

Introduction

Popular music has always been profoundly imbricated with race. The most common discussion of this has involved ‘black music’. In the United States especially, there has been a stream of articles and books addressing issues ranging from the question of what is ‘black music’ to whether ‘white’ people are able to play ‘black music’. Amidst this ongoing preoccupation there has developed a much smaller literature on popular music and Jews. Here I can point to such significant high points as Michael Rogin’s discussion of *The Jazz Singer, Blackface, White Noise*;¹ Michael Billig’s historical account of the involvement of Jews in American popular music, *Rock’n’Roll Jews*;² Jeffrey Melnick’s examination of the ways people have thought about the relationship between Jews and ‘black music’, *A Right to Sing the Blues*;³ and Steven Lee Beeber’s *The Heebie-Jeebies at CBGB’s: A Secret History of Jewish Punk*,⁴ which identifies the strong Jewish involvement in punk. Two articles of my own cover similar ground, linking the Jewish involvement with punk in both the United States and Britain to the cultural surfacing of the traumatic experience of the Holocaust: ‘Jews, Punk and the Holocaust: From the Velvet Underground to the Ramones—the Jewish–American Story’ in *Popular Music*,⁵ and ‘Punk, Jews and the Holocaust—the English Story’ in *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, special issue edited by Mikel Koven, ‘Cool Jewz: Contemporary Jewish Identity in Popular Culture’.⁶

Discussing popular music from a more Jewish perspective there are, among other books, Mark Slobin’s *Tenement Songs: The Popular Music of the Jewish Immigrants*⁷ and Jack Gottlieb’s *Funny, It Doesn’t Sound Jewish: How Yiddish Songs*

1 Michael Rogin, *Blackface, White Noise: Jewish Immigrants in the Hollywood Melting Pot* (Berkeley, CA, 1996).

2 Michael Billig, *Rock’n’Roll Jews* (Syracuse, NY, 2000).

3 Jeffrey Melnick, *A Right to Sing the Blues: African Americans, Jews, and American Popular Song* (Cambridge, MA, 1999).

4 Steven Lee Beeber, *The Heebie-Jeebies at CBGB’s: A Secret History of Jewish Punk* (Chicago, 2006).

5 Jon Stratton, ‘Jews, Punk and the Holocaust: From the Velvet Underground to the Ramones—the Jewish–American Story’, *Popular Music*, 24/1 (2005), pp. 79–115.

6 Jon Stratton, ‘Punk, Jews and the Holocaust—the English Story’, *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies*, special issue edited by Mikel Koven, ‘Cool Jewz: Contemporary Jewish Identity in Popular Culture’, 26/4 (2007), pp. 124–49.

7 Mark Slobin, *Tenement Songs: The Popular Music of the Jewish Immigrants* (Urbana, 1982).

and *Synagogue Melodies Influenced Tin Pan Alley, Broadway, and Hollywood*.⁸ There is now also developing a literature on the establishment and reception of klezmer in the United States: Seth Rogovoy's *The Essential Klezmer: A Music Lover's Guide to Jewish Roots and Soul Music, from the Old World to the Jazz Age to the Downtown Avant-Garde*,⁹ Henry Sapoznik's *Klezmer!: Jewish Music from the Old World to Our World*¹⁰ and Jonathan Freedman's *Klezmer America: Jewishness, Ethnicity, Modernity*.¹¹ Then there are the less scholarly books that identify the Jewish involvement in popular music, such as Scott R. Benarde's collection of biographies of Jewish performers, *Stars of David: Rock'n'Roll's Jewish Stories*.¹² While this list is by no means exhaustive, it does provide a sense of the range of material available now on Jews and popular music.

