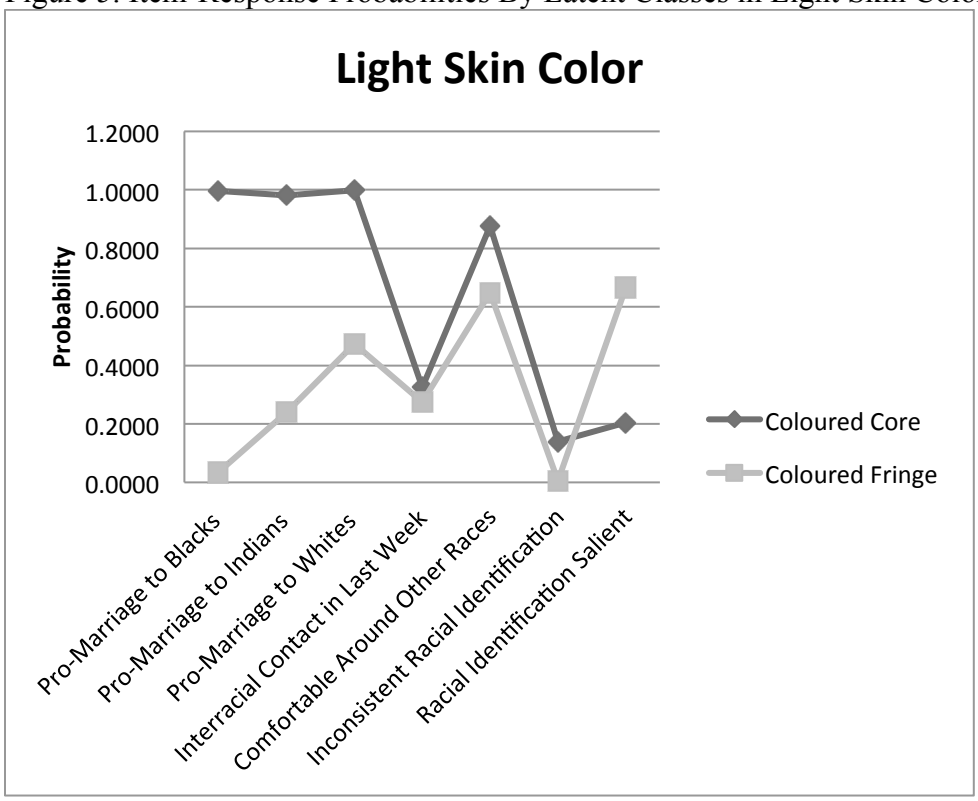
APPENDIX

Table 8. Item-Response Probabilities for Latent Class, By Skin Color

	Coloured Core	Coloured Fringe
Light Skin Color	**85.76%**	**14.24%**
Pro-Marriage to Blacks	.9973	.0341
Against Marriage to Blacks	.0027	.9659
Pro-Marriage to Indians	.9815	.2387
Against Marriage to Indians	.0185	.7613
Pro-Marriage to Whites	.9995	.4738
Against Marriage to Whites	.0005	.5262
Interracial Contact in Last Week	.3258	.2739
No Interracial Contact in Last Week	.6742	.7261
Comfortable Around Other Races	.8760	.6479
Not Comfortable Around Other Races	.1240	.3521
Inconsistent Racial Identification	.1397	.0042
Consistent Racial Identification	.8603	.9958
Racial Identification Salient	.2037	.6671
Racial Identification Non-Salient	.7963	.3329
Medium Skin Color	**83.52%**	**16.48%**
Pro-Marriage to Blacks	.9989	.0260
Against Marriage to Blacks	.0011	.9740
Pro-Marriage to Indians	.9848	.3535
Against Marriage to Indians	.0152	.6465
Pro-Marriage to Whites	.9997	.4552
Against Marriage to Whites	.0003	.5448
Interracial Contact in Last Week	.2818	.1503
No Interracial Contact in Last Week	.7182	.8497
Comfortable Around Other Races	.8639	.5783
Not Comfortable Around Other Races	.1361	.4217
Inconsistent Racial Identification	.0806	.3023
Consistent Racial Identification	.9194	.6977
Racial Identification Salient	.2427	.3007
Racial Identification Non-Salient	.7573	.6993
Dark Skin Color	**78.16%**	**21.84%**
Pro-Marriage to Blacks	.9943	.0890
Against Marriage to Blacks	.0057	.9110
Pro-Marriage to Indians	.9660	.3310
Against Marriage to Indians	.0340	.6690
Pro-Marriage to Whites	.9995	.5678
Against Marriage to Whites	.0005	.4322
Interracial Contact in Last Week	.2365	.1192
No Interracial Contact in Last Week	.7635	.8808
Comfortable Around Other Races	.8839	.7733
Not Comfortable Around Other Races	.1161	.2267
Inconsistent Racial Identification	.0757	.1937
Consistent Racial Identification	.9243	.8063
Racial Identification Salient	.2113	.3846
Racial Identification Non-Salient	.7887	.6154

