CRUISING THE STRIP:
A REPORT ON YOUTH

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Every Friday and Saturday night a short length of thoroughfare in San Leandro is jammed with kids and cars. About seven-thirty in the evening they begin to arrive, driving their polished and modified cars down the street to a particular intersection where they make a "U" turn. Heading in the opposite direction to another intersection, they make a second "U" turn and begin the circuit again. The action reaches its peak about eleven-thirty when hundreds of cars are either being driven or are parked on this street.

This is not a phenomenon peculiar to this city. It has been observed by this writer in Richmond, Walnut Creek, San Jose, Fresno and Long Beach, California; Portland, Oregon; and Seattle, Washington. In addition, it has been reported by others to occur in many other cities.¹ In all of these cities, it is the same pattern.

The phenomenon involves hundreds of young people each evening. Some of them spend a considerable part of their leisure time at this activity, several hours each evening, six to eight evenings each month. It is an important social activity for many young people, and as such is worthy of investigation.

The activity itself at first glance seems to be universal among social classes. Upon closer examination, however, the phenomenon takes on the characteristics of two particular classes. The cars and activities, while fulfilling the needs of many youths, seem to fit the needs of upper lower and lower middle class youth in particular. These young people from the families of regularly employed workers and minor white collar employees have adopted the value system of their parents. The two groups will be considered by the writer as working class because the minor white collar family more nearly fits into the working class value system than into the middle class system. The participants of this study seem to exhibit the values of the working class.

In addition, because self esteem and status are of such importance to young people it would fulfill some of the status needs for these persons who have not achieved
in other areas. Underachievers, academically, or socially, might compensate for their lack of success by competing for status in the value system of the activity known locally as "cruising the strip".

**Hypotheses**

Hypotheses were formulated on the basis of social class and status need theories. Taken within the context of the strip they can be divided into two categories: who cruises, and why. Regarding cruisers themselves, the five hypotheses are as follows:

1. Cruisers have a "now" ethos for material possessions: they reject deferred gratification.

2. Cruisers place a high value on external manifestations of the person, i.e. clothes, styled hair, cars.

3. Cruisers tend to come from the working class.

4. Cruisers are the poorer students.

5. Cruisers are politically conservative.

The following are the three hypotheses for the second category, "why":

1. Persons go to the strip to gain status and build self esteem by displaying external manifestations
of the self.

2. Persons go to the strip to meet the opposite sex.

3. Persons go to the strip to seek excitement.

In order to test these hypotheses the writer used three methods of inquiry. The first method was participant observation and he spent several evenings each month for many months observing the activities of cruisers. This was supplemented by informal interviews which were held with cruisers and non-cruisers in nearby high schools. The final method involved a questionnaire administered to a stratified sample of students at a high school located just off the strip.
Chapter 2

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Stratification Theories

Since cruisers were hypothesized as being from the working class, an investigation was made into the values of the working class. These values have been studied by several researchers. One of these was Herbert Gans. Gans believes that the working class has the attitude that work is primarily a means of getting an income to maintain life. It is not a pleasurable or rewarding activity in itself, but is done only for the money involved. The family and life outside the work take primary importance. Work success and advancement are not neglected, but are secondary to family life.

The working class views education as a means to learn the techniques necessary for the most lucrative kind of work. Education is not for self improvement, nor is it

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For the sake of knowledge, but it is a key to a better job. Gans also found that the working class also has as primary concerns stability and security.

Kahl\(^3\) found that the working class ethic could be termed as "getting by". He found that the working class individual generally could not look forward to much in the way of promotion or more pay. He, too, found lesser commitment outside it. These outside interests were the pleasures of the family and of consumption.

S. M. Miller and Frank Riessman\(^4\) found, like Gans, that the working class has strong values of stability and security along with "person centeredness". This is the same concept as Gan's "person orientation", meaning primary concern for peer group and family life over the commitment to work or work advancement.

Miller and Riessman also found values of intensity, and of excitement, which is one of Walter B. Miller's focal concerns of lower class culture. More important to


this study, however, are the values of traditionalism, and of pragmatism and anti-intellectualism. These values the writer expects to find among the youth who participate in the activity under study.

Bennett Berger\(^5\) conducted a study on a working class suburb. In the study he discussed the myths of suburbia and contrasted them with his suburb. The relevance of his study lies not in these myths nor his conclusions, but in the fact that the people he sampled seemed to be very similar to the families of the youths in the current study.

Berger studied autoworkers at the East Bay Ford plant suburb located in Milpitas, California. He found that most workers did not consider their chances for getting ahead very good. A small percentage thought they had a good chance, while over forty per cent thought they had only a fair chance. Forty-three per cent thought they had not much chance at all.

The workers, he found, were overwhelmingly Democratic, but interest in politics was largely lacking. Church attendance was poor and membership in organizations

was sparse, with membership in more than one organization rare.

Many of the youths in this study are suspected of coming from the same environment as the workers Berger studied. The Ford plant is relatively close, and a General Motors plant is even closer. The important point for this study is that Berger defined some of the values of the working class in this geographic area. Cruisers, coming from working class homes, would be expected to have the same values. The values extracted from Berger as pertinent were (1) a feeling of little chance for real advancement, (2) Democratic Party identification, (3) relatively poor church attendance, and (4) low organization membership.

The current study seems to exemplify working class values. This perspective seems to be better fitted as the major theoretical orientation of this study than delinquency subculture theories. Delinquency subculture theories are mainly concerned with inner-city delinquency, while the current study deals with residential city youth who, it is suspected, are largely non-delinquent.

**Subculture Theories**

Inherent in delinquency research are theories which
apply to non-delinquent youth subcultures as well as delinquent. In the following review of subculture research these theories will be included as well.

One of the classic studies in subcultures is William F. Whyte's Street Corner Society. Whyte's research was done in an Italian slum and was concerned with its social organization. One of the primary concerns of the study was the adjustment of those boys who went on to college, the college boys, and those who did not, the corner boys. It is not this adjustment that has relevance to this study, but rather what has been called the "stable corner boy response".

Whyte's college boys were working class boys who had assumed middle class values and standards of behavior. The corner boy's life was organized around working class values. The stable corner boy response is an acceptance of the fact that he is not upwardly mobile and probably will not substantially change social position. The response is not hostile as it would be in a delinquency

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situation. This acceptance without hostility leaves him open for jobs and other considerations that would be withdrawn if his response was one of hostility.

Specifically, this approach represents a preference for the familiar with its satisfactions and limitations rather than attempting the college boy response, with its uncertainties and risks, or the delinquent response causing further alienation from the middle class.

In dealing with youth and youth cultures, one cannot neglect Albert K. Cohen's work on the delinquent subculture. Cohen was concerned with the adjustment of the working class city boy to middle class standards. He states that a conflict is experienced when the boy is expected to live up to the standards which are presented to him by a middle class school, a middle class teacher, and middle class students. He is not only poorly prepared for this middle class performance, but not properly motivated. The result, according to Cohen, is an alternative status system where the working class boy can compete. "The hallmark of the delinquent subculture is the explicit and wholesale repudiation of middle class standards and the adoption of their very antithesis." This is Cohen's

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8 Ibid. 9 Ibid., p. 129
concept of "reaction formation". The youth, unable to compete in middle class terms, inverts the norms. That which is desirable in middle class term becomes negative in his value system. That which is despised becomes praised.

Discussing youth and social stratification Cohen makes a second point. He states that children assume the status of their parents. In relating to middle class values, however, the lower class boy is handicapped but he does care what the middle class thinks of him. This can cause a sense of shame.