Freedman's book, it should be noted, is not so much about klezmer as such. Rather, it uses klezmer as a metaphor for a number of differently focused discussions on the hybrid nature of Jewishness in the United States. Klezmer is a wanton and wayward music. Freedman writes that he accords

... klezmer central importance as both a practice and a metaphor. Two qualities of the klezmer revival and the postklezmer moment alike make them especially salient to the larger arguments of [*Klezmer America*]: their relentless and even definitional hybridity and their ceaseless and even foundational revisionism.¹³

Freedman's book applies these ideas to interests as varied as Tony Kushner's extraordinary theatrical examination of the onset of the AIDS crisis in the United States, *Angels in America*,¹⁴ and the complex relations between Chinese and Jews, both having been constructed through the stereotyping lens of Orientalism.

Unlike the books that I have listed, *Jews, Race and Popular Music* does not limit itself to the United States. While the majority of the book does take the United States as its focus, there is also one chapter on Australia and there are two on Britain. The book is organized in terms of case studies that examine a particular Jewish performer, or a particular musical genre, and consider how that person, or genre,

8 Jack Gottlieb, *Funny, It Doesn't Sound Jewish: How Yiddish Songs and Synagogue Melodies Influenced Tin Pan Alley, Broadway, and Hollywood* (Albany, NY, 2004).

9 Seth Rogovoy, *The Essential Klezmer: A Music Lover's Guide to Jewish Roots and Soul Music, from the Old World to the Jazz Age to the Downtown Avant-Garde* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2000).

10 Henry Sapoznik, *Klezmer!: Jewish Music from the Old World to Our World* (New York, 2000).

11 Jonathan Freedman, *Klezmer America: Jewishness, Ethnicity, Modernity* (New York, 2008).

12 Scott R. Benarde, *Stars of David: Rock'n'Roll's Jewish Stories* (New Hanover, 2003).

13 Freedman, *Klezmer America*, p. 18.

14 Tony Kushner, *Angels in America: A Gay Fantasia on National Themes* (New York, 1995), Part 1 and Part 2.

has been constructed through the prism of Jewishness. Such an approach has enabled me to avoid the anxiety of inclusivity while allowing me to concentrate in some detail on the subjects that I have chosen to examine. By additionally taking up performers in Australia and Great Britain, I have been able to show both divergences and continuities in the positioning of the relationship of Jews with popular music across three Anglophone countries. In this way I hope that I have been able to offer a greater degree of critical insight than is possible when only one country is examined.

It is important to state here that, for me, ‘Jew’ is a cultural construction. This is to say much more than Jean-Paul Sartre argued in *Anti-Semite and Jew*—in which, ultimately, a Jew is a product of those who assert that person’s Jewishness.¹⁵ It is also to say less, or perhaps to give the term less weight, than Jean-Francois Lyotard does in *Heidegger and the ‘jews’*, where, as Elizabeth Bellamy puts it, ‘If the “jews” cannot be “interpreted, converted, or expelled”, it is because their imposed silence before the Law renders them ... rather (like the Law itself) “unrepresentable”’.¹⁶ ‘Jew’, in this book, is a construction of those who identify as Jews. This, though, is by no means a simple category. As Eliezer Ben-Rafael remarks in his collection of Jewish discussions of Jewish identity:

Despite the ‘practical’ nature of the question, it would be wrong to imagine that it is easy to define ‘Who is a Jew’. In fact, it is probably easier to define ‘Who is not a Jew’. However rigid or flexible one’s approach, in virtually all formulations of Jewish identity a non-Jew is a person who must undergo conversion in order to become a Jew.¹⁷

‘Jew’ is also a construction of those who identify certain people as Jews. Sometimes these two constructions overlap, which gives an impression of an essential quality to being a Jew. Often, the way those who self-identify as Jews construct the quality of ‘Jew’ is quite different from the way that groups who do not identify as ‘Jews’ construct the category. In its constructedness, ‘Jew’ can blur into Jewishness, but we do need to be clear here about the constructed quality of the ‘Jew’ because in my later discussions of Jewish performers I take this constructedness for granted and I do not want any reader to mistake my apparently easy use of the term Jew for some kind of essentialism.

