

**Student Material for
the
Dramatic Interpretation of "West Side Story"**

to be used along with the German Edition

**Markus Kosuch/Wolfgang Martin Stroh:
West Side Story. Begründungen und Unterrichtsmaterialien.
(Szenische Interpretation von Musiktheater, Band 4)
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The gang, responsible for all of this ... 1957

Introduction

The “West Side Story” is covered in music, social studies and English class. The material for the scenic interpretation of “West Side Story” came out through the “Institut für Didaktik populärer Musik” publishing house in Oldershausen in 1997. This material aimed at an interdisciplinary project which would have music class as the focal point. The co-operation with English classes and the origin of the materials used made it seem natural to provide the extensive student material in English also. The complete (German) material volume contains the following sections:

- Introduction, subject and didactic analysis (21 pages),
- Portrayal of an 8 lesson course (57 pages),
- Systematic of the methods used in scene playing (14 pages),
- Student material: background and scenic information (78 pages),
- Afterword and indices (8 pages).

To accompany the material volume there is also a CD with various arrangements, playbacks and recordings, as well as an instructional film which shows the methods with examples. The work with this material volume presumes that Reclams foreign language book “West Side Story” (Universal-Library Nr. 9212 ISBN 3-15-009212-4) is on hand. Furthermore, a complete recording of the musical is indispensable. The “Original Broadway Cast: West Side Story” (UN 2008 Universe, CIP-Code 4 013659 020080, price 9.80 DM, recording with the original cast) is recommended.

In this exercise book, all the student material (which corresponds to the fourth point above) is included in the English language. Experience has shown that this material isn’t necessarily solely useful for scenic interpretation. Any subject which would like to work with an authentic, historic and student-oriented treatment of “West Side Story” can use this material as a source. The scenic interpretation of “West Side Story” has five themes which may be used in any student-oriented work with the musical:

- Why are youth gangs so attractive to boys?
- How does violent action arise in groups where each of the individuals doesn’t want violence?
- How do “locals” deal with “strangers” living among them?
- Can Utopian solutions for life such as “love” solve social psychological problems?
- Are problems elicited by gender-typical roles, and can the problems be solved by the emancipation from role stereotypes?

The student material offers subject as well as background information on these topics which make it easy to understand what the “West Side Story” is about. At the same time, it also offers insight into the historic and social situation in New York at the end of the 1950s, and allows the reader to empathise with the roles and people handled in the groups. The material offers the students a role protection. That can mean, that the students give their views on the five problems given differently with this temporary role protection than without such a role protection. It can happen, for example, that students don’t show their violence fantasies in the school, as it doesn’t conform with school policies; and yet at the same time, when they’re outside in the schoolyard, these suppressed feelings turn into reality. For these kind of students, the role protection offers the opportunity to break through those types of school-typical “ritu-

als” and use these angers constructively in a play process. And at the same time, this topic can be openly discussed, without having these students having to “lose face”.

The scenic interpretation and, in a possibly modified form, every dealing with “West Side Story” with the material presented here invites the students and teachers involved to attain an individual interpretation of the happenings in New York’s West Side in the late 1950s. This is achieved by process of confronting the musical and material, in order to be able to empathise with the characters, comprehending individual scenes, and seeing the situation in a new light. The objective of the lessons should not be to determine the message the makers of the musical wanted to leave with the Broadway audience in 1957 with, or with us, members of the following generation. The goal of the lessons should be, more importantly, to find out the meaning the musical has for us today. The procedure in scenic plays on which the scenic interpretation relies on is, reaching a “reconstruction of personal meaning” in the lessons. These play methods don’t have a purpose on their own, like with a “play & fun” didactic, but rather prove themselves only as a constructive aid. Other aids are imaginable and possible – their use depends on the teacher’s capabilities, goals, and what he or she thinks is appropriate.

Student Material 1: New York, New York!

Since the beginning of the 19th century, and especially in the second half of the century, there has been a migration of peoples from Europe to America. This migration continued into the middle of the 20th century, and continues to this day, even though the immigrants now come from Asian and Latin-American countries. Up until the year 1890, more than 7 million people had passed through the reconstructed theatre on the southern most point of Manhattan, Castel Gardens. Starting in 1892, the immigrants were taken in at Ellis Island. They left their homelands because of political or religious persecution, or because of hunger.

More than two million Irish people fled from the civil war and hunger after the potato famine. In the 1850's, German craftsmen, poor because of the industrialisation, came also. Many small farmers also came from Hessen, Rheinland, Pfalz, Bavaria and Westphalia. Millions of Jewish citizens were faced with terrible prosecution after Tsar Alexander II had been assassinated by a Jewish intellectual in 1881. They were only allowed to leave after giving up all their possessions. A massive exodus began. Two thousand East-European Jews arrived in America daily. In the record year of 1907, 1 285 349 immigrants passed through the tiny American funnel, Ellis Island. In total, 12 million people of all races and nations came up until the first world war; most of them were dirt poor, and full of hope for a better life.

The following tables show the effect of this migration on the population of New York. The numbers stand for thousands of people. Below that is the percentage of the whole population of New York. Comments on this table: Foreigners in the USA are only people who were born in a foreign country. The reduction of the number of Germans between 1900 and 1960 means on one hand, that there were less new German immigrants than Germans who left. And, on the other hand, the ethnic group "Germans in New York" didn't consist anymore of first generation, but rather second and third generation immigrants. The statistics on Russia show that approx. 750 000 Russian immigrants came between 1900 and 1920. They don't show, however, that the "Russian (Jewish) community" reduced in size after 1940. Statistics from Bremen's Hapag Lloyd show that between 1951 and 1958 approx. 600 000 Germans emigrated to the USA through Bremen, even though entry conditions were very strict. Between 1959 and 1972, there were only 35 000.

	1900	1920	1940	1960
NY - total population	3,437	5,620	7,455	7,783
Foreigners (not born in the USA)	1,261 37%	1,992 35%	2,080 28%	1,464 19%
Children of foreigners (so called 2nd generation immigrants)	1,372 40%	2,303 41%	2,752 37%	2,159 28%
Whites, others (3rd and higher generation immigrants)	737 21%	1,165 21%	2,146 29%	2,431 31%
Puerto Ricans				588 8%
Blacks	61 2%	152 3%	458 6%	1,088 14%

the foreigners came from the following countries:

Germany	762	608	498	324
Ireland	692	621	518	311
Russia	241	1.006	927	564
Poland			413	389
Italy	219	807	1.095	859

The following facts are interesting: Around 1900, 77% of the foreigners in New York were first or second generation immigrants. In 1940, this percentage was still 65%, or two-thirds. The percentage of "natives" rose very little between 1900 and 1960: from 21% to 31%. The percentage reduction of 1st and 2nd generation foreigners between 1900 and 1960 from 77% to 47% is compensated by the growth of the Black and Puerto-Rican population.

The new homeland didn't receive the newcomers with open arms. There was enough work indeed. In the textile industry, the backbone of the New York economy, hundreds of thousands of immigrants found work quickly, struggling to survive. For a starvation wage, though! Men, women and children slaved away 16 hours a day in tiny windowless rooms, shoulder to shoulder, bent over their sewing machines. They only earned between 12 and 18 dollars a week, and they had to pay for the electricity for their sewing machines!

In 1921, the American government introduced a quota system which dramatically reduced the flow of immigrants, especially those coming from eastern Europe. Even during the Second World War, the gates to the United States remained closed against refugees from Nazi-Germany, when we exclude a handful of prominent figures. In 1939, the steamer "Louisiana", fully loaded with nazi-refugees, was supposed to dock here, but it was sent back. Finally, in 1944, thousands of Jews who were threatened by the gas chambers were allowed to come, upon the condition that they leave the USA at the end of the war. German refugees who stayed in New York settled mainly in the Upper West Side (where the West Side Story takes place). They formed a sort of German colony, which was promptly labelled by the New Yorkers as the "4th Reich".

In the fifties, whole industrial branches moved out of New York and into the suburbs of New Jersey, and later into the southern and south-western states. Even now a days, the wages are cheaper there. Brooklyn, once a brewery metropolis, doesn't have any more breweries now. The Navy shipyards closed. In Soho or Tribeca, blocks of warehouses and industrial complexes stood empty. The municipal government attempted to stop the industrial flight with redevelopment and the building of new city highways. This displaced tens, even hundreds of thousands from their old settled neighbourhoods into new, gigantic, poor districts, with the occasional monstrous apartment high-rise (so called "projects"). The last blow for the New York economy came in the sixties, as a new immigration wave splashed ashore. In a time where the city was eliminating jobs and suffering from the disappearance of a middle class, over a million new Hispanics and Blacks moved here. They came to a city which couldn't accommodate them, nor provide them with jobs.

Even today, 100 000 immigrants arrive yearly. They don't arrive in cholera contaminated, over-filled ships anymore, but they still come without an education and full of hope for a better life. Most of them are Latin Americans, but some are also from Afghanistan, the Soviet Union, Iran, and as before, from Puerto Rico. It is estimated that one and a half million illegal aliens live in New York. The Hispanic population is officially counted at 1.64 million, with more

than two-thirds consisting of Puerto Ricans. More than a fifth of all New Yorkers speak Spanish. Of all the immigrant groups, the Hispanic population is growing the fastest. In the last decade, the Hispanic population grew by more than 10 percent. New York has officially been a bilingual city for a long time. The city hosts Spanish radio and television stations, Spanish yellow pages, libraries, schools, museums, markets, and a salsa music industry which is larger than in any Latin American country.

Whether new arrival or "native New Yorker", most people settle in the existing ethnic communities. The relatively isolated towns which have their own infrastructures and cultures expand outwards. Harlem, the Lower East Side, Chinatown, Little Italy, and Spanish Harlem (El Barrio) are the best known, but not the largest anymore. In Queens, Brooklyn, the Bronx, and so on, there are wide stretching Greek, Italian, Colombian, Scandinavian, Korean and Indian communities. There is practically no country on earth which isn't represented by a community here. Some of them are so large, they exceed the population of their homelands. In contrast to other Americans, the New Yorkers maintain their individual ethnic identities.



Bremerhaven: Immigrants in the 1950's

Even after generations in New York, you are always still an Irishman, a Pole, a Ukrainian or Puerto Rican. In some quarters, the people are even more culturally polarised than the people living in their homeland.

A report on the German community in New York:

"More than one million people of German origin live in New York. They are almost completely assimilated and feel American. Less than ten-thousand were born in Germany itself. In the area around 86th Street and York Avenue (directly opposite to where the West Side Story takes place!), there are still German cafes and shops with German names. A visit to the German restaurants leaves behind a feeling of uneasiness. The primitive and hollow German hub-bub is hard to bear and gets on the nerves. People get together for social events, for evenings filled with beer and singing. Most of those present can barely speak a word of German. German songs are written down, spelled in English so they can sing along: *"Ick vise nickt vus soll dus badoytan, dus ick so trourick bin..."*

That's not the worst, though. There are some locations which have turned into the club houses for old nazis and neo-nazis, and not just nazis of German origin. Men in boots and brown shirts hand out swastika filled pamphlets to the people passing by. These activities are only laughed at, but not hindered."

A newspaper article from 1957 on living in the West Side

With its slums and places near to being slums situated in the middle of middle class apartments, the West Side is unique amongst districts which were settled by Puerto Ricans. The Puerto Ricans usually moved into the real slums and had to deal with Blacks or European immigrants who stay put most of the time. The situation in the West Side created complicated problems. Many inhabitants of the West Side traditionally believed that their children could grow up without class differences if they send them to public schools. The influence of the newly arriving Puerto Ricans put this belief to a difficult test. A higher percentage of Puerto Ricans in the school unavoidably slows down the rate of learning, because of language problems, if nothing else. On top of that, as soon as Puerto Rican children make up the majority on a street, then they can, just like every majority, treat the minority roughly. Being confronted with this reality, many West Side families began sending their children to private schools. Private schools experienced a boom, as long as they didn't move into the suburbs. Some of those who stayed tried their best to mix with their new Puerto Rican neighbours, but this wasn't that easy. Even under optimal conditions, there is a deep cleft between the two groups' customs and living standards.

...The Italians usually move with bag and baggage to the suburbs and cut off all relations to the neighbours. Meanwhile, the Jews keep their shops and adjust to the new inhabitants. They accept Puerto Rican businessmen and even learn Spanish. For example, you can see the word "Zapatos" beside the word "Shoes" in front of a shoe store. The smaller stores, especially "bodegas", small Spanish-American grocery stores, are often run by Puerto Ricans themselves. They have a great business sense, which the Blacks don't have. Yes, even in Black districts, the shops are often run by Puerto Ricans.

New York City Map (Manhattan)

The area in which the West Side Story takes place is the "Upper West Side". This is the division west of Central Park, which means it is in the upper left hand corner of the map.



Student Material 2: Material for individual understanding

The Role Cards

Die szenische Interpretation der „West Side Story“ beginnt mit einer gestuften Einfühlung: der kollektiven Einfühlung (in die Gruppen der Jets, Sharks und Erwachsenen) und der individuellen Einfühlung (in die einzelnen Personen). Die individuelle Einfühlung arbeitet mit Rollenkarten, die Ausgangspunkt von Rollenbiografien, von Verkleidung, Haltungsübungen und entsprechenden szenischen Präsentationen sind.

Die vorliegenden Rollenkarten sind keine reinen Phantasieprodukte, sondern Portraits von typischen Menschen, wie sie 1957 in der West Side zu finden waren. Typische Lebensläufe, Schicksale, soziale Situationen und Psychostrukturen, die in der sozialwissenschaftlichen Literatur beschrieben werden, sind in die Form von „Rollen“ gegossen worden, deren Rahmen selbstverständlich die Rollen der West Side Story darstellen. Ideologeme der Rollencharakterisierung aus dem Musical sind durch Realbezüge ersetzt worden. Zum Beispiel: Zu Bernardo heißt es in der deutschen Personenbeschreibung im Musical, er sei „irgendwie böse mit der Welt“. In der Rollenkarte wird versucht, die Lebensrealität aufzuzeigen, die dazu führen kann, daß es für Außenstehende den Anschein hat, Bernardo sei „irgendwie“ böse mit der Welt. Eine nebulöse Beschreibung einer (für rassistisches Denken anfälligen) Charaktereigenschaft wird ersetzt durch die Rekonstruktion der Lebensrealität.

Im Klavierauszug der West Side Story ist die Besetzung der „Uraufführung“ (New York am 26.9.1957) mit 39 Rollen angeführt, in den Reclams Fremdsprachentexten die Besetzung der Londoner Premiere am 12.12.1958 mit 35. Aktive Gesangs- oder Sprechrollen gibt es 13 Jugendliche und 4 Erwachsene, zum Beispiel auf der CD-Einspielung Leonard Bernsteins 1985. Für die szenische Interpretation mit einer Schulklasse stehen somit hinreichend Rollen zur Verfügung. Häufig kann die Klasse in Jets und Sharks zweigeteilt werden. Die Erwachsenen werden dann bei Bedarf von Nebenrollen übernommen. Hier eine Übersicht, die die Namen der „Uraufführung“ benutzt, die festen Paarbeziehungen durch Doppelpfeile anzeigt und eine Prioritätenliste darstellt (die grau unterlegten Rollen sind unabdingbar):

<i>Jet-Boys</i>	<i>Jet-Girls</i>	<i>Shark-Boys</i>	<i>Shark-Girls</i>	<i>Erwachsene</i>
1 Riff ↔	9 Velma	15 Bernardo ↔	21 Anita	27 Gladhand
2 Tony		16 Chino ↔	22 Maria	28 Schrank
3 Diesel ↔	10 Graziella	17 Pepe ↔	23 Consuelo	29 Krupke
4 Action	11 Anybodys	18 Indio ↔	24 Rosalia	30 Doc
5 Baby John	12 Clarice	19 Juano	25 Teresita	
6 A-Rab	13 Minnie	20 Luis	26 Francisca	
7 Professor (Snowboy)	14 Pauline			
8 Mouthpiece				

All rolecards as “rolecards.pdf” in an extra document ready for print!