In addition, parents with high status can provide their children with money, cars, and other material objects. These serve as the external trappings and insignia of their status. The lower class boy has none of this ascribed status. His parents do not have the social position, nor can they provide the material signs of it.

Cohen's study was followed by much new research in this field. Cloward and Ohlin\textsuperscript{10} divided lower class adolescent males into three areas: (1) criminal, (2)边缘, and (3) delinquent.

(2) conflict, and (3) retreatist. The criminal pattern is oriented around the "big score", the transition from being penniless to being a man of means by theft or fraud. The conflict pattern is the fighter. His status is gained from a fearful deference by the adult society because of his unpredictable assaults on persons and property. Cloward and Ohlin's third pattern is termed retreatist. This is the dropout, now most easily identified with drug users and hippies. Unable to compete, and rejecting both the illegitimate means of the criminal pattern and the fear deference of the conflict pattern, he backs away into his own world.

Walter B. Miller advanced the concept of "focal concerns" of lower class culture. These concerns are Trouble, Toughness, Smartness, Excitement, Fate, and Autonomy. Focal concerns are central to lower class living and characterize life styles. Toughness is physical prowess, i.e., masculinity and strength. Smartness refers to outsmarting the other guy, and to not being duped. Excitement is the search for the thrill and stimulation, and the avoidance of the dull and routine. Fate refers to

luck, as in being caught or getting away with something. Autonomy is independence and the freedom from restrictions. These are presented as lower class concerns; however, they are found in the values of many adolescents.

Robert Merton\textsuperscript{12} divided activity into five categories. The first is the "conformist" where one uses legitimate means to legitimate goals. Second is the Ritualist who believes the goals are unattainable but continues working at legitimate means as if the goals were within his reach. Merton's third category is the Innovator who wants to attain the legitimate goals but finds their attainment through legitimate means is blocked. He then devises illegitimate means for attaining these goals. Next is the Retreatist, who rejects both legitimate means and legitimate ends. The final category is the Rebel where the person rejects both the legitimate means and ends, like the Retreatist, but instead of retreating he rebels by forming new means to new goals.

There are less theoretical studies into youth subcultures. Two of note do not study youth from the

standpoint of deviance. One is Gitchoff's\textsuperscript{13} three year study of the youth of Pleasant Hill, California. In his book, \textit{Kids, Cops, and Kilos}, Gitchoff tells about youth in a middle and upper middle class suburban community. He describes the transition from a clean-cut all-American type of youth culture to the beginnings of the hip culture. Gitchoff's base for study was a teen center, and his description of youth activities focuses on this center. Unfortunately, he does not describe either a theoretical perspective or value system that is applicable to this study, nor does he make reference to the activity under study.

Lewis Yablonsky\textsuperscript{14} has written extensively in the field of youth subcultures. His recent book, \textit{The Hippie Trip}, is the study of such a subculture. That study, like the one presented here, is not based on delinquency. It analyses a specific segment of the youth culture and its values and activities. This writer has used Yablonsky's study as a model. The methodology is similar


\textsuperscript{14}Lewis Yablonsky, \textit{The Hippie Trip}, (Los Angeles: Pegasus, 1968).
in both studies although the subculture under study are almost opposites in values and orientation.

In his earlier work, *The Violent Gang*\textsuperscript{15} Yablonsky put forth the concept of the "near group". The near group is a collection that is not as organized as the "cohesive collection of persons acting around shared functions"\textsuperscript{16} of a true group, but more organized than a crowd or mob which is characterized by "anonymity, spontaneous leadership and (is) ruled by emotion".\textsuperscript{17} The near group is midway between the true group and the crowd. It lies between these extremes in the organization-unorganization continuum. In addition, it has some permanence which the crowd does not have, but not the degree of permanence of the true group.

**Adolescent Need Theories**

Leaving group theory, it is felt that some exploration must be made into the characteristics of cruisers themselves. Some research has been done into the characteristics of "hot rodders". Ross A. McFarland and Roland

\textsuperscript{15}Yablonsky. \textit{op. cit.}, p. 228.

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., p. 228. \textsuperscript{17}Ibid., p. 229.
G. Moore point out that these characteristics, as studied by psychiatrists J. C. Neavles and G. Winokur, are strength and physical advancement. Hot rodders' backgrounds are middle class and show "evidence of emotional deprivation with ambivial relationship to the mother". Hot rodders show an early interest in cars, do not participate in competitive sports and have little interest in reading. Verbal ability is low compared with mechanical ability. Personalities are aggressive, probably manifested early in life with evidence of severe compulsive early training. They manifest two moods, boredom and the stimulation of wild rides. Neither of these moods, however, are extreme enough to warrant psychiatric categorization. Hot rod drivers' perception of the automobile reveal that it can become part of the body image with the individual's ego expanding to include his car. This tends to give the driver a feeling of great power and invulnerability.

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19 Ibid.
Further exploring the idea of the car as an extension of one's ego, Evelyn Duval120 says that most young people have a sense of uncertainty and unstable self confidence. Their self concept is low or unstable, but a powerful car gives the youth a feeling of strength and power. In essence, the automobile becomes part of the self, an extension of one's ego. If this is true, one would expect certain things of the car. One expectation is that it would be what the individual would like to be. In the case of the area under study the young people who frequent it, one would expect to find cars that have the characteristics deemed important by them. If the assumption of the writer is correct, one would find some of Walter B. Miller's focal concerns present in the form of automobiles. Cars would be Tough in that they would be strong and masculine. They would be exciting. Smartness may be expressed, but it would be difficult to express Fate using automobiles. Trouble may be expressed in the fact that many cars are built and modified to go far faster than the law allows, and to drag race on the public streets. Neither the building or modifying of these cars

is illegal, but their potential and intended use makes them annoying to the police.

More directly visible, however, is Autonomy. The car not only gives one a sense of freedom and mobility, but if the car is an extension of the ego, one would expect from Walter Miller, as well as from innumerable other theorists, that the young person would want it to be individualistic. One does not want to be one of a mass; he wants to be a separate and recognizable individual. His car, as an extension of the self would, therefore, be expected to be a little different from all others. Modifying an automobile from its original mass produced state to a unique and individualistic symbol would accomplish this purpose.

The problem of adolescent adjustment is also discussed by Douvan and Adelson\(^2^1\). They say that self esteem is a major problem of this age individual, even among the adjusted. In a discussion of dating they state that often a young person places far more importance on the success or failure of a dating experience than he should. With so much at stake, and knowing how easily

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he can be hurt, he retreats to the safety of a role. In this way he can hide his true self from the humiliation of a social failure.

Meeting of the opposite sex seems to be a major purpose of the strip and in any such situation there is a relatively prescribed behavior pattern. It appears that little has been written in the area of a man meeting or picking up a girl. One exception is in Sherri Cavan's *Liquor License.* In this book she describes behavior in public taverns and cocktail lounges in San Francisco. Part of the work analyses meeting or picking up.

Cavan divides the behavior into two parts, opening moves, and midgames and resolution. Opening moves identifies actions taken by women who want it known that they are available, such as sitting at the center of a bar with empty stools on either side, and actions by men to start conversations. In midgames and resolution, Cavan describes the actions and conversations that follow. These have a dual purpose. One is immediate gratification of talking. The other is either picking up the girl, or making a later date. Although this background informa-

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tion is sparse, it can serve as a comparison for similar behavior on the strip.
Chapter 3

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Participant Observation

The original study design was participant observation. This was supplemented by additional interviews and a questionnaire. The participant observer phase was begun in January of 1969. The writer made weekly visits to the area for approximately three months, followed by two months of bi-monthly visits. In June and July research was again conducted on a weekly basis. For the remainder of the year monthly visits have been undertaken to look for changes that may have taken place.