Likewise, as will become more apparent as the reader engages with the chapters in this book, I am assuming ‘race’ to be a constructed category. The discourse of

15 I have discussed Jean-Paul Sartre’s *Anti-Semite and Jew* (New York, 2008), pp. 47–9.

16 Elizabeth Bellamy, *Affective Genealogies: Psychoanalysis, Postmodernism, and the ‘Jewish Question’ after Auschwitz* (Lincoln, NE, 1997), p. 141.

17 Eliezer Ben-Rafael, ‘Preamble to Part Two’, in Ben-Rafael (ed.), *Jewish Identities: Fifty Intellectuals Answer Ben Gurion* (Boston, 2002), pp. 117–18.

race has a complex history, but, for my purposes here, we can say that the idea of race is a characteristic of Western modernity and one that is closely linked with the evolution of the nation-state.¹⁸ ‘Race’ evolved as a strategy of exclusion. The most potent antecedent was the idea of *limpieza de sangre*, the idea of ‘pure blood’ that developed in Reconquista Spain during the fifteenth century and was used to distinguish those Jews and Muslims whose ancestors had converted to Christianity from those people whose background had always been Christian.¹⁹ Through modernity, Immanuel Wallerstein argues, ‘race and racism unifies intrazonally the core zones and the peripheral zones’ of the modern world system.²⁰ That is, as race became a naturalized form of social organization, its use expanded to function also as a determinant of inclusion. To quote David Theo Goldberg, the ideal understanding was that ‘European states were in an ethnoracial sense internally homogeneous, that they tended to reproduce an internalized ethnoracial sameness.’²¹ Race intersects in complex ways with the idea of nation, and this intersection is played out differently in the histories of individual nation-states. As we shall see, some of these differences will be highlighted as this book moves across three Anglophone countries. Race is not a stable category; the characteristics that enable some people to be grouped together as a race have varied greatly from time to time. Generally speaking, the discourse of race has tended to be thought of in biologically reductionist terms, but occasionally race has been defined culturally—consequently, predominantly, culture has been thought to be dependent on race, but more recently race has sometimes been thought of in cultural terms.

If race is a construction, then, it follows that so are racial categories such as ‘black’ and ‘white’. Who is classified as ‘black’, for example, is extremely complex; not only has this varied considerably across time and place in the United States, but, to take the other two countries with which this book is concerned, it has varied in different ways in Australia and Britain. To some extent, it has been necessary for me to engage with these differences. So, for example, readers will discover that, in Australia, ‘black’ has been not only a category used for the Indigenous people that live in the colonized territory known as Australia, but that it was, until the 1970s, a term that identified many of those considered to be non-white and, therefore, not allowed to immigrate to Australia. However, it was probably a less common term than the more generally applied term ‘coloured’, which was also very commonly used in Britain to describe non-white people.

While race has been a dominant discourse in all three of the countries that I will be discussing, the racialized structure of each society has been different.

18 For a useful history of the idea of race, see Kenan Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race History and Culture in Western Society* (London, 1996).

19 See, for example, George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton and Oxford, 2002), pp. 31–5.

20 Immanuel Wallerstein, ‘The Construction of Peoplehood’, in Etienne Balibar and Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London, 1992), p. 82.

21 David Theo Goldberg, *The Racial State* (Oxford, 2002), p. 15.

Thus, for example, while there is a large African-American population in the United States whose presence is, in large part, the consequence of slavery, in Britain, while there has been a long-term presence of people identified as non-white, there has been a very significant increase in the numbers of these groups since the 1950s, and in Australia the purpose of the White Australia Policy was to exclude those defined as non-white until the dissolution of the policy in the late 1960s and early 1970s. These differences are related to different ways that these countries have thought about membership of the nation. For example, as I will be arguing later in this book, in Britain, the British cultural understanding of whiteness is intimately related to the acceptance of migrants as ‘English’. Englishness is a complicated discursive category. In his book, *The Idea of English Ethnicity*, Robert J. C. Young argues that, as the idea of Englishness replaced the idea of Saxonism during the nineteenth century, ‘Englishness was an attribute of the English, but no longer directly connected to England as such, rather taking the form of a global racial and cultural identity—of “Anglo-Saxons”.’²²