Background material for individual understanding

Puerto Ricans in New York, how they are dressed and how they behave

There is a good deal of Indian blood, along with European and African blood, among the Puerto Ricans. They run almost the full color gamut, from very dark to quite fair, though few of them are really towheads or have light-blue eyes; they have produced some special types, and have given them special names, like the *indio*, who has copper skin and sometimes high cheekbones, and the *grifo*, or curly-haired one, who has fair skin but kinky hair or some other non-European feature. These and other non-European types make up a high percentage of the crowds one sees in the Puerto Rican ghettos here - higher, perhaps, than the percentage of such types in the city's total Puerto Rican Population, for the *indios*, the *grifos*, and the very dark ones, of course, find it hard to leave the ghettos, while an unknown number of those who look European have learned English, and New York ways, well enough to disappear into the general public. Striking as the racial variations are, however, they are not the only striking aspect of our Puerto Rican street scenes. Dress is at least equally noticeable - especially the dress of the women, whose styles have Spanish antecedents and are radically different from those of mainland women, white or Negro. In fact, one can often spot a Puerto Rican woman a block away by her clothes, and by her movement as she walks. Her dress or skirt will be gathered tightly at the waist and will flare out wide toward the hem, and as she steps along, inevitably with a free hip movement, the hem will swish considerably, clockwise and then back the other way. Puerto Rican women like to wear scarves over their heads, in light colors that might be called pastel except that they usually have a metallic, or aniline-dye, look to them. Short, square-shouldered Puerto Rican women with bright scarves, trim waists, and swishing hems are a common sight almost anywhere in the city, and so are little Puerto Rican girls wearing scarves and, in the winter, flaring coats of bright blue, pink, or green. Unless their families are very poor, the little girls are neat-looking, with clean white socks and clean shoes, and they often wear bits of jewelry - anything gold or shiny, anything with color. (As a rule, their ears are pierced when they are very young.) In the afternoon, when the public schools let out, these little girls sweep along the sidewalks in yard-high floods, smelling faintly of bubble gum and emitting a soprano babble of Spanish.

On the whole, Puerto Rican men wear less colorful clothes; indeed, in cold weather many of them dress in Army-surplus coats, trousers, and so on, which give them an over-all drab tone. The teen-age boys, though, often go in for a sort of Elvis Presley mode - ducktail haircut, sideburns, blue jeans, and either a black leather or a bright-colored cloth jackets. On the lower East Side, one often sees Puerto Rican boys in leather jackets with nickel stars on their shoulders, as if they were generals. These jackets can be bought on Orchard Street for about fifteen dollars. The cloth jackets cost a few dollars more; they are usually made to order, in special colors and with legends on the backs, for clubs, baseball teams, and the like, and they appear to be a mainstay of the gangs to which Puerto Rican and other slum boys belong. "The gangs might go out of existence if their members couldn't buy those jackets," a priest on the lower East Side told me. The jackets make the boys feel tough - "almost like hoods," he said - and give them a sense of solidarity. These feelings of toughness and solidarity seem to be needed by many young Puerto Ricans after they have moved to the big, lonely city from their sunny island, with its family and village relationships. A jacket fills such needs symbolically, and it is often a burning question, for priests and social workers as well as for a boy himself, whether he will get a jacket for sports or for gang activities.

Puerto Ricans dancing

As a dancing people, the Puerto Ricans have to have music wherever they go, and they have plenty of it here - on the radio (several New York stations now broadcast Spanish programs), out of jukeboxes, and, best of all, in dance halls, where the music is live. The Puerto Ricans favorite dances appear to be the meringue and the cha-cha-cha, in that order, and although neither of these is believed to have originated on the island (the meringue long ago got its start in the Dominican Republic, experts agree, and the cha-cha-cha in Cuba), it is largely through Puerto Rican sponsorships that they have begun to take hold on the mainland. Nowadays, it can be said that Puerto Ricans are the chief bearers of Latin-American music to our shores; indeed, the meringue and the cha-cha-cha, thanks to the Puerto Rican migration, are permeating not only the city and the rest of the country but vast sections of the non-Communist world.

The dancers used a lot of supple, sidewise hip motion, and this was so extreme, and so fast, that it seemed to distort the human frame. "The meringue is sometimes called the dance with the limp," one expert told me, "Actually, the hip motion is strictly the result of what you do with your feet, and that is why so many mainlanders make fools of themselves when they try it. In general, Latin-American dances are not a question of knowing a certain step but of hearing the beat and moving to it. If you can hear the beat and move to it, you are doing the dance. Diagramming it, in the manner of a New York dancing teacher, just makes it rigid." One of the reasons Puerto Ricans dance well, I have learned, is that they begin very early in life.

Most of the girls wore good-looking evening dresses; one of them had on a cream-colored, slit-down-the-back job that might have come from Fifth Avenue. The partners appeared sophisticated, too, in the courtesy or ritual of their dancing; they behaved far more suavely toward each other, I felt, than mainlanders would. The girls usually had a faraway look once they got out on the floor; they would do the most intricate, fantastic things with their feet, but their expressions would be detached. They would also chew gum - even the most chic of them - as if this were an integral part of their performance. And finally, almost without exception, they seemed taller while dancing than while at rest. When the music stopped and they headed back to their tables, they seemed less dignified, somehow, less significant, and smaller.

Girls and boy's gangs

Disputes over girls are often the excuse for starting a gang war, and girls are not always displeased by this. The girl whose honor or love is in question rarely runs any risk of physical injury herself, and the glamor of being fought over by whole gangs of boys has a powerful attraction.

The girls, Norm said, were just as involved in the questions of fighting. They were often the reason why the guys from other gangs came into the neighborhood. Norm told the girls they had a special chance to work between the gangs, and help keep the boys from fighting instead of, as sometimes happened, encouraging a battle.

How girls are dressed

Along the way we drank sneaky pete - as we called the strong, sweet, cheap wine - out of pint bottles, and we paused outside the candy stores to kid the babes in their car coats and kerchiefs. The Fifth Division did not yet have real debs or an organized girls' auxiliary. Of course,

many of us had bams, as we called our steadies. These were schoolgirls, sometimes as young as 13, but we thought of them as women and made the old valentino when their parents were not home. Usually the bams would try to talk us out of a fight, although afterwards they never failed to boast of what we had done. If they had been real debs, on the other hand, they would have walked down with us, carrying the heats in case a bull padded the boys down. During the clash, the debs would wait at a candy store nearby.

"Fish" or "grind"? Boys and girls dancing

Five or six girls outside the clubhouse screeched in unison as two boys came down the block. The boys ignored them in a sure, studied manner, chewing harder on their gum and running their hands up their bright suspenders, and sauntered inside to the more serious business of the pool table. The girls, after scattering in laughter, gathered again on the stoop of the building beside the clubhouse, chattering, peeping inside, and staring down the street to see who might come next.

The tiny, gold-skinned girl called "Shorty," whose attractions - at the age of sixteen - had promoted several gang battles in the past, leaned against a handsome, half-embarrassed boy, who in turn was leaning against a parked car; he bent his head down as she raised her face in quick, teasing darts that were almost but not quite kisses. The other girls didn't watch. On the stoop they talked of the imminent terror of school, starting the talk in English and often, when excited, switching to Spanish and ending in high, long laughter.

A girl in black toreador pants and an orange sweater slipped off the cement stoop and turned to ask the others, as if she had just remembered, "Hey, did you kids see that stage show at the Paramount? Fats Domino?"

The other girls shrieked their approval.

"Yeah," said one, "and that movie, though - with that band playing that American dance music - you see the way they go?"

The girl stepped out on the sidewalk, held her arms up stiffly in fox-trot position, and moved slowly in a wandering box step with a sour expression on her face. The others laughed.

"American" music - which is any other than the Spanish and South American dances and rock 'n' roll - is painfully square. It is practically non-existent at the weekly canteens attended by Conservatives at the Family Center of the Parish on 100th Street.

This Friday night canteen - supplemented occasionally by Saturday night dances sponsored by the Conservatives in the same place and with nearly the same faces - alone serves to break the routine of pool, pacing, and rock 'n' roll that sustains the club through its new, non-violent life.

The boys and girls come in separate, clustering groups, with an occasional couple. Soon they are dancing, clapping, and singing beneath the glow of fluorescent lights made colorful and dim by crepe-paper wrappings. The usual dress for the boys is bright-striped sport shirts and khaki or denim pants, though sometimes a boy will arrive in a new, Ivy League suit, his shoes shined to a brilliant gloss, perhaps even wearing what constitutes the final touch of full dress - dark glasses. The girls most often wear sweaters and slacks or toreador pants, but sometimes skirts and blouses.

The music blares loud and fast, in rock 'n' roll or Latin rhythms. The meringue is a favorite. But fast music finally stops and one of the slow rock 'n' roll tunes that drags in thick, halting harmony fills the room, and the boys are standing by girls. Couples embrace, and it is then the duty of the attendant minister to see that the technique used in this dance is "fish" and not

"grind." If the feet are moving, it is "fish" and legal; if the only movement is in the bodies that are, in either case, pressed together, it is "grind" and the offenders will be tapped on the shoulder by the minister and asked to start "fishing."

At eleven o'clock it is over, and the kids return to the street. Boys without girls may go to a candy store and gather at the jukebox for still more music; some seek the shelter of tenement hallways to work out their own singing arrangements. Those who leave the dance with dates often go to the hallways too - but not to sing. There is of course no such thing as "getting the family car" for "a drive in the country." Necking has to be done in the hallways. For more serious sexual adventures, the refuge is the roof. This can be dangerous, for there are often older adventurers strolling the rooftops - but the kids rarely find another place to be alone.

Whatever the after-the-dance adventure, there is always, at last, the return to the street; the last place to linger before going back to an overcrowded tenement room. Tomorrow there will be the clubhouse again, and next week, again, the dance.

Frenchie reports. . .

I was not yet 14 years old when Gus Gibbons, president of the Little Bishops, picked me to be president of his new Fifth Division. The Bishops were then one of the largest street clubs, in New York City. The five divisions had 150 or 200 members between 13 and 18. They claimed a turf extending for two miles along Fulton Street in Brooklyn and had brother clubs in Harlem and the Bronx.

I was an important sahib for so young a kid. But I was tall for my age, a little smarter than most of the other bops, or gang members, and had the prestige of having already been busted - arrested - twice by the cops. My first arrest had been for gang fighting. The second was for firing a zip gun at some kids in John Marshall Junior High School. That is the same school that was in the papers recently because a 13-year-old girl was raped there. The principal committed suicide in despair. There were rapes and fights when I went there, too, but our principal did not kill himself. He just left.

I had made the zip gun in shop class out of a toy airplane launcher. Afterward I made more of them for other bops in my division. Our zip guns could throw a 22-caliber cartridge 25 yards and were as good as any homemades in Brooklyn. Overnight I was no longer afraid of Gus Gibbons, although he was 17, much bigger and much meaner than I. I had taken two of the flare pistols for myself and test-fired them on a roof with shotgun shells. When I let go with both of those cannons at once. I got ideas of becoming the Hitler of all the Little People [junior gang members]. Although Hitler and his Nazis had been wiped out years before, we still looked up to them as the meanest bops in history. Even today some bop gang leaders call themselves Hitler or Goering or Fuehrer, and I know one club - Negro at that - named the Gestapo's.

Before Court

Youngblood and eight others of the Fifth Division were busted by the cops that night, and we lost nine pieces. Youngblood was grabbed with his gun on him. The others were able to throw their pistols away before being nabbed, but we never recovered them. Afterward Youngblood said Musclehead Ahearn worked him over in the station house that night and the next day. "Where'd you get that gun?" Whack! "Who else has 'em?" Whack! "Who was with you?"

Whack! Youngblood never sang even though his nose was broken. Since he was over 16, Youngblood was arraigned in Adolescent Court on the felony of carrying a gun. He copped a plea and got off with a suspended sentence. The others, being under 16, were sent to Youth House, where they played cards and shot the bull for a day or two before appearing in Children's Court. Only two were "adjudicated" juvenile delinquents and both were released on probation.

The judge said he was being lenient because of their good family situation. That was a laugh. Youngblood and I were the only boys in the club whose homes were not broken. Red's father lived in Harlem with another woman and Red had threatened to kill him if he set foot in the house. Chukker never knew who his father was and maybe his mother, who worked in a Chinese laundry, didn't either. Bo was one of five children by different fathers. He didn't see much of his mother, who worked nights in a hospital.

The real reason the judge released the boys was that all the state institutions for bad kids were bursting at the seams already.

The clash built up our rep. But it also grounded us. Prowl cars rolled through our turf once an hour, and the bulls checked Lenny's like night watchmen.

In desperation, the bops went to school to hide from the bulls. I bet some of them were meeting their teachers at John Marshall Junior, Westinghouse Vocational or Brooklyn High School of Automotive Trades for the first time. Since they had long been suspended, they had to bring their mothers with them to get back in. That naturally meant more trouble at home. Few of the guys had any use for school except for shop class, where they could work on zip guns, shivs [knives] and billies.

So much police protection kept our turf smooth for a while. This situation was intolerable and we blamed Gus Gibbons for it.

Questions for forming role biographies

For the Jet Boys:

- Where, when and under which conditions were you born and did you grow up in?
- Can you remember any special events from your childhood?
- How were your parents, next of kin and siblings to you?
- When, and under which circumstances did you come to the West Side?
- What are you doing now-a-days? Going to school, working, going through a training? What do you usually do in your spare time?
- Do you like to dance? Do you go to dances?
- Do you have male and/or female friends? Who are your best friends? Why?
- What's the most fun thing about being with the Jets for you? What could be different?
- Who do you get along with best in the gang? Whom can't you stand? Why?
- What do you do when you're alone?
- What do you think of Puerto Ricans? Do you have something against them? If so, what? And why?
- What do you think of the Sharks? What's the difference between the Jets and the Sharks?
- How do you find Puerto Rican girls?

- Are there Puerto Ricans in your school or at your place of work? How do you get along with them?
- Have you ever been in trouble with the law? Why?
- How do you picture an ideal life in the West Side?
- What are your hopes for the future? Do you think these wishes can come true? Is there something which you are afraid of?

For the Shark Boys:

- Where, when and under which conditions were you born and did you grow up in?
- Can you remember any special events from your childhood?
- How were your parents, next of kin and siblings to you?
- When, and under which circumstances did you come to the West Side?
- What are you doing now-a-days? Going to school, working, going through a training? What do you usually do in your spare time?
- Do you like to dance? Do you go to dances?
- Do you have male and/or female friends? Who are your best friends? Why?
- What's the most fun thing about being with the Sharks for you? What could be different?
- Who do you get along with best in the gang? Whom can't you stand? Why?
- What do you do when you're alone?
- Have you ever been provoked or aggravated by "white Americanos"? If so, when and how?
- Do you also know nice "Americanos"? In school, or at work, for example?
- What do you think of the "Americano" girls? Do you try to impress them occasionally? Have you ever had an "Americano" girlfriend?
- What do you think of dancing? Can you get to know people at dances?
- Does it ever happen, that you want to get to know the "Americanos", and that they turn a cold shoulder?
- Have you ever been in trouble with the law? If so, why?
- How do you picture an ideal life in the West Side?
- What are your hopes for the future? Do you think these wishes can come true? Is there something which you are afraid of?

