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Quantifying Taste: Findings from a survey on media and taste among teenagers from six high schools in Cape Town.

Jan Schenk

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Jan Schenk is a PhD student at the Department of Sociology, University of Cape Town. Since 2007 he has been doing research on cultural globalisation on the racial attitudes of youth in Cape Town (South Africa) and Belo Horizonte (Brazil). In 2007 he was a scholarship student in the Social Surveys Unit (SSU) in the Centre for Social Science Research at the University of Cape Town.

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Abstract

Recent studies suggest that young South Africans increasingly use references to popular culture, such as music and fashion, in making racial distinctions. This leads to a reinterpretation of race categories but not to the demise of the importance of race in the way adolescents see themselves and others. It is argued in this paper that the link between race and popular culture is creating and maintaining racialised taste patterns, which in turn causes adolescents to develop racialised media preferences. In other words someone's race, in terms of self-definition, is not only a strong predictor for someone's taste in popular culture (in this paper exemplified by music taste) and media preference (here restricted to radio, television and music television) but also one can find a strong relationship between certain music tastes and media preferences. This argument is supported by the statistical analysis of data from a survey with schoolchildren from six public high schools in the Greater Cape Town Metropolitan Area. The results show that among the participants significant relationships exist between race, music taste and preferences for certain radio, television and music television stations as well as between race and certain music genres. These findings are being discussed against the background of an increasingly segmented mediascape and the question for the attainability of a collective South African identity. It is concluded that racialised media preferences might encourage media producers to target audiences based on race, thus promoting racial difference rather than cross-racial similarities or commonalities.

I spoke the TV language; the one Daddy spoke
at work, the one Mama never could get right,
the one that spoke of sweet success.
From: *Coconut* by Kopano Matlwa.

1. Introduction

The above statement is made by Ofilwe, one of the two girls whose thoughts are recorded by Kopano Matlwa in her award-winning debut novel *Coconut*. The two protagonists in the book seem to have much in common: Ofilwe and Fiks are both young black girls experiencing their identities as an 'in-between' state separated into 'black' and 'white' ways of doing things. Both have become known as 'coconuts' - black on the outside, white in the inside. Yet, their shared identity conflict is in fact what divides them most, as they have come to this state of being from two very different backgrounds: Ofilwe grew up with white children in upper-class white neighbourhoods, speaking and thinking in English. Although on first sight she seems to fit into her social environment, she is constantly being made painfully aware of her 'otherness' by friends and teachers and of her 'rootlessness' by her older brother. To her, making a connection with her African roots appears as the way out of her personal 'no man's land'. She strives to learn her mother's language so she can sing along to African Pop songs - something that appears so natural to her friends from less privileged backgrounds. Fiks, on the other hand, was born into a poor and fragmented family in the townships. Blackness, to her, is a skin to shed, a millstone around the neck on her way up to the social ladder towards the 'white' world of wealth and well-being she knows from TV and glossy magazines. She tries to hide her background behind American-accented English and a dislike for 'traditional' African music and dress in favour of international music charts, styles and trends.

The portrayal of the two, so similar yet different, girls serves as a summarising reflection of much writing, fictional and non-fictional, on South African youth today. 'Race' as a means to identify oneself has not ceased to exist, but its dividing lines are increasingly blurred by the cross-cutting cleavages of class and consumption and the media-driven dissemination of 'glocalised' ideas of blackness, whiteness and hybridity.

Recent academic work on youth, race and identity in South Africa confirms the impressions found in popular literature. Nadine Dolby (2001), who conducted ethnographic research at a school in Durban during 1996, and Imke Gooskens (2006), who studied schoolchildren in Cape Town in 2005, found that while

'race' as an identity marker is still important to young South Africans after the end of apartheid, it is increasingly associated with connotations derived from popular culture such as music rather than politics and thus more readily subject to humour and reinterpretation. This impression is shared by Marcelle Dawson (2003) in a study of youth identities in a school in Pretoria. Dawson, however, also emphasises that the association between race and fashion and music styles does not necessarily make it less divisive:

> "Learners also linked 'race' to music preferences. They were convinced that certain 'races' like certain music genres. For example, in a discussion on fund-raising activities, one of the respondents in Group A mentioned that part of the entertainment was a boereorkes. The girls claimed that they didn't feel as though they fitted in and that 'it chased all the coloureds and the blacks away.' On a similar note, during a discussion on the music played at the matric farewell, the girls in Group E (African girls) claimed that 'we [black learners] never get to choose much.' 'And the music is white,' added another girl. 'Yes,' agreed a third, 'It's just rave. Even if we have these sokkies, discos, whatever ...' 'Even if they play our music,' continued her friend, 'it's half a song and it's ridiculous. Then they just play one song or half a song and the rest of the night is boere music'. By this, she meant any type of music that she assumed was enjoyed only by white people, for example, rave and heavy metal, and not 'boeremusiek', which is a specific type of music style. When probed about what was meant by 'our music', one of the girls answered, 'house music, *kwaito*, R&B.' " (Dawson 2003: 89)

When it comes to the question of what explains this conceptual shift in respect to race, one reason seems to be mentioned more frequently than others: apparently to a large extent the media is responsible for the fact that young South Africans perceive themselves differently than their parent generation. But how is 'the media' actually related to 'race' - conceptually, theoretically and practically? Similarly, how are the various taste groups or youth cultures (with which young South Africans are commonly associated) connected to media, class and race?

The study presented in this article is concerned with this very question. Thus, as its title already suggests, it needs to be seen in a tradition of sociological writing that treats cultural preferences not merely as a matter of individual taste, as they are commonly seen, but as largely determined by social stratification along divisions of gender, class, race and ethnicity. Pierre Bourdieu (1984) wrote with *Distinction* the arguably most-discussed book in this vein focusing on the role of

taste and aesthetics in the demarcation of class in France. Although it has since received some criticism mostly due to its rather static conceptualisation of culture (Prior 2005), and although Bourdieu was concerned neither with forms of popular culture nor with issues of race, it stands out as a defining work for the kind of research presented in this paper, as it established quantitative methodology as a valid tool to study all sorts of cultural phenomena, no matter if they were considered 'high' or 'low' culture (recent examples include studies by Katz-Gerro (1999), Veenstra (2005) and Tanner (2008)). Yet a direct adaptation of Bourdieu's work in the South African context today would suffer from the incompatibility on a conceptual and contextual level. To a large part this incompatibility stems from different qualities of class consciousness in 1980s France and contemporary South Africa with the former being classically defined by the distribution of the means of production and the latter by ways of consumption. While Bourdieu, in his work, describes the role of taste and consumption in reproducing class structures and class consciousness in modern France, he himself describes in *Distinction,* albeit tentatively, the shift from an old to a 'new economy', bringing with it a qualitative change in the nature of class-based taste patterns which appears closer to the commodification of popular culture in contemporary South Africa:

> "The new bourgeoisie is the initiator of the ethical retooling required by the new economy from which it draws its power and profits, whose functioning depends as much on the production of needs and consumers as on the production of goods. (...)
> Through their slyly imperative advice and the example of their consciously 'model' life-style, the new taste-makers propose a morality which boils down to an art of consuming, spending and enjoying. (...)"

This is the fraction which imports (from the USA) the new mode of domination, based on 'velvet glove' methods, at school, in church or in industry, and on the 'relaxed' life-style (...) (Bourdieu 1984: 310).

Today it is no longer regarded a novelty that a 'division of consumption' rather than a 'division of labour' defines identities and this is as much true for contemporary France as it is for South Africa. Likewise class is no longer regarded as the only or even most important characteristic defining one's lifestyle (to use Bourdieu's own expression); at the very least gender and race require just as much attention in a present-day analysis of stratified taste patterns. Ultimately the strict divisions between high-, middle-brow- and low culture, as they are being defined in Bourdieu's work, are no longer applicable in a study on taste and popular culture. Bourdieu's argument that economic capital is positively related to other forms of capital, such as cultural capital which

helps to reproduce social conditions from generation to generation, needs to be critically reviewed in the face of a value-free understanding of culture. Although this study, as other contemporary works in this vein, will show that social backgrounds and economic possibilities remain important as they enable or disable someone's access to certain channels of popular culture, lifestyles today are much more, although not always, perceived to cut across class boundaries, therefore shifting the focus to other identity traits such as gender, race and ethnicity. It is thus in line with other recent studies (Katz-Gerro 1999, Veenstra 2005, Tanner et al. 2008) exploring the relationship between forms of popular culture, especially music, and class, gender, race and ethnicity. These studies acknowledge the importance of Bourdieu's work while making propositions for extending its usefulness in the present-day.

The affiliation of this study with Bourdieu's quantitative approach towards questions of taste becomes clearer if one contrasts it with other work on youth and popular culture. Two recent publications on the punk (Basson 2007) and Hip Hop scenes (Haupt 2008) in South Africa use a more textual and qualitative approach studying a certain 'subculture' (Hebdige 1988) (understood as a form of resistance against mainstream popular culture) from 'within', following a tradition of cultural and media studies initiated in England in the 1970s at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. This article, while clearly influenced by and engaging with more textual analyses of youth culture, follows the more exploratory, quantitative route of cultural sociology not only to fill the gap for this kind of research in South Africa, but also, and more importantly, because it is the very segmentation of South Africa's youth culture along racial lines (exemplified by the two studies on 'white' punk and 'coloured' or 'black' Hip Hop) that justifies an objective view 'from above', and not 'from within'.

Notwithstanding the epistemological differences between the two approaches to research on youth culture, proponents of both strands often invoke 'the media' as a main influencer of youth values and tastes, yet seldom is any connection drawn to specific segments of the media in terms of form (e.g. radio, television, internet) and content (e.g. programming on SABC1, 5FM, MTV Base). In the South African case this vagueness appears largely unnecessary considering South Africa's deeply segregated mediascape (to borrow a term from Appadurai (1996)) that has been well-documented in words and numbers. For example, ten years ago Clive Barnett, writing about the broadcasting reform immediately after 1994, made a prophetic statement about the future of South Africa's media and its audiences:

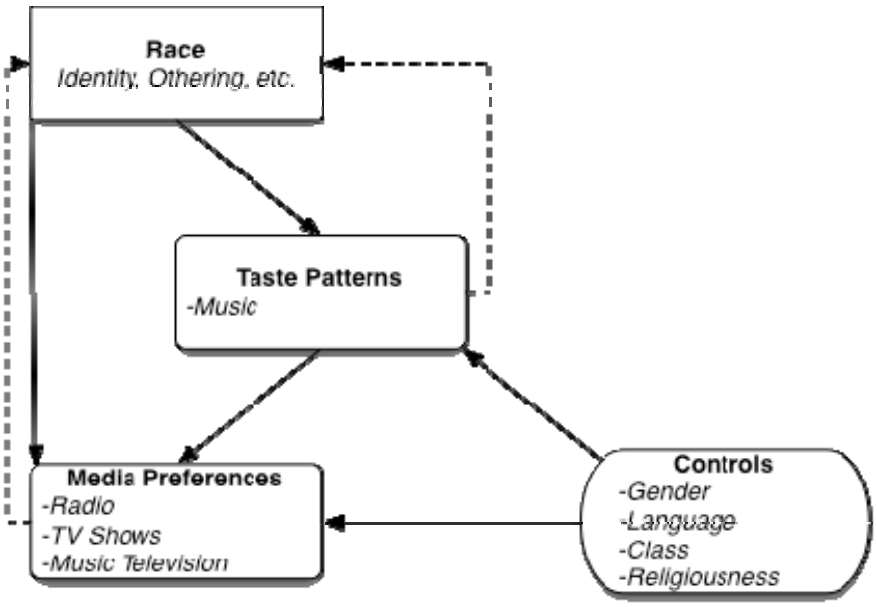
> “The end of apartheid and the re-regulation of broadcasting is bringing about a proliferation of media outlets at a faster pace than the growth

> of advertising expenditure. The result is the increasingly careful targeting of audience segments by advertisers, already an observable trend in the radio sector. One of the possible effects of the liberalisation of South African radio and television is an even greater degree of fragmentation of media audiences as broadcasting is transformed into commercially driven narrowcasting." (Barnett 1998: 566)

This commercialisation of the South African mediascape in the 1990s did not occur in isolation from the rest of the world but in accordance with global trends on a structural level with foreign-operated media corporations investing in South Africa (Teer-Tomaselli 2008) and through the ever-increasing influx of global cultural flows into South Africa. These phenomena are taken into account by the above mentioned authors in their accounts of South African youth culture, but what remains to be discussed is its consequence for the notion of an already unevenly globalised society that can be traced from colonialism (with a minority of the South African population envisioning their centres of 'selfhood' outside and the majority firmly within Africa) to today's digital divide due to the relative high costs associated with internet access restricting its usage to a small economic elite. The asymmetry of media access extends to other media forms such as satellite TV and is intersected by South Africa's rich cultural diversity and plethora of languages resulting in a commercially-driven narrowcasting of the South African public by the media (Teer-Tomaselli 2008: 86). For example major weekly magazines such as *You*, *Drum* and *Huisgenoot* share the same layout and a large portion of their contents but they appear in different languages (English and Afrikaans - notably not in an African language) and their stories and images are geared towards specific target markets (white faces in *Huisgenoot*, black faces in *Drum*). The question remains whether these processes are geared towards bringing South Africa's notoriously segregated society closer together or whether they only help to widen the gaps.

Based on these observations on race, media and youth culture in South Africa, the basic premise of this paper is that among young South Africans 'race' is increasingly associated with certain tastes in popular culture and lifestyles. By doing exploratory research on the relationships between race, taste and media, one should expect to find racialised taste patterns, here exemplified by music taste, as well as racialised media preferences. These themselves, according to the theory put forward in this paper, are partly a function of taste, as media companies are perceived to be targeting different audiences defined by taste. Ultimately this leads to a further normalisation of 'racialism' (or race-thinking) in the public sphere as certain music styles and certain media channels seem to fit almost 'naturally' into the cultural fabrics of separate population groups.

Diagram 1: 'Race' and Media Segmentation



This paper aims to test the theory outlined above by drawing on data collected among school-going youth in Cape Town in 2007 (Youth Culture Survey 2007, YCS). After an overview of the survey design, the first part of the analysis is concerned with the racial stratification of music tastes among the survey participants. Multivariate regression analysis (ordered logits) is used to test the theory that race plays a significant role in determining young South Africans' preferences for music (represented by four categories: American Hip Hop, American RnB/ American Pop, South African Hip Hop/Kwaito, South African Pop/Rock). The theory is supported by the results which show that race indeed acts as a significant predictive variable, even controlling for other factors such as gender, class, language and religiosity. The second part of the analysis looks at media fragmentation, first by using descriptive statistics based on the All Media and Product Survey 2007 (AMPS) as well as the YCS. This is followed by more regression analysis (probits) testing the relationship between race, taste and preferences for certain radio stations and music television channels, again using the same control variables. Data on preferences for regular TV channels is also examined, albeit only on a descriptive level. The results show that among the survey participants race plays a crucial role not only in determining someone's media preferences but also in shaping the degree to which she or he is prepared to embrace global cultural flows. Further investigation qualifies this essentialising statement by showing that uneven access to certain media, such as satellite TV and the internet, due to social-economic inequalities, peer effects and language preferences, also affect someone's taste preferences. It is further maintained that a quantitative approach alone might be appropriate for tracing broad trends of taste and popular culture but it is not suited to fully grasp

someone's reasons for making specific choices of taste on an individual level. The article concludes with a discussion of the findings from the survey analysis by contextualising them within current debates on the role of media in South African nation-building, which in the light of such findings appears more divisive than unifying.