Across all the three countries with which this book is concerned, the situation of Jews has varied considerably through the post-Second World War period. Thus, in the United States, as we shall see, Jews, who had been racialized in the era before the Second World War, were increasingly incorporated into American whiteness after the war—though there continued to be discrimination against Jews, often based on anti-Semitic stereotypes. In Britain, where Jews had been ‘tolerated’ for a long time, there was an apparent increased acceptance of Jews after the war—by the 1970s they had achieved the status of being a model minority. However, continuing the previous basis for tolerance, this acceptance was dependent on their social invisibility. In Australia, throughout the post-Second World War period of the White Australia Policy, Jews were allowed to immigrate depending on whether their skin colour was considered to be ‘white’. In 1949, T. H. Hayes, Secretary of the Department of Immigration, sent a letter to the Department of External Affairs explaining that the government’s position was that ‘persons of Jewish race of Middle Eastern descent are not eligible, under the existing Immigration Policy, for entry to Australia’.²³ This decision was eased in 1954 when Hayes wrote a memorandum announcing that the rule that a person migrating to Australia could not have more than 25 per cent ‘coloured ancestry’, need not be strictly adhered to in the case of Sephardim.²⁴ Many Holocaust survivors were allowed to migrate as part of the program that, by broadening the Australian definition of whiteness, was attempting rapidly to expand the size of Australia’s population. At the same time, as we shall see, there remained in Australia a not insignificant prejudice against Jews.

22 Robert J. C. Young, *The Idea of English Ethnicity* (Oxford and Malden, 2008), p. xi.

23 Quoted here in Jon Stratton, *Coming Out Jewish: Constructing Ambivalent Identities* (London, 2000), p. 213.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 214.

Since the 1970s and 1980s, multiculturalism is a term that has had quite different uses in all three countries. In Britain, it has often been applied as a description of the organization of British society since the 1970s, a recognition of the importance of what the British call 'visible minorities'—that is, the people of mostly African-Caribbean and South Asian backgrounds who have migrated to Britain since the 1950s. In Australia, multiculturalism is an official government policy that was established in the 1970s as a way of managing the large number of Italian and Greek migrants, and others with cultures that were considered to be at considerable variance with Australia's established culture, who were allowed to migrate to the country in the wake of the Second World War. This, by the way, signals one of the ways that 'white' has changed its meaning in Australia. Before the war, southern Italians and Greeks had been considered non-white and were mostly excluded from Australia. After the war, when Australia needed to increase the size of its population as part of an attempt to become an industrialized nation-state, the official definition of 'white' was broadened to include not only southern Italians and Greeks but also Maltese and Christian Lebanese. Over the last thirty years or so, with the ending of the White Australia Policy, the government-mandated policy of multiculturalism has become a way of organizing Australia's increasingly diverse society defined in ethnic and racial terms. In the era of Australian multicultural diversity, Australian society has been organized into a core and periphery structure where those historically defined as white—that is, people of predominantly British and northern European background—occupy the core sites of power while those defined as ethnics, including those identified as belonging to racial groups other than white, tend to be marginalized.²⁵ In the United States, multiculturalism tends to be thought of in pluralist terms and is associated with a politics of identity. It includes, in addition to those groups conventionally racialized in the United States, a variety of non-racialized groups such as gays and lesbians. According to David Biale, Michael Galchinsky and Susannah Heschel, American multiculturalism is a product of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. It emerged out of the tension between the demand for race blindness and the simultaneous recognition that race hatred would necessarily prevent realization of that goal.²⁶ They relate multiculturalism to a growing awareness of the failure of the Enlightenment vision: 'The Enlightenment belief in one, universal human nature seemed itself ... a creation that failed to take into account the real differences in the cultures and experiences of non-Western peoples as well as, in the West, of groups of color, women, and gays, lesbians, and bisexuals.'²⁷ Multiculturalism in the United States,