For the Jet Girls:

- Where, when and under which conditions were you born and did you grow up in?
- Can you remember any special events from your childhood?
- How were your parents, next of kin and siblings to you?
- When, and under which circumstances did you come to the West Side?
- What are you doing now-a-days? Going to school, working, going through a training? What do you usually do in your spare time?
- Do you like to dance? Do you go to dances?
- Do you have male and/or female friends? Who are your best friends? Why?
- How do you find the boys in the Jets? Who do you like the most / the least in the gang? Why?
- What do you do when you're alone?
- Do you know Puerto Ricans from school, for example?
- How do you like Puerto Ricans?
- Were you ever in Puerto Rico? Would you like to travel there someday?
- What do you think of the Jets and Sharks fighting each other?
- How do you picture an ideal life in the West Side?
- What are your hopes for the future? Do you think these wishes can come true? Is there something which you are afraid of?

For the Shark Girls:

- Where, when and under which conditions were you born and did you grow up in?
- Can you remember any special events from your childhood?
- How were your parents, next of kin and siblings to you?
- When, and under which circumstances did you come to the West Side?
- What are you doing now-a-days? Going to school, working, going through a training? What do you usually do in your spare time?
- Do you like to dance? Do you go to dances?
- Do you have male and/or female friends? Who are your best friends? Why?
- How do you find the Sharks?
- What do you do when you are alone?
- Have you ever been provoked or aggravated by white "Americanos"?
- Do you also know nice "Americanos"? In school, or at work, for example? Do you have contact to "Americano" girls?
- How do you find it when "Americanos" dance? Would you like to dance with or go out with an "Americano"?
- Has it ever happened, that an "Americano" asked you to dance?
- Have you ever been into a dispute with your relatives because you had done something with "Americanos"?
- How do you picture an ideal life in the West Side?
- What are your hopes for the future? Do you think these wishes can come true? Is there something which you are afraid of?

For the grown-ups:

- Where, when and under which conditions were you born and did you grow up in?
- How did you choose your career?
- Have you got your own family, a wife, children? What are your living conditions like?
- When, and under which circumstances did you come to the West Side?
- What do you like about your job? What don't you like?
- What does a typical day for you look like?
- Do you have job perspectives in sight? Promotion, or something completely different?
- Do you have male and/or female friends, good colleagues? How is your relationship to your boss?
- What do you do in your free time?
- What do you think of the "American" youth in the West Side? What do you think of the Jets?
- What do you think of the Puerto Ricans in the West Side? What do you think of the Sharks?
- Are there any moments in which you are afraid? Are there moments in which you are happy?
- How do you picture an ideal life in the West Side?
- What are your hopes for the future? Do you think these wishes can come true? Is there something which you are afraid of?

Student Material 3: Puerto Rico - A timeline of political development

Die Phase der kollektiven und individuellen Einfühlung kann sehr lange dauern und umfaßt oft bis zu 40% einer szenischen Interpretation. Meist besteht (auch von seiten der SchülerInnen) das Bedürfnis, die in der Einfühlung aktivierten Phantasien - über Gangs, Amerika, Puertoricaner, New York usw. - weiter zu bearbeiten und zu präzisieren. Die SchülerInnen fragen bereits während der Einfühlung danach, wie „es“ denn „wirklich“ war. Solche Fragen können durch historische Sachinformation beantwortet werden, ohne daß der Anspruch aufgebaut werden muß, die SchülerInnen hätten historisch authentisch zu agieren. (Das tun die Figuren der „West Side Story“ ja auch nicht.) In diesem Zusammenhang kann historisierendes Hintergrundmaterial vorgelegt werden. Die folgenden Materialien haben sich in diesem Zusammenhang bewährt.

1493 On November 19, Columbus landed on the island during his second trip to America. He named the island San Juan Bautista. Since 1521, it is called "Puerto Rico". By 1530, all the gold treasure resources had been "exhausted". The Indian inhabitants of the island, the Tainos, were completely wiped out, mostly due to European diseases which Indian immune systems had never seen.

1511 The first Black slaves were transported by the Spaniards to the island after the Tainos were no longer available as workers. Puerto Rico remained a slave-holding colonial society until 1873.

from 1598 until 1797 Puerto Rico is the strategic centre point for the Spanish military in their rule over Latin America. The complete American component of the Spanish fleet is stationed in the winter harbour of San Juan. The island was attacked and conquered several times by the English and the French. The 1775 census: 70 250 inhabitants, including 6 467 black slaves.

1868 The first revolts for independence.

1897 Puerto Rico becomes an autonomous state of Spain. The island has 894 302 inhabitants.

1898-99 Spanish-American War. A treaty in Paris on April 11, 1899 hands over Puerto Rico to the USA.

1900 Puerto Rico becomes a US territory (see diagram 37!) Puerto Rico

becomes a strategic military base for the US and its control in Central America.

1917 Jones Act: The Puerto Ricans become US citizens.



San Juan Viejo: statue of an American soldier (foreground) and Columbus (background)

1946 July 21, 1946: Jesus T. Pinero becomes the first Puerto Rican Governor of Puerto Rico. Starting August 4, 1946, Puerto Ricans are allowed to vote for their own Governor.

1952 Puerto Rico becomes a "free associated State" of the USA (commonwealth status). Puerto Rico's foreign politics is controlled by Washington.

1953 The UN turns down Puerto Rico's bid for membership status.

1960 There are three main political groups in Puerto Rico:

- those who want an independent state
- those who want to preserve the commonwealth status
- those who want Puerto Rico to become a US State

In a referendum in 1967, the commonwealth group won with 68% of the votes, topping those in favour of State status (39%) and independence (0.6%).

1970 until present day Puerto Rico is the land of cheap wages for the US industry. Only 17 cents of every dollar the Puerto Rican industry workers produce stays in the country. The Pentagon controls, as of 1970, 13% of the island's land, and has five nuclear bases there. The military is an important employer of Puerto Ricans. 15 000 Puerto Ricans served in the Gulf War in 1991.

Puerto Rican's way of life in New York

Settlement

The Puerto Ricans first came to Brooklyn and settled in the area around the Navy Yard during and after World War I. By 1930 East Harlem had become a large Puerto Rican community and had acquired the name El Barrio (the neighborhood); it is still the area of the city most clearly associated with Puerto Ricans in New York. East 116th Street, El Barrio's Main Street, and the *Marqueta* (market) on Park Avenue are both markedly Puerto Rican in atmosphere. After World War II, Puerto Ricans spread to other sections of the city, particularly the South Bronx, the Lower East Side and Upper West Side of Manhattan, and the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn.

The Puerto Rican population is extremely young; 48 percent of it was below 20 years of age in the 1970 Census. In 1974-1975, 253,000 Puerto Rican children were enrolled in the public schools of New York City, 23 percent of the total school enrollment. As these children reach marriageable age and begin to raise families - even small ones - the rapid increase in their numbers will probably make them by 1990 one of the largest ethnic groups in the city, assuming the majority of them remain there.

In New York City, as elsewhere, Puerto Ricans face problems common to most immigrant newcomers: poor housing, menial jobs, economic exploitation, unemployment, poor health, and the handicaps of language and limited education. They came to New York just as the unskilled jobs by which newcomers once sustained themselves were disappearing from the marketplace. New York City lost half a million jobs between 1970 and 1976, and large areas of the city have fallen into a state of deterioration and decay. Whole neighborhoods have been burned down, making stable residence impossible. The islanders come from a culture where color has little meaning to one where it has a great deal, and in New York they live with the largest number of blacks of any U.S. city.

Economic life

Two serious and abiding problems are found in Puerto Rican communities almost everywhere: lack of education and its almost inevitable accompaniment, poverty. The Puerto Ricans as a group are the poorest in New York City. Their median family income in 1970 was \$5,575, lower than the \$7,150 black median, and little more than half the citywide median of \$9,682. One-third of them live below poverty level - that minimum designated by the federal government as necessary for a decent standard of living. Thirty percent were receiving public assistance in New York in 1970, somewhat higher than the 25 percent receiving public assistance nationwide. Since the mid-sixties their relative income position has deteriorated: family earnings increased by 13 percent between 1959-1969, but the increase for New York families generally was 26 percent. They are also the poorest of the Hispanic groups in the United States, with a median family income in 1974 more than \$1,800 below that of Mexican Americans. Still, the situation is better than in Puerto Rico, where the median income for families in 1970 was \$3,063, or \$2,500 lower than on the mainland. The census reported 60 percent of all families in Puerto Rico living below the poverty level, with only 8 percent receiving public assistance, in contrast to the 25 percent on the mainland. Since the cost of living is not substantially lower in Puerto Rico than it is on the mainland, the economic pressure to come north remains formidable.

The issue that has elicited the most criticism of Puerto Ricans centers on the high percentage receiving public welfare assistance: 25 percent of all Puerto Rican families in 1970; 30 percent of those in New York City. Over 18 percent of second-generation families continue to receive public assistance, indicating that for many Puerto Ricans poverty and dependency span generations. Whatever economic shifts affect the lives of the poor in general affect the Puerto Ricans particularly. Because most of them are poor, large numbers in New York City make their presence very visible on the welfare rolls.

Lower income

Meanwhile, one generation on relief gives rise to another. One-quarter of the Puerto Rican children in the city are on public assistance. The culture of public welfare, which Horwitz has so brilliantly described, is as relevant for the future of Puerto Ricans in the city as the culture of Puerto Rico.

During the fifties, despite all this, there was not an exceptionally high rate of delinquency among Puerto Rican children. But it takes a while to adapt to a new culture, and one may reasonably expect that the "Americanization" of the Puerto Ricans under conditions we have described will lead to somewhat higher rates of delinquency and crime in the future. Today, a good deal of Puerto Rican crime consists of crimes of passion involving members of the community, but once again, it is not unreasonable to expect that in the future more and more of this violence will be turned outward. Rates of admission to mental hospitals are higher than they are on the island, or for New Yorkers in general. And the Midtown study of mental health showed a remarkably high rate of impairment for the Puerto Ricans in the East Midtown area. This is not one of the typical areas of Puerto Rican settlement; the authors suggest that this group, isolated from the main body of new migrants, may be under greater strain than Puerto Ricans in more characteristically Puerto Rican parts of the city, yet the findings are consistent with other findings on rates of illness. The migration it seems has hit New York Puerto Ricans very hard. For some reason, the rate of suicide seems to be less than it is on the island. It may have risen since this study was made in the late forties.

Culture, Contributions, Color

The pressures of the attitudes of one-quarter of the population (Negroes and Puerto Ricans), who will soon be one-third of the population, will combine with the presence of the U.N. and the impact of the colored nations on American politics, and New York may be very different in ten years. Visitors from the Midwest are already startled by the numbers of social groups and couples of different colors to be seen on the streets; in some sections of New York, as on the West Side, the native white population is no longer even startled.

But all this is sheer speculation, as in the prediction of some expansive leaders of the Puerto Rican community that New York will become a bilingual city. (Indeed, it may soon be possible for Puerto Ricans to vote without being literate in English; and perhaps the school system may be tempted soon to take the radical step of seeing whether instruction in Spanish, for some grades, may not help solve some of its problems.) The Puerto Ricans are adapting to a city very different from the one to which earlier immigrant groups adapted, and they are being modified by the new process of adaptation in new and hardly predictable ways. In 1961 an Italian was replaced by a Puerto Rican as Democratic political leader in a district in East Harlem, and many saw Puerto Ricans entering the same path that Italians took forty years before. But it is a different city, and a different group, and one can barely imagine what kind of human community will emerge from the process of adaptation.

Reports from „GROWING UP PUERTO RICAN“ by Pauline Cooper (New York 1982)

The Gang Member

My name is Carlos, I guess the worst thing I ever done in my life was to join a gang. But you can't not join a gang here because you need the protection. My gang's got two groups and there are forty-four of us.

My cousin was the war counselor but I'm taking his place now for a while. While he's in the hospital. He got shot by another gang, and what they done to my cousin they gonna get worst from me. My cousin, his body is paralyzed now. He'll never walk again. He's coming out of the hospital in a few weeks and they'll have to carry him out. I want to see that guy who done it dead. I even got my gun ready. I've used the gun once at a cop, and I'm glad I missed him. I used it because he called me "spic". I don't like nobody to call me "spic", and I don't like nobody to curse at my mother or grandmother either.

I had my mini-bike in Central Park and I wasn't doing nothing and he was hassling me and said, "Move on, spic." So I get on my mini-bike and I start shooting wild as I rode away. Boy, I was angry. But I'm glad I missed, because if I hit him, they'd have come after me and hunted me like a dog. They would do to me worse than what they do to a dog because they'd beat me before they'd kill me.

I hate cops.

I don't need no cops because I got plenty of protection from my gang. If you're with a gang and you get hit, your're not alone. You've got friends who will help you and that's important. I'm glad I'm a Puerto Rican cause Whitey get everything thrown at them because they have everything. Like us and blacks, we don't have everything. I know my sports - my only Puerto Rican hero is Roberto Clemente. But there's no Puerto Rican football players. These whites think they've got everything. They think we can't get up to their class. If I had them all lined up in front of me I'd get a Tommy gun and shoot them all down, because of the way they're running the world. The Constituion says all the people are equal, right? Why don't they treat each other as equal then? They don't go by the Constitution. Some white people may be nice

but not all white people. Everything is run by white you know. I never saw a Puerto Rican President or anything up there. A black - you never saw a black President. Americans have a habit of getting their nose everywhere. Like Vietnam. We can't get our boys home from there. Most of the boys that go over there to fight are Puerto Ricans and blacks. That's what I think. Blacks are cool. They use the knowledge of helping the people. I like the Black Panther, Bobby Seale. He's cool. He's helping his people. That's what I like about him. He does more for his people. There's somebody like that for Puerto Ricans - he's a Young Lord. He's trying to organize because they want more help for their block. Because let me say this: a lot of Puerto Ricans work in factories, schools. By people helping, making better housing, better factories, things could be better. They want more money, man. Puerto Ricans and niggers, they get along because they're fighting for the same goals. Fighting for more freedom, more opportunity to get a job.

The Fighter

School was a real hassle. There were only about ten Puerto Rican children in the school at that time and I used to get beat up every single day on my way home. It never failed. There was no reason to beat me up - just that I was Puerto Rican and different. (...) I don't know but it continued like this until I was about in the fifth grade.

I had no gang to join. So I was smart and I started my own. I guess it's what you'd call a gang, but I called it a club then. I called it: "The Young Puerto Ricans", and by that time there were more of us around so I got them all to join it for protection. There must have been about fifty kids, if you count those from the elementary school along with those in the junior high. The purpose was to protect ourselves, but also to get back at the others who had always beaten us up. I suppose it really started solely for protection, but some of the kids wouldn't use it just for that, and since we were a large group, and pretty tough, they'd go out looking for a fight. Most of the kids we fought were white. Some of our kids were a little more smarter than just to attack them. They would instigate the fight so that the other group would start it - you know, they'd say something nasty to the white kids and then the white kids come after them, and they'd say, "Well I'm a Puerto Rican and he hit me first". Or it might be something subtle, like one of our group would go over to the white kids and say, "You know the air is kind of foul around here."

When I was eleven and in the eighth grade, I had to return to Puerto Rico because I got into a little bit of trouble, I took a couple of things from a relative.