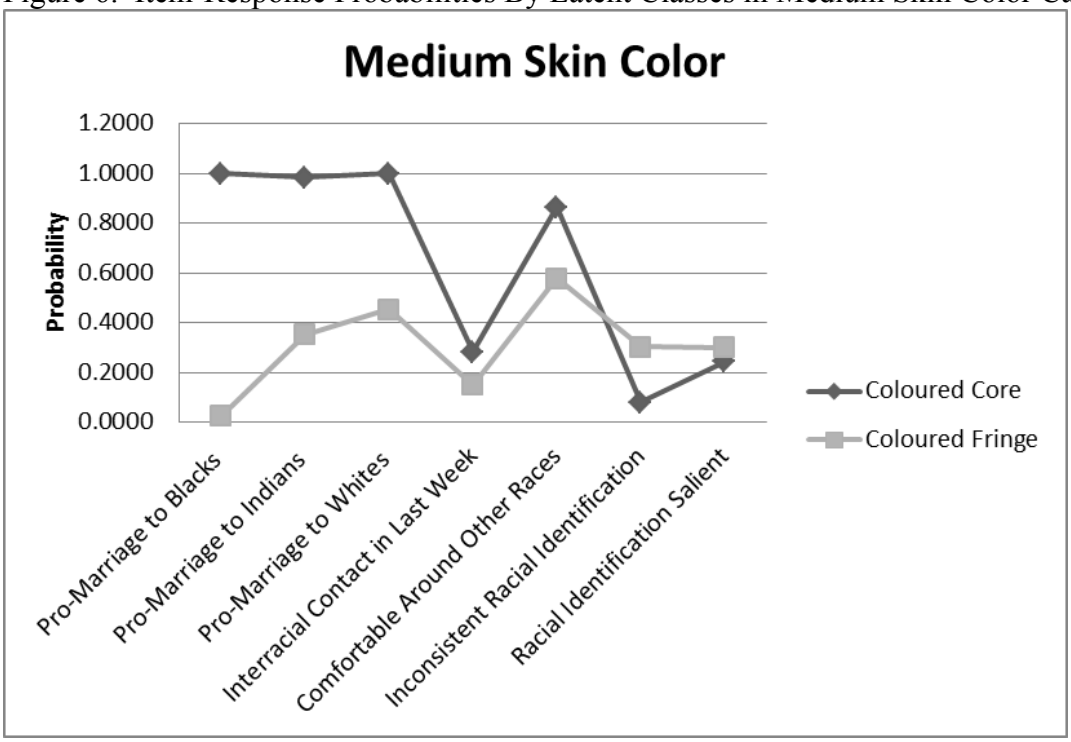
Source: Cape Town Area Study 2005

Figure 5. Item-Response Probabilities By Latent Classes in Light Skin Color Category