25 On this history, see Jon Stratton, *Race Daze: Australia in Identity Crisis* (Sydney, 1998).

26 David Biale, Michael Galchinsky and Susannah Heschel, 'Introduction: The Dialectic of Jewish Enlightenment', in Biale, Galchinsky and Heschel (eds), *Insider/ Outsider: American Jews and Multiculturalism* (Berkeley, CA, 1998).

27 *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.

then, is a political position and refers primarily to the social acknowledgement of American cultural diversity.

Freedman has rightly criticized what he describes as ‘the reframing of the hoary issue of Jewish assimilation in the idiom of whiteness’ because of its inadequacy.²⁸ While Jews in the United States have ‘gained’ whiteness, they have continued to be subject to a variety of stereotypes and prejudices. As we shall see in this book, the disillusionment felt by many Jews of the generation of the 1960s, the generation that followed the incorporation of the Jews into American whiteness, got played out in popular music in a variety of ways ranging from the end of the love songs of the Brill Building songwriters to a reassertion of the importance of the torch song as a vehicle through which female Jews could assert their Jewishness, to the turning of male Jews, including Bob Dylan, Michael Bloomfield and Al Kooper, to African-American electric blues. Freedman is concerned about the ongoing effects of stereotypes, in particular of the Jew as Oriental. While Freedman overstates his case—authors such as Matthew Frye Jacobson in *Whiteness of a Different Color* and Eric L. Goldstein in *The Price of Whiteness* both write about the ways that Jews were Orientalized in the era before the Second World War²⁹—he is nevertheless correct that ‘the lack of attention to the Orientalizing of the American Jew sidelines, or simply eliminates from interpretive view, the new forms of Jewish self-consciousness and cultural production that grow out of this Orientalized matrix and/or seek to return to it’.³⁰ The persistence of stereotypes is of vital importance. In this book I write a lot about the Orientalizing of the female Jew in terms of a stereotype that I describe as ‘the beautiful Jewess’. Freedman’s argument is that, while the stereotype is no longer invoked, its effects on how American Jews construct themselves remain. In the chapters in this book where I examine Renée Geyer in post-1970s Australia, and Helen Shapiro and Amy Winehouse in 1960s and early 2000s Britain respectively, we shall see that this stereotype is still very much in use. Thinking about some of the ways that Monica Lewinsky was talked about, it seems that it persists in the United States as well.

In this book I have wanted to examine the ways that the Jewish experience in the late modern, and possibly postmodern, nation-state has been played out in the area of popular music. The term ‘popular music’ is itself very vexed. Richard Middleton devoted much space to a discussion of it in *Studying Popular Music*. Having examined four different categories of definition that have been used by various commentators when engaging with ‘popular music’, Middleton remarks that ‘[p]opular music’ (or whatever) can only be properly viewed within the context of the *whole musical field*, within which it is an active tendency; and this field, together with its internal relationships, is never still—it is always *in*

28 Freedman, *Klezmer America*, p. 28.

29 Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA, 1998); Eric L. Goldstein, *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race, and American Identity* (Princeton, 2006).