2. Survey Design

2.1 Sample

Respondents were recruited from six public schools in the Greater Cape Town Metropolitan Area. The survey sought to include all 10th graders at all six schools as well as all of the 11th graders at two of the schools where there were too few 10th grade pupils. The survey thus aspired to be a census in selected grades in selected schools.

Table 1: Sample and Response Rate

School	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 10-11	Collected	Rate
Atlantic	113	87	200	175	87.5%
Northern Suburbs	181	153	334	186	55.7%
Southern Suburbs	216	0	216	180	83.3%
Cape Flats	276	0	276	207	75.0%
Khayelitsha	220	0	220	177	80.5%
Macassar	343	0	343	271	79.0%
		TOTAL	**1589**	**1196**	**75.3%**

Sampling took place at school level with the aim of having a stratified sample of schools in terms of racial composition and class. A list of secondary public schools in Cape Town was obtained from the Western Cape Education Department. In discussion with colleagues with experience in the education sector, a smaller number of these schools were shortlisted and roughly classified as either predominantly African, predominantly coloured or predominantly white (in terms of student population) and then sub-divided into more and less expensive schools (based on the school fees relative to the group's average). One school in each group was then randomly chosen for the survey. Despite these measures the survey is not representative for all schools or even of all 10th and 11th graders in Cape Town because of the small sample size of only six schools. Also, the data has not been weighted to change the balance between the six

schools. In order to achieve greater representativeness sampling on an individual level would have been necessary with the risk of losing insights into the effect of schooling on race and taste, which are considered crucial for the questions at hand. The other reason to pursue the school-sampling strategy was to ensure easy and reliable access to a relatively large number of youth through the schools, thus facilitating follow-up research in the form of focus-group interviews and later surveys.

The following table and paragraphs give a descriptive summary of the six selected schools, according to the racial and class[1] composition of their pupils.

Table 2: Race and Class by School

	Atlantic*	**Flats**	**Macassar**	**Northern ***	**Southern**	**Khayelitsha**	**Total**
				Race			
African/Black	13.1%	5.3%	85.6%	8.6%	3.9%	89.8%	37.5%
Coloured	21.7%	80.2%	4.8%	30.7%	72.2%	1.7%	34.0%
White	50.9%	2.9%	3.7%	44.1%	11.1%	4.0%	17.9%
(missing)[2]	14.3%	11.6%	5.9%	16.7%	12.8%	4.5%	10.6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
				Class			
Very Low	4.6%	0.5%	28.8%	4.3%	2.8%	44.1%	14.9%
Low	1.7%	10.6%	49.8%	5.4%	3.3%	45.2%	21.4%
Medium	6.3%	58.9%	17.0%	11.3%	19.4%	4.0%	20.2%
High	25.7%	28.0%	4.1%	11.8%	61.7%	5.1%	21.4%
Very High	61.7%	1.9%	0.4%	66.7%	12.8%	1.1%	21.9%
(missing)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.6%	0.2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	175	207	271	186	180	177	1,196

*including 10th and 11th graders

The six schools included in the sample span much of the spectra of race and class in contemporary Cape Town and the distributions in Table 2 illustrate the ongoing association between class and race in post-apartheid South Africa as a result of apartheid. But the numbers depicted above also speak of the changing nature of this relationship and the increasing inequality within the different race

[1] For a definition of the class variable used in this study see page 15.

[2] The relatively high percentages of missing values are partly explainable by the way the Race variable is being compiled, as it does not (or only partially) account for respondents who categorise themselves as either 'Indian', 'Other' or 'Refuse'. However, one needs to pay attention to the fact that learners at relatively heterogeneous schools (in terms of race) are more hesitant to classify themselves racially than learners at relatively homogeneous schools. One can assume that adolescents at mixed schools are more sensitive towards race questions but further analysis would be necessary to warrant this claim.

groups, thus blurring and blending the colours of social division in South Africa (Seekings and Nattrass 2005). For example, the sample distributions show a sizable proportion of black students at a middle-/upper-class school like Atlantic High. While some of these learners are not necessarily coming from a middle- or upper-class background and are only able to attend the school by means of a scholarship or some other form of sponsorship, there are still a number of black students who live in the same neighbourhoods and under the same living conditions as well-off white or coloured students. Even more pronounced is the heterogeneity of the group of coloured survey participants who can be found in virtually all social strata.

But the increasing complexity of the class/race relationship in South Africa and Cape Town also makes it difficult to capture all of its hues and shades in a small sample of six schools. One important missing puzzle piece is private schools which were not included in the sample. These are attended primarily by students from affluent white families, but also by coloured and black schoolchildren whose parents are sceptical of a perceived influx of students from weaker social backgrounds at formerly "good" public schools. Further, Afrikaans-speaking white youth are probably underrepresented in the sample. However, the language variable used in the analyses does not reflect language proficiency but language preference and in fact there is a significantly higher proportion of white students with one or both parents being native Afrikaans-speakers (and presumably being Afrikaans-speakers themselves) than those preferring Afrikaans over any other language (including English). While in the analysis reference is made to the link between language, media preferences and taste patterns, it would be interesting to examine to what extent the shift towards English (which can also be observed for African and coloured respondents) is a function of increased exposure to global popular culture and English-language media. Finally, one needs to mention the scarcity of very poor coloured respondents in the sample. Notwithstanding the fact that many coloured respondents, especially from Flats High, come from rather poor social backgrounds, there are only a few participants who come from the really destitute parts of the coloured areas on the Cape Flats associated with very high levels of unemployment and crime.

The following paragraphs are intended to give more vivid descriptions of the schools and the neighbourhoods that surround them.

Atlantic High

Atlantic High is situated in one of Cape Town's wealthier areas close to the Atlantic seaboard and not too far from the city centre. It is a predominantly white area well accessed by tourists and mostly European foreigners. Although Atlantic High is, like the other schools in the sample, a public school, its annual school fees are at the top end of the spectrum, comparable with those of expensive private schools, and significantly higher than at the other schools included in the study. Accordingly, to a visitor, the school premises and facilities seem to be of a very high standard in general and especially in relation to those of the poorer schools in the sample.

Atlantic High is a former 'Model C' school, which means that it is one of apartheid's historically white schools receiving better funding than non-white schools. After 1994 Atlantic High, like the other former Model C schools, experienced an influx of non-white students from less privileged areas. This happened partly due to the 1996 South Africa Schools Act which provided fee exemptions for low-income parents in an attempt to desegregate the school system. At the same time, parents made use of the now open school system in order to ensure a better future for their children by sending them to what were perceived as "better schools". This trend occurred throughout all levels of the school system, as described by Jane Battersby (2004: 80):

> “Parents from historically disadvantaged communities in the city send their children to Model C schools, usually at considerable cost, even if they are on reduced fees, because they believe it will provide their children with opportunities they themselves did not have, opportunities to be counted equal with white children on entering the workforce. These schools represent high quality teaching, better discipline, safety; a chance to better oneself through one’s children. This phenomenon is not limited to Model C schools. Children from black African communities are sent to historically coloured schools, children from poor and gang-ridden coloured communities are sent to schools in wealthier coloured suburbs, filling the gaps left by children from these areas leaving to go to Model C schools.”

This shift in the South African school system left Atlantic High's student body much more diverse in terms of race and class than during apartheid, even if white students still predominate (in term of numbers). Comparing Atlantic High's student body to those of the other schools (apart from Northern Suburbs High) in the sample, Atlantic High's composition of learners in terms of race and

class is indeed quite mixed (see Table 2 on page 9).[3]

Northern High

Northern Suburbs High is the school with the second highest school fees and represents the second of the three former Model 'C' schools in the sample. The school is located at the Atlantic seaside between the city centre and Cape Town's Northern Suburbs, a decisively Afrikaans area of Cape Town. Because of its location and efforts of desegregation, Northern Suburbs High draws a similarly racially diverse student population as Atlantic High (although with a greater proportion of coloured students) and is even more diverse in terms of class, which is especially true for the white students, who, at Northern Suburbs High, are more likely to come from a 'working class' or lower middle-class background than at Atlantic High. In Table 2 on page 9 this is reflected by a larger proportion of learners living under 'medium' conditions than 'good' or 'very good' ones.

Southern High

If one compares Atlantic High or Northern High with the third historically white school in the sample, Southern High, the biggest difference between the two is the much larger proportion of coloured students there; today almost two-third of the sample at Southern High are coloured and only about ten percent are white. This can be partly explained by the schools proximity to the coloured residential neighbourhoods on the Cape Flats, just across the highway that divides these historically coloured areas from the formerly white areas in the Southern Suburbs. It is also an example of the broader shift in South Africa's school system after 1994, where the intake of non-white learners into a formerly white school would cause many parents of white children to send their offspring to other, even more expensive schools, as, to them, the increasing number of non-white learners at the old school would be perceived as a 'down-grading' of that school (Battersby 2003). The result in this case is then that a formerly homogeneous white school has become an almost homogeneous coloured school - i.e. an unintended and paradoxical outcome for a process of 'desegregation'.

The consequence is that today, at least by looking at the racial composition of the respective sub-samples, Southern High seems to be more similar to Cape

[3] In the digital version of this paper cross-references are clickable and linked to their respective references.

Flats High, a historically coloured school, than to the other two formerly white schools. This is noteworthy for various reasons. First, to the visitor, the general impression of the two school premises could not be much more distinct in comparison. Whereas Cape Flats High is housed in a simple one-storey brick construction next to an open field, Southern High's driveway, flanked by old trees and a green lawn, is leading to an impressive ivy-clad building emanating the image of an old English boy's school. This difference in appearance is even more accentuated by the spatial proximity between the two schools which are only about five minutes apart by car on the very highway that separates them. The separation is also reflected in the survey results by the fact that a considerable proportion of students at Southern Suburbs High lives on the historically 'white' side of the highway and enjoys better living conditions compared to learners at Flats High who almost all live in neighbourhoods reserved for coloured residents under apartheid.

Flats High

Flats High is a historically 'coloured' school located at the border between the Southern Suburbs and the Cape Flats. Its school fees are significantly lower than that at the other schools described so far and much closer to those at the two township schools in the sample. Most of the parents of the children at Flats High are blue-collar workers living in nearby neighbourhoods marked by relative high unemployment. What generally distinguishes Flats High from the other schools is that it is a dual medium school, which means that learners can choose to be instructed in either English or Afrikaans. Accordingly the survey results show that there is a higher proportion of students choosing Afrikaans as their preferred language than at the other schools, although this proportion is still modest given the fact that almost nine out of ten (84%) respondents at Flats High indicate that at least one of their parents speaks Afrikaans but more than half (59%) of those respondents choose English over Afrikaans as their preferred language.

Khayelitsha High

Khayelitsha High is located in the southern part of Khayelitsha. Despite the relative poverty of its neighbourhood with high unemployment and poor public service delivery, to the visitor the school seems to fare better than many other township schools (including Macassar High, see below). The school opened only a few years ago and therefore the building and classroom facilities seem to be in the same or even better condition than at Flats High. Also, the numerous

academic achievement awards in the entrance hall, the perceived cleanliness of the premises and the impression that the respondents at Khayelitsha High seem to be more fluent and comfortable to speak in English (9% prefer it over other languages - usually Xhosa) than their counterparts at Macassar High (where only 2% show a preference for English) contribute to the feeling that this school offers a better learning environment than other schools in the area. But this sense of relative privilege is not necessarily reflected in the social backgrounds of the respondents' families. Based on the survey results their average living conditions are even below those of Macassar High respondents and their parents' job situations do not seem to differ much from those at Macassar High with about nine out of ten having at least one parent in informal or low-skills employment and the rest being unemployed.

Macassar High

Macassar High is the largest school included in the study and provides the largest number of survey participants (271 out of 1196; 23%), although only 10th graders were included. It is also the school with the lowest school fees. To the visitor the school premises do not look overly destitute on first sight. Yet the lack and poor condition of classroom facilities such as chairs, tables, educational posters on the wall and often even doors separating the classroom from the noisy hallways as well as the large class sizes are clear signs that a lack of resources is negatively affecting the learning environment there. As has been noted earlier, the respondents from Macassar High do not distinguish themselves distinctively from Khayelitsha High students in terms of race and class. One difference though, apart from (yet related to) language preferences, lies in the birthplaces of respondents: both schools cater for large groups of Xhosa-speaking economic migrant families from the Eastern Cape, but the proportion of respondents at Macassar High who were born outside Cape Town (presumably in the Eastern Cape) is almost half of the total sub-sample (47%) opposed to just over one-third (37%) at Khayelitsha High.

2.2 Variables

The statistical analysis in this paper consists largely of multivariate regressions using the same set of variables from the Youth Culture Survey as predictors: race, language, class, religion and gender.

'Race'

The 'race' variable used in the analysis is a composite of two 'subjective' and 'objective' questions asked in the survey[4]:

a) When you think about race, how do you classify yourself?
b) How do other people see you?

For both questions respondents could tick 'African', 'Coloured', 'White', 'Black', 'Indian', 'I refuse to define myself or others in racial terms' or 'Other' and the option to give their own description. In the consolidated variable those respondents who answered 'Black', 'Coloured' or 'White' to the first question ("How do you see yourself?"), are coded according to the first question. Those who responded with 'African' or 'Refuse ' and 'African', 'Coloured', 'White' or 'Black' to the second question ("How do others see you?") are coded according to the second question. Then 'African' and 'Black' are grouped into 'African/Black'. The rest of the cases are treated as missing as for the sake of clarity only 'African/Black', 'Coloured' and 'White' were used in the regression analyses.

Class

In this study, 'class' is used synonymously with 'living condition', since the nature of the survey allows only for limited information about the respondents' actual social-economic situation. Data about the employment of their parents was collected, but it is very subjective and partly incoherent. Moreover, there is no data on household income, which would have helped in compiling an actual class variable. Instead some useful questions were asked about the respondents' living conditions, such as the ratio of people per room at residence and access to public services (water, electricity, sanitation). This information was combined in a composite class variable with census data on neighbourhood level with respect to the respondents' residential areas (Romanovsky and Gie 2006).

Language

The respondents were asked to give their preferred language, i.e. the language in which they think and dream, out of a list including all of South Africa's official languages and some general categories (e.g. 'other European language' and 'other

[4] Please note that there is a high degree of consistency in self-identification and self-reported description by others in post-apartheid Cape Town (Seekings 2008: 6).

(South) African language). Almost all respondents (98%) chose one of the three major languages in the Western Cape: Afrikaans, English or Xhosa. For the analyses only these three languages were taken into account, each with its own binary variable.