The majority of nights spent on the strip were weekends or evenings before holidays. Weekdays were found to be generally unpopular for cruising. There are two reasons for this. The first is, of course the need to go to work or school the next day, and the second is because few people cruise on weekdays. This second reason sounds absurd, but, in cruising, unlike other activities, the more people there are, the better it is. Because few
people cruise on weekdays, it is not popular.

Friday and Saturday nights and holiday eves are just the opposite. They are jammed with cars and young people. The San Leandro strip is so popular that it is known all over the East Bay, and youths come from cities twenty miles or more distant.

Several observations were begun early in the evening, about seven or seven-thirty. Very few young people cruise this early. Cars would drive by, and seeing little activity, leave to reappear a half hour to an hour later. There was no appreciable cruising until about nine o'clock, and as such, this was the time the observer usually arrived on the strip. The number of cars increased gradually and reached its peak at eleven or eleven-thirty, and then began to decline. By one o'clock the activity was largely over and the writer left the area. Some evenings the writer stayed much later and found that the number of cruisers quickly dwindled to a trickle.

The writer would usually enter the strip at the center and drive to the north end, make a "U" turn with traffic, and if everything was routine, enter MacDonald's drive-in. On occasions when there was unusual activity,
he would cruise the circuit to investigate, but normally
he would begin with a cup of coffee at the drive-in.
There he could observe the activity and the passing cars.
MacDonald's served as a base and was used as a break in
normal research activities.

Because it is a popular high school spot, and
because the writer is well known to many high school
students in the area--he has been in nine of the eleven
area high schools literally dozens of times each in his
role as a substitute teacher--many informal interviews
were held here at MacDonald's.

After observing several complete circuits and
informally questioning patrons, the writer would himself
pray the circuit once or twice. Occasionally he would
stop and interview groups that were parked in the various
previously discussed areas. The writer would then find
himself a parking place toward the southern end of the
strip and observe the action from there. Several walks
were taken to observe persons standing on the sidewalks
and to get a longer and closer look at a particular
activity.

From his vantage point, he then began collecting
hard data such as the number of cars, types and modifica-
tions, and other characteristics. A particular passing car was noted, one that seemed to be cruising continually. It was picked out, as were a second and third, in case the first car didn't complete the circuit, and cars were counted and categorized until the car or cars noted passed by a second time.

One count was made of the sex of the participants. Cars were tallied as to whether they contained boys or girls, or one or more couples. Totals were then computed. A tally was made on the number of participants per car to determine an average and to approximate the total number of participants on the strip.

Since the car is of such importance and some cars seem to be more important than others on the strip, cars were broken down into ten categories and tallied. The categories were (1) Muscle cars--intermediate cars with large engines or factory hot rods such as the Plymouth "Road Runner" and "GTX", Pontiac "GTO", Oldsmobile "4-4-2" and "W-31"; (2) Pony cars--sporty cars such as Mustang, Firebird and Camero; (3) Standard cars--no nonspecialty American sedans and station wagons; (4) Old cars--cars over fifteen years old and jalopies; (5) Corvettes; (6) Volkswagons--all models; (7) Other
sports and imported cars; (8) Hot Rods--old cars with newer powerful engines; (9) Trucks--usually pick-ups; (10) Motorcycles--not an automobile, but present in such numbers that they couldn't be ignored.

Determination of ownership of the cruising car was also attempted. There is no way short of checking registration certificates to be totally accurate at this; however, a very close approximation can be made if one knows something about the characteristics of young people. One criteria used was the make of the car. Young people prefer smaller low priced cars. Big cars such as Chryslers and full size Oldsmobiles are not popular with the young. They prefer lighter, quicker automobiles. The model of car was also considered. Young people buy two doors, hard tops, and convertibles, and will settle for a four door or station wagon only if they have to. Modifications was another criteria used. Modifying an automobile is very popular with the young, but seldom is it seen on cars owned by middle aged parents. Usually the first thing modified is the wheels. Magnesium type wheels are a popular conversion, but they are very expensive. Chrome rims are a less expensive conversion but the investment there will usually cost
one hundred dollars for a set of four. If a young person cannot afford "mags" or chrome rims, he can put on accessory hubcaps for twenty dollars. If he cannot afford these, he will most likely take off the standard hubcaps and drive with bare wheels.

The final criteria used was his use of decals and stickers. "STP" and other companies supply these in abundance and they are very widely used. Even if a person has a very standard car purchased from or given to him by his parents, he can remove the hubcaps and/or paste it with decals to show that it belongs to him and not his parents. It is very important that he show that it is his car, an extension of his ego and not an extension of his father. With this situation, the complex task of determining ownership of the passing automobile became, in most cases, a relatively simple matter. In the few cases where there was doubt, the writer categorized the ownership with the parents.

An additional count was taken to determine the percentage of high school students on the strip to check on the validity of administering a questionnaire to a local high school. Criteria here was less exact. Two factors were considered. One was a guess at the
participants age. Young people who are under eighteen years of age are usually in high school. The other criteria was the expense of the car. The reasoning was that those out of high school and working could afford more expensive cars. Obvious high school and college decals helped. Using these criteria, an educated guess was made.

A total count was taken several times for its own sake, and the total of any categorization count resulted in the total number driving the circuit at that time. In such counts, tallies were taken of noncruisers such as delivery trucks, families, and older persons, so that they would not be included in any tallies of cruisers, and so that a percentage could be computed.

Immediately upon completing a count which would be used in determining the total number of cars cruising, a complete circuit was made by the observer to count the number of cars parked. The number driving added to the number parked gave the total number of cars participating at the strip at that time.

An estimate of the total number of persons at the strip could be made by taking the average number of persons per car and multiplying by the number of cars.
participating. To this was added an estimate of the number of persons walking or standing to arrive at a rough idea of the total number of persons involved at that moment.

Informal Interviews

In the course of his work as a substitute teacher, the writer had contact with thousands of high school students. On many occasions he could engage an entire class of students for fifteen minutes to one half hour discussing the strip, its activities and its people. Many views were presented this way, but most were negative. When he asked a class if anyone there cruised, usually everyone would deny that they did and accuse specific others. These persons would then try to minimize their involvement.

On other occasions the writer would be approached by a student who knew of the study and ask of its progress. The writer would answer and then question the student about his current involvement, reasons and opinions. This has occurred at all of the high schools where he has been as well as on the strip. One of the primary reasons for beginning observations at MacDonald's was
that it often resulted in such an interview.

Questionnaire

In the course of his substituting work, the writer found himself at a nearby high school for an extended period of time. The school, San Lorenzo High, was located in an adjacent unincorporated area about two miles from the strip. Preliminary investigations revealed that many of San Lorenzo's students cruised the strip. The school itself is not substantially different from others in the area, and counts on the strip revealed that an estimated sixty-two per cent of the cruisers were high school students. Most of the remaining seemed to be but one or two years out of high school, and, probably not substantially different from the students with whom they cruised. With this in mind, the writer sought, and was granted, permission to administer a questionnaire.

The questionnaire was to be administered to a representative sample of the students. To insure that everyone would have an equal opportunity of being in the sample, and that no student would be sampled more than once, special care was to be taken. It was discovered that all students are required to take both Physical Education and Social Studies each year. Social Studies
classes were more suited to questionnaire administration, and, with the cooperation of the teachers involved, these classes were used.