30 Freedman, *Klezmer America*, p. 24.

movement.³¹ This is a wise assertion, but for my purposes here I need something a little more focused. Andy Bennett, Barry Shank and Jason Toynbee, in their Introduction to *The Popular Music Studies Reader*, suggest: ‘Popular music as we know it emerged at the beginning of the last century, taking shape through what were then new media, particularly sound recording and broadcasting.’³² This definition avoids any claim about the music itself in favour of a recognition of the importance of changing media technologies to the deployment of what we can identify as popular music. Bennett, Shank and Toynbee go on to emphasize the structural continuity in musical consumption and production over the last hundred years or so:

Millions were buying and listening to records during the 1920s, and the same conditions apply now, except that the audience can be measured in billions. Music radio was born in the 1920s, and today we are listening to at least as much as we ever did. Bands that recorded and played live became the dominant type of performing unit in that second decade, and bands with a similar combination of skills are still hard at work as you read.³³

For Middleton, this would fall into the category that he describes as ‘[t]echnologico-economic definitions’.³⁴ Middleton regards this kind of definition as unsatisfactory because ‘[t]he development of methods of mass diffusion ... has affected *all* forms of music, and any of them can be treated as a commodity’.³⁵ He goes on to explain that ‘*all* forms of what would usually be considered popular music can in principle be disseminated by face-to-face methods and need not function as a commodity’.³⁶ Perhaps the easiest way to identify the music with which I am concerned here is to say that it is the music Middleton describes as ‘usually considered to be popular music’—that is, the music most deeply implicated with the massified forms of production and consumption briefly described by Bennett, Shank and Toynbee.

All the chapters in *Jews, Race and Popular Music* except the first are concerned with aspects of the relationship between Jews and popular music after the Second World War. This is one of the reasons why Bennett, Shank and Toynbee’s definition is of much practical use here. Primarily, I have focused on performers and, to a lesser extent, composers. I have not been interested in identifying who is Jewish, whatever that might mean; rather, I have wanted to think about how being constructed as Jewish has affected the kind of music that people have played and

31 Richard Middleton, *Studying Popular Music* (Philadelphia, 1990), p. 7 (italics in original).

32 Andy Bennett, Barry Shank and Jason Toynbee, ‘Introduction’, in Bennett, Shank and Toynbee (eds), *The Popular Music Studies Reader* (New York, 2006), p. 1.

33 Ibid.

34 Middleton, *Studying Popular Music*, p. 4.

35 Ibid. (italics in original).

36 Ibid. (italics in original).

composed. Thus, my concern is cultural in the sense of wanting to think about the cultural context in which the Jewish investment in popular music has played out, and structural in that my interest ultimately lies not in the personal decisions of particular Jewish artists but in particular artists as symptomatic of larger cultural processes.

Jews, Race and Popular Music has eight chapters. Chapter 1 is about Jews, whiteness and torch singing. By the 1920s in the United States, Jews were less and less thought of as black. However, they were considered to be only marginally white and, indeed, were often thought to be racially distinct. In this cultural context, Jews often used African-American expressive techniques known as ‘coon singing’ to sing songs on the white vaudeville stage. When the Jewish Fanny Brice sang what is regarded as the first torch song, ‘My Man’, she began a fashion that lasted for over a decade. Jewish torch song singers like Libby Holman form a link between the early African-American blues singers such as Mamie Smith and white audiences.

In Chapter 2, my focus is on the Jewish composers of the Brill Building in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In the 1960s, American Jews held out high hopes that acceptance into whiteness, which included access to middle-class, professional occupations, would mean their inclusion into white society. One key aspect of this development was the Jewish movement into the burgeoning suburbia outside of American cities along with white Americans. The songs of romantic love that characterized the compositions of the predominantly Jewish composers of the Brill Building expressed the Jewish hopes for these changes. By the mid-1960s, Jews continued to experience discrimination and became disillusioned with suburbia. The loss of hope is reflected in the teen angst songs of the Jewish girl group, the Shangri-Las, many of whose most popular songs were written by Jewish Brill Building composers.