Religion and Gender

In the questionnaire respondents were asked to indicate the importance of their religion to them on a scale between 1 (not at all important) to 5 (very important). The religion variable used in the regressions is a binary taking the value of '1' if the respondents values her or his religion as important or very important. Gender is coded in the binary variable 'Male'.

3. Musical Divide

Both in the All Media and Product Survey and the Youth Culture Survey respondents were asked the same multiple-choice question about their favourite music styles. Although the Youth Culture Survey question offered more possible answers than the one posed in the AMPS, the results for the most popular choices do corroborate, as the following two charts show.

Chart 1: Music taste by Race, AMPS 2007 Data (Cape Town, 16-24 years)

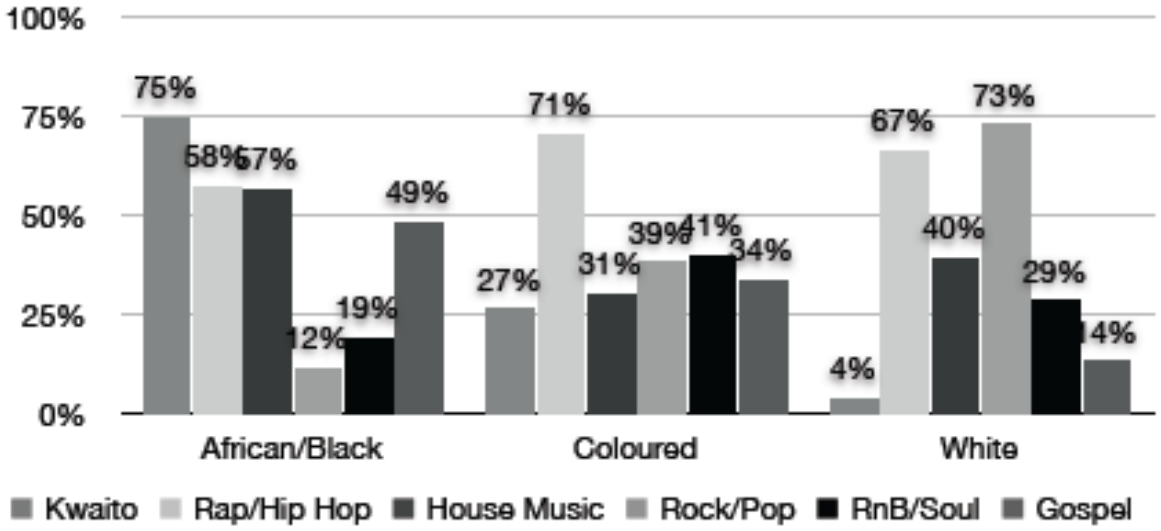


Chart 2: Music taste by Race, YCS 2007 Data

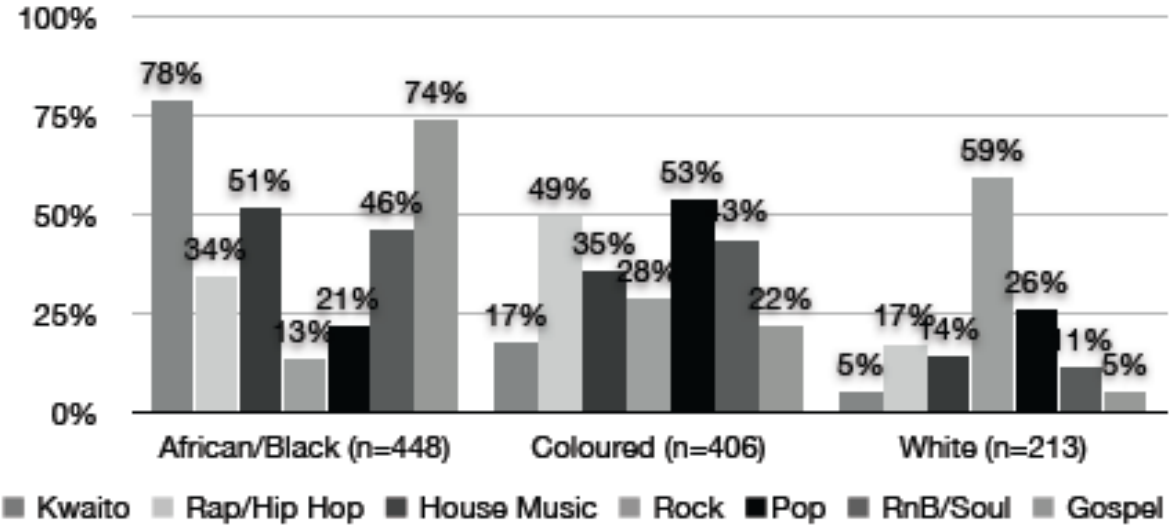


Chart 1 and Chart 2 give an indication of the extent to which different music tastes are associated with certain population groups among youth and adults in Cape Town. While some genres (Hip Hop and House) seem to be more appealing to a more diverse audience than others, one can nevertheless identify clear relationships between race and certain music genres.

Yet these results need to be treated with caution. The genres used are broad and the distinctions between them are often vague. This is especially true for House music which incorporates and influences many other electronic music styles, such as Kwaito and Trance (which was also included in the list of possible answers). In general most of these broad classifications can be re-classified into more refined sub-categories or at least according to their origin (South African/non-South African). Further, in both surveys the question allows for multiple choices, which makes it easy for respondents to make light-minded selections, especially for those who like to say that they "like a bit of everything", even if they tend to listen to one kind of music much more frequently than others.

For those reasons the Youth Culture Survey included a second, more complex measure of music taste by asking respondents to rate a total of 42 bands and musicians with scores between 1 ("Awful!") and 5 ("I love that stuff!"). The list of artists was compiled using current music charts and feedback from a pilot study, and incorporates local and international artists which were classified according to genres (see Table 3 below). For each genre a composite variable was compiled by calculating the mean for all (non-missing) artists in that group. In order to account for missing values (implying that the respondent does not know the respective band or singer) the resulting values for each genre were multiplied by the square root of the ratio between the number of bands the

respondent attributed scores to in that genre (the "non-missing" values) and the total number of bands in that group.[5] The resulting values were then cut into five groups (the interval being the maximum value minus the minimum value divided by four), thus producing ordinal variables taking values from 1 (very low preference for genre) to 5 (very high preference). Respondents who did not give scores to any of the bands of a certain genre but who rated other bands outside of that genre were then given the lowest value for that music category, assuming that someone who does not know any of the bands of a genre generally does not like it very much. Those respondents who did not rate any of the bands in the whole list (23 cases) were given missing values across all music categories.

Table 3: Music Genres by Bands and Musicians

Genre	Bands/Musicians
American Hip Hop	50 Cent, Eminem, Kanye West, Pharell, Run DMC, Timbaland, Tupac Shakur
American Pop/RnB	Gwen Stefani, Kelly Clarkson, Black Eyed Peas, Beyonce, John Legend, Justin Timberlake, Mary J Blige, R. Kelly, Rihanna
South African Hip Hop/Kwaito	Bongo Muffin, Brasse van die Kaap, Driemanskap, Godessa, Pitch Black Afro, Skwatta Kamp, Tumi, DJ Sbu, Kelly Khumalo, Mafikizolo, Ntando, Zola
Rock/South African Pop	Bloc Party, Green Day, Linkin Park, Beatles, The White Stripes, The Dirty Skirts, Fokofpolisiekar, Just Ginger, Springbok Nude Girls, The Rudimentals, Danny K, Freshlyground, Karin Kortje

As the composite taste variables are themselves basically just the product of ordinal values and thus ordinal themselves, ordered logistic multivariate regression was used for analysing their relationship with the independent variables. An ordered logistic regression (ologit) basically consists of a series of logits, stepwise (starting with the lowest level) grouping the individual levels of the dependent variable y and comparing them with the group of higher scores. In the case of a five-scale score as the ones used in the taste regressions, there are four logits interpreting the dependent variable as follows:

1) y=1 or y>1
2) y<=2 or y>2
3) y<=3 or y>3
4) y<=4 or y=5

[5] For example: a respondent gave Eminem 5 points but did not rate at all any of the other American Hip Hop artists (see Table 3 on the next page). His or her overall score x for the overall American Hip Hop genre would therefore be x=sqrt(1/7)×5=1.9. For someone who rated all American Hip Hop artists with 5 the equation would be x=sqrt(7/7)×5=5.

Unlike linear regressions, ologits do not require the distribution of dependent variables to be normal. There is, however, another assumption underlying ologits, which is called the Parallel Lines Assumption (PLA) (also commonly referred to the Proportionality of Odds Assumption) which basically states that the coefficients for each variable should remain fairly the same across all logits. This assumption is often difficult to meet using attitudinal data as respondents often tend to express their opinions through "extreme" values; e.g. in the case of rating music bands young respondents are rather inclined to say that they really like or do not like a certain band instead of 'neither/nor'. It is for this reason that one of the ologits presented in Table 5 (South African Hip Hop/Kwaito) does violate the PLA. While this casts a shadow of doubt on the usefulness of the coefficients and the Pseudo R^2 for that model, the strong significance of the race and language variables can nonetheless be deemed to be valid given the strong bivariate correlation between that genre and black and Xhosa, respectively.

Table 4: Music Tastes: USA Hip Hop, USA Pop/RnB

	USA Hip Hop			**USA Pop/RnB**	
	Race	*Race with Controls*		*Race*	*Race with Controls*
Race: African	-0.926***	-0.679**	*Race: African*	0.0589	0.164
	(0.000)	(0.006)		(0.646)	(0.518)
(Race: Coloured)[6]			*(Race: Coloured)*		
Race: White	-1.649***	-1.654***	*Race: White*	-1.558***	-1.122***
	(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)
(Language: English)			*(Language: English)*		
Language: Xhosa		-0.547*	*Language: Xhosa*		-0.468
		(0.035)			(0.082)
Language: Afrikaans		-0.975***	*Language: Afrikaans*		-0.540*
		(0.000)			(0.041)
Male		0.976***	*Male*		-0.888***
		(0.000)			(0.000)
Class		0.0123	*Class*		-0.155*
		(0.852)			(0.022)
Religion		0.367*	*Religion*		0.709***
		(0.041)			(0.000)
Observations	1051	882	*Observations*	1051	882
Pseudo R-squared	0.039	0.066	*Pseudo R-squared*	0.041	0.060
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 Variables in brackets () are omitted categorical variables.					

[6] Please note that the racial category with the highest mean score for the respective genre was used as the base for the race variables in the taste regressions (see Table 20 on page in the appendix for mean scores).

The results for American Pop and RnB were anticipated to be more ambiguous as RnB, a quintessentially 'black' music style, could be expected to attract a sizeable African as well as coloured audience. Moreover, American Pop is such a broadly defined category that one could not necessarily expect to find a strong link between it and one single racial group. The actual numbers confirm these assumptions. White respondents are significantly less positive about these music genres compared to African or coloured respondents, but the dividing line between coloured and black respondents is blurred and one cannot speak of a statistically significant difference between those two groups' preference for American Pop and RnB.

Two points can be made on the inclusion of control variables in those regressions. The most important is the significance of gender, as the numbers show that, generally speaking, boys favour American Hip Hop while the girls prefer Pop and RnB. Looking at the selection of artists for each genre (see Table 3 on page 18) one can see that this pattern reflects the gender of the artists themselves; all the American Rappers used in the survey a male and almost all RnB and Pop artists are female. As both groups' members are also almost all black, these results can be used as another argument against the idea of music taste as a matter of personal preference in favour of a conceptualisation of music taste that focuses on the power of identity markers such as race and gender in structuring young people's affiliations with certain music genres and the youth cultures associated with them.

The other noteworthy observation on the control variables is about the language factor. Generally speaking, having a preference for speaking English, opposed to Afrikaans or Xhosa (at least when it comes to American Hip Hop), is a strong predictor for being in favour of American music. This finding is especially interesting in the case of coloured respondents, who in the survey sample represent the great majority of Afrikaans-speakers, and black respondents, the Xhosa speakers in the sample. One can conclude from the regression results that a real divide, in terms of music preferences, exists between English-preferring coloured and black respondents and their Afrikaans- or Xhosa-preferring counterparts.

Table 5: Music Tastes: SA Hip Hop/Kwaito, Rock/SA Pop

	SA Hip Hop/Kwaito			**Rock/SA Pop**	
	Race	*Race with Controls*		*Race*	*Race with Controls*
(Race: African)			*Race: African*	-1.709***	-1.143***
				(0.000)	(0.000)
Race: Coloured	-3.361***	-1.263***	*Race: Coloured*	-1.557***	-1.545***
	(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)
Race: White	-4.189***	-2.152***	*(Race: White)*		
	(0.000)	(0.000)			
Language: English		-2.276***	*(Language: English)*		
		(0.000)			
(Language: Xhosa)			*Language: Xhosa*		-1.022***
					(0.000)
Language: Afrikaans (1)			*Language: Afrikaans (1)*		
Male		0.0660	*Male*		0.0196
		(0.624)			(0.882)
Class		-0.218**	*Class*		-0.118
		(0.002)			(0.076)
Religion		0.297	*Religion*		0.0508
		(0.115)			(0.785)
Observations	1051	823	*Observations*	1051	823
Pseudo R-squared	0.213	0.257	*Pseudo R-squared*	0.043	0.046

p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001
Variables in brackets () are omitted categorical variables.
(1) Please note that cross-tabulating the Afrikaans-variable with the two taste variables showed empty cells. Therefore Afrikaans-preferring respondents have been dropped from both regressions.

Hip Hop in South Africa has its roots in the coloured Cape Flats and today some of the biggest Hip Hop bands still originate from there. Nonetheless preliminary analysis showed that the coloured kids in our sample rather prefer American over South African Hip Hop and African kids were the ones which showed the strongest support for local groups. This is why local Hip Hop has been grouped with Kwaito, the type of music most closely associated with post-apartheid black youth culture. The results confirm the impression gained from simple cross-tabulation -being black, and the socio-cultural indicators associated with being black in the sample (speaking Xhosa and being relatively poor)- count as strong positive predictors for favouring Kwaito and local Hip Hop.

As one would expect a very different picture emerges regarding Rock and local Pop music. Although local Pop is a similarly vague category as American Pop the results in respect to race are clear; black and coloured respondents did not

rate these bands very high in relation to their white peers. The exclusion of Afrikaans-preferring participants does have an effect on the coefficients resulting from this regression, but not on their signs or their significance as preliminary analysis has shown that coloured respondents, English- or Afrikaans-preferring, generally show little interest in Rock or local Pop music. Correspondingly Xhosa shows significant negative predictive value for this kind of music.

Overall one needs to mention the weak predictive value of all four models in face of their low pseudo-R^2 values.[7] Nevertheless, the results generally support the theory outlined at the beginning of this paper; even controlling for gender, language, class and religion, race emerges as a strong predictor for someone's music taste.

4. Media Fragmentation

According to the theory outlined in the introduction one should expect to find a correlation between the racialised taste patterns described in the preceding section and media usage among young Capetonians. In this section data on media audience behaviour from the YCS is examined, and relationships between media preferences, race and taste tested by means of multivariate regression analysis.