In order not to bias the survey, each grade was questioned. One class from each grade, however, would have made a very small sample population. In addition, grades nine, ten and eleven are tracked, that is, the social studies classes are divided into high, medium and low ability groups. Surveying only one class might affect the validity of the sample. With this in mind, one class of each track, high, medium and low, was questioned in each grade, nine, ten, and eleven. All the questionnaires were returned except the ninth grade. Here only one class was returned due to confusion on the part of the teacher. This, however, does not greatly affect the validity since little of the questionnaire depends on age or grade level.

Twelfth grade students are not tracked at San Lorenzo, so that problem was eliminated. Three classes were sampled, however, to keep an approximate numerical balance.

The questionnaire was self explanatory. It contained a brief explanation of the study and a plea for honesty. The writer's name was included because he was
well known, and well thought of, by the students. For this reason, of the 221 questionnaires returned, all but three were usable.

Teachers were given the questionnaire and told which class was to take it. The only further directions given to the teacher were that they were to give as few instructions as possible. No problems were encountered.

The questionnaire itself was a short answer fill-in except for the final two questions. It began by asking personal information: age, sex, religion and frequency of church attendance, and nationality. Father's occupation and education were asked as an indication of socio-economic class. Mother's occupation and education were also asked.

Grade in school was requested, but largely unused in analysis as was the course of study or major they were taking; college preparatory, business, vocational or general. This information was largely superceded by the educational and vocational aspirations questions.

The respondents were then asked to list the number of A's, B's, C's, D's, and F's in order to determine grade point averages to compare cruisers with non-cruisers. Then the number of extracurricular activities
was found by adding the list requested in the next question.

Educational aspirations were determined by questioning how far the respondents intended to go in school. The choices ranged from not graduate from high school to graduate school. The question, "What do you want to do for a living?", gave an indication of vocational aspirations.

The next questions related to unlawful behavior. To see if cruisers were delinquent the respondents were asked how many times they had been arrested. Then, switching to drugs, they were asked whether or not they smoked marijuana, and if so, how often. This question was repeated for amphetamines and barbiturates.

The following series of questions was used to determine political leanings. The respondents were asked in what political party they considered themselves. Then, to assess their involvement, they were asked if they had ever participated in any outside political activities. Questions also asked if respondents agreed with President Nixon's policy on Viet Nam, and gave alternatives from withdrawing immediately to staying and winning. This would give some idea as to whether cruisers tended to be
right, left, or middle of the road. Males were asked about their planned participation in the military. Choices ranged from volunteering to outright resisting the draft. An open ended question followed regarding the effect of possibly going to war on boys' attitudes now and for the future. This was inserted to see if the possibility of being killed in one or two years effected their study habits or ability to plan for the future.

The remaining questions dealt with cruising. Respondents were asked if they cruised and the mode they used, that is, whether they walked, drove, or rode. The next two questions asked the average amount of the time spent on the strip each visit and the number of visits to the strip per month the respondent made.

Referring to cars, respondents were asked if they owned one. If they did, they were questioned as to what kind it was and the percentage of the cost they paid, then who paid the rest and how they paid their share. The suspected answer to this last question was their own work, so respondents were asked whether or not they worked, and for the number of hours and pay per week.
Four open-ended questions completed the questionnaire. The first asked why they went to the strip. The second asked whether or not they stopped at a particular place, and, if so, where. The final two questions asked the respondents to describe the ideal boy and ideal girl on the strip, noting the kind of car, their looks, dress, education and other considerations.

The completed questionnaires were codified and placed on punch cards by the writer. He then tallied the results and placed them in tables comparing cruisers with those who do not cruise. The writer formulated a null hypothesis for each applicable question and used Chi Square to determine its validity. The actual mechanical computation of Chi Square were done by a colleague. The results were then analyzed and interpreted by the writer himself.
Chapter 4

RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION

Findings from Participant Observation

Description of Area Observed

The San Leandro Strip is a 3,000 feet long section of East 14th Street centering on 150th Avenue. The boundaries are the intersection near the MacDonald's Drive-In two blocks to the north, to the intersection at the north end of the Mayfair Shopping Center parking lot, on the south.

It is an area devoted to small businesses, most of which are closed during the hours when cruising occurs, causing no interference to their operation. There is a coffee shop that is open in addition to the MacDonald's Drive-In, and several gas stations. A drive-in movie exits on the strip which causes a minor delay for patrons of the theater as they leave. The shopping center to the south is completely closed during most of the cruising hours. A movie theater which shows Spanish language
films is also open, but it is in reality fifty feet north of the northern end of the strip. A drug store and market complex, and a second market are open until ten p.m., but are closed during the heaviest cruising periods.

Traffic Pattern

Traffic enters the strip from 150th Avenue, or from the north or south. The flow of traffic, and therefore cruising, proceeds south from the northern boundary, known on the strip as MacDonald's, and referred to hereafter as such, to the southern boundary and turns around. Turning around at the southern end may be done by making a "U" turn, or more likely, by making a right turn, proceeding about one hundred feet, making a "U" turn around a center island and returning north on East 14th by turning left on to it.

Traffic proceeds north to MacDonald's. There it makes a "U" turn and proceeds south. About half of the cars drive into MacDonald's parking lot, around the building, and back into the street to begin the circuit again.

Parking Areas

In addition to the driving there are scores of cars
parked. Beginning at the north end, cars in the lots are usually occupied but those at the curb are nearly always empty. The reason that these cars are empty is that parking in the street is a poor way to observe the action. One cannot see oncoming cars, only those that have passed. Lots, therefore, are much preferred for parking and observing.

Beginning at the north end, and proceeding counter-clockwise like the flow of traffic, parking areas begin with MacDonald's parking lot. There is no curb parking north of 150th Avenue on either side of the street so the next area is the Lo-Ray's market lot followed by Pring's Coffee Shop at 150th Avenue. Onstreet parking begins here. Next to Pring's is Safeway's lot, the Todd's Appliances' lot, and then a vacant area. Street parking continues, but the next off street parking is Macy's lot (Mayfair Shopping Center) at the southern end of the strip.

Turning around and going north there are two parking lots flanking a Goodyear Tire facility, then a vacant area, the former site of the "½ lb." hamburger drive-in. Small businesses occupy the next several blocks with street parking in front. The only remaining area is
the CBS Plywood lot at 150th Avenue.

Who Parks Where

Specific parking areas are used by different groups. Some areas are rigidly defined, others are collectives about which only broad generalizations may be made.

MacDonald's is used mainly by high school students to talk for only a short time. Long conversations are inhibited by the presence of George, a uniformed, but off duty, sheriff's deputy. The deputy doesn't allow persons to stand around outside their automobiles and reminds others that the lot is for patrons of the business. Those who park at MacDonald's therefore, do not plan to park for long, usually just long enough to eat. Persons found here are usually marginal cruisers, running the circuit once, then going home. Here one would very likely find several girls returning home from the library or a movie, stopping for a coke at the drive-in. The stop probably necessitates a drive up the strip and the return back. A quick circuit is run with a legitimate reason. The participants can, therefore, cruise the strip once without actually admitting to themselves that they are doing so.

MacDonald's is the home of two groups, however.
It is not uncommon for one to see particular kinds of cars following each other around the circuit. The most common of these is the "Boss 302" version of Ford's Mustang. Owners of these "Bosses", from two to five of them, will park at MacDonald's and from there follow each other in a parade around the strip. This observer has noted this particular parade often. On several occasions each car in this parade had a rubber plucked chicken on its radio aerial.