(...) my uncle convinced my mother that I was a hopeless thief and would end up in jail for stealing cars or something, just because of this lousy five dollars. And he seemed to think that the best way to stop me was to send me to reform school right then. Well, my grandmother wouldn't accept that, so there was sort of a compromise: I was sent away, but not to reform school - I was sent to Puerto Rico to live with my aunt.

When I first got there it was an even bigger hassle than life had been in New York. I had learned Spanish at home, and the New York kids made fun of me for speaking Spanish and not English. But by the time I got to Puerto Rico they started calling me "gringo". And that pissed me off because I had spent so much time fighting in New York, and they'd kept calling me, you know, "a lousy spic" - and now I ended up in Puerto Rico getting beat up by my own people for being American.

The Winner

The neighbourhood to me appeared dirty and crowded, especially after the wide, open spaces of Puerto Rico and the beautiful place we had lived in. I was used to a yard and trees and a lot

of freedom in terms of space. Furthermore, I had seen many movies in Puerto Rico of America - you know the big Hollywood spectaculars - and I was terribly disappointed because this was hardly the type of place you saw on the screen. And I suppose that I blamed my father, the way a child does, because of his terrible choice.

Another source of constant fighting was money. Every week when he got his pay check, there was another battle. My father claimed he brought her his whole pay check and he couldn't figure out why she hadn't saved any money - the apartment wasn't expensive - and he desperately wanted her to save enough so he could return to Puerto Rico. His dream was to go back there and start a business and be successful as he once had been. She had a lot of her family here, and he accused her of supporting them with the money she should have been saving for us. She, on the other hand, accused him of bringing home only part of his pay check and using the other part to support some of his friends.

I had done extremely well in school until then, but by high school, when I was undergoing all this turmoil and witnessing all these events, I began to have serious problems which were not helped by being Puerto Rican.

The teachers were terribly prejudiced and they didn't try to hide the fact - actually I don't think they were even aware of it the way we would be today. But they used to say things to us that you wouldn't say as joke today. They'd say things to us like: "You people are lazy." Or I remember one teacher saying, "Giving you an education is like throwing pearls before swine". And of course there was their resentment about money: "We work hard so our tax money can go to support you". But the thing you'd hear the most often was "You're stupid", and "You won't make it".

But they also had a selfish reason for discouraging me. They resented the fact that my family and other Puerto Rican families were on welfare, and they wanted to convince me to leave school as soon as possible and support my family so they wouldn't have to.

Student Material 4: Puerto Rican women and men

Jede Diskussion des geschlechtstypischen Handelns von Mädchen und Jungens in der „West Side Story“ setzt eine gewisse Einfühlung die Funktion und Ausprägung des puertoricanischen (bzw. lateinamerikanischen) „Machismo“ voraus. Dieser Begriff ist ein Schlüsselbegriff beim Verständnis geschlechtstypischen Rollenverhaltens innerhalb der puertoricanischen Gesellschaft und der geschlechtsrollenspezifischen Konflikte von Jugendlichen in New York.

What is machismo, and what use does it have¹?

We can't describe the woman's role in Puerto Rico without bringing in the term "machismo". Machismo regulates (1) the form of relationships between men, and (2) the relationships between men and women. (1) Machismo is a kind of code of honour amongst the men. The women have, in this way, only a meaning in that they could disparage the honour of the man, by breaking the marriage vows, or doing something which would bring about similar presumptions. (2) Machismo also regulates the relationship: man - woman. It assumes that men are carnal by nature, and that women are too weak to resist the man's instincts. The housewives must be "locked up" by non-stop housework, through permanent pregnancies and through supervision. Girls have to be rigorously supervised through a chaperone system by older brothers or relatives. They don't get a husband if they've lost their virginity. It works out the smoothest if girls get married young and have a lot of children.

Men are considered to be biologically superior to women in every way. The women have to basically accept a subordinate role. At the same time there is, in a way, a women's' cult; due to her high morals and willingness to sacrifice for the family and children, a woman is endlessly honoured, even if the typical housewife suffers from getting beaten at home. This image of a woman's role is passed by example from mother and father to girls and boys. In school, this influence is solidified, and protected through punishment.

The economic ground work for this kind of machismo is that the men work and earn money outside of the home, and the women work at home where they don't earn money. When the women also work for money, machismo becomes a purely ideological system. In Puerto Rico, in 1950, 79.8% of the men and 30.1% of the women were working in this way. The system presumes that all women are married. In the US (1970), machismo was on more shaky ground than in Puerto Rico. From the 590 000 over-18 Puerto Rican women living there, only 62% were married, while 27% were single, 5% widowed and 6% divorced. Twenty-eight percent of all families were fatherless.

In the late 60's, the Puerto Rican "Young Lords", under the influence of the "Black Panthers", declared a 13 point program for the revolutionary liberation of all Puerto Ricans. Point 5 states:

"We demand equality for all women. Down with machismo! In capitalism, women are exploited from two sides, from society and from men. The machismo doctrine is used by men to let their frustration out on women, sisters, mothers and children. Men must stand side by side with women to fight for social and economic justice! They must recognise that women make up half of the revolutionary army." And in a party newspaper from 1970, "We are attacking machismo and male chauvinism. If we want to get the power in the hands of the people, it is necessary, that *everyone* start fighting now. The superiority behaviour which the brothers use against the sisters has to change. The passiveness which the sisters show towards the brothers

¹ Everything is from UNGER 1983, p.57-59, unless otherwise specified

must end to the same degree (to offer the brothers the opportunity to throw away the burdens of machismo and chauvinism).

The Puertorican family

Puerto Rican families are beset by all the problems characteristic of families suddenly thrust into an industrial society. In a traditional Puerto Rican family, the man makes the decision for the household, accepts responsibility for its support, and is granted much more freedom than the woman in the disposition of his life and his sexual behavior. That combination of bravery, or often bravado, influence over others, the quality of the *caudillo* (leader), and dominance over women, particularly sexual dominance, known as *machismo* is prominent on the island, but it has been attenuated on the mainland by the comparative availability of employment and education for women and the impact of U.S. culture generally. The relatively small number of employed wives may reflect a carry-over of Puerto Rican roles, but the increasing number of female-headed families indicates a breaking down of the island pattern. Employment and public welfare ensure the survival of women without men. Puerto Rican women on welfare in New York City leave their husbands in most cases because the union has become intolerable to them; welfare provides an alternative means of survival.

One aspect of the weakening of immigrant family relationships traditionally arises from conflict between the first and second generations. The child grows up at home in one culture and becomes acculturated through school and job to another. Chaperoning the young girl comes into conflict with American dating habits; the street life of the boys is often beyond the ability of the family to handle - one reason behind the high rate of drug use and delinquency among Puerto Rican youth.



Puerto Rican girls - as seen in Dumont's „Puerto Rico-Reiseführer“

Student Material 5: Role playing assignments

Die szenische Erarbeitung des „Dance at the Gym“ wird mit mehreren kurzen Rollenspielen abgeschlossen, in denen die SchülerInnen die durch die mißglückte Tanz-Aktion geschaffene Situation aus unterschiedlicher Sicht reflektieren können. Die folgenden Arbeitsaufträge können dabei an selbstständig arbeitende Kleingruppen vergeben werden.

- *Confidential conversation between Maria and Anita in the sewing room*

Anita and Maria meet directly after the dance at the gym in the bridal shop where Anita works. Think about how you could imitate the shop situation by using things in the classroom! You are to improvise a discussion; your teacher will help you by asking questions. Write down in point form some thoughts which come to mind! For example, you could answer the following questions: What do you think of Bernardo, Tony, Gladhand? How are things going to be for Tony in the future? Is there going to be a fight between the two gangs? Is Maria's and Tony's behaviour at the dance going to have an effect? Can you, or do you want to avoid a fight? Write down whether you're scared at the moment, or whether you're happy.

- *"Round table" in the bar, with Gladhand, Schrank and Krupke*

You three are responsible that the youth in your district don't get at each other, and that it doesn't come to acts of violence. That's why you three are meeting in a bar after the dance to talk. Consider how you could simulate a bar scene with things you have in the classroom. You are to improvise a discussion; your teacher will be there to ask specific questions. Write down in point form some thoughts which come to mind! For example, you could answer the following questions:

- *Gladhand:* What have you done wrong? Why did the investigation fail? Is Schrank going to be happy, because he doesn't think much of dances for the reconciliation of juveniles. Do you see a chance for reconciliation between the two gangs due to the love affair between Tony and Maria? How are you going to convince the police that your social work in the neighbourhood has a purpose, even though it didn't really work this time?

- *Schrank:* You've heard that Gladhand wants to stop the dances from continuing. Do you think the juveniles are going to go at each other now? What must you ask Krupke? What will you do to prevent things from getting worse? What do you think of Gladhand anyway? Does it make sense to send Krupke to these kind of events? In your opinion, could the girls in some way have a calming effect?

- *Krupke:* You observed everything. Did something go wrong, or did it have to come to this? What will you, and what do you have to report to Schrank? What do you think of Gladhand? Is there going to be a fight between the two juvenile gangs? Can you do anything to prevent something bad from happening? What do you think of the love affair between Tony and Maria?

- *Jet Boys' discussion on their further proceedings:*

In an empty garage, you talk with each other about your further plans. Think about which objects you could use from your classroom to set up your meeting place. You are to improvise a discussion; your teacher will help you by asking questions. Write down in point form some thoughts which come to mind! For example, you could answer the following questions: What do you think of the results of the investigation? What do you think of Bernardo? What do you think of Gladhand? What do you think of Tony and his affair with Maria? Should Tony come along to the drugstore? Should the girls come along? Who should lead the negotiations? What should you do if the Sharks want to fight with knives, or pull out a Colt? Do you want to fight? Or do you think it would be better if there's a one-on-one fight?

- *Shark Boys' discussion on their further proceedings:*

In a backyard, you are discussing your further plans amongst yourselves. Think about which objects you could use from your classroom to set up your meeting place. You are to improvise a discussion; your teacher will be there to ask questions. Write down in point form some thoughts which come to mind! For example, you could answer the following questions: What do you think of the results of the investigation? What do you think of Riff? What do you think of Gladhand? What do you think of Maria and her affair with Tony? Should the girls come along to the drugstore? Who should lead the negotiations? What should you do if the Jets want to fight with knives, or pull out a Colt? Do you want to fight? Or do you think it would be better if there's a one-on-one fight?

- *Jet Girls' meeting:*

You are meeting in a house entrance. Think about which objects you could use from your classroom to set up your meeting place. You are to improvise a discussion; your teacher will be there to ask questions. Write down in point form some thoughts which come to mind! For example, you could answer the following questions:

What do you think of the results of the investigation? What do you think of Riff and Bernardo? What do you think of Gladhand? How do you find Tony and his affair with Maria? What do you think of friendships and love affairs between "Americanos" and Puerto Ricans? Could you imagine having a Puerto Rican friend? What do you think of the boys' plans of having a "pow-wow"? Do you want to go with them? Do you want to influence the boys, to not get violent with each other?

- *Shark Girls' meeting:*

You are meeting at Rosalia's house. Think about which objects you could use from your classroom to set up your meeting place. You are to improvise a discussion; your teacher will be there to ask questions. Write down in point form some thoughts which come to mind! For example, you could answer the following questions:

What do you think of the results of the investigation? What do you think of Riff and Bernardo? What do you think of Gladhand? How do you find Maria and her affair with Tony? What do you think of friendships and love affairs between "Americanos" and Puerto Ricans? Could you

imagine having an "Americano" friend? What do you think of the boys' plans of having a "pow-wow"? Do you want to go with them? Do you want to influence the boys, to not get violent with each other?

- *Tony tells Doc about the happenings:*

Tony heads back to Doc's Drugstore and tells Doc what's happened. Think about which objects you could use from your classroom to set up a drugstore scene. You are to improvise a discussion; your teacher will be there to ask questions. Write down in point form some thoughts which come to mind! For example, you could answer the following questions:

Tony: What are you going to tell Doc about your meeting with Maria? Are you going to say that the Jets and the Sharks want to meet in Doc's Drugstore for a pow-wow? Should Doc stop the meeting? If yes, then how? Or can you stop the meeting, or influence its fate? Is there something which you can ask Doc, or something you can ask him for?

Doc: Gladhand's investigation supposedly ended with a crisis. Are you afraid that something could happen? What are you going to ask Tony, who wanted to be there? Is there something you can do to prevent the gangs from using violence against each other? Can you forbid them to meet in your drugstore?

Student Material 6: Material for improvising the Cool-fugue

Die vorliegenden Notenbeispiele und Arbeitsaufträge sind Kopiervorlagen und müssen den SchülerInnen an die Hand gegeben werden, wenn sie den Spielanweisungen auf Seite 59-62 des deutschen Materialbandes folgen.

Melody group 1: fugue theme

The theme can also be played transposed: a minor third or an augmented fourth higher, or a minor third lower!

Musical notation for Melody group 1: fugue theme. The notation is in 4/4 time and consists of three staves. The first staff contains measures 1-4, the second staff contains measures 5-8, and the third staff contains measures 9-12. Dynamics include *pp cresc.*, *sfz*, *mf cresc.*, *sfz*, *f*, and *mf*.

Melody group 2: the melody impulse

Musical notation for Melody group 2: the melody impulse. The notation is in 4/4 time and consists of a single staff with four measures. The first measure contains a rhythmic impulse.

This melody impulse can be moved forward or backward in time: begin and end 1, 2 or 3 quarters later. It can also be transposed.

Percussion group 1: continuous snare drum

Musical notation for Percussion group 1: continuous snare drum. The notation is in 12/8 time and consists of a single staff with two measures of a continuous snare drum pattern.

Percussion group 2: hi-hat rhythm

Musical notation for Percussion group 2: hi-hat rhythm. The notation is in 4/4 time and consists of a single staff with two measures of a hi-hat rhythm.

This is the same rhythm as the “melody impulse”, the second melody group. It can also be moved 1, 2 or 3 quarters backward or forward.

Student Material 7: Role-Cards for new people in investigation committee

Leader of the investigation committee

You have the assignment of structuring negotiations, to observe that all have a chance to voice their opinions and to make certain no tumult arises. You would like to find out exactly why and how the fight under the freeway broke out, and how it turned into murder. You've got a teenage son of your own who hangs out in the streets way too much. You're very aware of the problem that youth don't talk to their parents about anything. Your wife also finds this speechlessness hard to take. You want to get the enemy juveniles to talk. You want them to grow trust in the adults, that they notice how they would be understood in they simply followed certain rules. You became a judge because you believed that people should solve their problems by discussing more. Frankly, you don't know either how this can happen in such a culturally mixed up part of town like the West Side. Would it be better if the Puerto Ricans kept to themselves, like they do in Spanish Harlem? Or could the best place for them perhaps be back in Puerto Rico...

Social worker

You've been working in the youth work field for over 25 years. It's always the same old thing! The youth have caused your optimistic illusions to fade away. Wherever you look, you see violence. And it's getting worse every day. As you started out in your first job downtown directly after the economic crisis, most youth were striving for a good career, and most of the problems were language difficulties with the newly immigrated. But in the mean time, the situation has taken the wrong course completely. It's everybody against everybody, and that's what they learn from the politicians and economic leaders. You are the cultural events manager. At these events, there are riots way too often. The events have to be supervised by police protection. And then you have to appear in court to give your expert opinion. Always the same thing. You also run into people who are idealistic, like Gladhand. And then, at a dance, it turns into violence and murder, because a white guy had made a pass at a Puerto Rican girl. Today, you're going to listen to everything and simply be able to say, as you've said so often in the past, "Whoever steps out of line in a civilised world, has to be put back into line. The word "social" mustn't be trampled on."