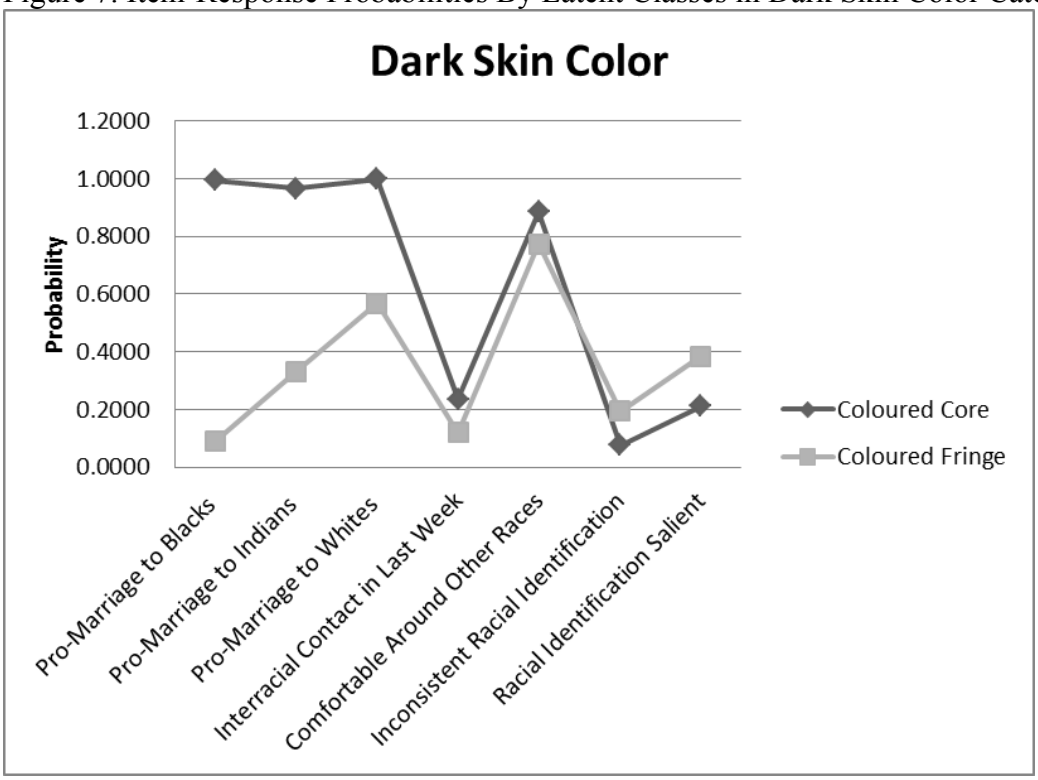
Source: Cape Town Area Study 2005

Figure 6. Item-Response Probabilities By Latent Classes in Medium Skin Color Category



Source: Cape Town Area Study 2005

Figure 7. Item-Response Probabilities By Latent Classes in Dark Skin Color Category



Source: Cape Town Area Study
2005

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this three-part dissertation project was to investigate the concept of racial limbo by studying the history of coloureds in South Africa and examining coloureds' contemporary attitudes, perceptions of deprivation, and racial identifications. I defined *racial limbo* as belonging to a group positioned between a dominant and subordinate group in a racial hierarchy. Scholars (e.g., Daniel 2007; Frederickson 1981; Marx 1998; Telles 2004) argue examinations of groups in racial limbo are important because these examinations reveal hidden facets of racial hierarchies and can likewise reveal limitations of race theories. Yet, prior research on race limbo is limited in its scope, cohesiveness, and conceptual clarity, which leaves the construct fuzzy.

CONTRIBUTION

This dissertation project contributes to the literature in four important ways. First, I examined racial limbo in contemporary South Africa. Most research on racial limbo in the last twenty years has focused on the United States (for example, see Brunsma 2006; DaCosta 2007; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2008; Root 1996), whereas research on coloureds in apartheid South Africa is outdated (Frederickson 1981; Goldin 1987; Lewis 1987; Patterson 1953), and often historical (Adhikari 1997, 2005) or qualitative (Erasmus 2001) in approach. I argued coloureds represent the strongest case for racial limbo because of their exposure to South Africa's rigid hierarchy, their longstanding, well-defined and intermediate position, and because their current status cannot be characterized as either mixed or marginal.