A second group parks at MacDonald's. This group doesn't cruise itself, but parks in the rear of the drive-in. The central feature of this group is the presence of Citizen's Band radios in several of the cars. This group acts as an auxiliary to George, the deputy. They back him up by their presence and act as his communications as they are in touch with the radio dispatchers of both the San Leandro Police Department and the Alameda County Sheriff's Department. One member of this group told this observer that he had taken part in an actual arrest. The incident occurred when the respondent had seen a car weaving erratically on the strip. The respondent followed the vehicle while he relayed the information to the police. He kept radio contact with the police
while following the car and led the officers to and intercept with the vehicle. This group, while occasionally seen by cruisers, is ignored by them and its function is completely unknown.

Returning to the actual cruisers, these persons who want to park longer than George will allow at MacDonald's might go to Lo-Ray's lot. Parking at Lo-Ray's is unrestricted until the center's ten p.m. closing time, and cruisers may park here for extended periods. Participants here, therefore may spend a substantial part of their evening on the strip, as opposed to the MacDonald's crowd where persons stay only a short time. Here cars can be parked facing the street in such a way as to afford a clear view of the action, and passers-by can see who is parked. This continues until the Center's store close, closing the parking lot. After this time the city police will run off the parked cruisers. The usual procedure for clearing the lot is for the police to shine their white spotlight on the cars. Cruisers, wanting no trouble with the police, offer no resistance and promptly leave.

As previously mentioned, on the street parking begins at 150th Avenue. Cars so parked are usually
empty, their occupants have either taken rides with friends or are standing on the sidewalk. Leaning on the street side of a parked car, however, is forbidden by the police. Violaters are told to get into their cars or onto the sidewalk. Compliance, again, is prompt.

The next parking area is the lot at Pring's Coffee Shop. This is used only for its patrons and the cars are always empty. While Pring's is on the strip and some patrons are engaged in the same activities as those outside, this observer does not consider it a part of the strip for two reasons. First, because of the number of older adults and families there it is not exclusively a young people's place, and second, the automobile is not part of the scene. It is an island of relatively normal society in a flowing river of young people and automobiles. This observer did, in fact, retreat to Pring's when he sought sanctuary from the cruising scene.

Adjoining Pring's is the Safeway lot. This is the sole territory of the South County Bug (Volkswagen) Club. The Bug Club is nearly always represented, and meeting in that lot constitutes an unofficial meeting or activity for the club. News of members is exchanged
and, not uncommonly, a little wine is drunk in the back of a van.

The next two lots are small parking areas flanking Todd's Appliances. Few park here, usually only two or three cars. These areas are also short term parking areas since the stores they serve are closed during the hours of most active cruising and the police will chase off anyone found in the lot. Here, too, they shine their white spotlights and cruisers leave.

From here to the southern end of the strip there is only one other offstreet parking area, a Red Barn drive-in, but this is usually by-passed. Few cruisers use this lot. The street parking, on the other hand, is nearly full. All the cars are empty with the occupants either riding with others or standing on the curb. Here it is not unusual to see several cars of a particular kind in a row. Similar to the "Boss 302's" of MacDonald's, this observer has seen a line of Chevy II's on some occasions, and Plymouth "Road Runners" on others, parked in a single line in this area like a stationary parade.

Here also this observer has seen on two occasions, what might be considered as "hippie vans". These were step-vans or milk truck type vehicles. The vans were
totally out of place. Their owner's whole concept of the motor vehicle is entirely different from the rest of the strip, even the Bug Club. Vans are slow, ugly and utilitarian as opposed to the fast, flashy, status automobile that dominates the street. In addition, the value system of the strip, being cool, flashy cars, and similar values are completely contrary to hippie values.20

A second factor regarding the vans was fragment of a conversation overheard. "How much?", came a question from a passing car. "Eight dollars", was the response from the van. This strongly suggests that the occupants of the van were dealing, or selling marijuana. Because of the number of police on the strip and the obvious hippie look of the van, and the tie-in between hippies and drugs, it would be very foolish to deal on the strip. Most likely, if dealing was taking place, there were no drugs in the van. Probably arrangement would be made on the strip to meet at a different place to commensurate the sale. Actual sale on the strip would be extremely unwise.

This brings the description to the southern

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20 Yablonsky, op. cit.
boundary of the strip. Across the intersection is Macy's parking lot. This is a huge lot, but it offers little in the way of being able to see the activity, or to be seen. But because of the size and remoteness, it offers some privacy. It is, in fact, the most private area on the strip and fits excellently to the need for a place to talk with persons of the opposite sex. This is its primary purpose to cruisers.

Going north on the strip from Macy's, the first parking areas flank the Goodyear Tire Center. The people who frequent this area are the "hard" types, or rougher crowd. There seems to be no restriction on parking in these two lots and there is usually a line of four or more cars parked facing the street. Unlike the closed lots where parking time is short, cruisers parked at Goodyear spend a great deal of time there, and do relatively little driving of the circuit, which can be costly in gasoline.

The next lot is a paved vacant area previously the home of the "$\frac{1}{2}$ lb." hamburger drive-in. The spot is still referred to as "quarter pound" even though the building was torn down over a year ago. This is the "hardest" regular crowd on the strip. The reputation
came from the fact that the drive-in was frequented by outlaw motorcycle types. The observer was told that it was a Hell's Angels hangout, although outsiders tend to consider any "outlaw" a Hell's Angel.

The Hell's Angels are a statewide federation of chapter Hell's Angels clubs. Although there is no state organization, there are definite clubs with membership and meetings. The Angels enjoy the distinction of being the undisputed kings of the outlaw clubs.

Outlaw clubs are those clubs which are not recognized by the American Motorcycle Association and which are organized to ride specially modified motorcycles and to have a good time. These good times, however, are often contrary to contemporary values regarding drugs, sex and violence.

No Angels or Outlaws park at "1/4 lb." now, but the reputation remains, and those wishing to bask in it park there.

Further up the street, parked at the curb, is the real outlaw motorcycle area. Outlaws can be described as rough types dressed in boots and dark clothing, and are generally crude and prone to violence. The defining mark of an outlaw is his motorcycle or "bike".
It is usually a Harley-Davidson "74", the police motorcycle, or a newer Harley "Sportster". English bikes are tolerable, Japanese bikes are not. The bike is usually modified for show, or chopped. "Choppers" are motorcycles where the rear shock absorbers are removed and the frame lowered to just over the rear wheel. The back fender is bobbed or shortened, the large gas tank replaced with a smaller one, the front forks extended greatly, and the front wheel replaced with a narrow, larger diameter variety. At the rear a tube backrest is sometimes mounted, two to three feet in height. High examples of the art are found in the Peter Fonda-Dennis Hopper film Easy Rider.

Bikers, as they are referred to, are older than the average cruisers. They may fit into Cohen's Conflict pattern of inner-city delinquent if one was to attempt classification. Their approach to passing girls is less refined than the others. Comments such as "Come over here and take off your clothes", and more graphic and explicit requests are made. This is big time for cruisers. If a girl is picked up by a biker, she is usually expected to have sexual relations with him, and, perhaps, all of his friends. This is general knowledge on the strip,
and passing girls with doors locked securely cautiously smile at the worldliness and animalism of the outlaws. The outlaws do not do-well in their half hearted attempt to pick up, and soon retire to the Casbar beer bar, or the Puphut coffee shop a mile down the street. A trip to the strip seems to be an entertaining break from these, their regular hang outs.