Chapter 3 returns to the relationship between Jews and torch songs. Having been incorporated into whiteness in the period after the Second World War, in the 1960s and 1970s Jews became disillusioned with the suburban dream, in part as a consequence of ongoing discrimination, and began to distinguish themselves again from white Americans. Torch songs became an important way that Jewish performers achieved this. One marker in this development was Barbra Streisand’s performance as Fanny Brice in *Funny Girl*. Another was Bette Midler’s performance as Mary Rose Foster in *The Rose*, in which she sang ‘Stay with Me’, a song written by the Jewish composer of torch songs, Jerry Ragovoy. Showing the continuing close connections between Jewish composers and African-American singers, Ragovoy was a key player in the development of soul music, writing and producing torch songs for Garnet Mimms and Howard Tate as well as producing the original version of ‘Stay with Me’ for the African-American singer Lorraine Ellison.

Chapter 4 is about the relationship between Jews and the blues in the United States in the 1960s. In 1965, when Dylan made *Highway 61 Revisited*, Michael Bloomfield, Harvey Brooks and Al Kooper played on the session. All are Jewish.

Kooper and Bloomfield, and Barry Goldberg, also played with Dylan at his legendary Newport Folk Festival gig in 1965. Bloomfield played in the Paul Butterfield band, which also included Jewish Mark Naftalin. Kooper played with the New York blues group, the Blues Project, made up completely of Jews except for the lead singer, and, with Steve Katz, went on to form Blood, Sweat & Tears, six members of which were Jewish in its original line-up. This chapter discusses why so many Jews were involved in the 'white' blues revival movement.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the way that the Beastie Boys mediated rap music for a white audience. The Beastie Boys were the first popular non-African-American rap group. They were Jewish. Def Jam, the label to which they were signed and also the label that popularized rap to a white audience, was founded by the African-American Russell Simmons and the Jewish Rick Rubin. The Beastie Boys' success came from their acceptance by African-American audiences while making rap understandable to white audiences by combining it with hard rock—the most important example of this being '(You Gotta) Fight for Your Right (To Party)'. As members of a racial group not fully accepted as white but certainly not thought of as black, the Beasties were able to cross the musical divide and deliver Simmons the white audience on which he could build his corporate empire.

Chapter 6 moves the focus to Australia and discusses Renée Geyer. Australia after the Second World War continued to practise the White Australia Policy. At this time, Jews were mostly considered to be just white enough to gain entry to the country. People identified as black were refused entry until the ending of the policy in the early 1970s and Jews continued to be associated with blackness. In this social and cultural context, the Jewish Renée Geyer became famous as a singer of jazz, soul and funk material—that is, as a singer of the kinds of songs associated with African-American artists. In 1970, the African-American singer Marcia Hines and a number of other African Americans were allowed into Australia as performers in the rock musical *Hair*. Hines managed to stay in the country and made a very successful career for herself as a pop singer. This chapter explores the racial complexities that inform the Australian careers of Geyer and Hines.

For the final two chapters, we move to Britain. Chapter 7 takes Helen Shapiro as a case study. Shapiro was the first British female teenage star. 'Walking Back to Happiness' stayed at number 1 for three weeks in 1961. In spite of claims that Britain is a 'tolerant' society, Jews tended to move into occupations where they would be invisible. Britain values a homogeneous culture, and Jews, like other racialized minorities, challenge that. In 1961, Shapiro appeared in two films, *It's Trad, Dad* and *Play It Cool*. Shapiro's high level of visibility brought to the fore many of the stereotypes about Jewish women. This chapter sets an investigation of Shapiro in a larger discussion of the ways in which those singers of the 1960s who were associated with black music, including Dusty Springfield and Lulu, were constructed as not-quite-white/not-quite-English.

Chapter 8 considers Amy Winehouse in the context of multicultural Britain. The social context for Winehouse's prominence in the early 2000s has been both similar to and different from that of Shapiro forty years earlier. Now, there are large

numbers of people from minority groups that are more visible than Jews in Britain. At the same time, the basic structure of British society has not changed—that is, Britain still sees such people as minorities to be ‘tolerated’. This chapter examines Winehouse’s relationship with black music and with blackness, and compares her with Rachel Stevens, who is much less often described as Jewish but whose image also functions in terms of long-established stereotypes of the Jewish woman.