Second, I employed the racialized social system (Bonilla-Silva 1997) as conceptual model. I argued it served as a useful conceptual framework because it helps mend the *top-down* v. *bottom-up* fracture of the literature regarding racial limbo. On the one hand, the top-down perspective focuses on the historical formation of racial limbo (e.g., Adhikari 1997, 2005; Daniel 2007; Davis 1991; Marx 1998; Telles 2004). This descriptive line of research concentrates heavily on how nation-states and ideologies construct racial limbo. On the other hand, the bottom-up perspective analyzes individuals belonging to groups in racial liminal (e.g., Brunsma 2006; Erasmus 2001; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2008). The two perspectives are rarely in conversation with each other, minimizing integration of what we know across social levels. Guided by the conceptual model, I argued that in first examining how the South-African nation-state cultivated a position of racial limbo for its coloured population, and then exploring whether racial limbo was manifested in the contemporary life (i.e., attitudes, perceptions of deprivation, and racial identifications) of coloureds, I could assess how racial hierarchy shapes macro- and micro-level outcomes.

Third, I employed multiple methods in this dissertation project, which provided an additional challenge to the top-down and bottom-up divide. Specifically, triangulating quantitative and qualitative techniques across historical and survey data allowed for the simultaneous examination of the breadth and depth of racial limbo. Fourth, I improved on past methods by developing a multidimensional measure of the coloured racial identification, and explored whether it better reflected coloureds' position in racial limbo (compared to a single-indicator of self-report).

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In Study One, I investigated whether the apartheid nation-state cultivated a position of racial limbo for coloureds and whether their intermediate position is maintained in post-apartheid South Africa. I informed this study using frameworks of racial formation, racialized social system, and race mixture

(Bonilla-Silva 1997; Omi and Winant 1994; Reuter 1969; Winant 2001). These frameworks are useful for an analysis of racial limbo because they focus on the creation and construction of racial meanings (Golash-Boza 2013). I conceived of legislative data as a productive way of engaging with a nation-state's race-making processes (Marx 1998). In total, I analyzed thirty-three legislative documents from apartheid South Africa (1948-1992) and post-apartheid South Africa (1993 to 2014) for this study. My methodological strategy was informed by Omi and Winant (1994) and their conceptualization of racial projects, which emphasize signification and organization of race. Specifically, I examined how the South African nation-state (1) defined coloureds, (2) positioned coloureds between white and black South Africans in the racial hierarchy, and (3) distributed power and resources to coloureds relative to white and black South Africans.

Analyses revealed that apartheid South Africa named coloureds as a distinct race group, but defined them by what they were not: neither black nor white. Further, the state distributed less power and resources to coloureds (e.g., forced removal, expulsion from the political system) compared to white South Africans. At the same time, however, the state often distributed more power and resources to coloureds (e.g., the ability to travel without a pass, preferences in labor) compared to black South Africans. Thus, I concluded the apartheid nation-state cultivated a position racial limbo for its coloured population. Contrarily, the post-apartheid South African nation-state challenged coloureds' position in racial limbo; they named all non-white South Africans *black*, and gave black South Africans more power and resources in the law through affirmative action legislation. Furthermore, evidence generally suggested that the post-apartheid nation-state purported an ideology of nonracialism. By refusing to name racial categories in early legislation, and later explicitly neglecting to differentiate coloureds, I argued post-apartheid South Africa operated under a guise of *coloured-blindness*. Yet, despite the nation-states' attempted erasure of coloureds' position in racial limbo, I found that coloureds' intermediate status was

still being upheld in social experience. In sum, I found that the nation-state held a powerful role in constructing racial limbo, but was less successful in deconstructing their position.