YCS data can be compared with secondary data on media audience behaviour in South Africa from the annual report of the All Media and Product Survey (AMPS)[8]. AMPS uses objective methods such as 'peoplemeters' and diaries to measure actual viewing and listening behaviour; as one individual is likely to listen/watch more radio and TV channels than just a single one, the results need to be treated as multiple choice. In the youth culture survey, on the other hand, respondents are asked to name their preferred or 'favourite' radio-, TV-, and music television through single-ended questions. Another crucial factor differentiating the two surveys is the samples. The AMPS numbers are based on a representative sample of Capetonians older than 18 years. The Youth Culture Survey sample consists of mostly 15-18 years old youth and is only representative of the population of 10 and/or 11th graders at the six schools where the data has been collected. Despite these differences the findings from

[7] The R^2-value for South African Hip Hop/Kwaito is inaccurate, as the model violates the Parallel Lines Assumption (see page 19).

[8] For detailed information about the survey please visit the website of the South African Advertising Research Foundation: www.saarf.co.za.

the two surveys in regard to media preferences largely concur as the following compilation of charts demonstrates.

Chart 3: Radio stations listened to in the past 7 days by Race, AMPS 2007 Data[9]

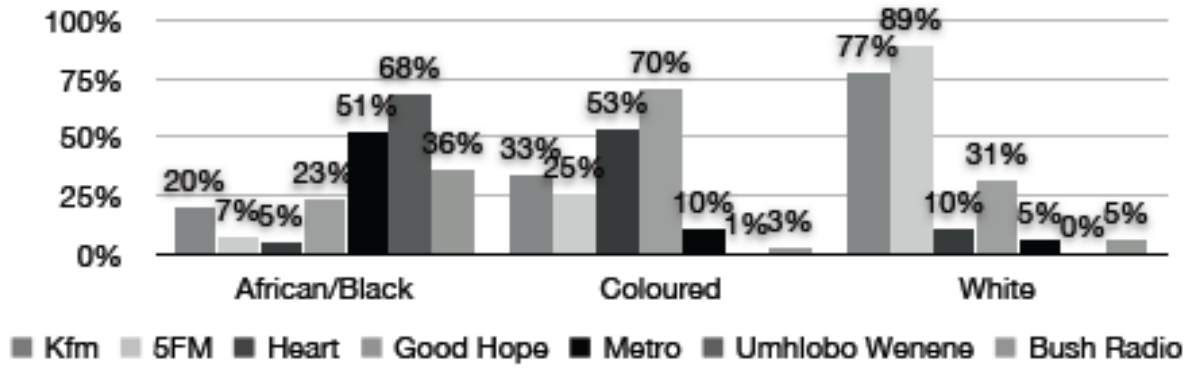


Chart 4: TV channels watched yesterday by Race, AMPS 2007 Data

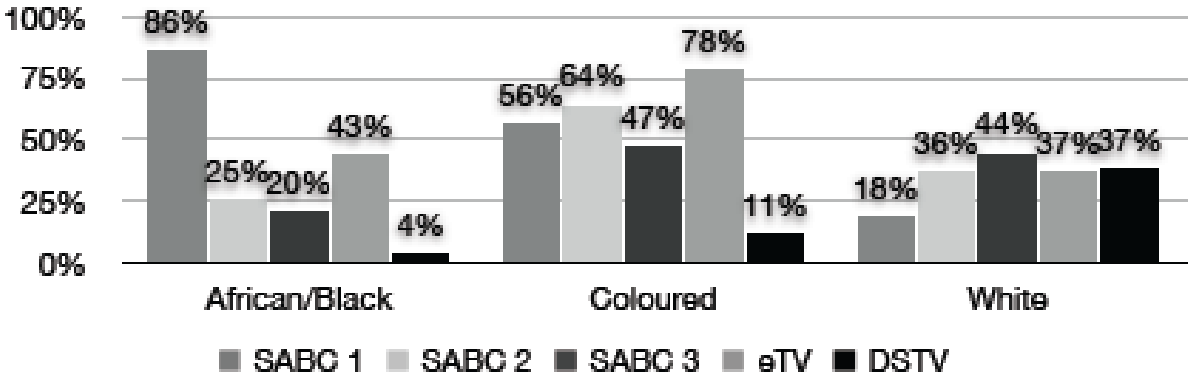
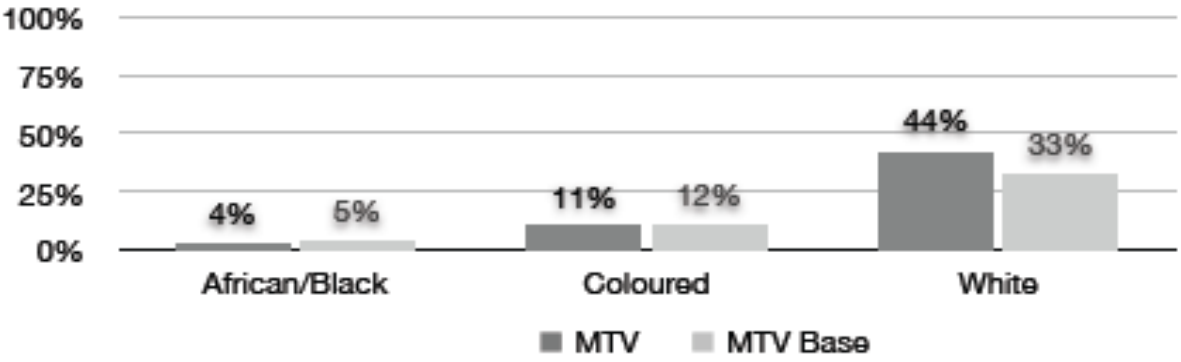


Chart 5: Music television channels watched in the last 4 weeks by Race, AMPS 2007 Data[10]



[9] All AMPS results in this paper are based on weighted data (African/Black: n=43469, Coloured: n=105714, White: n=26215) for 16-19 years old black, coloured and white residents of Cape Town.

[10] AMPS data available only for MTV and MTV Base.

Chart 6: Favourite radio station by Race, YCS 2007 Data

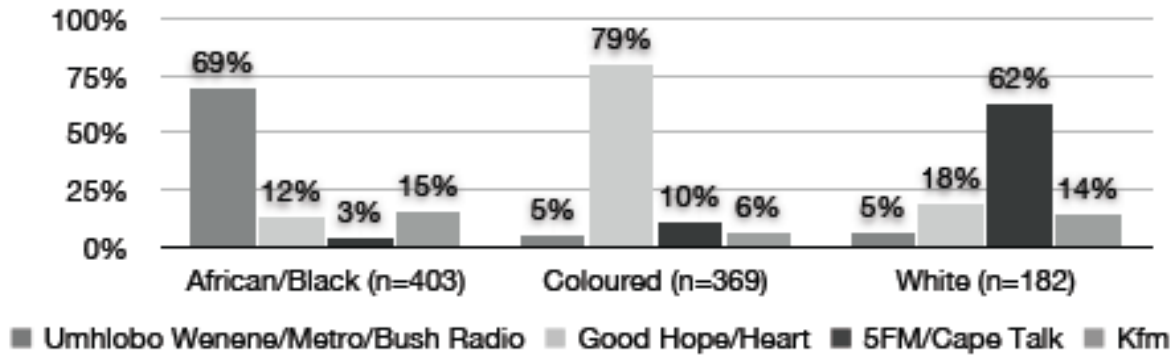


Chart 7: Favourite TV station, YCS 2007 Data

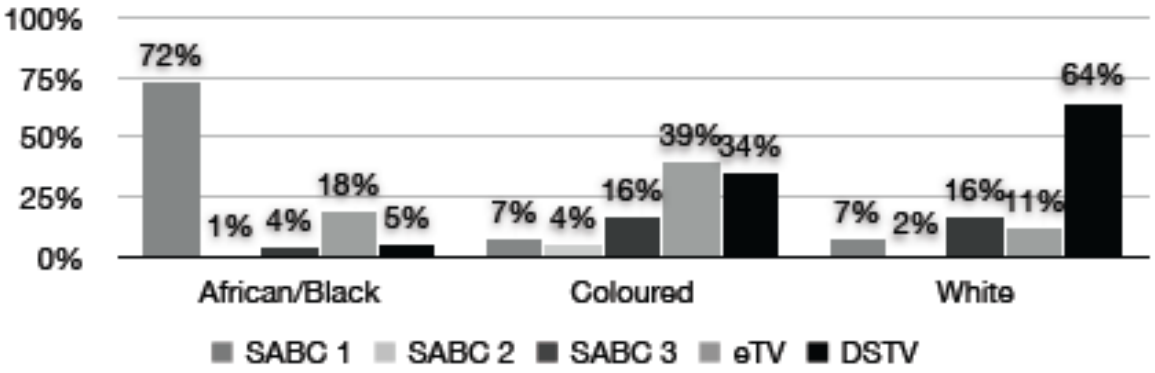
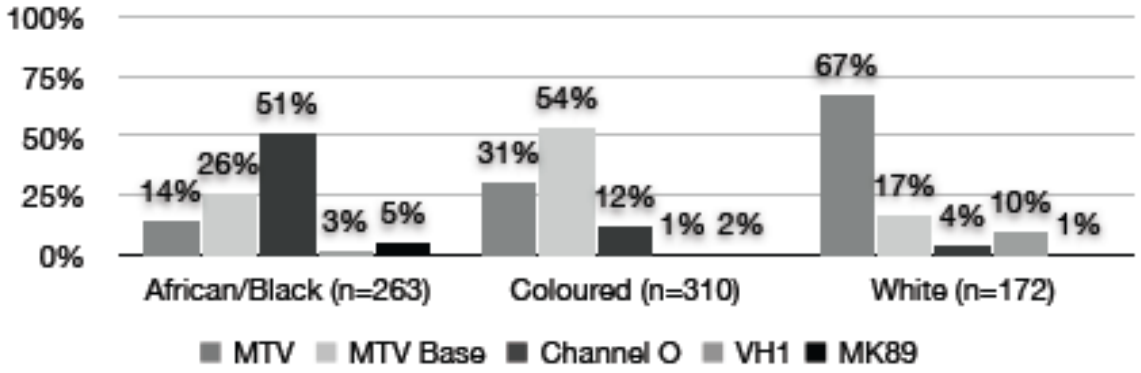


Chart 8: Favourite music television channel, YCS 2007 Data



The clear differences in media usage and preference between the different populations can be argued to stem at least partly from language preferences. This is particularly true for the national broadcast channels (SABC 1 to 3), which cater for different language groups, and the radio station Umhlobo Wenene which is Xhosa. But beyond that one can safely assume that it is the actual content of these radio and TV channels which attract different audiences. So do Umhlobo Wenene, Bush Radio and Metro FM, the favourite radio stations

among black youth, mostly play local and global Hip Hop as well as Kwaito, a music genre closely associated with post-apartheid black youth culture (also known as Y-Culture). 5FM, the radio station preferred by white kids, plays a lot of American Pop and Rock music, and Good Hope FM, number one radio station among coloured kids, has a lot of American RnB on its playlists.

The same pattern can be observed for music television. Many African respondents prefer Channel O, a channel based in Africa which mixes international RnB and Hip Hop with local African talent. However, a relatively large proportion of African respondents do not give preference to any of the channels - which might be explained by the fact that music television in South Africa is only accessible through expensive satellite TV. The majority of white respondents, who are generally financially better off than their African counterparts, choose MTV, which is playing almost only European and American music videos, as their favourite music channel, while almost half of the coloured respondents show preference for MTV's African offshoot MTV Base with its strong focus on RnB and Hip Hop by international as well as African artists.

As mentioned before, explaining the fragmentation of TV audiences merely through content is more complicated, as SABC's commitment to cater for all major South African language groups intersects the racial aspect of differentiation. Nonetheless, significant differences between population groups can be observed, if one looks at the distinction between local and international formats. The majority of African respondents prefer SABC 1, which broadcasts mostly in African languages, including Xhosa, the predominant language among Africans in Cape Town. Accordingly, if language would really be the decisive factor in someone's preference for a certain TV-channel, then one would expect a relative strong preference for SABC 2 among coloured and, to a lesser degree, white respondents, as most Afrikaans broadcasts are on that channel. The actual results, however, show that SABC2 is the least favourite TV-channel among both groups, and the English-only channels are strongly preferred. These channels include SABC 3, eTV (South Africa's only free privately-owned TV-station) and satellite TV which registers especially strong with a white audience. Apart from language these channels have in common a strong focus on international, especially American programmes, such as sitcoms, series and Hollywood blockbusters.

Radio Stations

Table 6: Radio Stations: Umhlobo Wenene/Metro FM/Bush Radio

	Umhlobo Wenene/Metro FM/Bush Radio					
	Race	*Taste*	*Race with Taste*	*Race with Controls*	*Taste with Controls*	*All*
Race: African	1.992***		1.056***	0.761**		0.594*
	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.004)		(0.043)
Race: Coloured	-0.0739		-0.180	0.0163		0.0318
	(0.691)		(0.443)	(0.955)		(0.921)
(Race: White)						
Taste: USA Hip Hop		-0.156**	-0.0547		0.0172	0.0490
		(0.005)	(0.381)		(0.819)	(0.543)
Taste: USA Pop/RnB		-0.238***	-0.238**		-0.262**	-0.281**
		(0.000)	(0.001)		(0.003)	(0.002)
Taste: SA Hip Hop/Kwaito		0.954***	0.628***		0.384***	0.342***
		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)
Taste: Rock/SA Pop		-0.453***	-0.344***		-0.180*	-0.174*
		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.029)	(0.048)
Language: English				-0.304	-0.131	-0.281
				(0.337)	(0.689)	(0.420)
Language: Xhosa				1.374***	1.501***	1.027**
				(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.006)
(Language: Afrikaans)						
Male				-0.0262	-0.0556	-0.114
				(0.830)	(0.687)	(0.431)
Religion				0.000883	-0.0258	0.00697
				(0.996)	(0.885)	(0.970)
Class				-0.151*	-0.147*	-0.161**
				(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.009)
Constant	-1.650***	-1.027***	-1.188***	-1.280**	-0.779	-0.715
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.005)	(0.090)	(0.187)
Observations	1040	1137	1023	875	940	860
Pseudo R-squared	0.368	0.393	0.446	0.476	0.492	0.494
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 Variables in brackets () are omitted categorical variables.						

The results shown in Table 6 support the assumption that the preference for a radio station commonly associated with 'black' music and listeners is indeed determined to a large part by someone's race and music taste; compared to white and coloured respondents, African respondents are significantly more likely to choose one of the three radio stations -Umhlobo Wenene, Metro FM or Bush Radio- as are those respondents who like South African Hip Hop and Kwaito, the music genres most closely associated with African respondents.

Including the control variables shows two things: 1) poorer respondents are significantly less likely to listen to the three radio stations, and 2) overall the strongest predictor is someone's preferred language, which is not surprising given that Umhlobo Wenene, the most popular station among African respondents, broadcasts only in Xhosa. Nonetheless, race and taste both remain significant predictors even if included together in the same regression with controls such as the Xhosa-language variable.