Psychologist

You are feeling totally anxious today because you are, for the first time, supposed to apply your psychological knowledge to a murder case. You are a school psychologist and have been working for a couple months in a school in which more than half of the kids are Puerto Rican. You are proud of the fact the head of the investigation called upon you. And you would like to apply your experience with school children. Your motto is: The coldness in society leads youth onto the wrong path. Families and manners in school, in the neighbourhood and in the streets have turned cold. Even the social stations and work in the youth clubs are cold and technocratic. We must love the juveniles, show them warmth, and encourage love amongst youth in every way. Not sex, but rather, love! That takes courage. Just like in Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet, two courageous loving people can change the hearts of enemies. Today's wide spread juvenile gangs try to replace this missing love in our society with other interpersonal relationships, with a medieval conception of pride and honour, with an authoritarian concept of leadership and obedience, by defining an enemy and over-estimating one's self. A person who can't love is weak. He searches for something which seemingly strengthens him. That's why he joins a gang! I would like to show in today's trial, that love isn't Utopian.

Student Material 8: Arthur Miller

Der von Arthur Miller portraitierte Sozialarbeiter demonstriert eine Methode, wie mit Jugendbanden in New York „alternativ“ umgegangen worden ist. Das entsprechende jugendsoziologische Programm kontrastiert zu dem in der „West Side Story“ gezeigten.



“a perverted feeling of dignity”

In the late afternoons I would be out in Brooklyn, in the Bay Ridge hotbox where I had attached myself to Vincent Riccio, who was teaching me how to maneuver in an area exploding with some of the worst violence in the city. The summer nights were the best for war, and the mindlessness of it all somehow reflected my own humbled pretensions to an ordered life.

The part of Bay Ridge where Riccio was based was a white slum made up of Irish, Italians, and some families of German and Norwegian background, and the houses did not look bad from the street. The vast black ghetto of Bedford-Stuyvesant was not far away, but race conflicts were not the problem. Occasionally, in fact, black boys would take long subway rides to join in a white rumble, just to see some action when things got too quiet back home. Of course, all-black gangs were warring with each other no less than the whites were, and for no better reasons. The strife was so bewildering partly because it seemed utterly profitless; a tall, good-looking black eighteen-year-old, a physician's son from the Bronx, who had traveled all the way to Bay Ridge to join a fight, simply shrugged when I asked him why and gave me an opaque look edged with contempt for my powerlessness to penetrate his mind. They drew a certain perverse sense of dignity from the very purposelessness of their wars, a gallant kicking over of society's tables of loss and gain. The spirit's logic was the mind's irrationality.

With Riccio my guide, it was not hard to map what from the outside seemed a sealed-off jungle. Fairly soon it was obvious that tribal organizations with boys instead of adults at their head were being substituted for weak or absent fathers. These youths had reverted to an age of chivalry whose misread pennants fluttered in their confused heads. But they were not without pathos. The gang had its president, treasurer, secretary of war - a government in miniature, but one based on respect, especially for their leaders, rather than on any material motive. In America they believed in nothing, in the gang they doubted nothing. Guys might suddenly decide to go over to Fulton Street to rob some passerby on the street, but they went as individuals, not as gang members, and did not look for gang support in these forays. As gang members they were a shadow military who saw themselves fighting for something like honor and the sublime spoils of victory. The problem, it soon seemed to me, was that in trying to suppress these gangs society had assumed that gain was the only real motive for human action, while the gang, albeit in a distorted and desperate way, considered itself useful to the community. The gang members longed for pride; money was something each would try to get on his own time.

Like all idealisms, theirs made it difficult to figure out what they really wanted and what would satisfy that want.

“...a world shocking new method”

One night on an abandoned pier from which the Wall Street skyline could be seen, two gangs assembled for a new kind of battle that Riccio had invented. A war had been brewing between the gangs, insults had been exchanged, satisfaction refused, and Riccio had convinced the leaderships (replicating the knightly jousts of individual horsemen, a tradition he knew nothing about) that each side should elect a champion to represent it and stage a "fair fight." Weeks of negotiation followed, culminating in this night, when some fifty guys, ages twelve to eighteen, congregated on the splintered pier. There were to be no weapons, only fists and feet. Few could box well; they were street fighters who always handled weapons, chains or knives or sometimes a bag of steel bearings.

There was no moon, and it was hot even beside the river. A few freighters lay out in the roads, and from one of them a Puerto Rican radio commercial could be heard floating across the water. "This music I heard across the water," I thought, incorrectly recalling a lovely line so separate from this ugly time. Kenny Costello - a thin boy of sixteen with an uncontrolled temper, already an ex-jailbird, and a fair player of the guitar, an instrument he had taken up after stealing it from a Fulton Street pawnshop - came dancing from among his cohorts in the lights of a police cruiser that obligingly appeared just as he and his opponent, a much heavier, clumsy Italian boy whose name I never got, faced each other with Riccio between them as referee. Costello broke open a bees' nest of short sharp jabs that sent the larger guy falling backwards, and the fight was finished in a minute, no more. The relief was almost wide open on all sides that something had been settled, no one quite knew what. Riccio made a charming speech beginning with "Listen fellas, I gotta say this - you make me proud," praising all of them for inventing a world-shattering new way of settling disputes. Calling the leaders together to shake their hands and congratulate them for their wisdom in safeguarding the honor of their troops, he shortcut any smoldering objections of the frustrated young brawlers by promising both gangs nothing less than a city-paid-for mass bus ride to Coney Island the following evening, with a free hotdog and a soda for each guy, and maybe more if there was money left over.

I caught a glimpse of the two cops in the cruiser as it turned and majestically moved away into the darkness. They were not amused by Riccio's display of an authority that had always been exclusively theirs.

Questions:

- What kind of “strategy” does the street worker Vincent Riccio have?
- Why do the street workers insist, that they not be obliged to report criminal acts that they know of to the police?
- How does Riccio’s concept differ from Gladhand’s concept?
- Is Arthur Miller’s interpretation of youth gangs applicable to the Jets and the Sharks?
- What is the goal of the street worker-concept?

Student Material 9: War against poverty

In der „West Side Story“ klingt die These an, daß die Gewaltproblematik ökonomische Ursachen haben könnte. Im „War Against Poverty“ wurde versucht, mit dieser These Ernst zu machen.

But Puerto Rico, just as the rest of Latin America, has always been weak in spontaneous grass-roots organization. Probably the rise of organization has been inhibited too by the factors that have dispersed the population and prevented the development of a great center for the Puerto Rican population - housing shortage, slum clearance, and the availability of public housing. In 1948 only 6 per cent of the migrants belonged to Puerto Rican organizations, somewhat more men than women, and more of the older migrants than recent arrivals. Compared to some other ethnic groups, this seems low.

If slum clearance has been a factor preventing the growth of certain kinds of organization among Puerto Ricans, it has also been the occasion for the birth of other kinds of organization, the groups that try to prevent the bulldozing of a neighborhood, or, in the cases of more selective renewal as on the West Side,² the weeding out of the "bad housing." The demolition of the houses that affront the neighborhood means precisely the demolition of those that house vast numbers of Puerto Ricans - families living in single rooms, families taking in migrant relatives, displaced children, and temporarily homeless friends. Ironically, "improving a neighborhood" means moving out those who are most crowded, have the least room, and whose resettlement offers the most difficult problem for themselves and city agencies. But in the defense of their threatened homes, an organization will often be created, and nascent leaders will become real leaders, developing experience in cooperating with and fighting with other groups and city agencies.



There are probably many and subtle ways in which the relation to the island affects the organizational life of Puerto Ricans in New York; but one clear impact is seen in the role of the Office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in New York City. The Migration Division of the Department of Labor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico maintains offices in a number of cities of the mainland, the largest in New York, and this is for the Puerto Rican community of New York what the NAACP and the National Urban League are for the Negroes.

The Puerto Rican Family Institute, a citywide agency, provides a range of services to Spanish-speaking families, particularly support services that enable those with acute domestic problems to keep their children at home. It also tries to keep Spanish-speaking youths out of trouble with the law, assists new arrivals, maintains a mental-health clinic, and provides technical assistance to many other agencies in the city. The Association of Puerto Rican Social Workers is

² We refer to the West Side Urban Renewal Project, which will displace most of the present Puerto Rican population of the area from 87th to 97th Street, from Central Park West to Amsterdam Avenue.

an active professional organization; the Puerto Rican legal Defense and Education Fund undertakes class-action suits involving civil rights on behalf of Puerto Ricans throughout the nation (it provided legal assistance in the Aspira case against the New York City Board of Education). The Puerto Rican Community Development Project is a citywide agency supporting smaller agencies, and inclined toward political and community action.

A large number of agencies at the neighborhood level, many of them supported by antipoverty funds, constitute both an important local political network and a link between neighborhood residents and the city government. The most powerful of these is the Hunts Point Multi-Service Center in the Bronx, a well-funded complex of community programs; it constitutes the base of political power for its influential director, Ramon Velez, a community leader who is the object of political controversy.

Report about a youth club

Between a plumbing and heating supply store and the Veteran Bar and Grill on New York's upper First Avenue is a boarded store-front painted black and covered with silver prints of hands. There is no other mark of identification, unless the door swings open and the sign that says MEMBERS ONLY stares with its high silver letters at the street.

Any passer-by from the neighborhood knows that the sign, though not inviting, is at least not menacing. This is the clubhouse, the home, and the hope, of a teen-age gang that has given up fighting and "gone social" in a world of poverty and violence. The gang (now the "club") is composed mainly of Puerto Ricans, but also includes some Negroes and several Italian and Jewish boys. They call themselves The Conservatives.

In another neighborhood, The Conservatives might be the name of a political club, but in the precincts that cover the east side of Harlem, it is much more suited to a teen-age gang that has changed its ways. Questions of politics seem far removed from the life of the district, but the "New Conservatism" of the kids is a burning issue that is met every day: preservation of life in a neighborhood with a tradition of violence.

The gangs are only one part of that tradition, which was born when the neighborhood began to decay into what is now considered one of the world's worst slums. The answers of violence were passed on from strangers who speak Italian and strangers who speak Russian to strangers who speak Spanish.

Most of them were members of an old and greatly feared gang called The Enchanters. In the fall of 1956 the simple fact was that all the old leaders were either dead, in jail, in New York's narcotics hospital, or moved away. A few of the oldest veterans who were left (ages seventeen and eighteen) found themselves leaders by virtue of survival. Their first concern was to continue to survive, for the gang was greatly weakened and rival gangs still were strong. An eighteen-year-old boy named "Monk" Wescott, and several other weary veterans, decided that the best thing to do was give up fighting and "go social." But the problem was how to do it.

Monk and several other veterans went to Ramon Diaz, a man on the block who always had answers.

Finally Ramon went to Norman Eddy, who lives on the block and is a pastor of the East Harlem Protestant Parish, and asked if the gang could use the church for some meetings to discuss going social. The request was granted, though against the wishes of some of the members of the church, who knew the gang's history and had little faith in its future intentions.

Many of them felt that if they only had a place to go - a place of their own where they could enter and shut out the world of adults and enemies and strangers - they would have a better

chance of holding to the new, non-fighting way of life. Their meeting place had always been a candy store, which is usually the closest thing to a home that a gang in East Harlem can expect.

A candy store, like a community center, is ruined by the fact that it is open to the public. But at worst it's a place to hang around, and better than no place at all. When The Enchanters were not on the street they hung around in the candy store owned by a woman called La Vieja - the Old Lady. She got to know the guys and served them, as well as other people from the block, with candy, cigarettes, and sandwiches, whether or not they had the price at the time of the purchase.

A box was kept on the counter for contributions, and those who were broke merely took what they needed and then, when they got a job or money from the family, they paid what they figured they owed to the box. In this way La Vieja conducted her business and made her living through the most "unsocial" days of The Enchanters. Only once was money stolen from the box of contributions, and the thief was caught and soundly beaten by the rest of the gang.

They worked out an arrangement for the Kips Bay foundation to contribute to the support of a clubhouse and the hiring of a full-time director for the Conservatives. Ramon Diaz was chosen for the job, and the store on First Avenue was rented for a clubhouse. The boys were to help pay the rent, through dues and money-raising projects, and the sponsors would match any sum the boys were able to raise to help buy equipment and furnishings. Ramon and the officers were to meet once a month with the ladies to report on finances and activities of the club.

The transformation of Enchanters to Conservatives is not a large scale revolution; it is rather the exception to the rule. Several other neighborhood gangs have shown an interest in going social and all have their peaceful phases. But to execute a permanent change on the streets, without the kind of unexpected help that so luckily gave The Conservatives an adult director and a clubhouse, would be a minor miracle.

Questions:

- How do the street worker and anti-poverty statements differentiate?
- What's the goal of the anti-poverty program?
- What does the Puerto Rican sociologist Frank Bonilla's statement mean, that the anti-poverty program should also offer "grass roots organisation" a chance to stabilise?
- In which way are the "conservatives" this kind of grass roots organisation?

Student Material 10: Frenchie decides to “jump smooth” (1958)

Individuelle „Umerziehungsmaßnahmen“ gehören zum Repertoire von Jugendfürsorge und Sozialarbeit. Die Frage „Knast oder Umerziehung?“ ist bis heute aktuell. Das im folgenden dokumentierte Beispiel zeigt, wie „fortschrittlich“ USA in dieser Beziehung in den 50er Jahren gewesen ist. (Heute sind gerade die USA führend in der Meinung, das Gewalt mit Gegengewalt begegnet werden müsse.)

"Thirteen arrests." The judge shook his head over my file. "Gang fighting, shootings, burglary, stealing a car. . . . I don't know what to make of you. Your parents are hardworking, religious people in pretty good circumstances. Your I.Q. is extraordinarily high. Why do you do these things?"

I shrugged. What a dumb question. Every boy I knew did these things. "Well, son," the judge said. "I'm going to send you up to the country for a few months to straighten yourself out."

"The country" meant the training school. Warwick was the place for hard guys like me, the cop fighters, gang leaders, kids who had committed murder, rape, arson, robbery, every crime in the book. As long as you were between 12 and 16, had an I.Q. over 70 and were bad enough, you were in.

I made up my mind that I would stand it until Christmas. If I didn't get out legally by then, I would breeze [run away].

I was kept in the reception area for two weeks of inoculations and silly interviews by psychologists and social workers. Then, my orientation finished, I moved into a cottage. Almost 500 boys were grouped according to age or toughness in 15 cottages. About half were Negroes from New York. I found many boys I knew from Westinghouse Vocational or John Marshall Junior High School, and from clubs in Bedford-Stuyvesant and nearby turfs.

We boys lived on the main floor of the cottage. Our "cottage parents" occupied the second floor. Either the cottage father or a relief man was on duty day and night, and all doors were kept locked. At 5:30 a.m. Mr. Schultz, the cottage father, walked through the "dorm-o," rapping on the metal cots with his keys. "Rise and shine." After morning slop, as we called breakfast, I had to join the others in cleaning the cottage. We swept and scrubbed the whole place like mad for 40 minutes.

The new one was headed by Mr. Wall, a former pro middleweight, fattened out now, but still strong and effective. Although he would take no horsing around, he was good to his boys, easygoing and perhaps a bit naive.

My work assignment was to assist the librarian. This was a much easier, cleaner job than the other boys had who worked in the incinerator, bakery, laundry or maintenance shop or on the school farm. I got the slope out in the library because I could read and write. For the same reason I did not have to go to class. Four-fifths of the "students" at Warwick had a reading level below fifth grade. Classes were devoted to remedial reading, elementary writing and arithmetic.

A girl approached me as school was let out. "Are you the new boy from training school?"