In Study Two, I investigated whether the generalized attitudes and perceptions of deprivation of coloureds might align with their position in racial limbo. Specifically, analyzing two waves of the Southern African Barometer (SAB), I examined whether self-identified coloureds in post-apartheid South Africa (1) reported generalized attitudes that reflect their group's intermediate, historical position between white and black South Africans, and (2) perceived their group as both deprived and gratified compared to white and black South Africans, respectively. Group position theory (Blumer 1958), which makes predictions about dominant groups' view toward subordinate groups, informed hypotheses about coloureds' generalized attitudes. I argued that just as white South Africans' attitudes align with their dominant group position, coloureds' attitudes would align with their dominant position vis-à-vis black South Africans. Relative deprivation theory (Runciman 1966; Stouffer et al. 1949), which makes predictions about groups' perceptions of disadvantage relative to another group, informed hypotheses about perceptions of deprivation. I hypothesized that coloureds should perceive relative deprivation when they compare themselves to white South Africans and simultaneously perceive relative gratification when they compare themselves to black South Africans.

I found that coloureds' attitudes reflected their position in racial limbo—coloureds reported generalized attitudes that were significantly different from, and between, the generalized attitudes of white and black South Africans in over 80% of the outcomes across both waves. However, there was less support for coloureds' intermediary attitudes in Wave 4 compared to Wave 2. I argued the convergence of coloureds and black South Africans' generalized attitudes in the later wave suggests that coloureds are increasingly aligned with black South Africans.

In contrast, rather than perceiving levels of deprivation that were between white and black South Africans, I found that coloureds' reported the highest levels of economic and treatment deprivation across

the waves. This latter finding suggests that coloureds' do not perceive their experienced levels of deprivation (relative to white South Africans) and gratification (relative to black South Africans) as balancing out. I argued that incongruence between expectation and experience may drive coloureds' elevated perceived deprivation. In sum, findings from Study Two provided evidence for how coloureds' intermediate, historical position is reflect in attitudes today, even without the backing of the nation-state in contemporary South Africa. I also consider whether the heighted perceptions of deprivation could be taken as a signal that coloureds do perceive their position as intermediary, but are dissatisfied with such position.

Finally, in Study Three, I investigated whether a multidimensional measure of coloureds' racial identification (as compared to a single-item self-reported racial identification) better reflected coloureds' position in racial limbo in contemporary South Africa. I considered recent scholarship that called for innovative approaches to better capture the phenomenology of race (Loveman 1999; Martin and Yeung 2003; Wacquant 1997; Zuberi 2001) and research that suggests such innovative approaches are especially needed in examinations of groups positioned in racial limbo, because their racial identifications are thought to be multifaceted (Adhikari 2005; Erasmus 2001a; 2001b; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2002; 2008; Tatum 2003). Thus, I innovated a methodological approach by conducting latent class analysis (Madgison and Vermunt 2001; Vermunt and Madgison 2004) on coloured South Africans in the Cape Town Area Study (CAS). Specifically, I used instrumental variables theorized to capture the phenomenology of race for the latent class analysis to examine whether there was variation in the coloured racial identification. I then determined whether the latent classes of coloured, as opposed to a single-item self-reported racial identification, better demonstrated whether racial limbo is reflected in attitudes and perceived relative deprivation located, on average, between white and black South Africans.

The latent class analysis produced two classes. The majority of respondents fell into what I called the *coloured core* and remaining respondents fell into what I called the *coloured fringe*. The coloured

core generally believed being coloured was unimportant, and held ideologies and behaviors supporting of racial inclusion. Conversely, the coloured fringe generally believed being coloured was important, and held ideological and behaviors exclusive to coloureds. Yet, further analysis revealed the two classes did not differ on the majority of criterion variables (i.e., generalized attitudes and perceived relative deprivation) and neither class was pulled strongly toward white or black South Africans. These results provide little evidence of heterogeneity within coloureds' racial identification. Moreover, the results suggest that self-reported racial identification provides adequate traction for examinations of coloureds in contemporary South Africa.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

I employed Bonilla-Silva's (1997) *racialized social systems* as a conceptual model for this dissertation project. The racialized social system model proposes that a society determines racial categories and where groups are positioned in a racial hierarchy. Groups' positioning in the racial hierarchy in turn impacts the benefits they receive and their collective interests and behaviors (Bonilla-Silva 1997). This model borrows from the social structure and personality framework, which "…direct[s] our attention to the hierarchically organized processes through which the macrostructures come to have relevance for the inner lives of individual persons and, in theory, the processes through which individual personals come to alter social systems" (McLeod and Lively 1999:77). Thus, I argued that this conceptual model was useful because it help mends the top-down verses bottom-up fracture of the literature regarding racial limbo, by implying that racial hierarchy shapes macro- and micro-level outcomes.