The results for Good Hope FM and Heart FM in Table 7 further support our theory; not only are coloured respondents more likely to be in favour of these stations than their white or African peers, but also those who show interest in music strongly associated with colouredness, namely US American Hip Hop, Pop and RnB.

Yet again one needs to pay special attention to the language factor. Generally Xhosa-speaking respondents are much less likely to listen to Good Hope FM and Heart FM than those who prefer English or Afrikaans (which is almost exclusively spoken by coloured respondents). Interestingly, if one excludes the language variables and the other control variables, one cannot tell from the regressions whether African respondents, who represent virtually all Xhosa-speakers, are significantly less or more likely to listen to these stations than their white peers. This however changes completely if one includes the race and control variables; now being African becomes a significant positive predictor. Adding to this model the taste variables changes the role of the African race variable once more; it becomes non-significant again. This could point to a division between African Xhosa-speakers, who prefer to listen to radio programmes largely in Xhosa, and African English-speakers who prefer programmes in English, even if the stations broadcasting in English do not necessarily play their favourite music.

Table 7: Radio Stations: Good Hope FM/Heart FM

	Good Hope FM/Heart FM					
	Race	**Taste**	**Race with Taste**	**Race with Controls**	**Taste with Controls**	**All**
Race: African	-0.223		-0.145	0.626**		0.371
	(0.091)		(0.447)	(0.006)		(0.143)
Race: Coloured	1.588***		1.251***	1.464***		1.139***
	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)
(Race: White)						
Taste: USA Hip Hop		0.403***	0.242***		0.282***	0.181**
		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.007)
Taste: USA Pop/RnB		0.268***	0.195**		0.180**	0.187*
		(0.000)	(0.002)		(0.010)	(0.015)
Taste: SA Hip Hop/Kwaito		-0.498***	-0.250***		-0.116	-0.125
		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.062)	(0.086)
Taste: Rock/SA Pop		-0.349***	-0.294***		-0.466***	-0.329***
		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)
Language: English				1.309***	1.738***	1.178***
				(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
(Language: Xhosa)						
Language: Afrikaans				1.728***	2.105***	1.508***
				(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Male				-0.0202	-0.0856	-0.0227
				(0.847)	(0.435)	(0.851)
Religion				0.0919	0.250	0.0149
				(0.542)	(0.081)	(0.925)
Class				-0.0347	-0.132*	-0.0507
				(0.525)	(0.011)	(0.377)
Constant	-0.981***	-0.667**	-1.108***	-2.101***	-1.584***	-1.904***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	1040	1137	1023	875	940	860
Pseudo R-squared	0.294	0.220	0.350	0.353	0.324	0.387
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 Variables in brackets () are omitted categorical variables.						

Table 8: Radio Stations: 5FM/Cape Talk

	5FM/Cape Talk					
	Race	*Taste*	*Race with Taste*	*Race with Controls*	*Taste with Controls*	*All*
(Race: Black)						
Race: Coloured	0.540***		-0.0150	0.00485		-0.215
	(0.000)		(0.941)	(0.985)		(0.482)
Race: White	2.001***		0.989***	1.259***		0.673*
	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.032)
Taste: USA Hip Hop		0.0658	0.128		-0.0180	0.0777
		-0.279	(0.082)		(0.806)	(0.353)
Taste: USA Pop/RnB		-0.369***	-0.274***		-0.260**	-0.223*
		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.002)	(0.016)
Taste: SA Hip Hop/Kwaito		-0.407***	-0.306***		-0.251**	-0.231*
		0	(0.000)		(0.002)	(0.014)
Taste: Rock/SA Pop		0.756***	0.566***		0.679***	0.525***
		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)
Language: English				0.563*	0.200	0.267
				(0.045)	(0.420)	(0.447)
(Language: Xhosa)						
Language: Afrikaans				0.0896	-0.409	-0.172
				(0.818)	(0.281)	(0.719)
Male				0.117	0.0131	0.0288
				(0.351)	(0.921)	(0.841)
Religion				-0.199	-0.319*	-0.151
				(0.220)	(0.042)	(0.386)
Class				0.154*	0.198**	0.114
				(0.021)	(0.002)	(0.118)
Constant	-1.852***	-0.873***	-1.493***	-2.247***	-1.725***	-1.864***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	1040	1137	1023	875	940	860
Pseudo R-squared	0.283	0.305	0.377	0.306	0.340	0.373
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 Variables in brackets () are omitted categorical variables.						

The observations made for the other radio stations also hold true for 5FM and Cape Talk, the two stations associated with white audiences; being white and listening to 'white' music such as Rock and South African Pop both remain significant predictors for preferring one of the two over other stations throughout all models.

Noteworthy in this case is the consequence of combining race and taste

variables in one model. Including only race, not taste, as an independent variable shows a relatively high and significant coefficient (+2) for being white while including both produces a much lower score (+0.99) for the same variable. These results resemble the ones regarding the 'African' radio stations shown in Table 6. It is further true for both regressions that excluding race as an independent variable produces higher R^2-values than those without the taste variables. While one should be generally careful to over-interpret R^2-values derived from logits, it is interesting given that the results for the 'coloured' radio stations in Table 7 show the opposite effect. A possible explanation would be that the links between 'black' and 'white' music genres and the respective radio stations associated with them are stronger than the link between 'coloured' stations and what is perceived to be 'coloured' music. And this makes sense if one actually listens to those stations or compares their playlist; you can find a bit of international Hip Hop, Pop and RnB on pretty much every radio station, but Kwaito or certain types of local Hip Hop or Rock you really find almost only on the radio stations associated with these music styles. In other words, if you happen to be into more local music or Rock, then you are very likely to prefer one of the mentioned stations, no matter how you classify yourself racially.

Music Television

Music Television is accessible in South Africa only through satellite TV. As this is a relatively expensive pay-per-view service one needs to keep in mind that far less coloured and especially black respondents are likely to be able to actually watch channels such as MTV, MTV Base and Channel O (see Graph 9 on page 38) than white respondents. One can tell from the summary statistics for the data on music television preference (Table 19 on page 50) that African respondents were indeed less responsive to the question about their favourite music television channels than their coloured and white peers. But as the data are for media preferences, not actual consumption, and stations such as MTV or Channel O are basically brand names that young urban youth today generally know and can identify with, the regression results below can be expected to deliver further insights into the conceptual links between race, taste and media.

Table 9: Music Television Channels: MTV

	MTV					
	Race	*Taste*	*Race with Taste*	*Race with Controls*	*Taste with Controls*	*All*
(Race: African)						
Race: Coloured	0.672***		0.135	0.154		0.0414
	(0.000)		(0.395)	(0.476)		(0.862)
Race: White	1.533***		0.731***	0.854***		0.456
	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.085)
Taste: USA Hip Hop		-0.0398	-0.00534		-0.113	-0.0661
		(0.422)	(0.924)		(0.056)	(0.312)
Taste: USA Pop/RnB		-0.0313	0.0443		0.0244	0.0794
		(0.567)	(0.462)		(0.718)	(0.277)
Taste: SA Hip Hop/Kwaito		-0.420***	-0.320***		-0.304***	-0.293***
		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)
Taste: Rock/SA Pop		0.404***	0.259***		0.299***	0.219**
		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.002)
Language: English				0.470*	0.181	0.0492
				(0.042)	(0.337)	(0.853)
(Language: Xhosa)						
Language: Afrikaans				0.165	-0.359	-0.304
				(0.569)	(0.165)	(0.342)
Male				0.0816	0.134	0.159
				(0.438)	(0.219)	(0.173)
Religion				0.0826	0.0831	0.0829
				(0.582)	(0.554)	(0.591)
Class				0.131*	0.137**	0.131*
				(0.014)	(0.007)	(0.017)
Constant	-1.277***	-0.290	-0.830**	-1.738***	-0.969**	-1.203**
	(0.000)	(0.165)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.004)	(0.001)
Observations	926	1019	913	778	846	767
Pseudo R-squared	0.147	0.157	0.177	0.154	0.166	0.175
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 Variables in brackets () are omitted categorical variables.						

MTV is the oldest and most popular music channel, symbolising the global conquest of American Pop culture in the 1980s and 1990s. Today one cannot really talk of one single MTV anymore, as the company embraces the idea of offering regionally flavoured offshoots of its mother channel around the world (with MTV Base, see below, being the African version). In fact the MTV broadcasted on South Africa's satellite service (alongside MTV Base) is MTV Europe and as such it features mostly American and English, and hardly any

local or even African content. One can certainly expect to see more mainstream American Pop and Rock on this channel than on MTV Base and Channel O and one can see this link in the significant results for white (and to a lesser degree coloured) and Rock-listening audiences in the table on the previous page.

Insofar the results support our basic theory, at least until one adds the control variables to the model and the positive coefficient for being white becomes insignificant. Yet one needs to mind that adding the control variables does not do anything to increase the predictive value of the model as a whole, as is evident from the R^2-values for each model. In fact, the model with only race and taste as independent variables is even slightly more valid than the one with all the variables included. One can therefore stay with the initial observation that being white and listening to Rock or South African Pop (which in this case is very likely the less consequential factor) is both positively correlated with having a preference for MTV over other music channels.

MTV Base, as noted before, is the African offshoot of MTV and as such offers a heavier focus on supposedly 'black' music styles such as RnB, Hip Hop, Reggae and Dancehall. Moreover it plays originally African sounds, e.g. Kwaito, Zouk, M'balax and Afrobeat and regularly features African and South African artists. In a way it can be described as a hybrid between MTV Europe, above, and Channel O, below, as it offers both a heavy rotation of international, largely American, black musicians as well as local talent.

Interestingly the channel's support of local African artists does not translate into a significant preference among African respondents. In fact, having a liking for local Hip Hop or Kwaito even proves to be a significant negative predictor, if one does not include race or other variables in the model. Instead coloured kids, supposedly attracted by the beat-heavy style of the music, are the one racial group together with American Hip Hop fans that show a significant preference for that channel.

The inclusion of control variables has the same negative effect on the meaningfulness of the model (the R^2-values) as it has for the previous regression; using only race and taste as independent variables actually yields a higher R^2-value than combining them with the control variables.

Table 10: Music Television Channels: MTV Base

	MTV Base					
	Race	*Taste*	*Race with Taste*	*Race with Controls*	*Taste with Controls*	*All*
Race: African	0.109		-0.387	0.209		-0.295
	(0.409)		(0.054)	(0.355)		(0.250)
Race: Coloured	0.943***		0.400**	0.930***		0.441*
	(0.000)		(0.009)	(0.000)		(0.012)
(Race: White)						
Taste: US Hip Hop		0.495***	0.432***		0.458***	0.418***
		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)
Taste: US Pop/RnB		0.155**	0.127*		0.107	0.0988
		(0.007)	(0.046)		(0.122)	(0.188)
Taste: SA Hip Hop/Kwaito		-0.136***	0.0465		0.0983	0.115
		(0.001)	(0.447)		(0.123)	(0.115)
Taste: Rock/SA Pop		-0.209***	-0.253***		-0.299***	-0.247***
		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.001)
Language: English				0.264	0.207	0.0803
				(0.193)	(0.272)	(0.702)
Language: Xhosa				0.215	-0.299	0.0752
				(0.419)	(0.196)	(0.793)
(Language: Afrikaans)						
Male				0.0772	-0.127	-0.0637
				(0.438)	(0.240)	(0.581)
Class				0.0918	0.131**	0.122*
				(0.075)	(0.010)	(0.027)
Religion				0.00128	-0.0881	-0.0767
				(0.993)	(0.528)	(0.623)
Constant	-1.013***	-2.119***	-2.185***	-1.595***	-2.477***	-2.623***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Observations	926	1019	913	778	846	767
Pseudo R-squared	0.085	0.131	0.170	0.089	0.152	0.169
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 Variables in brackets () are omitted categorical variables.						

Table 11: Music Television Channels: VH1

	VH1					
	Race	**Taste**	**Race with Taste**	**Race with Controls**	**Taste with Controls**	**All**
Race: African	1.432***		1.196***	0.969***		0.995**
	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.001)
Race: Coloured	0.552**		0.641**	0.467		0.545*
	(0.004)		(0.004)	(0.054)		(0.047)
(Race: White)						
Taste: US Hip Hop		-0.114*	-0.0905		-0.0481	-0.0444
		(0.029)	(0.118)		(0.460)	(0.530)
Taste: US Pop/RnB		0.0222	-0.0360		-0.0250	-0.0679
		(0.720)	(0.599)		(0.747)	(0.409)
Taste: SA Hip Hop/Kwaito		0.380***	0.164*		0.130	0.0720
		(0.000)	(0.015)		(0.074)	(0.379)
Taste: Rock/SA Pop		-0.243***	-0.0646		-0.151*	-0.0908
		(0.000)	(0.360)		(0.040)	(0.272)
Language: English				-0.324	-0.435*	-0.260
				(0.168)	(0.041)	(0.286)
Language: Xhosa				-0.0764	-0.0629	-0.197
				(0.782)	(0.800)	(0.511)
(Language: Afrikaans)						
Male				-0.0658	-0.0728	-0.0699
				(0.563)	(0.554)	(0.593)
Religion				-0.126	-0.0205	-0.107
				(0.454)	(0.899)	(0.536)
Class				-0.175**	-0.238***	-0.204***
				(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Constant	-1.796***	-1.114***	-1.602***	-0.760	0.258	-0.312
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.056)	(0.523)	(0.519)
Observations	926	1019	913	778	846	767
Pseudo R-squared	0.130	0.112	0.141	0.150	0.151	0.159
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001 Variables in brackets () are omitted categorical variables.						

Channel O is part of the South African MNet channel network, a satellite service that can be accessed separately to, or as part of the larger and more expensive DSTV service. It focuses heavily on local music, featuring Hip Hop and Kwaito stars, most of them being black.

Given its profile it does not come as a surprise that the channel is favoured mostly by African respondents and fans of Kwaito and local Hip Hop. Yet compared to white audiences, coloured survey participants also show a significant preference for Channel O.

Unlike with the two previous regressions, adding control variables does not lead to a lower R^2-value. Instead the taste-variables as a whole lose significance and a negative correlation with the class-variable can be observed.

Overall the results for music television support the theory outlined in the beginning of the paper. Statistically significant relationships between race groups, and the music tastes associated with those race groups, and music television channels are evident. While the predictive values of all models are substantially lower than for radio stations, the general coherence of the results legitimise their use as a confirmation of the ongoing racialisation of the South African mediascape.

Television

Looking at Chart 7 on page 24 one can assume that preferences for certain TV channels are similarly racially divided as they are for radio stations. However, a regression analysis similar to the one used for radio stations and music television channels yields mixed results; race generally shows to have an effect on TV preferences, yet these findings become incoherent when adding control variables such as language and class. An explanation would be that South African TV channels, especially state-owned SABC channels, are deliberately targeting certain cultural and language groups. For example: SABC 1 broadcasts mainly in Nguni languages (IsiZulu, isiXhosa, siSwati and isiNdebele) while SABC 2 does so in SeSotho and Afrikaans. SABC 3 is English, and the privately-owned eTV is mostly in English but also shows some popular programmes in Afrikaans. At the same time there is a big difference in accessibility between those channels and DSTV. The latter is not a single channel as such but stands for the major pay-per-view satellite service in South Africa, thus it is only open to those who can afford it.