"Yes. And you better steer clear. I'm supposed to be poison."

"You don't have to get mad about it," she said. "I just wanted to ask you to come to my house this afternoon to meet some other kids."

I wasn't supposed to hang around town after school. But this seemed like a wonderful chance to show these apple-knockers that a "hood from Brooklyn" knew how to act in a decent home. I felt a bit uneasy as the only colored face in the party but nobody seemed to notice. They

played records and the girls asked me to dance. I even told some funny stories about training school. It was all mild compared to one of our parties back home, but I enjoyed it. The lady of the house said to me, "I've heard about you. My, your mother must be proud of you!" I got an awful lump in the throat from that. My poor mother had had no reason to be proud of me for years.

Then at Easter vacation I went home on leave and it was like old times. Razor, Lucky and Scott met me at the bus stop in Harlem to escort me in triumph to Brooklyn. All the gang piled into the Ritz Bar and polished off a whole row of "sneaky pete" wine. "Never mind how much it costs," Razor said. "Me and Rat pulled a good score [robbery] to pay for the whole celebration." I forgot all about a date I had with Clarice.

From then on we had a ball. We picked a fight with three jokers in a penny arcade in Fulton Street, started a riot in a neighborhood bar and made a shambles of Sol's poolroom. I got a charge out of the cops chasing us over the roofs like old times.

My luck turned bad as I was walking home alone after saying good-bye to Clarice. Crossing through Fort Greene Park. I was sandbagged from behind. I tried to run. Two men hit me again. I fell with a sharp pain in my chest and blacked out.

I came to in Cumberland Hospital. A stab wound in my chest had been patched up and a plaster stuck on my head. I realized I was already one day AWOL from training school. They would never believe I had been mugged. They would assume I had been gang fighting.

I still did not like training school, but at the same time I realized that getting knifed didn't make any sense either. Sure, it was exciting to be back on the turf with the Deacons, but how long could I make this a way of life? I didn't know it then, but in later years I figured out what I was getting from training school. I was getting a regular life, I was learning discipline, I was eating regular meals, I was living in a world where fighting and drinking were wrong. I was going to school with ordinary kids in an ordinary town. I didn't have to like it, but that was the way I was being taught to live. I wasn't getting all this from a social worker or a cop or a psychiatrist. I was getting it from routine - from the habit of doing things the right way.

I kept my promise to Little Al and never got busted again. The Deacons nearly flipped when I came home and told them I had jumped smooth. But they gradually came around to my idea of converting the bopping club into a baseball and social club. We called it the Imperial Deacons. Of course we had to defend the turf a few times against invasions, but we never went down on a real raid again.

Eight of the members could not stand it this way and joined the Army to see some action in Korea. Three of them never came back.

After high school it took me five years of plugging to get a college diploma. All the way through high school and college I kept working to support myself and bring money home. I worked for years as a room clerk in a YMCA residence from 4 p.m. to midnight, and later as a hospital orderly from midnight to 8 a.m. Drinking coffee, I would try to stay awake to study between tours of the wards. Some days I felt I would never make it, but I kept plodding along. Mr. Cohen wrote often to give me a lift.

The grind paid off at last. Today I am a research technician in a university biological laboratory and I hope to enter medical school.

Occasionally I run into a few of the old gang. No less than 20 have served time for some adult crime. Half a dozen are junkies. Some are dead - of junk, disease or injuries in a brawl. Only one or two - like Chukker who became a commercial artist - are doing all right.

I have returned to the training school often. Sixty percent of Mr. Cohen's "alumni" now have no further trouble with the law, compared with 20% when he took over 11 years ago. Mr. Cohen keeps my graduation picture by his desk and I make speeches to the boys. Out of 10,283 training school boys since 1932, only six are college graduates. Most of the other college men don't let on they ever went there. But I am not ashamed. I am forever grateful to Little Al, to his dedicated staff, to my parents, and even to the judge, who did me more of a favor than he thought. Thanks to all of them, I know I'm going to make it.

Questions

- Why did the “conversion” work by Frenchie, and not by many others?
- Which factors lead to the success of Frenchie’s conversion? And which factors does Freddie name that could be complicating?
- Can an extensive conversion program solve the gang problem?

Student Material 11: From rumble to revolution: The Young Lords

In der „West Side Story“ bahnen sich die „Riots“ an, die die New Yorker Öffentlichkeit und Polizei durch die 60er Jahre hindurch beschäftigt haben. Die Betroffenen haben dabei auch untereinander die Funktion von Straßenkämpfen und Aufständen politisch reflektiert. Der Befreiungskampf US-amerikanischer „Minderheiten“, der Ende der 60er mit der weißen Studentenbewegung konvergierte, hatte eine „puertoricanische Abteilung“ entwickelt. Die folgenden Dokumente geben eine Vorstellung von dieser Entwicklung:

The Lords, until 1967 just another gang, have become the most potent revolutionary organization of Puerto Rican youth in the United States. The Lords are not prodigal sons, returned from suburbia to organize the ghetto. Less romantically, they started out operating in fundamentally the same style as in *West Side Story*. That history sets them apart from the vast majority of radical organizations around the country. They have negotiated peace pacts among nearly all of Chicago's white and Latin gangs, convincing them to fight, not against each other, but against the system which oppresses them. Influenced by the Lords, the 3000-member Latin Kings, the city's largest Puerto Rican gang, have begun to organize themselves politically and have started their own breakfast-for-children program.

The New York Lords' first action was in July 1969. Unable to obtain brooms from the Sanitation Department to clean 110th Street in *El Barrio*, they got together with people in the neighborhood and built a barricade of garbage across Third Avenue at 110th. In the days that followed, the action spread to 111th and 112th Streets. At each location, the Lords held a rally and signed up some of their first recruits. The garbage offensive lasted until September 2. The Lords played a hit-and-run game, block to block, talking and spreading politics as they went. Thousands of Puerto Ricans fought the police that summer. Many joined the Lords or at least became friendly to the struggle.

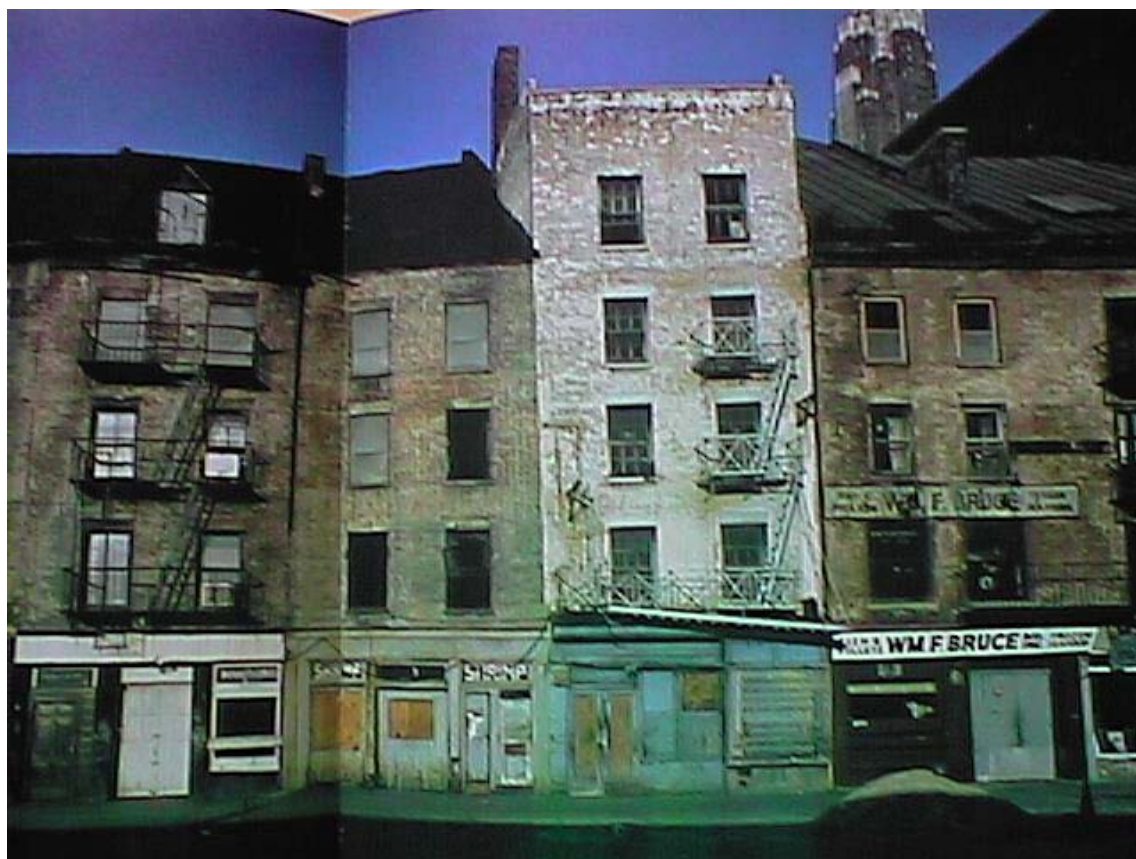
That fall, the Lords began to work with welfare mothers. In October they started door-to-door lead poisoning detection tests. They found that cases of lead poisoning - due to the illegal use of cheap lead paint by tenement landlords - reached epidemic proportions in their community. As the health work continued, the Lords themselves learned how to do simple blood tests for iron deficiency anemia, another poverty disease widespread in the community. The lack of proper nutrition convinced them to undertake a free breakfast-for-children program.

For weeks, the Lords visited the First Spanish Methodist Church on 111th Street and Lexington Avenue, trying to convince Humberto Carranzana, the Cuban refugee who ran it, to open the large basement facilities for the breakfast program (the church was in use only a few hours a week, on Sundays). On Sunday, December 7, when the Lords attempted to address the congregation, police were called in and beat and arrested 13 Lords. The women who were in the church fought back just as hard as the men, and the Party points to this as the awakening of its struggle against male chauvinism. The Lords returned to the church on December 28, 1969. This time they took it over, renamed it People's Church and began an 11-day occupation. They established an embattled communal enclave with free breakfasts, free clothing and health services, a day-care center, a liberation school, community dinners, films, and on New Year's Eve a revolutionary service to herald "The Decade of the People."

Over a hundred thousand people passed through the doors of the church during those days. The Lords explained their programs. They invoked the teachings of Jesus as a people's gospel of helping those in need.

Lincoln Hospital is located in an industrial sector of the South Bronx, the edge of one of the largest, most run-down Puerto Rican ghettos in the City. At 5:30 on the morning of July 18, a group of about 200 Puerto Rican men and women from the YLP, the Health Revolutionary Unity Movement (a city-wide group of Third World health workers), and the Think Lincoln Committee (made up of workers and patients at Lincoln Hospital), walked into Lincoln with the aim of turning the hospital over to the community. Among their demands were door-to-door health services for preventive care, sanitary control, nutrition, maternal and child care, drug addiction care, day care and senior citizens' services, a 24-hour-a-day grievance table, and a \$140 minimum weekly wage for all workers.

Hours later, hundreds of people streamed in through the front door to get free test for tuberculosis, iron deficiency anemia and lead poisoning. Passersby looking up at the ancient, grimy building that could easily pass for a warehouse were surprised to see the Puerto Rican flag



flying and banners in the window proclaiming: "*Bienvenido al hospital del pueblo*" - "Welcome to the People's Hospital."

At 10 A.M. there was a press conference. Yvette Trinidad of Think Lincoln answered a question: Why use take-over tactics? "There was garbage piled on the corner of 142nd Street and Cortland right outside of this hospital. We complained, we petitioned, we called the Mayor's office. Nothing was done. Addicts from all over town came over here to search for dirty needles in the rubble. One day we decided to act. We moved the garbage into the office of Dr. Antero Lacot, the hospital administrator; that same day the garbage got removed."



Things were different in the gang days. Gang days, we owned the block, and nobody could tell us what to do with the street. Then dope came in and messed everything up, messed our minds up and just broke our backs - dope and anti-poverty. Anti-poverty wiped out a whole generation of what could have been Puerto Rican leaders in New York City. For example, in '65, the time of the East Harlem riots, we held East Harlem for two days. We had the roof-tops, the streets and the community - no pigs could go through. It was like back in the old days. A lot of people really tripped off that, a lot of the junkies who had been in gangs remembered that shit. To end it they shipped in anti-poverty. They brought it in full-force, and they bought out a lot of the young cats who were leading the rebellions. A lot of dudes who were throwing bricks one day found themselves directors of anti-poverty programs the next, or workers on Mayor Lindsay's Urban Action Core.

So we had no leadership, and we had no people - our people were dying from dope. But we knew that it was *there*, man, 'cause we knew that the fire was there. Those of us

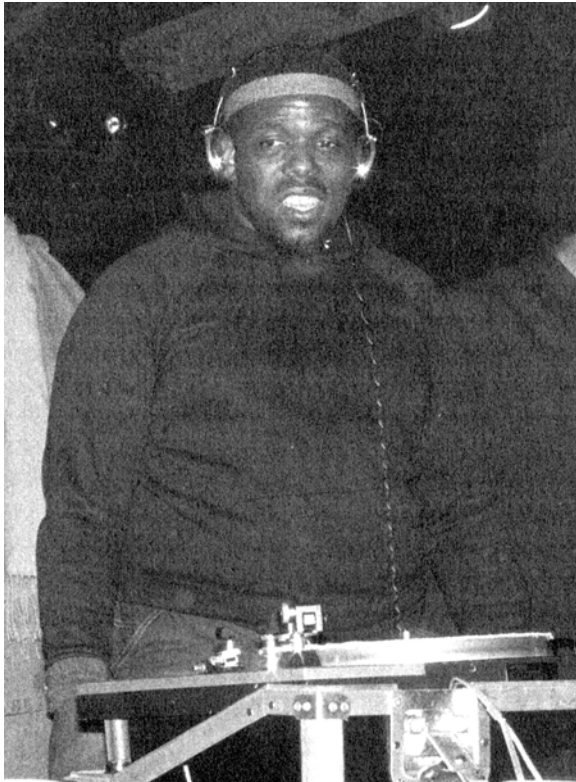
who got together to start the thing, we knew we weren't freaks - we didn't feel that we were all that much different from the people. There's a tendency to say "the people" and put the people at arm's length. When we say "people," man, we're talking about ourselves. We're from these blocks, and we're from these schools, products of this whole thing. Some of us came back from college - it was like rediscovering where your parents had come from, rediscovering your childhood.

Questions

- How do the Young Lords separate themselves from "gangs"?
- Which traditions have the Young Lords adopted from gangs?
- With which actions do the Young Lords try to work with the street worker and anti-poverty strategies?
- What is the goal of the Young Lords?

Student Material 12: Bambaataa: “Transforming negative into positive energy”

Eine aktuelle Szene, die den meisten deutschen Jugendlichen akustisch-musikalisch vertraut sein dürfte, wird von zahlreichen Opinion Leaders auf die in der „West Side Story“ geschilderte Situation zurückgeführt. Afrika Bambaataa, der als zentrale Persönlichkeit für die Entwicklung des Hip Hop gilt und auch 1997 noch Deutschland durchreist hat, äußerte sich 1986 gegenüber dem DDR-Musikwissenschaftler Peter Wicke in New York wie folgt:



Those were the times of the gangs, back then. The youth organised themselves in their residential areas, because their living conditions were getting shittier. They struck back against the society which did this to them. But then they soon started turning against each other, competing for supremacy. Man, those were hard times. Back then, I belonged to the biggest black gang in New York, the Black Spades. There was an incredible feeling of togetherness amongst the people. They were your family. There, you could learn how to survive on the streets. And the gangs had power...