Specifically, the racialized social system guides my dissertation project by supporting the argument that racial limbo represents one position in South Africa's racial hierarchy, and this position, in turn, influences the attitudes, perceptions, and identifications of those in racial limbo. Moreover, the racialized social system conceptual model guides the funnel approach I used to structure my dissertation:

I began with evaluating the nation-state and worked down levels of analysis, thus building conclusions that speak to multiple social levels. Furthermore, it helped to set up a clear path for analyses and background the investigation of other testable theories used in each respective study. What an assessment of each study revealed is that adapting mainstream theories to account for racial limbo might actually increases the theories explanatory reach.

For instance, I first informed Study One by using frameworks of racial formation and race mixture. However, these frameworks are heuristic, which means they describe structures rather than forces that create them (see Diesing 1991). For example, racial formation locates the state as the preemptive place for race-making. Yet, without interrogating who the main rulers or actors are, scholars are unable to fully take in to account the context in which race is embedded (Feagin and Elias 2013; Loveman 1999b). The limitation is in the anthropomorphism of the state as an actor, which neglects individuals and groups as key players in race-making. The current analysis of racial limbo revealed that state actors are important. For example, coloureds were considered an important buffer group during the white-minority led apartheid government, whereas the importance of coloureds' position was questioned in the black-led post-apartheid South Africa.

Another limitation of the frameworks is that they carry a deterministic emphasis of race-making. That is, the nation-state functions as a superstructure, holding the majority of the power in the construction of races. This top-down approach misses the agency on the ground. In my analysis, those in positions of racial limbo surfaced as the ones most often provoked by the nation-states' imposed categories.

Then, in Study Two, I employed group position theory (Blumer 1956) and relative deprivation theory (Runciman 1966; Stouffer et al. 1949), arguing that these theories help explain the perspectives of individuals and groups trying to understand where they fit in various hierarchies. Yet, neither group position theory nor relative deprivation theory could wholly explain the experiences of coloureds in post-

apartheid South Africa. Group position theory initially considered a two group situation only, and thus it could not fully generalize to contexts like South Africa with multiple group racial hierarchies. My analysis assessing whether coloureds' attitudes reflected their position of racial limbo supported the idea even semi-dominant groups might recognize their position and therefore align interest and attitudes accordingly.

Relative deprivation theory focuses typically on upward social comparisons; yet, coloureds in post-apartheid South Africa have simultaneous upward social comparisons (to white South Africans) and downward social comparisons (to black South Africans). Although relative deprivation theory did not correctly predict the imbalance of relative deprivation/relative gratification for coloureds, I argued better conceptualizing social comparison might better explain the results (Festinger 1954; Pettigrew 1976). Moreover, I speculated the high levels of perceived relative deprivation may actually support the idea that those in racial limbo recognize their intermediate position; they recognize they are positioned between two groups and they want to change such position. Given the implications that attitudes and perceptions of deprivation can have for social action and racial antagonism (Bobo and Hutchings 1996; Frazier 1957; Morse and Peele 1974; Pettigrew 1967; Pettigrew 2008), theories on these topics (such as group position and relative deprivation) should continue to be expanded in order to account for the growing number of multiracial contexts across the globe.