Considering the language and accessibility factor it seemed advisable to shift the level of analysis from whole TV channels to single TV shows. In the survey this has been done by providing respondents with a list of 20 popular TV shows -one half South African, the other American- and ask them to rate them with scores between one and five (just as with the music bands). Table 12 on the next page shows the aggregate scores for each TV show by population groups.

Table 12: TV-Rankings (scores in brackets)

Rank	Black (n=48)	Coloured (n=407)	White (n=214)
1	Generations (1965)	7De Laan (1685)	Friends (816)
2	Muvhango (1643)	Tyra Banks Show (1522)	Oprah Winfrey (677)
3	Mzansi (1607)	Oprah Winfrey (1505)	Tyra Banks Show (603)
4	Isidingo (1505)	Friends (1466)	7De Laan (570)
5	Oprah Winfrey (1464)	Prince Of Bel Air (1250)	Prince Of Bel Air (536)
6	Backstage (1353)	Days Of Our Lives (1149)	Isidingo (459)
7	Tyra Banks Show (1334)	Sopranos (1142)	Days Of Our Lives (458)
8	Passions (1309)	Backstage (1115)	Sopranos (453)
9	Scandal (1280)	The Bold And The Beautiful (1044)	Generations (412)
10	Rhythm City (1268)	Generations (1033)	Backstage (405)
11	Days Of Our Lives (1241)	Isidingo (1011)	The Bold And The Beautiful (405)
12	Friends (1143)	Scandal (995)	Passions (376)
13	The Bold And The Beautiful (1140)	Passions (929)	Beverly Hills 90210 (365)
14	7De Laan (1117)	The Young And The Restless (861)	Egoli (353)
15	The Young And The Restless (1097)	Beverly Hills 90210 (732)	Scandal (342)
16	Sopranos (832)	Egoli (711)	The Young And The Restless (341)
17	Egoli (730)	Rhythm City (644)	Muvhango (267)
18	Prince Of Bel Air (646)	Muvhango (584)	Rhythm City (263)
19	Talk With Tumi (554)	Mzansi (462)	Mzansi (239)
20	Beverly Hills 90210 (507)	Talk With Tumi (302)	Talk With Tumi (168)

Simply comparing the ranks of single TV shows across columns[11] reveals a crucial difference between black respondents on the one side and coloured and white respondents on the other. Just looking at the respective Top Five shows that there is only one show that appears in all three: Oprah Winfrey. At the same time this is the only non-South African programme in the Top Five of black

[11] Multivariate regressions with TV shows as dependent variables have been conducted but mostly did not produce usable results due to the fact that white respondents in general distributed significantly lower scores than their coloured and especially black peers. The question is whether this is mainly due to a biased selection of TV shows in the questionnaire or a general lack of enthusiasm for television among white respondents, maybe because of better access to other forms of media, such as the internet. In fact, a Mann-Whitney-U Test on the respondents' self-evaluation of their daily consume of television (in hours), showed that white South Africans with access to internet at home (see also Graph 9 on page 38) indeed watch significantly less television than those without internet access at home, supporting the second explanation.

respondents, the rest are local soap operas (Generations, Muvhango, Mzansi, and Isidingo). In contrast to this, white and coloured respondents share the same Top Five, albeit in differing orders, and only one South African programme, 7de Laan, made it into their Top Fives (the others are, apart from Oprah, The Tyra Banks Show, Friends, and Will Smith's old sitcom - The Prince of Bel Air).

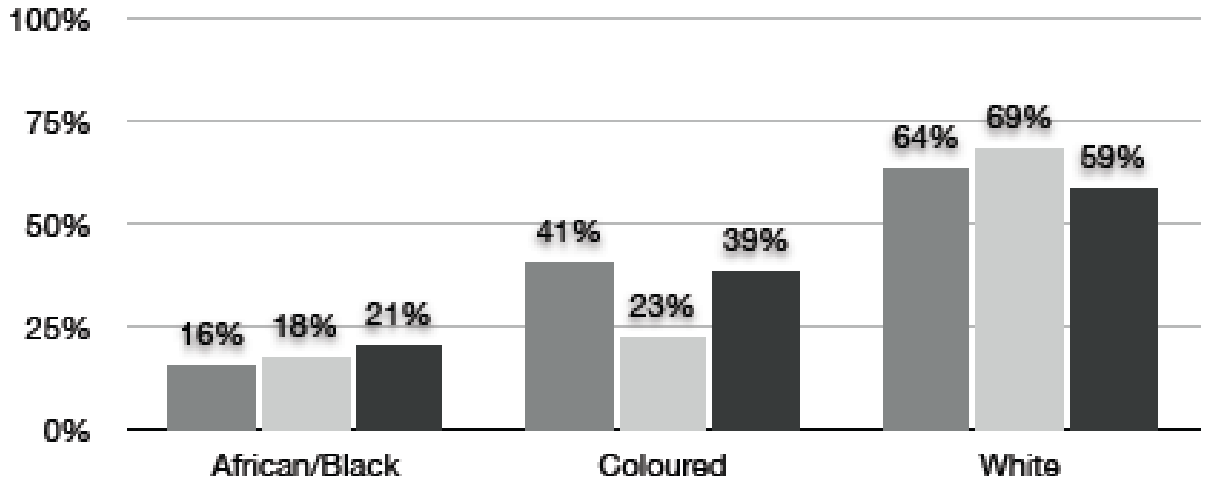
So on first sight the main dividing line seems to run along locality with black respondents preferring local productions whilst white and coloured respondents prefer American productions. Without going too far into the content analysis of specific shows it is fruitful to note the strong popularity of Friends among white, Generations among black and 7de Laan among coloured respondents. Friends, a hugely successful American situation comedy, portrays the lives of a group of friends in contemporary New York. It also distinguishes itself through a virtually complete lack of non-white characters throughout its many years of airing and it has been noted to not only attract a mainly white audience in the USA but also to be accompanied by TV commercials almost exclusively targeting white Americans (Henderson and Baldasty 2003). Generations on the other hand aims to give an insight into the fast-paced lives of young advertising professionals in today's Johannesburg. While most of the dialogue is English and the cast is broadly representative of South Africa's racial composition it taps into the discourse of an increasingly unpolitical and consumer-oriented generation of young Africans seizing their opportunities in post-apartheid South Africa. 7de Laan pictures the lives of a number of families in the neighbourhoods surrounding 7de Laan in Melville, Johannesburg. It is the most successful South African soap opera in (mostly) Afrikaans which largely explains its popularity among coloured survey participants.

While those three shows are not fully representative for South Africa's racially segregated television landscape, they do serve as good examples for some of the factors that play a role in the segregation dynamics. Language, in ways that cannot be satisfyingly explained through a purely quantitative analysis, certainly remains a deciding reason why young South Africans do not share the same TV viewing habits. Yet another factor seems to be the locality of the TV shows themselves - here the opposition between New York, beacon of what is commonly perceived as 'the West', and Johannesburg, symbol of a post-colonial, post-apartheid Africa create an allegory for the kind of thought that sees white South Africans often placing their cultural roots outside Africa (in Europe or simply 'the West') and black South Africans firmly within Africa.

5. 'Local' vs. 'Global'

One of the main motivations behind the Youth Culture Survey was to shed light on the impact of cultural globalisation on youth and the unevenness of this process. The analysis so far provides a number of clues which point to the existence of an axis of locality that runs through the data both on media and taste. In the case of the former, uneven access to global media seems to be the deciding factor underlying the respondents' media preferences in terms of locality. This unevenness is exemplified by the case of satellite TV (DSTV) which is synonymous with access to music television channels. Here racial or language differences are the determining aspect only on first sight. On closer inspection a gap between those who favour international television and those who prefer South African television is the matter of financial means (or class), considering that satellite TV is a relatively expensive luxury item for South African standards. This economic divide is not restricted to satellite TV and because of South Africa's racialised class structure it is reflected in racial differences; Chart 9 below shows the 'satellite divide' alongside the 'digital divide' in the form of uneven access to online services.

Chart 9: Internet, Email and DSTV by Race, YCS 2007 Data



The imbalance of access to global media is then reflected in the music taste preferences with black respondents seemingly stronger associated with local bands and artists than their coloured and white peers. In a sense this ambivalence towards locality between the groups evokes well-known notions of different centres of identity in the discourse of race in South Africa, as has been already mentioned in the chapter on television. White South Africans are often perceived as outward-looking by placing their origins of self outside Africa and within Europe or, broader, "the West" (Steyn 2001). Black South Africans are

seen as inward-looking and centring their identities within Africa, while coloured South Africans, perhaps the quintessential South Africans, are sometimes seen to be stuck in an identity crisis or 'in-between state', causing young coloured individuals seeking identity either firmly within a discourse of black consciousness or, as the results presented here suggest, outside the conceptual and discursive boundaries of South Africa altogether (Adhikari 2005). These impressions are further corroborated by the following table representing attitudinal data towards local and global media.

Table 13: Attitudes towards local and global media

	African/ Black	**Coloured**	**White**	**Total**
I prefer watching foreign TV channels on DSTV over local TV stations.	43%	58%	64%	53%
I prefer watching American TV series over South African TV series.	46%	65%	71%	59%
I prefer watching American movies over South African movies.	62%	80%	82%	73%
I prefer listening to American music over South African music.	47%	70%	59%	58%
I prefer listening to radio stations which play more local than international music.	58%	26%	19%	38%
I connect more with American music, TV and film than with South African.	44%	72%	65%	59%
In dress South African youth are becoming increasingly like American youth.	57%	75%	65%	66%
In attitude South African youth are becoming increasingly like American youth.	53%	61%	51%	56%
Youth have more in common with each other than they do with with their parents.	70%	77%	69%	73%
Youth in South Africa have their own style - African, not American.	59%	42%	43%	50%

Values indicate (strong) agreement to the respective statement based on a five-degree Likert scale.
Missing values were included in the calculation of the frequency percentages.

The statements in Table 13 can be grouped into subjective (self-evaluations) and objective (perceptions of youth in general) observations. On the whole, respondents across the racial spectrum seem to largely agree that South African youth are in the process of being Americanised in terms of fashion, attitude and style, even if this sentiment is felt stronger among white and especially coloured respondents than black respondents. Yet, the largest degree of agreement is achieved by the question whether youth have more in common with each other than with their parents. Three quarters of all respondents agree to this, implying an overall sense of generational disruption.

The level of disagreement intensifies with the subjective statements. Here the combination of unequal access to global media and different relations towards locality result in clear differences in attitudes towards American TV, film and music between population groups with black respondents being distinctively less susceptible to global media. Interestingly though the difference is most evident in the question whether respondents prefer listening to radio stations which play more local than international music; well over half of black respondents agree to this statement compared to a quarter of coloured and a fifth of white respondents. As radio is the most accessible media outlet this finding confirms the theory that the different attitudes towards the local and the global are not merely a function of uneven media access.

In the search for a better understanding of the questions at hand a number of crucial factors has so far been neglected in the analysis. Two of them, peer culture and schooling, are intertwined and together yield the crucial question whether the broad generalisations made about the relationships between race and taste hold if one compares differences in taste preferences within a single group across different schools. The inclusion of the factor 'school' through independent variables in the earlier regressions has been avoided because of the strong correlation (in some cases even colinearity) between school and race and class, respectively - half of the schools in the sample are simply not diverse enough in order to allow them to be included as a variable in regression analysis. This hindering circumstance enables us now to make meaningful comparisons between schools within single racial groups, as 'school' itself can be used as a proxy for class and peer culture, as long as one looks at only one racial group at a time. One way to do so is by comparing the means of scores attributed to different music tastes (see Table 21 on page) using the Mann-Whitney-U (MWU) test[12] within racial groups and across schools or groups of schools. The logic of a MWU-test is fairly simple: first it calculates the so-called expected mean for the overall sample. Then it does the same for the two sub-samples separately and compares the resulting means with the expected mean. Table 14 displays the significant results ($p<0.05$) obtained from comparing the mean scores for all taste genres across the different population groups stratified by schools.

[12] The Mann-Whitney-U test (opposed to a t-test) is necessary in this case as we are dealing with ordinal, not continuous data.

Table 14: Mann-Whitney-U Test: Music Genres (schools)

Race	Genre	School A	School B	z	Prob > |z|
African/Black[13]	*American Hip Hop*	Khayelitsha (n= 378)	City (n= 56)	-3.89	0.000***
	SA Hip Hop/Kwaito	Khayelitsha (n= 378)	City (n= 56)	3.47	0.001***
Coloured	*American Hip Hop*	Cape Flats High (n= 165)	Atlantic High (n= 37)	-4.04	0.000***
		Northern High (n= 57)	Atlantic High (n= 37)	-2.03	0.043*
		Northern High (n= 57)	Cape Flats High (n= 165)	2.38	0.017*
		Southern High (n= 130)	Cape Flats High (n= 163)	4.50	0.000***
	Rock/South African Pop	Cape Flats High (n= 165)	Atlantic High (n= 37)	-2.20	0.028*
		Southern High (n= 130)	Cape Flats High (n= 165)	2.24	0.025*
White	*American Hip Hop*	Southern High (n= 20)	Atlantic High (n= 89)	2.38	0.018*
		Southern High (n= 20)	Northern High (n= 82)	2.02	0.043*
	American Pop/RnB	Northern High (n= 82)	Atlantic High (n= 89)	2.49	0.013*
		Southern High (n= 20)	Atlantic High (n= 89)	2.94	0.003**
	Rock/South African Pop	Southern High (n= 20)	Atlantic High (n= 89)	-3.13	0.002**

Positive z-scores: Mean of School A significantly higher than the mean of School B.
Negative z-scores: Mean of School B significantly higher than the mean of School A.

When one compares black respondents at schools in Khayelitsha with their peers at city schools, the global/local-dualism manifests itself in the divide between global and local music genres (together with Kwaito); black respondents at city schools rate American Hip Hop artists significantly higher than those at Khayelitsha schools, who in turn show a stronger preference for South African Hip Hop and Kwaito than their peers at city schools. Although the MWU-test does not allow controlling for other independent variables this is a result strongly in support of the theory that 'school' and peer culture do have a significant impact on someone's taste preferences as well as her or his openness towards global influences, which qualifies the essentialised idea of race as a determining factor for someone's music taste and attitude towards locality. However, what the results do not show is whether these differences are a reflection of more or less exposure to global influences as a function of the

[13] Because of the low number of black respondents outside Khayelitsha High and Macassar High and the distinct homogeneity at the two schools in terms of race and class, black respondents were grouped in two variables: Khayelitsha (Khayelitsha High and Macassar High) and City (Atlantic High, Northern High and Southern High). Black respondents from Flats High were excluded due to its distinctiveness from the two groups of schools and the low number of black respondents there.

respondents' class characteristics or due to peer culture. In other words: are black respondents at city schools more susceptible to global influences because they are better off (and thus more likely to have satellite TV, internet, money for records, etc.) or because they are influenced by their coloured and white colleagues and friends at school? Probably the answer lies somewhere in-between and varies depending on the context. What remains though is the understanding that unequal access to media (determined by class inequalities) and racialised cultural flows interweave to sustain and reproduce essentialised notions of what is 'white', 'coloured' and 'black' South African youth culture.