America is built on violence. Only when someone gets violent, then all of a sudden the whole darn authorities get startled. Then you even get a couple alms from their shitty money, with which they can fix up your sport field, reopen the community centre, these kinds of things, only so things are quiet again. But these guys

are clever, more clever than you are. We only noticed too late. They followed the principle of “share and rule”. If there was trouble in one part, then they did indeed do something about it - but neglecting something else at the same time. And that led naturally to rivalries, until it there were real wars. But that’s exactly what they were merely waiting for. Now they could torment our people with their police even more.

You see, the violence had to end, because it led to nothing. And there I founded the “Zulu Nation”. Yup, that was like it was with the gangs. I started doing dances. And the people who came to me were Zulus, because I, Afrika Bambaataa, was the Zulu chief. They knew that, as a Zulu-Nation, they belong together. And the feeling of belonging together is a very important moment. Man, that was real crazy. Suddenly, everyone started doing dances. Now the gangs didn’t go at each other with knives any more, but rather send their dance acrobatics into the ring. So the sense of togetherness which you need to survive remained intact, but the violence was gone. In the residential areas, this was a much more effective fight for a solution to our problems. Now, the authorities couldn’t use truncheons and weapons as arguments. They had to do something that works. On top of that, we could earn some money in the city with our break dance performances, so that we could solve the things ourselves.” (from WICKE 1991, 230-232)

If Bambaataa and the following Hip-Hop movement can be interpreted as a special (and perhaps the most successful) type of social work, it may be asked on the other hand, whether the Puerto Ricans made a specific contribution to New York's music scene also. It is said that the salsa culture industry of the 1970s was mainly dominated by the Puerto Ricans. Peter Wicke wrote more on the subject:

“The importance of the Puerto Rican musicians in New York's music life cannot be underestimated, even if salsa isn't exactly typical Puerto Rican. With a few exemptions, salsa was a type of music which came from the exiled Cubans. The Puerto Rican contribution lay in the *Plena*, a song form with a melody pattern. The *Plena* is an emotionally expressive ballad-like type of song, which was brought into the salsa scene in the 1960s by the very successful group of New Yorker Puerto Ricans called *Les Pleneros de la 21*.

A very typical Puerto Rican creation which comes from New York is the *Latin Boogaloo*, which is an influence in many pop music styles to this day. *Latin Boogaloo* is a mixture from Latin-American music and Afro-American soul that arose from Puerto Rican musicians in New York in the mid 1960s. “*BangBang*” (1966), from Joe Cuba, claims to be the first title. The term *Boogaloo* is an expression which is highly recognised in the local slang of the young Spanish speaking Mexicans living in the south-western USA. *Boogaloo* is also the word for a type of dance that was developed for this type of music, which became the base for the so-called *Electric Boogie* in the early 80s. In John Travolta's “*Saturday Night Fever*”, *Latin Boogaloo* is described as “*Latin Hustle*”, a component of disco music; it is an important base for *Electro-Funk*, which has become a component of the *Hip-Hop* culture, especially in the Bronx. The diverse dance styles for *Latin Boogaloo* played an important role in the development of the *Break-Dance* in the 80s, which was considerably influenced by the Puerto Rican youth.” (WICKE 1996)

Questions

- What kind of meaning does “Zulu Nation” have for Bambaataa. In which way is it a gang replacement?
- Which function do the gangs have according to Bambaataa?
- How does Bambaataa state clearly that negative energy should be transformed into positive energy?
- What's the difference between Bambaataa's strategy and the Young Lords' strategy? How are they similar? How does Bambaataa criticise the anti-poverty strategy?
- What is Bambaataa's political aim? Has Bambaataa reached this goal? (Compare with Student Material 12!)

Student Material 13: “So that the individual can let alone exist”

Extracted from an interview with Mehmed, who is 20 years old and a member of the “Alis” gang in Berlin.



Why do youth get together in gangs?

So that the individual can let alone exist. Not as a group, but rather as a human being. People can't live with being discriminated against every day.

Have you yourself experienced discrimination?

I experience it every day. I'm always labelled as a “Kanacke”. There is only one place where I can walk the streets relaxed, and know that nothing will happen to me. That's Kreuzberg. In any other region or city, I always have to be prepared to deal with discrimination.

Why did many gangs arise in 1983?

1982 or 1983 was the big question: are we allowed to as Turks walk freely on the Ku'damm street. Are foreigners allowed into the discothèques? The youth who didn't manage to get into a discothèque on the weekend got together. I remember, that the Simsekler's developed because of a discothèque situation. It also worked. The Simsekler's managed to get into a lot of discothèques. As the Simsekler's came, the bouncer called in sick for years.

Is your struggle not also a struggle against the fathers?

The fathers of a lot of the guys who are in gangs put on a lot of pressure at home. Because the guys are a nothing in their family, they try to compensate for their nothingness in the gang. But discrimination exists on every side. For example, when searching for an apartment. A lot of us want to move out of the house, but we don't find anything. The job market is exactly the same story.

... My teachers don't take it into consideration at all, that I have to speak different languages. At home Azerbaijan, at school German, and with friends Turkish. That changed as I swapped schools in the eleventh grade and went to the Kreuzberger school. I've settled with having to produce more than the Germans. But, I can't be content with the thought that I'm still a foreigner, even though I've been living here for 18 years.

You have taken on German citizenship. What has that changed?

I can walk the streets freely now. When stress arises, I don't have to shake my head any more and think, “okay, I'm a Kanacke”, just because I have to be afraid I might knock his lights out and then get deported. Deportation was always my biggest fear. Also at demonstrations.

And what remains the same, despite your new passport?

My appearance. I find myself handsome indeed. But in the eyes of the Germans, I remain a foreigner. .. According to my father, and many other fathers (and unfortunately young people too), a Turk is characterised by his Turkish passport. By the way, I wouldn't classify myself as German, but rather as someone who has a German passport.

Selected scene scripts

Die im deutschen Materialband abgedruckten deutschsprachigen Szenentexte sind Übersetzungen aus dem englischen Original, das in der Reclam-Textausgabe erhältlich ist. Bei der Durchführung des szenischen Spiels von „Dance at the Gym“ und „The Rumble“ werden gekürzte „Szenentexte“ (zum Teil lediglich „Regieanweisungen“) verwendet. Diese beiden Textpassagen sind im folgenden abgedruckt:

1 Dance at the gym

The music “Blues (Rocky)” is to be played (Listening example 1).

Both gangs (without those who arrive later) walk into the Gym to the music, looking extremely cool. Maria arrives with Chino, Bernardo and Anita. Maria takes a look around, happy to be at her first evening dance. The Jets see Bernardo, who is greeted by some of the Shark One after the other, the Jets pull back to one side of the hall. The music stops.

The Sharks pull back to the other side, and discuss briefly with Bernardo.

Riff walks with some of the Jets straight across the (empty) dance floor to challenge Bernardo. Bernardo meets him with some of the Sharks.

Gladhand steps between with a grin.

GLADHAND: All right, boys and girls! Attention, please!

They all keep on talking. Krupke appears behind Gladhand, and the talking stop

GLADHAND: Thank you. It sure is a fine turnout tonight. We want to make friends here, so we're going to have a few get-together dances.

The young people sing different parts of the songs (America, Jet Song) mixed up.

GLADHAND: You form two circles: boys on the outside, girls on the inside. Now when the music stops, each boy dances with whichever girl is in front of him. O.K.? O.K. Two circles, kid

The young people clap their hands, everyone yells something different. They don't move at all.

GLADHAND: Well, it won't hurt you to try.

A-RAB (limping forward): Oh, it hurts; it hurts; it -

Krupke takes a step forward, A-rab pulls back. Riff goes ahead, Velma follows him. Bernardo goes ahead, Anita follows him. Gradually, they all form two circles.

GLADHAND: That's it, kid. Keep the ball rolling. Round she goes and where she stops, nobody know All right: here we go!

The promenade music is played (Listening exp. 3).
The circles rotate. Gladhand is standing in the middle with a whistle in his mouth, and Krupke is beside him.

Gladhand blows his whistle. The music stop A moment of suspense.

Bernardo passes by the Jet girl standing opposite from him and goes straight to Anita. Riff reaches for Velma and goes to her. All the other boys follow and chose a girl of their own gang. The Jets and Sharks go to their own sides of the hall.

The Mambo is played (Listening example 2).

A “dance competition” develops between the couples Bernardo / Anita and Riff / Velma: Both couples try to prove they are the better dancer They are spurred on by the Sharks and the Jets.

Tony enters the hall, and is greeted by Riff. The dance goes on, getting wilder and wilder. Everyone is yelling “Mambo!” repeatedly, and is clapping. Tony and Maria are similarly spurring on their dancers.

Tony and Maria exchange glances.

The cha-cha is played (Listening example 13).

The Jets and Sharks pull back, while Tony and Maria slowly come forward.

Tony and Maria walk as if they're in a dream. They are completely lost in each other's glance Tony and Maria are not aware of anything around them any more.

TONY: You are not thinking I'm someone else?

MARIA: I know you are not.

TONY: Or that we have met before?

MARIA: I know we have not. - My hands are cold.

Tony takes Maria's hand

MARIA: Yours, too.

TONY: It's so hard to believe - you're not joking with me?

MARIA: I have not yet learned how to joke that way. I think now I never will.

The cha-cha music falls silent.

Bernardo jumps towards Tony. BERNARDO: Go home, 'American'.

TONY: Slow down, Bernardo.

BERDARDO: Stay away from my sister!

TONY: ... Sister?

BERNARDO (to Maria): Couldn't you see he's one of them?

Chino and Riff come to Bernardo and Tony. They start arguing loudly.

GLADHAND (tries to step in between them): My dear young friends! At first, everything went so well. Do you enjoy fighting? That doesn't suit you at all! It doesn't hurt to just have a nice talk.

BERNARDO (to Maria): I am warning you.

CHINO: Don't yell at her, Nardo.

BERNARDO: Babies are yelled at.

ANITA: That's how you give them funny idea

BERNARDO: Bring her home, Chino.

MARIA: Nardo, this is my first dance!

BERNARDO: Por favor. We are a family, Maria. Maria hesitates, and then goes away with Chino. Tony's eyes follow Maria. He doesn't notice Bernardo coming straight towards him across the stage.

Riff stops Bernardo.

BERNARDO: I don't need you.

Riff: I need you. For a war counsel – Jets against Shark

BERNARDO: Oh, with pleasure. We will meet in half an hour.

Riff: Doc's shop! And no funny tricks.

BERNARDO: I know the rules – native!

Riff: (to A-rab): Tell the others, A-rab. Everyone grabs his doll and comes. Come on, Tony!

2 Balcony Scene

11:00 P.M. A back alley.

A suggestion of buildings; a fire escape climbing to the rear window of an unseen flat. As Tony sings, he looks for where Maria lives, wishing for her. And she does appear, at the window above him, which opens onto the fire escape. Music stays beneath most of the scene.

TONY [sings:] Maria, Maria...

MARIA Ssh!

TONY Maria!

MARIA Quiet!

TONY Come down.

MARIA No.

TONY Maria...

MARIA Please. If Bernardo-

TONY He's at the dance. Come down.

MARIA He will soon bring Anita home.

TONY Just for a minute.

MARIA [smiles] A minute is not enough.

TONY [smiles] For an hour then.

MARIA I cannot.

TONY Forever!

MARIA Ssh!

TONY Then I'm coming up.

WOMAN'S VOICE [from the offstage apartment] Maria!

MARIA *Momentito*, Mama...

TONY [climbing up] Maria, Maria-

MARIA *Callate!* [Reaching her hand out to stop him.] Ssh!

TONY [grabbing her hand] Ssh!

MARIA It is dangerou

TONY I'm not "one of them."

MARIA You are; but to me, you are not. Just as I am one of them- [she gestures toward the apartment.]

TONY To me, you are all the-

[She covers his mouth with her hand.]

MAN'S VOICE [from the unseen apartment] Maruca!

MARIA *Sh, ya vengo, Papa.*

TONY Maruca?

MARIA His pet name for me.

TONY I like him. He will like me.

MARIA No. He is like Bernardo: afraid. [Suddenly laughing.] Imagine being afraid of you!

TONY You see?

MARIA [touching his face] I see you.

TONY See only me.

MARIA [sings:] Only you, you're the only thing I'll see forever.

In my eyes, in my words and in everything I do, Nothing else but you, ever!

TONY And there's nothing for me but Maria, Every sight that I see is Maria.

MARIA Tony, Tony...

TONY Always you , every thought I'll ever know,
Everywhere I go, you'll be.

MARIA All the world is only you and me!
[And now the buildings, the world fade away,
leaving them suspended in space.]

Tonight, tonight,
It all began tonight,
I saw you and the world went away.

Tonight, tonight,
There's only you tonight,
What you are, what you do, what you say.

TONY
Today, all day I had the feeling
A miracle would happen-
I know now I was right.
For here you are
And what was just a world is a star

Tonight!

BOTH
Tonight, tonight,
The world is full of light,
With suns and moons all over the place.

Tonight, tonight,
The world is wild and bright,
Going mad, shooting stars into space.
Today the world was just an address,
A place for me to live in,
No better than all right,

But here you are
And what was just a world is a star
Tonight!

MAN'S VOICE [offstage] Maruca!

MARIA Wait for me! [She goes inside as the
buildings begin to come back into place.]

MARIA [returning] I cannot stay. Go quickly!

3 Cool / At the drugstore

The Jets are sitting around in the 'drugstore',
waiting for the Shark They are very upset.

ACTION We got important business comin'.

DOC Makin' trouble for the Puerto Ricans?

RIFF We've got to stand up to the Puerto Ri-
cans, Doc. It's important.

DOC Fighting over a little piece of the street is
so important?

ACTION To us, it i

TONY I'm not afraid.

MARIA They are strict with me. Please.

TONY [kissing her] Good night.

MARIA *Buenos noche*

TONY I love you.

MARIA Yes, ye Hurry. [He climbs down.] Wait!
When will I see you? [He starts back up.] No!

TONY Tomorrow.

MARIA I work at the bridal shop. Come there.

TONY At sundown.

MARIA Ye Good night.

TONY Good night. [He starts off.]

MARIA Tony!

TONY Ssh!

MARIA Come to the back door.

TONY Si. [Again he starts out.]

MARIA Tony! [He stop A pause.] What does Tony
stand for?

TONY Anton.

MARIA

Te adoro, Anton.

TONY *Te adoro*, Maria.

[Both sing as music starts again:]

Good night, good night,
Sleep well and when you dream,
Dream of me
Tonight.

[She goes inside.]

Annotations:

to fade away: (German) verblassen

suspended in space: as if not standing on firm ground
– as if flying

miracle: (German) Wunder

DOC To hoodlums, it is. [He goes out through the
cellar doorway as

Action lunges for him.]

ACTION Don't you call me hoodlum!

RIFF [holding him] Easy, Action! Save your steam
for the rumble. –

Now you all better dig this and dig it the most. No
matter who or what is eatin' at you, you show it,
buddy boys, and you are dead. You are cuttin' a hole
in yourselves for them to stick in a red-hot umbrella
and open it. Wide. You wanna live? You play it cool.

ACTION I wanna get even!

RIFF Get cool.

A-RAB I wanna bust!
 RIFF Bust cool.

 Boy, boy, crazy boy-
 Get cool, boy!
 Got a rocket in your pocket-
 Keep coolly cool, boy!
 Don't get hot,
 'Cause, man, you got
 Some high times ahead.
 Take it slow and, Daddy-o,
 You can live it up and die in bed!
 Boy, boy, crazy boy-
 Stay loose, boy!
 Breeze it, buzz it, easy does it-
 Turn off the juice, boy!
 Go man, go,
 But not like a yoyo school boy-
 Just play it cool, boy.
 Real cool!