Several hundred feet further is a large unused car lot. Here one or two small groups of three or four cars may be found. People here are relatively rough too, but seemingly poorer. Cars are not as nice as in other areas.

The next area is the CBS Plywood lot. This parking area usually contains only a few cars. Cruisers who park here do not seem to form a distinct group or conform to any attempt at classification.

From this point north there is no more parking. On street parking is forbidden and there are no more lots.

Geographical Range

The San Leandro Strip attracts young people from, not only that city, but from all over the San Francisco Bay Area. Other cities have their own strips, Richmond
and Walnut Creek are two, but San Leandro draws cruisers from these cities and beyond. This is a mixed blessing for the local boys as one respondent explained.

R-- Me and her was sitting in the back (of the parking lot) here, just talking, for about four hours. (His friends had left with this girl's sister and these two were waiting for their return). She was, like, from Vallejo. Like, that happened to me. These girls, you know, come from a long way off. Makes it difficult trying to call 'em. Like, I run up a twenty-four dollar phone bill trying to call 'em. (A gross exaggeration)

JB- Where do they come from?

R-- They come from . . . clear the other side of Richmond. They come from Marin. They come from South San Francisco. Like, all over the place. A lot of them come over from, you know, like, Concord.

Concord and South San Francisco are both forty-five minute drives, and Vallejo is over an hour away by car. These distances seem great to boys who live five or ten minutes from the strip and, indeed, are great distances to travel for a casual date.

Age

When asked who cruises, cruisers will invariably reply, as one respondent did, "Everybody comes here", and another,"Everybody. Rich people, poor people . . .". Although it was obvious to the observer that not every-
body cruised, cruisers were not aware of the almost total absence of Blacks and Mexican-Americans, of college students, excepting Chabot, and the truly hip. When questioned about these, cruisers are surprised, having assumed that everybody cruises.

Trying to get a range of ages on the strip, the observer asked a small group whether most cruisers were still in school. One respondent answered, "I know a lot of people out of school up here". "(But) mostly in school", replied a second. This was affirmed by the third cruiser.

JB-- How old are the youngest?
R-1- Old enough to get their license (16).
JB-- How old are the oldest?
R-1- I'd say the oldest (is) about twenty-one.
R-2 & R-3 Naw, twenty-five.

The writer has seen many younger persons on the strip. Younger persons can ride with a sixteen year old driver. More important, however, were the younger persons standing on the sidewalk and walking up and down. These the writer estimated as being as young as thirteen and fourteen.

As to the maximum age, the writer, at twenty-
seven, cruised for several months while gathering data without appearing out of place. Ages, therefore, would range from thirteen to twenty-seven, but the normal span of ages seems to range from sixteen to twenty-three. Under sixteen persons are too young to drive, and over twenty-one people begin to find many of the persons on the strip too young, and the cocktail lounge begins to replace the strip as a place for meeting girls and friends.

Race

The question of race arose during a conversation between the writer and several cruisers about the merits of raising a car or lowering it.

R-1- Lower it? It would look like a taco wagon or something?

Many lower class Mexican-American and Black young people lower their cars and embellish them with reflectors and gaudy accessories. Owners and passengers "low-ride", or slump down in the seat. Both lowering and low-riding are out of vogue and considered "uncool" on this strip. The remark was both a class and ethnic slur.

RB-- Are there any Mexican-Americans up here?
R-1- There are all kinds of them.

JB-- Do they ever do any good with the girls?

R-1- I don't know.

JB-- (To female respondent) Do you ever see any Mexican-Americans up here?

R-2- (Female) Oh, there's lots of them.

JB-- Do you ever meet any of them?

R-2- Only if I have to.

JB-- You'd rather not?

R-2- (Nod)

Not surprisingly the writer saw few Mexican-Americans. He saw only one collective as a recognizable ethnic group. They were low-riding in a lowered car and had probably come from San Jose where lowering and low-riding are desirable.

JB-- What about Blacks?

R-2- There are some. They don't talk to you. They just sit there and look.

JB-- Do they cruise?

R-1- Yeah, but there's only about five.

R-2- But they don't talk.

JB-- Would you talk to them if they talked to you?

R-2- I don't know.

The writer found three black male youths in
MacDonald's one evening and attempted to interview them. One answered all the writer's questions with yes or no, or very short answers: Did they find hostility toward them? No. Why did they come? To watch the cars. Did they try to pick up girls? No. Do other Blacks come? Yes. They said they came each week, but the writer saw them only this one time.

The writer had the impression that the respondent did feel that they were in hostile territory. The respondent was not trusting and appeared not willing to tell the writer anything he thought the writer didn't want to hear. The two other Blacks stayed out of the conversation.

The writer had occasion to interview a second Black male. He was parked at the curb, in no one's territory. He was standing outside an automobile, but the three other Blacks with him remained inside the car for the entire time. The writer asked him about the strip and what happens on it.

R-- I like the strip. There are a lot of things I want to fix on my own car. I come here and look... I ask them things when I have trouble with my car. They ask me the same things.

JB- Who do you ask, people stopped that you know?
R-- Yeah. People I don't know if they want to talk, I'll talk to them.

The respondent said he didn't feel any hostility on the strip and that he did fully participate in strip activities. His reason for coming to the strip, as he states, is to get ideas to use on his car and to swap advice. He didn't mention the girls on the strip, a primary reason white boys go there, and paid no attention to them during the interview. Although he said he fully participates in strip activities, in reality, he does not.

Regarding hostility, further questioning revealed the respondent was a passive individual who accepted discrimination and hostility, and made the best of it. His car had been impounded by the Oakland Police Department for three weeks and he didn't know when he would get it back. The impounding was for suspicion of having a stolen engine. During modification, the serial numbers on the engine had been machined off and, although he had receipts for all the work, he carries photostatic copies of all his receipts in his car at all times to protect against such impounding, the car was taken. But he accepted this philosophically.

When the writer asked him about fighting back, or
joining the Black Panthers, he said, "I don't want to step on nobody's toes. We are all together."

With this outlook, the respondent would tend to overlook discrimination and hostility, and taking him at his word would be misleading. The fact that he participated only marginally and that he could be of help to other cruisers since he worked at the nearby General Motors plant and was a good source of information should be taken into account. In addition, he said he would talk to people he didn't know, if they wanted to talk, indicating that others initiated conversation.

Taking these factors into account, with the almost cowering in the car by his three friends, and the reluctance to talk or offend of the three Blacks in MacDonald's, leaves the writer with the suspicion that cruising the San Leandro strip is a whites only activity. This is as expected as San Leandro probably has less than a dozen Black families living within the city, while deep east Oakland is predominantly Black right up to the San Leandro city limits.

Groups and Areas

Questioning another collection of cruisers about groups and parking, the writer verified the suspicion
that there were certain areas for certain groups. The interview took place in Lo-Ray's lot.

JB-- Is this a special group in here?

R--- No, this where you (that is he and his friends) come when you (they) get tired of driving around, 'til the cops come and chase you out.

JB-- I know there is a different group down there (pointing down the strip).

R--- Yeah, like a lot of people hang in different groups. Like one motorcycle gang goes down there and drinks beer every Friday night.

JB-- This is kind of open here?

R--- Yeah.

JB-- What would happen if you went down and pulled in with the motorcycle gang?

R--- I don't know, but I'm not going to find out though.