Finally, I informed Study Three by engaging with critiques regarding the way race is treated in social scientific research (e.g., Loveman 1999; Martin and Yeung 2003; Wacquant 1997; Zuberi 2001). Critics suggest alternative methods to overcome this limitation, such as using multiple indicators or measuring psychological aspects of race. Further, I employed biracial identity theory and reviews of contemporary coloured identifications (e.g., Adhikari 2005; Erasmus 2001a, 2001b; Rockquemore and Brunsma 2008; Tatum 2003) to argue that examinations of groups positioned in racial limbo could especially benefit from innovative approaches. The latent class analysis conducted, using instruments

theorized to capture the phenomenology of race, did in fact reveal two latent classes within the coloured population. However, I found the latent classes were not linked to strong divisions on criterion variables. Less than one in five coloureds fit into the fringe class, and the minority in the coloured fringe were more like the coloured core than either black or white South Africans. Rather than suggesting there is one 'true' subgroup of coloureds in racial limbo and the others are pulled towards white or black South Africans, my analyses suggested that belonging to a group positioned in racial limbo might be a unifying phenomenological experience of race. Moreover, my analysis suggested imposed racial categories remain meaningful in studies of coloureds' experiences.

Taken altogether, the theoretical implications of this project are numerous. This dissertation project demonstrated the importance of consulting conceptual frameworks that elucidate interconnections across social levels in systematic studies of race. In addition, this dissertation project suggests that adapting and expanding mainstream race theories to make predictions about racial limbo might be helpful.

Looking at this dissertation project as a whole, it becomes clear that limitations of theoretical frameworks within each respective study were often addressed in a subsequent study. For instance, a limitation of racial formation theory (used in Study One) was that it proposes the idea that belonging to a structurally imposed racial category means attachment to race group. Yet, Study Three actually supports the framing by suggesting a single indicator can capture groupness. Group position theory (used in Study Two), allowed me to assess an additional expectation implied in racial formation theory: that race takes on a life of its own after being embedded in social structures. Moreover, Study Two suggested coloureds' intermediate, historical position was reflected in contemporary South Africa, even when coloureds are ignored by the post-apartheid government. All in all, this dissertation finds support for a multi-level, systematic approach to studying race.

Broader Implications

Despite limitations of the racialized social system (that it is descriptive, not potentially falsifiable, and remains unconvincing regarding causation), I argue it provides a useful conceptual model for this dissertation project. Specifically, guided by the racialized social system conceptual model, I was able to show how hierarchies were constructed and investigate whether they have relevance in individuals' lives. This dissertation project does not fix problems inherent in the racialized social system's heuristic nature, but by attempting to overcome its shortcomings, I was able to contribute to a longstanding sociological debate: *structure versus agency*?

If questioning whether a racial hierarchy could impact micro-level outcomes, my dissertation project would suggest: *structure matters.* Specifically, the apartheid nation-state's pervasive racial hierarchy structured all political, social, and economic institutions. As a result, all South Africans knew definitively who they were, where they could live, with whom they could interact, and also where they were positioned in the racial hierarchy. Results presented here also suggested the implications of structures have a lingering effect; they were reflected in individuals' perspectives (e.g., arguments brought forth in court, attitudes measured in national survey data) even after the apartheid system had fallen.

At the same time, however, coloureds consistently fought to make their own understandings of race have traction in society. The large number of racial reclassification cases involving coloureds during apartheid serves as an example. Further, contemporary changes in post-apartheid South Africa (e.g., affirmative action legislation and combining the black and coloured racial categories) have had a negligible impact on the coloureds' attachment to their group. For the most part, coloureds have rejected the changes implemented by the post-apartheid government. Even more so, analysis that allowed for phenomenological differences in the experiences of race to show up suggested that there is a small, divergent subgroup within the coloured population. Therefore, *agency matters too.* That is, even in the

current top-heavy analysis of racial limbo, agency was present. Future studies that include coloured voices could future explore the individual and group level agency coloureds have in constructing or deconstructing racial limbo.

Furthermore, I argued that coloureds, moreso than other cases of groups in racial limbo, have come to terms with their intermediary position, and have possibly created an identity around being coloured. Thus, findings regarding variation within the coloured category, or whether coloureds might push back against the macro-level forces that work to create their position, would provide a convincing, conservative argument about racial limbo more broadly. Indeed, what the South African case tells us about racial limbo is noteworthy: individuals belonging to a group positioned between a dominant and subordinate group in the racial hierarchy might be those most confronted with the tension between constructing ones' own understanding of race in a context where the nation-state is trying to determine one's racial placement.