 [The Sharks enter.]
 RIFF Set 'em up, Doc. Cokes all around.
 BERNARDO Let's get down to business.
 RIFF Bernardo hasn't learned the procedures of
 gracious livin'.
 BERNARDO I don't like you, either. So cut it.
 RIFF Kick it, Doc.
 DOC Boys, couldn't you maybe all talk it-
 RIFF Kick it! [Doc goes out. The two gangs
 take places behind their leader]
 RIFF We challenge you to a rumble. All out,
 once and for all. Accept?
 BERNARDO On what terms?
 RIFF Whatever terms you're callin', buddy boy.
 You crossed the line once too often.
 BERNARDO You started it.
 RIFF Who jumped A-rab this afternoon?
 BERNARDO Who jumped me the first day I
 moved here?
 RIFF Who asked you to moved here?
 BERNARDO Who asked you?
 ACTION Move where you're wanted!
 A-RAB Back where ya came from!
 BERNARDO We accept!
 RIFF Time?
 BERNARDO Tomorrow?
 RIFF The river?
 BERNARDO Under the highway. [They shake.]

RIFF Weapons!
 BERNARDO Weapon..
 RIFF You call.
 BERNARDO You're challenged.
 RIFF Afraid to call?
 BERNARDO ...Stick
 RIFF ...Rock
 BERNARDO ...Pole
 RIFF ...Can
 BERNARDO ...Brick
 RIFF ...Bat
 BERNARDO ...Club
 TONY Bottles, knives, guns! [They stare.] What a
 coop full of chickens!
 BERNARDO Every dog knows his own.
 TONY I'm callin' all of you chicken. The big tough
 buddy boys have to throw bricks! Afraid to get close
 in? Afraid to slug it out? Afraid to use plain skin?
 DIESEL Not even garbage?
 ACTION That ain't a rumble.
 RIFF Who says?
 BERNARDO You said call weapon
 TONY A rumble can be clinched by a fair fight. If
 you have the guts to risk that. Best man from each
 gang to slug it out.
 BERNARDO [looking at Tony]
 I'd enjoy to risk that. O.K.! Fair fight!
 PEPE What?
 ACTION [simultaneously] No!
 RIFF The commanders say yes or no. [To Bernardo.]
 Fair fight. [They shake.]
 BERNARDO [To Tony] In two minutes you will be
 like a fish after skinnin'.
 RIFF Your best man fights our best man - and we
 pick him. [Claps Diesel on the shoulder.]
 BERNARDO But I thought it would be-
 RIFF We shook on it, Bernardo.
 BERNARDO [realising he has been tricked] Ye I
 shook on it.

Annotations:

hoodlum: young criminal
dig this (slang): understand this
to bust: to explode
to breeze: noise of the wind
to buzz: noise that goes 'zzzz'
yoyo: a toy that goes up and down
gracious: here: well-behaved
rumble: fight
term: here: condition

stick, pole: (German) Stab

brick: like a stone; used for building

bat: like a baseball bat

club: here: even bigger than a bat

coop: a building for keeping chicken

clinched (slang): decided

guts (slang): courage

slug it out (slang): fight it out

4 At the Bridal Shop

5:30 P.M. The next day. The bridal shop.

Hot late-afternoon sun coloring the workroom. One or two sewing machine Several dressmaker dummies, male and female, in bridal-party garb. Maria in a smock is hand-sewing a wedding veil as Anita whirls in whipping off her smock.

ANITA She's gone! The old bag of a *bruja* has gone!

MARIA Bravo!

ANITA The day is over, the jail is open, home we go!

MARIA You go, *querida*. I will lock up.

ANITA Finish tomorrow. Come!

MARIA I am in no hurry.

ANITA I am. I'm going to take a bubble bath all during supper: Black Orchid.

MARIA You will not eat?

ANITA After the rumble-with 'Nardo.

MARIA [sewing angrily]

That rumble, why do they have it?

ANITA You saw how they dance: like they have to get rid of something, quick. That's how they fight.

MARIA To get rid of what?

ANITA Too much feeling. And they get rid of it: after a fight, that brother of yours is so healthy!

Definitely: Black Orchid. [There is a knock at the rear door, and Tony enter]

TONY *Buenas noches!*

ANITA [sarcastically to Maria] You go, *querida*. I will look up. [To Tony:] It's too early for *noches*. *Buenos tardes*.

TONY [bows] *Gracia Buenas tarde*

MARIA He just came to deliver aspirin.

ANITA You'll need it.

TONY No, we're out of the world.

ANITA You're out of your head

TONY We're twelve feet in the air.

MARIA [gently taking his hand] Anita can see all that. [To Anita:] You will not tell?

ANITA Tell what? How can I hear what goes on twelve feet over my head? [Opens door. To Maria:] You better be home in fifteen minute [She goes out.]

TONY Don't worry. She likes us!

MARIA But she is worried.

TONY She's foolish. We're untouchable; we are in the air; we have magic!

MARIA Magic is also evil and black. Are you going to that rumble?

TONY No.

MARIA Yes.

TONY Why??

MARIA You must go and stop it.

TONY I have stopped it! It's only a fist fight. 'Nardo won't get-

MARIA Any fight is not good for u

TONY Everything is good for us and we are good for everything.

MARIA Listen and hear me. You must go and stop it.

TONY Then I will.

MARIA [surprised] Can you?

TONY You don't want even a fist fight? There won't be any fight.

MARIA I believe you! You do have magic.

TONY Of course, I have you. You go home and dress up. Then tonight, I will come by for you.

MARIA You cannot come by. My mama...

TONY [after a pause] Then I will take you to my house-

MARIA [shaking her head] Your mama...

[Another awkward pause. Then he sees a female dummy and pushes is forward.]

TONY She will come running from the kitchen to welcome you. She lives in the kitchen.

MARIA Dressed so elegant?

TONY I told her you were coming. She will look at your face and try not to smile. And she will say: Skinny-but pretty.

MARIA She is plump no doubt.

TONY [holding out the waist of dummy's dress] Fat!

MARIA [indicating another female dummy]

I take after my mama; delicate-boned. [He kisses her.] Not in front of Mama! [He turns the dummy around as she goes to a male dummy.] Oh, I would like to see Papa in this! Mama will make him ask about your prospects, if you go to church. But Papa-Papa might like you.

TONY [kneeling to the "father" dummy]
 May I have your daughter's hand? - *Gracias!*
 MARIA And your mama?
 TONY I'm afraid to ask her.
 MARIA Tell her she's not getting a daughter; she's getting rid of a son!
 TONY She says yes.
 MARIA She has good taste. [She grabs up the wedding veil and puts it on as Tony arranges the dummies.]
 TONY Maid of honor!
 MARIA That color is bad for Anita.
 TONY Best man!
 MARIA That is my papa!
 TONY Sorry, Pap. Here we go, Riff: Womb to Tomb! [He takes hat off dummy.]
 MARIA Now you see, Anita, I told you there was nothing to worry about.
 [Music starts as she leaves the dummy and walks up to Tony. They look at each other - and the ply acting vanishes. Slowly, seriously, they turn front, and together kneel as before an altar.]
 TONY I, Anton, take thee Maria...
 MARIA I, Maria, take thee Anton...
 TONY For richer, for poorer...
 MARIA In sickness and in health...
 TONY To love and to honor...
 MARIA To hold and to keep...
 TONY From each sun to each moon...
 MARIA From tomorrow to tomorrow...
 TONY For now to forever...
 MARIA Till death do us part.
 TONY With this ring, I thee wed.
 MARIA With this ring, I thee wed.
 TONY [sings]
 Make of our hands one hand,
 Make of our hearts one heart,
 Make of our vows one last vow:
 Only death will part us now.
 MARIA
 Make of our lives one life,
 Day after day, one life.
 BOTH
 Now it begins, now we start

One hand, one heart-
 Even death won't part us now.
 [They look at each other, then at the reality of their "game." They smile tenderly, ruefully, and slowly put the dummies back into position. Though brought back to earth, they continue to sing.]
 Make of our lives one life,
 Day after day, one life.
 Now it begins, now we start
 One hand, one heart-
 Even death won't part us now.

Annotations:

bridal shop: shop for wedding clothes
sewing machine: machine for sewing dresses
dressmaker dummies: large dolls for showing off dresses
bridal-party garb: wedding clothes
smock: dress for work
veil: th. a bride wears on her head
to whirl in: to come in quickly
to whip th. off: to take off th. quickly
jail: prison
to deliver: to bring
out of your heads: crazy
fist fight: a fight using hands only
skinny: thin
plump: a bit fat
delicate-boned: thin
maid of honor: female companion for a bride
best man: male companion for the bridegroom
womb to tomb: from birth to death (motto of the Jets)
ply acting: like acting in a funny play
kneel: (German) knien
thee: you (old form)
I thee wed: I marry you
vow: if you swear th. to o.
tender: loving and careful
rueful: as if they think they just did something silly

5 The rumble (stage instructions)

The following stage instructions are read out by the director:

- The Jets arrive under the freeway bridge and make their way to one side.
- The Sharks arrive under the freeway bridge and make their way to the other side.
- Riff gives the Jets instructions how they should position themselves. A semi-circle that opens towards the Sharks is formed.
- Bernardo gives the Sharks instructions how they should position themselves. They also form a semi-circle. In the middle, there is a space for the fight.
- Bernardo takes off his jacket and gives it to Chino.
- Diesel takes off his jacket and gives it to Riff.
- Riff asks Bernardo and Diesel to shake hands before the fight begins
- Bernardo refuses and makes fun of the strange customs of the Americans (“natives”).
- Riff gives the signal. Diesel and Bernardo move slowly towards each other. In their stance, the Jets and Sharks show their mutual hate and contempt.
- Tony arrives on the scene and forces himself between Diesel and Bernardo.
- Tony wants to convince everybody to stop fighting.
- Bernardo provokes Tony with words Tony tries to convince Bernardo that he is his friend. Bernardo continues provoking him and hits him.
- Riff leaps forward, hits Bernardo and throws him to the ground.
- The Sharks want to attack, but Bernardo commands them to halt.
- Tony tries once again to break up Bernardo and Diesel.
- Riff gives Diesel and Action a signal to hold Tony back. They grab Tony on the arms and hold his mouth shut.
- Bernardo gets up and pulls out his knife.
- Riff pulls out his knife.
- There is absolute silence as they size each other up.

The scene continues with the last cycle of the “Rumble” music

- Bernardo and Riff fight. The gang members spur them on with their gesture
- Bernardo hits the ground and Riff wants to jump on him, his knife in his hand.
- Tony breaks free and cries, “Riff, don’t!” Tony is standing behind Riff.
- Riff turns around towards Tony.
- Bernardo jumps up and stabs Riff.
- Tony jumps forward and catches Riff as he falls, and takes the knife out of his hand.
- Bernardo celebrates his triumph.
- The Jets go for the Sharks. An all-against-all brawl breaks out.

This fight is carried out as *shadow-boxing*.

- Tony suddenly leaps forward and stabs Bernardo.
- The fight continues until a whistle blow announces the arrival of the police.

Whistle blow. The music stops

- Everyone freezes. The game is over.

Quellen der übrigen, im deutschen Materialband abgedruckten Szenentexte

<i>Nr</i>	<i>Überschrift</i>	<i>Quelle</i>
1	Regieanweisungen zum Prolog	Reclam, 9-11
2	Krupke/Schrank und Jugendliche	Reclam, 11-13
3	Jets zur Einfühlung	Reclam 16-19
4	Der Jet Song	Reclam 18-21
5	Riff und Tony	Reclam, 22-26
6	Anita und Maria	Reclam, 27-29
7	Kurztext: Dance at the Gym	nach Reclam I,4
8	„Balkonszene“ (Filmfassung)	vgl. Reclam 41-42
9	Sharks zur Einfühlung	Reclam 42-45
10	Der „America“-Song	Reclam 46-48
11	Im Drugstore vor dem Cool-Song	Reclam 49-55
12	Verhandlung im Drugstore	Reclam, 56-59
13	Schanks Monolog	Reclam 59-62
14	Die Hochzeitsszene	Reclam, 65-68
15	Regieanweisungen zu „The Rumble“	nach Reclam 74-78
16	Shark-Girls zur Einfühlung	Reclam , 79-82
17	„Gee, Officer Krupke“	Reclam , 93-98

Verzeichnis der Hörbeispiele der CD

Nr.	Titel	Art	Dauer	Klavier- auszug	Funktion
1	Blues (Rocky)	loop	0:53	36-39	Gehaltungen allgemein UE 1
2	Mambo	original	1:08	40-48	Gehaltungen allgemein UE 1
3	Promenade	loop	0:50	36	Gehaltungen allgemein UE 1
4	Jet Song, Anfang, Playback	loop (8X) bmp 177	1:12	16	kollektive Einfühlung Jets UE 1
5	„America“, Playback	loop (5X)	1:13	75	kollektive Einfühlung Sharks UE 1
6	„Could it be“ (Tony)	original + loop (10X)	1:14	32	individuelle Einfühlung Tony UE 3
7	„I feel pretty“ (Maria)	original + loop (8X)	1:10	137	individuelle Einfühlung Maria UE 3 und Singhaltung UE 5
8	„Have you met“ (Girls)	original	0:51	41	indiv. Einfühlungen Shark-Girls
9	„Anita’s gonna get“ (Ensemble, Anita)	original + loop (6X)	1:14	116	individuelle Einfühlung Anita
10	„You’re never alone“ (Jets, Jet Song)	original + loop (12X)	1:05	17	individuelle Einfühlungen von Jet-Boys
11	„Überall Dreck in Amerika“	Filmmusik als loop			individuelle Einfühlung Shark-Boys
12	Jet Song, 1. Strophe mit Refrain	original		16-18	Standbild zu Riff UE 3A
13	„Something’s coming“ (Tony)	original		27-34	Standbild zu Tony UE 3A
14	Cha-Cha aus Dance at he Gym	original + loop (2X)		49-50	Dialog Tony und Maria UE 4
15	„Maria!“	loop		56	Singhaltung Tony UE 5
16	Balkon-Szene: „Under Dialog“ (Tony und Maria)	original	2:42	70-71	Sprechhaltungen „ich hab dich lieb!“ UE 5
17	Balkon-Szene - Playback	ohne Text!	2:42	70-71	Szene Tony und Maria UE 6
18	„One Hand one heart“ - Anfang (Filmmusik)	original oder ohne Text	1:38	105-106	Intro zur Kinoszene UE 6
19	Cool-Fugenthema	loop von 12 Takten (6X)	2:01	91	Impuls-Übungen zu „cool“ UE 6
20	Cool-Fuge	original		91-95	Choreografie UE 6
21	„Tonight“ (Tony + Maria)	original	1:10	66	Szeneneinfühlung
22	„Tonight“ als Playback	loop (12 X)		63	Erwartungen UE 6
23	„Tonight“-Quintett	original	3:39	111-126	Hören zum Bild UE 6
24	The Rumble	original		127-132	UE 7
25	Officer Krupke	original		165-178	UE 8
26	Jet Song- Loop	original, loop (5X)	3:10	16	Kollektive Einfühlung Jets UE 1
27	Jet Song: Playback (schnell)	loops (5 X) bmp 220	2:37	16	Kollektive Einfühlung Jets UE 1
28	„America“ -Loop	original loops (6X)	2:42	75	Kollektive Einfühlung Sharks UE 1
29	Prolog	original		3-14	UE 2