When the writer did this, he was invited to the bar they frequent to drink beer with them.

JB-- What about if you invaded the Bug Club territory?

The response to this was nervous laughter, and then puzzlement as it had never occurred to them to park in anyone else's territory.

There are, therefore, specific territories for different groups and many are strictly defined and adhered to, to the degree that intruding on another group's territory is not even thought of.
Why Cruise

The most obvious question raised about the strip is why young people go there. The most common answer is, as one cruiser put it, "(They) come up here to show off. Got nothing to do." A second respondent said, "A lot of kids come up here, you know, to mess around with the guys and look at cars.", and another, "Everybody I talk to just come out here (to) see the people they know."

The writer found what he considered the truest responses in a cruiser who said, "If you don't go to a show, you come up here. If you don't go to a party, you come up here."

The writer suspects that the strip is third in popularity behind dates and parties, but it is far better than staying home on a weekend night. This was confirmed by another cruiser.

    JB-- Why do you come up here?
    R--- Nothing else to do.
    JB-- You could stay home.
    R--- I get hassled there.
    JB-- What about a movie?
    R--- I haven't got the money.
    JB-- Would you rather go to a movie?
R--- I'd rather come up here.

JB-- Would you rather go to a party?

R--- Oh yeah!

One of the favorable factors of the strip is that it is always open and people can drop in and leave whenever they like. One can stop in after a date, as mentioned before, or do as one respondent. He was interviewed early in the cruiser's evening, about nine-thirty.

JB-- What are you doing up here?

R--- I just got out of a movie.

JB-- What time did you go?

R--- Seven-thirty.

Having nothing else to do is not a sufficient reason for going to the strip. It has to have some draw of its own. One respondent acknowledged it this way, "Everybody come(s) on with "out-of-sight" cars. They're looking for chicks. Looking for chicks, drink beer, smoke dope, you know, the regular thing."

A second cruiser standing with him corrected the first by saying, "If you drink beer and smoke dope, you have to go some place else."

Earlier four girls who came to the strip to meet people and check up on boyfriends had said that there was
no drinking or smoking on the strip. According to them, drinking and smoking pot takes place in homes and on side streets. This corresponds with the earlier conclusion that drinking and pot smoking take place largely off the strip, with cruisers going to the strip to enjoy their high there.

The fact that girls, too, go to the strip to meet the opposite sex was supported when the writer bluntly said to one girl cruiser, "If I can make one general assertion, you come up here to meet guys, right?" Her response, "Yeah."

Seeing an opportunity for more information, the writer continued.

JB-- When you meet a guy, what happens? Would he attempt to take you to an apartment or to a back road?

R--- (Indignantly) Some of them do! Like a weirdo in a white 'Vette that parks over there somewhere!

This leads the writer to conclude that sex is not readily available on the strip. Many respondents stated that they were up there looking for nice girls, and the boys who this observer saw picked up by girls were not taken off the strip. This coupled with the Bug Club respondent stating he didn't "go in too much for that"
and the indignant response of this girl describing a boy making a pass, supports the conclusion that sexual promiscuity is not common on the strip.

Picking Up or Meeting Someone

When meeting or picking up a girl, there are three steps the male must traverse. Transition from each stage to the next is a hazardous step as one risks losing what he has gained.

The first step is initiating a conversation. The boy must attract the girl and get her interested enough in him to carry on a conversation with him. If this is successful, the girl must be relatively isolated from other males. In the movies this is where the hero takes the girl away from the party for a walk in the garden. At this stage conversation can become more intimate. The final stage, resolution, is leaving with the girl. This removes the competition completely and presupposes that she will be with that male, if not for the remainder of the evening, at least for some period of time.

When proceeding from one step to the next, the male often risks losing his present position. In suggesting isolation, he not only risks a negative reply, but also a termination of the conversation completely.
Attempting to proceed from isolation to resolution may lead to rejoining the party or even total rejection. Regression or rejection can be a very ego damaging occurrence and noting the lack of sophistication on the part of both sexes at the cruiser's age, it is a strong possibility. The boys have had little experience with male-female relationships and tend to place great importance on each contact. Girls, too, have little experience and may not know a gentle way of saying no. This can result in shyness on the part of the boy resulting from fear of loss and of ego damage. It is this fear that may keep a boy from pursuing a relationship which he would like to continue. It is to this problem that the strip offers a unique solution.

In initiating a conversation, the boy is rarely alone on the strip. Most likely he has at least one friend with him for giving confidence. The girl, too, usually has a friend. If the boys fail to initiate a conversation, they assure themselves that it was no personal failure. Leaving the girls is just a quick step on the accelerator and does not necessitate the long walk back, with everyone watching and knowing of the

\[21\] Douvan and Adelson. \textit{op. cit.}\]
rejection, which is often felt at a dance.

The traffic also plays an active role in the process. If the cars are side by side in traffic, a quick suggestion to proceed to the isolation stage must be made, before the cars lose their relative positions. There can be no shyness or long hesitation, because the traffic forces the issue. If rejection is encountered, a step on the accelerator and assurance from the friend restores any ego damage.

If the suggested isolation stage is accepted, the two parties will usually proceed to Macy's parking lot. The lot is very large and is off the end of the strip so it affords the degree of isolation required without being totally isolated or away from the strip. This isolation appears to be the major function of Macy's lot after store hours.

Proceeding from isolation to resolution is also aided this time by the police. Since the stores served by the lot are closed during the heaviest cruising hours, the lot itself is legally closed when most cruisers use it for isolation. It is not long before the police arrive and chase out people who are parked. The appearance of the police forces the suggestion of the resolution stage. The situation cannot remain as it is. It must,
by the appearance of the police, proceed to resolution, or regress. With such a choice, the suggestion becomes almost automatic.

Picking Up on the Strip

In discussing the act of picking up or meeting the opposite sex on the strip, the writer will describe the probable actions of boys since it is they who usually assume the active role. In many instances, however, one could be describing girls' behavior as well.

When young people, in this case boys, want to meet the opposite sex, the first problem is to find them. Then the boy must distinguish between those girls who are available and those who are not. The strip offers solutions to both of these problems. Many girls cruise the strip, and cruising presupposes availability, at least for the evening.

Initial contact can be made in a variety of ways, one of which is parking next to a car with girls in MacDonald's. This is usually difficult because the drive-in is crowded, and, because the boy-girl ratio is heavily tilted in favor of the girls, any parking stalls next to girls go very quickly.
Once so parked, boys will try to initiate a conversation. In MacDonald's this may prove difficult again because it was the boys who chose to park next to the girls. It was the boys who chose the girls, and on the strip it is the girls who have the choice.

A second difficulty with MacDonald's is that most girls who stop there do not park for long and are not likely to stay long on the strip. One is likely to find the girls who are going straight home after having gone to a local library or movie.

If a conversation is begun, it cannot continue for too long as George, the deputy, will run off over staying patrons.

Parking next to parked girls in lots other than MacDonald's usually proves to be even less productive. Girls park in other lots either to get out of the stream of traffic and rest from boys trying to pick them up, or to wait for someone. Unless the boys are already acquainted with the girls, they are made to feel less than welcome.

Another approach is standing on the curb and contacting the girls as they drive by. The usual method is to holler and wave. In one form, this is the approach used by the bikers. Others are usually more refined.
Approaches like, "Hey, pull over!", and "Hi there. How about a ride?", are used with some success. Advantages over MacDonald's are appreciable. First, chances are better that these girls will be on the strip for a longer period and that they were actually cruising and looking for boys, rather than only marginally participating as is most likely at MacDonald's.