The observations made for black respondents, and the questions attached to them, weaves through the comparisons for coloured and white respondents like a golden thread. Looking at them from the angle of media access, Cape Flats High's significantly low scores for American Hip Hop can be interpreted as a consequence of its students being generally poorer (see Table 2 on page 9). At the same time Southern High's significantly higher mean scores for American Hip Hop, affecting both coloured and white respondents, and Atlantic High's strong support for South African Pop and Rock cannot simply ascribed to class differences given the social-economic similarities among their combined student population. It is then more plausible that these differences have rather something to do with the contrasts in the student bodies' racial compositions (the majority of Southern High's students is coloured, Atlantic High's students are predominantly white) and the role of peer effects in dispersing racialised trends at a school level.

Multivariate regression analysis was used to determine the strength of the observed links between specific schools and taste within individual race groups, controlling for other variables such as language, gender, religiosity, and class. The following table summarises the main findings from a number of ordered logits for music genres, showing only significant results for school variables (see complete regression tables in the appendix, page).

Table 15: Ordered Logistic Regressions: Music Genres (schools)

Race	Genre	School	Coef.	p-value
African/Black[14]	*USA Hip Hop*	Khayelitsha	-0.898*	0.021
		City	0.898*	0.021
	SA Hip Hop/Kwaito	Khayelitsha	1.122**	0.009
		City	-1.122**	0.019
Coloured	*USA Hip Hop*	Atlantic High	0.964**	0.008
		Cape Flats High	-0.753***	0.001
		Southern Suburbs High	0.499*	0.027
	SA Hip Hop/Kwaito	Cape Flats High	-0.561*	0.011
White	*USA Pop/RnB*	Atlantic High	-0.934**	0.004
		Southern Suburbs High	1.161*	0.032
	Rock/SA Pop	Atlantic High	0.718*	0.026
		Southern Suburbs High	-1.212*	0.015
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001				

The results in Table 15 do not show specific comparisons between schools as it was the case with the MWU-tests above (see Table 14 on page 41), but the inclusion of one school variable at a time into a regression together with the usual controlling variables (language, gender, religion, class) for individual race groups. Nonetheless the two tables speak the same language; respondents tend to partially adopt the music taste of the dominant racial group at a (group of) school(s). This is the case with African/black respondents at city schools who show a stronger disposition to American Hip Hop than their peers at township schools, coloured respondents at Cape Flats High who prefer local Hip Hop and Kwaito over American Hip Hop, especially compared with financially better-off pupils at Atlantic High and Southern Suburbs High, and white respondents at mostly coloured Southern Suburbs High who are much more susceptible to American Pop and RnB than local Pop and Rock, especially compared to students at Atlantic High. As noted above these findings are not easily explainable by the data at hand, but they do support the argument above: to some extent socio-economic factors and the resulting variation in young people's possibilities to access global popular culture through the media are causing qualitative differences in taste patterns, even within individual race groups. But the data also suggests that peer culture at schools is responsible for a certain degree of cross-racial taste flows, thus somewhat qualifying the essentialising notion of completely racialised taste groups among the survey participants and, by generalisation, the South African youth.

[14] Regressions for African/Black respondents using 'City' and 'Khayelitsha' as school variables produce polar opposite results, as they are both mutually exclusive, binary variables covering the whole 'Black/African' sub-sample. See the preceding footnote for details on the composition of the two variables.

Another aspect concerning language emerges from the regression analyses and is summarised in the following table. It shows the significant results for the language variable (having a preference for English over other languages such as Xhosa or Afrikaans) included in the same regression analyses discussed above in regards to peer-culture (see page in the appendix for the complete results).

Table 16: Ordered Logistic Regressions: Music Genres (language)

Race	Genre	School	Coef.	p-value
African/Black	*SA Hip Hop/Kwaito*	Township	-0.875*	0.024
	SA Hip Hop/Kwaito	City	-0.875*	0.024
	Rock/SA Pop	Township	0.822*	0.019
	Rock/SA Pop	City	0.822*	0.019
Coloured	*Rock/SA Pop*	Cape Flats High	0.907**	0.003
	Rock/SA Pop	Southern Suburbs High	0.965**	0.002
	Rock/SA Pop	Atlantic High	0.986***	0.001
	USA Hip Hop	Southern Suburbs High	0.989**	0.001
	USA Hip Hop	Cape Flats High	0.974**	0.001
	USA Hip Hop	Atlantic High	1.169***	0.000
White	*SA Hip Hop Kwaito*	Southern Suburbs High	-2.357***	0.000
	SA Hip Hop/Kwaito	Atlantic High	-2.342***	0.000
	Rock/SA Pop	Southern Suburbs High	2.113**	0.002
	Rock/SA Pop	Atlantic High	1.731**	0.01

The results reveal that a preference for English translates into a significantly higher interest in local Pop and Rock across all race groups. In the case of coloured respondents it also means a significantly higher preference for American Hip Hop, whereas white and black respondents show a significantly lower preference for local Hip Hop and Kwaito. Interestingly the coefficients do not change remarkably within the individual race groups independent of the school variable included in the respective regressions. In short, having a preference for English implies a preference for global popular culture and/or music styles associated with being white.

The explanation for this observation is similarly ambiguous as it is for school-effect and leads to the question whether the respondents' preference for English is the result of their preference for American music or whether their language skills are a prerequisite for finding easier access to radio and TV stations broadcasting more American content. A definite answer to this question based on the data at hand alone would be speculative, but in any case the conclusion remains that a disposition to more or less global cultural flows is not merely a function of race in an essentialising sense but the interplay of multiple factors, including language.

Ultimately the data presented in this chapter shows that there are racialised

patterns of locality along the local/global-axis, yet these relationships are not static and susceptible to notions of class, peer culture and language. In order to make more accurate observations about the dynamics behind these results, ethnographic research methods might prove to be more fruitful than the quantitative approach taken in this paper.

6. Discussion

"Whenever I switch on the TV I see apartheid." - This line by Cape Town comedian Nik Rabinowitz stuck in my head. Because what he meant was not the dark legacy of the Old South Africa casting its shadow on today's news through stories of poverty, crime and HIV. Instead he was referring to the fact that one can usually watch the news simultaneously in at least three different languages followed either by a hip Kwaito show recorded in Soweto, an Afrikaans slapstick comedy or an American action movie with Steven Seagal. The results presented in this paper show that the punch line is not far from reality - at least the teenagers included in the survey seem to make their choices what to watch on TV largely according to ethnic and linguistic characteristics.

The targeting of specific audiences by media corporations, also called narrowcasting, is certainly not a new experience, nor is it unique to South Africa and it is particularly pronounced in the realm of youth media (Osgerby 2004: 47). In this sense one could interpret the existence of separate TV and radio channels for the different racial groups in South Africa merely as an economic imperative dictated by free market competition. Yet in the South African case this would mean to miss the political dimension of the issue which is to one part defined by the constitutional duty of the public broadcaster to cater for all major cultural and linguistic groups in the country and to another by South Africa's ongoing quest for a collective national identity in the face of a fractured society:

> In constructing this 'collective identity', South Africans had to work against the history of the old quasi-'nationalisms' of apartheid. Taken together with the gross disparities in wealth, education and living standards, and the denial of access to social resources caused by an active process of underdevelopment through apartheid, the possibilities of a single post-apartheid consciousness seemed slim. A diversity of culture and language, and the vigorous ethnic consciousness based on language and territorial division, gave grist to the mill of apartheid, which more than any other factor prevented the development of an even minimally homogeneous audience in terms of media consumption. (Teer-Tomaselli 2008: 92)

Given this point of departure it is not surprising to see the kind of deep media segmentation in the data presented in this paper. It is further reinforced by the asymmetrical access to certain parts of the media, especially those most associated with global content (satellite TV and Internet), which could mean that South African youth are in fact experiencing an uneven process of cultural globalisation and a further drifting-apart with the majority of black youth rooted within the discourse of the New South Africa and the majority of white and coloured youth looking for identity abroad in 'imagined communities'. In other words, a white middle- or upper-class South African kid might not only find it easier to access American music through MTV and the internet than the local music scene, but she or he might actually even find it easier to relate to the images depicted on the screen than the one in front of her or his doorstep. And in a similar way, the connection between American gangster rap and gangsterism in Cape Town can be explained by a shared experience of marginality combined with a certain degree of disengagement with the day-to-day politics of living in South Africa (Salo 2003).

Ultimately this process puts a big question mark behind the attainability of a collective identity, the concept of the nation-state, the future of citizenship and the reality of a public sphere in the singular in South Africa. Considering that the commercialisation of the media is only set to increase and with it the further narrowcasting of specific target markets according to markers of class, race and ethnicity, the de-fragmentation of South Africa's youth for the sake of a collective identity seems almost unimaginable.

Admittedly, these broad statements cannot be fully substantiated by the quantitative approach taken in this paper. A complex concept as taste can never be satisfyingly reduced to a matter of race and class; whether one likes a certain kind of music or artist depends on a multitude of factors, most of which are better explained by ethnographic research influenced by cultural studies such as the recent works on South Africa's Punk (Basson 2007), Kwaito (Boloka 2003, Allen 2004) and Hip Hop scenes (Badsha 2003, Battersby 2003, Haupt 2004). A thorough investigation of the reasons why certain groups, based on any kind of collective characteristics, are drawn to some kind of youth culture or another would also have to entail some form of content analysis (for Hip Hop see Haupt (2008), for Kwaito, Steingo (2005)). For example: in a country like South Africa where the separation between the various parts of society is actually physically present due to apartheid's segregation of the landscape into black, coloured and white residential areas, the imagery of space depicted in contemporary popular music -one thinks of white suburbia sung about in angst-laden neo-punk ballads and black ghettos in beat-heavy rap hymns- is likely to function as a catalyst in the normalisation of the social construct 'race'.

Nonetheless, quantitative studies as the one presented in this paper are crucial for understanding the impact of racialised cultural flows on the country's search for a collective identity. At the expense of attention to the kind of details described in this paragraph they provide a bird's eye view on the very broad dynamics behind the further drifting-apart of South Africa's youth.

7. Conclusion

Evidence from the survey presented in this article confirms the notion of racially defined taste patterns among young South Africans, here exemplified by music taste. Not only are the different groups separated by genres but also by the extent to which they prefer local or global music; one can broadly say that Kwaito and South African Hip Hop is preferred by African respondents, American Hip Hop by coloured and Rock by white respondents. These generalisations are intersected by further identity markers, most importantly gender and language; nonetheless race remains a crucial predictor of music tastes among the six surveyed schools.

The divisions in regard to taste translate into a deeply fragmented mediascape in Cape Town along race and class lines. Black respondents tend to favour public radio stations and TV channels with mostly local content while large parts of coloured and the majority of mostly affluent white respondents prefer global media channels providing global (that is US American) content. Furthermore, white respondents are significantly more likely to have access to modern and more expensive telecommunication and media in the form of internet, email and satellite TV.

These results point to a further drifting-apart of the various fractions of South African youth. Although race is losing its political and ideological weight for post-apartheid generations, it remains a divisive identity marker which is further normalised thanks to the help of racialised cultural flows, further hampering any efforts to build a collective national identity among South Africans.

Appendix

Table 17: Summary Statistics: Radio Stations

	Umhlobo/Bush/ Metro			**Good Hope/Heart**			**5FM/Cape Talk**			**Kfm**		
	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd
Race												
African/ Black	437	0.63	0.48	437	0.11	0.32	437	0.03	0.18	437	0.14	0.35
Coloured	401	0.04	0.2	401	0.73	0.45	401	0.09	0.29	401	0.05	0.23
White	202	0.05	0.22	202	0.16	0.37	202	0.56	0.5	202	0.13	0.34
Total	1040	0.29	0.46	1040	0.36	0.48	1040	0.16	0.37	1040	0.11	0.31
Language												
English	557	0.03	0.16	557	0.51	0.5	557	0.28	0.45	557	0.09	0.28
Xhosa	400	0.68	0.47	400	0.08	0.27	400	0.02	0.15	400	0.14	0.35
Afrikaans	80	0.04	0.19	80	0.78	0.42	80	0.07	0.27	80	0.05	0.22
Total	1037	0.28	0.45	1037	0.36	0.48	1037	0.17	0.37	1037	0.11	0.31
Class												
Very Low	171	0.65	0.48	171	0.1	0.3	171	0.06	0.24	171	0.11	0.31
Low	249	0.57	0.5	249	0.18	0.38	249	0.03	0.17	249	0.16	0.36
Medium	237	0.14	0.35	237	0.59	0.49	237	0.08	0.27	237	0.1	0.3
High	249	0.1	0.3	249	0.58	0.49	249	0.14	0.34	249	0.08	0.27
Very High	251	0.04	0.21	251	0.29	0.46	251	0.48	0.5	251	0.07	0.25
Total	1157	0.28	0.45	1157	0.36	0.48	1157	0.16	0.37	1157	0.1	0.3
Male												
Yes	516	0.27	0.44	516	0.36	0.48	516	0.18	0.38	516	0.09	0.28
No	638	0.29	0.45	638	0.37	0.48	638	0.16	0.36	638	0.11	0.32
Total	1154	0.28	0.45	1154	0.36	0.48	1154	0.16	0.37	1154	0.1	0.3
Religion												
Yes	892	0.3	0.46	892	0.38	0.49	892	0.12	0.33	892	0.1	0.3
No	175	0.24	0.43	175	0.28	0.45	175	0.3	0.46	175	0.09	0.28
Total	1067	0.29	0.45	1067	0.37	0.48	1067	0.15	0.36	1067	0.1	0.3