Perhaps, then, a characteristic of positions of racial limbo is the hint of malleable boundaries. That is, even the slightest hint of potential fluidity or change in racial identification might open up room for resistance among those occupying a limbo position. In fact, research suggests those in racial limbo elsewhere are pushing the boundaries of race (see Brunsma 2006; Daniel 2007; Telles 2004; Wade 2005). For example, some biracials in the United States are advocating for a single "multiracial" category in the census (DaCosta 2007). Coloureds expose that groups can in fact find cohesion around the idea of mixedness. Yet, examinations of coloureds also suggest that even if a distinct category based upon a limbo status were to come into fruition in the U.S., it doesn't mean those in the category would be complacent with the new structural changes.

Finally, this case study racial limbo in South Africa may reveal something about limbo positions in general. As discussed in the Introduction to this dissertation project, limbo is a position that applies to many social contracts. Examples include parolees, second-generation immigrants, and bisexuals. All of

these statuses are produced differently, but the production results in an intermediate position between two statuses, both of which have more stringent boundaries. This research highlights that limbo positions are important and meaningful—a position that emphasizes the constant tension between structure and agency.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This project has acknowledged limitations, which are specified in each respective study. However, there are a few broad limitations that apply to the entire dissertation project. First, although a systematic analysis of coloureds across social levels did allow for instances of agency to surface, a specified exploration of coloured voices are largely missing from this dissertation project. Following up with in-depth qualitative interviews would provide a necessary, complementary examination of coloureds' experiences of racial limbo in contemporary South Africa. Specifically, asking coloureds how they understand and feel about their assumed racial limbo, and exploring how perceptions of racial limbo might impact coloureds' self-concepts could shine light into the lived experience of racial limbo. It would also help us better understand how individuals acknowledge or respond to racial hierarchies. Formulating qualitative questions informed by the results of this dissertation project (e.g., What do you think of inclusive black definition mandated in the Employment Equity Act? Do you believe there is a fringe group within coloureds?) would help bolster the conclusions made here.

Agency could also be explored in social movement analysis. Rebellion, protest, and group-based lobbying have the potential to directly impact the policies of the nation-state, yet they remained unexplored in this dissertation project. Examining individual/group based movements that occurred alongside legislation would provide a more comprehensive picture. Research has shown how a black radical flank increased success of the civil rights movement in the United States (Haines 1984). Exploring whether coloureds were divided in movements or built strategic interracial alliances (see Van Dyke and McCammon 2010), for example, could better explain coloureds' response to the government. Adhikari

(1997; 2005) did a superb job of studying the history of coloureds and coloured social movements. Collaborations between his type of research and the type of research conducted here would be an important future project.

Second, the exclusion of Indians and Asians from this dissertation project is an additional limitation. Indians/Asians are another group in South Africa that is neither the most subordinate nor dominant. I argued their ethnic and/or foreigner orientation complicates their position in the racial hierarchy (Bonachich 1973; Kim 1999) and did not include them. However, future research should replication analyses to Indians/Asians in order to determine whether their attitudes, perceptions of deprivation, or identifications are qualitatively different from coloureds. One might speculate that ethnicity operates similarity in terms of occupying a limbo position.

Third, to ensure the concept is generalizable, systematic analyses of racial limbo in other contexts is necessary. Obvious cases include the United States and Brazil. Both of these contexts were sampled as a part of the Social Hubble project, therefore analyses similar to those completed in Study Three should be replicated. Other contexts, even those with less clear racial hierarchies and positions of racial limbo, should also be examined. Examples include the Dominican Republic, Japan, or Iraq. The way racial limbo groups are treated and the implications of being positioned intermediary in these contexts may expand the utility of the concept. Accordingly, racial limbo is a concept that deserves more attention because it provides sociologists with information on the demarcation of groups' positions in racial hierarchies and heterogeneity in the experience of belonging to a given group.

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