Table 18: Summary Statistics: TV Stations

	SABC 1			SABC 2			SABC 3			eTV			DSTV		
	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd
Race															
African/ Black	424	0.71	0.45	424	0.01	0.11	424	0.04	0.18	424	0.18	0.38	424	0.04	0.21
Coloured	370	0.07	0.25	370	0.04	0.2	370	0.16	0.37	370	0.38	0.49	370	0.34	0.47
White	199	0.07	0.26	199	0.02	0.12	199	0.16	0.37	199	0.11	0.31	199	0.62	0.49
Total	993	0.34	0.48	993	0.02	0.15	993	0.11	0.31	993	0.24	0.43	993	0.27	0.44
Language															
English	528	0.05	0.22	528	0.03	0.18	528	0.18	0.39	528	0.25	0.43	528	0.48	0.5
Xhosa	393	0.76	0.43	393	0.01	0.09	393	0.03	0.17	393	0.17	0.38	393	0.02	0.14
Afrikaans	76	0.09	0.29	76	0.07	0.25	76	0.04	0.2	76	0.68	0.47	76	0.11	0.31
Total	997	0.33	0.47	997	0.03	0.16	997	0.11	0.31	997	0.25	0.43	997	0.27	0.44
Class															
Very Low	170	0.73	0.45	170	0.01	0.08	170	0.02	0.15	170	0.16	0.37	170	0.06	0.24
Low	237	0.64	0.48	237	0.03	0.17	237	0.06	0.24	237	0.22	0.41	237	0.04	0.2
Medium	227	0.22	0.42	227	0.05	0.22	227	0.1	0.3	227	0.43	0.5	227	0.2	0.4
High	229	0.1	0.31	229	0.01	0.11	229	0.18	0.39	229	0.33	0.47	229	0.36	0.48
Very High	239	0.05	0.22	239	0.01	0.11	239	0.16	0.37	239	0.12	0.32	239	0.63	0.48
Total	1102	0.33	0.47	1102	0.02	0.15	1102	0.11	0.31	1102	0.25	0.44	1102	0.27	0.44
Male															
Yes	490	0.29	0.46	490	0.01	0.12	490	0.08	0.27	490	0.31	0.46	490	0.29	0.45
No	611	0.36	0.48	611	0.03	0.17	611	0.13	0.34	611	0.21	0.41	611	0.26	0.44
Total	1101	0.33	0.47	1101	0.02	0.15	1101	0.11	0.31	1101	0.25	0.44	1101	0.27	0.45
Religion															
Yes	845	0.36	0.48	845	0.03	0.17	845	0.1	0.3	845	0.27	0.45	845	0.23	0.42
No	171	0.22	0.42	171	0.00	0.00	171	0.12	0.33	171	0.22	0.42	171	0.43	0.5
Total	1016	0.34	0.47	1016	0.02	0.15	1016	0.1	0.31	1016	0.27	0.44	1016	0.26	0.44

Table 19: Summary Statistics: Music Television Stations

	MTV			**MTV Base**			**Channel O**			**VH1**		
	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd
Race												
African/ Black	377	0.10	0.3	377	0.18	0.39	377	0.36	0.48	377	0.02	0.14
Coloured	356	0.27	0.45	356	0.47	0.5	356	0.11	0.31	356	0.01	0.07
White	193	0.60	0.49	193	0.16	0.36	193	0.04	0.19	193	0.09	0.28
Total	926	0.27	0.44	926	0.29	0.45	926	0.19	0.4	926	0.03	0.17
Language												
English	524	0.42	0.49	524	0.36	0.48	524	0.07	0.25	524	0.04	0.19
Xhosa	341	0.09	0.29	341	0.17	0.38	341	0.35	0.48	341	0.02	0.14
Afrikaans	70	0.17	0.38	70	0.27	0.45	70	0.19	0.39	70	0.00	0.00
Total	935	0.28	0.45	935	0.28	0.45	935	0.18	0.39	935	0.03	0.17
Class												
Very Low	156	0.11	0.31	156	0.16	0.37	156	0.31	0.47	156	0.03	0.16
Low	203	0.11	0.31	203	0.20	0.4	203	0.39	0.49	203	0.01	0.12
Medium	206	0.23	0.42	206	0.29	0.45	206	0.22	0.42	206	0.01	0.1
High	229	0.37	0.48	229	0.41	0.49	229	0.07	0.26	229	0.01	0.11
Very High	240	0.50	0.50	240	0.30	0.46	240	0.02	0.14	240	0.07	0.25
Total	1034	0.28	0.45	1034	0.28	0.45	1034	0.19	0.39	1034	0.03	0.16
Male												
Yes	477	0.3	0.46	477	0.28	0.45	477	0.18	0.38	477	0.02	0.13
No	556	0.26	0.44	556	0.28	0.45	556	0.20	0.40	556	0.04	0.19
Total	1033	0.28	0.45	1033	0.28	0.45	1033	0.19	0.39	1033	0.03	0.16
Religion												
Yes	785	0.25	0.43	785	0.29	0.46	785	0.20	0.40	785	0.02	0.12
No	162	0.35	0.48	162	0.28	0.45	162	0.17	0.37	162	0.06	0.24
Total	947	0.27	0.44	947	0.29	0.45	947	0.20	0.40	947	0.02	0.15

Table 20: Summary statistics: Music Genres (independent variables)

	Hip Hop			**American Hip Hop**			**American Pop/RnB**			**South African Hip Hop/ Kwaito**			**Rock/South African Pop**		
	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd
Race															
Black/ African	433	2.83	0.77	431	3.02	0.94	431	3.70	0.73	431	3.30	0.69	419	1.75	0.66
Coloured	402	2.77	0.67	402	3.46	0.81	404	3.73	0.68	368	1.84	0.79	396	1.80	0.65
White	213	2.09	0.78	213	2.59	1.01	212	2.94	0.99	189	1.48	0.82	211	2.43	0.82
Total	1048	2.66	0.79	1046	3.10	0.96	1047	3.56	0.83	988	2.41	1.10	1026	1.91	0.74
Radio Stations															
5FM/Cape Talk	187	2.31	0.82	187	2.89	1.02	186	3.13	0.94	174	1.56	0.87	186	2.54	0.79
Good Hope/ Heart	415	2.76	0.69	415	3.41	0.84	418	3.71	0.72	372	1.89	0.87	406	1.75	0.62
Umhlobo/Bush/ Metro	308	2.76	0.74	306	2.91	0.90	305	3.61	0.73	305	3.36	0.59	297	1.70	0.61
Total	910	2.67	0.76	908	3.14	0.93	909	3.56	0.80	851	2.35	1.09	889	1.90	0.73
Language															
English	576	2.57	0.80	576	3.19	0.99	576	3.49	0.89	528	1.74	0.85	572	2.10	0.76
Xhosa	393	2.79	0.77	391	2.95	0.94	390	3.68	0.73	391	3.36	0.58	376	1.74	0.67
Afrikaans	78	2.41	0.69	78	3.04	0.85	81	3.45	0.86	65	1.55	0.71	78	1.51	0.68
Total	1047	2.64	0.79	1045	3.09	0.97	1047	3.55	0.84	984	2.37	1.10	1026	1.92	0.75
Class															
V. Low	176	2.81	0.81	174	3.01	0.96	175	3.64	0.79	174	3.28	0.74	169	1.86	0.70
Low	246	2.76	0.76	246	3.01	0.95	246	3.70	0.72	243	3.12	0.81	239	1.78	0.70
Medium	236	2.67	0.71	236	3.20	0.88	237	3.66	0.74	217	2.12	0.97	228	1.72	0.67
High	250	2.62	0.74	250	3.26	0.94	250	3.60	0.75	226	1.79	0.91	246	1.91	0.68
V. High	260	2.44	0.86	260	3.00	1.04	259	3.20	1.02	234	1.71	0.94	259	2.29	0.84
Total	1168	2.65	0.79	1166	3.10	0.96	1167	3.55	0.84	1094	2.37	1.10	1141	1.92	0.75
Male															
Yes	530	2.79	0.81	530	3.29	0.96	526	3.33	0.86	490	2.34	1.07	515	1.92	0.74
No	636	2.53	0.75	634	2.94	0.94	639	3.73	0.77	602	2.40	1.13	625	1.93	0.76
Total	1166	2.65	0.79	1164	3.10	0.96	1165	3.55	0.84	1092	2.37	1.10	1140	1.93	0.75
Religion															
Yes	893	2.71	0.75	892	3.15	0.93	894	3.67	0.74	846	2.48	1.09	875	1.88	0.72
No	184	2.44	0.85	183	2.93	1.04	182	3.22	0.97	169	2.04	1.03	176	2.05	0.77
Total	1077	2.67	0.78	1075	3.11	0.95	1076	3.60	0.80	1015	2.41	1.09	1051	1.91	0.73

Table 21: Summary statistics: Music Genres (schools)

	Hip Hop			**American Hip Hop**			**American Pop/RnB**			**South African Hip Hop/ Kwaito**			**Rock/South African Pop**		
	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd	N	Mean	Sd
Atlantic	174	2.43	0.89	174	2.95	1.06	174	3.14	1.08	160	1.77	1.04	174	2.36	0.80
Flats	202	2.57	0.70	202	3.19	0.88	205	3.64	0.73	179	1.76	0.75	196	1.66	0.68
Macassar	254	2.77	0.73	254	2.92	0.89	252	3.64	0.68	252	3.39	0.54	245	1.72	0.64
Northern	184	2.43	0.85	184	3.03	1.03	182	3.31	0.91	161	1.67	0.88	183	2.15	0.84
Southern	180	2.83	0.69	180	3.56	0.82	180	3.78	0.67	167	1.76	0.79	177	1.91	0.62
Khayelitsha	175	2.80	0.78	173	2.99	0.97	175	3.74	0.77	176	3.30	0.62	167	1.84	0.70
Total	1169	2.64	0.79	1167	3.10	0.96	1168	3.55	0.84	1095	2.37	1.10	1142	1.92	0.75

Table 22: Ologits: Music Genres (Black/Township)

	USA Hip Hop	**USA Pop/RnB**	**SA Hip Hop/ Kwaito**	**Rock/SA Pop**
Language: English	0.238	0.614	-0.875*	0.822*
	(0.516)	(0.092)	(0.024)	(0.019)
Male	1.399***	-0.809***	-0.282	0.193
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.174)	(0.329)
Religion	0.382	0.265	0.358	-0.289
	(0.197)	(0.390)	(0.236)	(0.339)
Class	-0.191	-0.237*	-0.212	-0.166
	(0.066)	(0.030)	(0.055)	(0.102)
School: Township	-0.898*	-0.171	1.122**	0.588
	(0.021)	(0.659)	(0.009)	(0.121)
Observations	373	373	373	373
Pseudo R-squared	0.054	0.028	0.039	0.015
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001				

Table 23: Ologits: Music Genres (Black/City)

	USA Hip Hop	**USA Pop/RnB**	**SA Hip Hop/ Kwaito**	**Rock/SA Pop**
Language: English	0.238	0.614	-0.875*	0.822*
	(0.516)	(0.092)	(0.024)	(0.019)
Male	1.399***	-0.809***	-0.282	0.193
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.174)	(0.329)
Religion	0.382	0.265	0.358	-0.289
	(0.197)	(0.390)	(0.236)	(0.339)
Class	-0.191	-0.237*	-0.212	-0.166
	(0.066)	(0.030)	(0.055)	(0.102)
School: Town	0.898*	0.171	-1.122**	-0.588
	(0.021)	(0.659)	(0.009)	(0.121)
Observations	373	373	373	373
Pseudo R-squared	0.054	0.028	0.039	0.015
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001				

Table 24: Ologits: Music Genres (Coloured/Atlantic High)

	USA Hip Hop	**USA Pop/RnB**	**SA Hip Hop/ Kwaito**	**Rock/SA Pop**
Language: English	1.169***	0.446	0.250	0.986***
	(0.000)	(0.135)	(0.389)	(0.001)
Male	1.320***	-0.818***	0.301	0.00333
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.130)	(0.987)
Religion	0.382	0.599	-0.245	0.326
	(0.259)	(0.079)	(0.451)	(0.335)
Class	0.00944	-0.183	-0.328**	-0.0953
	(0.938)	(0.149)	(0.008)	(0.433)
School: Atlantic High	0.964**	0.399	0.396	0.470
	(0.008)	(0.269)	(0.244)	(0.193)
Observations	351	351	351	351
Pseudo R-squared	0.073	0.028	0.012	0.018
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001				

Table 25: Ologits: Music Genres (Coloured/Cape Flats High)

	USA Hip Hop	**USA Pop/RnB**	**SA Hip Hop/ Kwaito**	**Rock/SA Pop**
Language: English	0.974**	0.441	0.0494	0.907**
	(0.001)	(0.155)	(0.869)	(0.003)
Male	1.303***	-0.823***	0.303	-0.00581
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.127)	(0.977)
Religion	0.427	0.578	-0.203	0.345
	(0.207)	(0.092)	(0.530)	(0.311)
Class	0.0160	-0.158	-0.365**	-0.0866
	(0.895)	(0.209)	(0.003)	(0.473)
School: Cape Flats High	-0.753***	-0.0456	-0.561*	-0.249
	(0.001)	(0.841)	(0.011)	(0.263)
Observations	351	351	351	351
Pseudo R-squared	0.078	0.027	0.017	0.017
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001				

Table 26: Ologits: Music Genres (Coloured/Southern Suburbs High)

	USA Hip Hop	**USA Pop/RnB**	**SA Hip Hop/ Kwaito**	**Rock/SA Pop**
Language: English	0.989**	0.393	0.353	0.965**
	(0.001)	(0.208)	(0.243)	(0.002)
Male	1.305***	-0.817***	0.286	-0.00335
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.151)	(0.987)
Religion	0.258	0.561	-0.261	0.285
	(0.442)	(0.102)	(0.421)	(0.399)
Class	0.0538	-0.162	-0.284*	-0.0717
	(0.654)	(0.193)	(0.019)	(0.551)
School: S. Suburbs High	0.499*	0.162	-0.248	0.0783
	(0.027)	(0.471)	(0.251)	(0.724)
Observations	351	351	351	351
Pseudo R-squared	0.070	0.027	0.012	0.016
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001				

Table 27: Ologits: Music Genres (White/Atlantic High)

	USA Hip Hop	**USA Pop/RnB**	**SA Hip Hop/ Kwaito**	**Rock/SA Pop**
Language: English	0.393	0.513	-2.342***	1.731**
	(0.500)	(0.358)	(0.000)	(0.010)
Male	-0.438	-1.350***	0.172	-0.210
	(0.137)	(0.000)	(0.595)	(0.485)
Religion	0.504	1.200***	0.399	0.296
	(0.110)	(0.000)	(0.250)	(0.348)
Class	0.0718	0.0375	-0.208	-0.0589
	(0.634)	(0.793)	(0.162)	(0.706)
School: Atlantic High	-0.540	-0.934**	-0.196	0.718*
	(0.086)	(0.004)	(0.571)	(0.026)
Observations	158	158	158	158
Pseudo R-squared	0.017	0.085	0.095	0.038
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001				

Table 28: Ologits: Music Genres (White/Southern Suburbs High)

	USA Hip Hop	**USA Pop/RnB**	**SA Hip Hop/ Kwaito**	**Rock/SA Pop**
Language: English	0.0942	0.112	-2.357***	2.113**
	(0.869)	(0.840)	(0.000)	(0.002)
Male	-0.431	-1.284***	0.207	-0.214
	(0.142)	(0.000)	(0.519)	(0.475)
Religion	0.507	1.168***	0.437	0.343
	(0.108)	(0.000)	(0.212)	(0.284)
Class	0.100	0.0495	-0.231	-0.0608
	(0.503)	(0.730)	(0.124)	(0.684)
School: S. Suburbs High	0.872	1.161*	-0.224	-1.212*
	(0.080)	(0.032)	(0.670)	(0.015)
Observations	158	158	158	158
Pseudo R-squared	0.017	0.077	0.094	0.040
p-values in parentheses * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001				

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