A second advantage is that here the girls can choose the boys. Driving the circuit, girls can choose from many boys standing on the curb. If the roles are reversed from the school dance or normal dating patterns, the advantage is that in choosing, the girls show interest in the boys. Boys, on the curb are always interested in almost any girl so a compatible situation is very likely.

The most important advantage in this approach is that when girls do stop, boys jump into the girl's car and are driven around the circuit. Being in the same car enables a direct uninterrupted conversation and partially eliminates competition. For boys, this is a very good position in which to be. Although the girls are still in complete control, that is by driving they can leave off the boys whenever they want and can choose to stay on the strip or leave it and go elsewhere, the
boys are physically in the car with them. Usually the ride lasts one circuit, names and telephone numbers are exchanged, and the boys are let off at their starting point. Chances of being given a ride while standing on the curb are described as poor, but it does not use up gas and, if picked up, boys get into a very advantageous situation.

The economics of gas consumption makes curb standing relatively popular, thereby increasing competition. To help their chances of being picked up, boys will use other approaches from the curb. Their success seems dependent on their novelty. Observing one evening while interviewing two cruisers, a boy nearby stuck out his thumb as if he was hitchhiking. In a relatively short time he was picked up by two girls in their car. Immediately the interviewees did the same thing and were picked in a very short time too. They were driven once around the circuit and dropped off with the names and telephone numbers of the girls.

Another approach used is walking into the street and attempting to talk with girls who are stopped in traffic. If this is not productive, variations may be tried. The observer saw one boy who, having little
success at this approach, enlisted the aid of his buddies and attempted to lift off the ground the front end of some girls' Volkswagen. This was abandoned abruptly when, while they had the front of their second Volkswagen in the air, they discovered that the fourth girl in the car was the driver's mother.

The most common, and easiest, approach on the strip is to drive up next to a car of girls and engage them in a conversation while the two cars are moving down the strip side by side. Because of the boy-girl ratio, and the ease of this approach, competition for the lane next to girls is often hotly contested. Placing oneself in such a spot can involve considerable jockeying for position.

Once in position, boys will try to get the attention of the girls. Initiating a conversation may be difficult, but if successful, the two cars will continue side by side as long as possible, usually one block. When traffic stops again, the two cars lose their relative positions. Prior to this time the boys will usually ask the girls to meet them at a parking area, probably Macy's parking lot. If, at any time during this procedure, there is a lack of interest on either side, the arrange-
ment is easily terminated by accelerating away from the side by side position with the other car.

If the boys were successful and have arranged to meet the girls there, they will all head for the Macy's lot. Here the two cars park next to each other and boys can leave their car and walk to the far side of the girls' car to talk to riders. Often this is terminated by the police who, since this most likely takes place after the shopping center's closing time, clear the area. If this occurs there is a scramble for names and telephone numbers, and attempts to get some of the girls into the boy's car and some of the boys into the girls' car. There is the boys' usual suggestion that everyone go somewhere else together, and often an invitation by them to go to a party. The party probably doesn't exist at that moment, or if there is a party in progress, no one knows where it is or who is giving it. If the invitation is accepted, an attempt is made to find a party. If none can be found, and none are because those who know of such an occurrence would attend and not be on the strip, the suggestion is made that they start one. The party may turn out to be only those people in the two cars, parked in an isolated area away from the strip, with alcohol and soft narcotics,
if they are available. In most cases, however, the interaction is terminated far short of this.

**Importance of Car**

The central feature of the strip is the car, but just how important is a flashy car on the strip? The writer posed this question to a group of male cruisers. One said, "Very." Others nodded their concurrence.

Girls, on the other hand, disagree. They tend to feel that the boy is more important than the car. One girl said that a guy's car is like a girl's looks. It is important at first in attracting the opposite sex, then other, more important factors come into play.

The disagreement on this point led to the following argument. Discussing the importance of a boy's looks the writer asked:

JB-- How important is that (looks) compared to the kind of car they drive?

R-1- (Female) Car don't mean a thing!

R-2- (Male) Yeah it does!

R-1- Not really.

JB-- Does it or doesn't it?

R-1- You look at the car first, then you look at the face . . . The car is what attracts you first.

If the automobile is considered an extension of
one's ego, it is extremely important that it belongs to the cruiser and be an extension of his ego, and not belong to his parents and be an extension of them. The argument above quickly evolved into another argument, this one more vehement than the last.

JB-- What about your car . . . ?
R-2- (Male) It ain't her car!
R-1- (Female) It is too!
R-2- It is not!
R-1- Bull!
R-2- It is not!
R-1- It's my car. She gave it to me.
R-2- What name is on the thing?
R-1- It's not registered to me.
JB-- Who gave it to you?
R-1- My mom. It used to be hers, but now it's mine, but it's not registered in my name.

With girls, ownership is not as important as with boys. Girls are usually expected to be in their parents' car if they are in school. Boys, on the other hand, are expected to own their cars. The above argument shows the importance of ownership to a girl. With a boy it is more important.
Cars and Modifications

The kind of car also seems to be important. Pony or sporty cars, especially the street model of racing versions are, along with Corvettes, considered best. The writer asked one cruiser about their popularity.

JB-- If you were to take the people on the strip and have them rate cars, which would come out on top?

R--- The best car out there is the Ford.

JB-- Which Ford?

R--- The Mustang Boss 302 . . . or else 'Vettes.

The respondent was a Ford fan. There is considerable rivalry between Ford fans and Chevrolet fans. This respondent, being a Ford fan, chose Ford's sporty car street racer. He did, however, have to acknowledge the popularity of the Chevrolet Corvette.

Another respondent, a Chevrolet fan, was asked if, when he gets out of school, if he was going to get a car and go to the strip. His reply was, "Yeah, a Z-28."

This is Chevrolet's sporty car street racer.

The writer asked a female respondent which were the best cars.

R-1- (No response)

R-2- (Male) Oh, you don't know cars!
JB-- What about accessories; tires, mags, things like that?

R-1- Oh, I don't know nothing about that.

R-2- All she knows is the colors!

R-1- (No rebuttle)

Evidently, from this interview and other impressions from the strip, modifications, while important to the boys, are relatively unimportant to girls.

Another respondent shed some different light on the matter.

R--- No car is better than another. It's what they have under the hood.

JB-- What's under the hood; do you mean how built up they are?

R--- Yeah!

JB-- The bigger the engine the better?

R--- No. In some cases, like, a 426 (Chrysler "Hemi") will just about blow the doors off a 440.

One emphasis in modification, therefore, is on quarter mile acceleration, or dragging. Faster, actually quicker, cars are held in high regard.

Almost as good as being able to go fast is looking fast. Consequently, many cars have modifications that are practically useless on street cars. As an example, wings and spoilers, which become effective at about one hundred
thirty-five miles per hour, are abundant on the strip.

Modifying serves a second purpose. It personalized a car and makes it individualistic. Having a unique car is important as it is the instrument of ego extension. The Black male interviewed earlier told the writer:

I want to fix my car different from somebody else . . . I'm the only one with a '68 Chevelle with 'Vette side pipes on it . . . That's what I have, a '68 Chevelle with ten inch (width) Ansens (mag type wheels) all the way round.

The mag type wheels are a popular modification along with wide tires, the wider the better. Another popular modification is jacking the car up in the air as high as possible, the higher the better. The technical reason for this is that, in drag racing, a raised car body will have a tendency to lunge backward on acceleration, transferring more weight to the rear wheels for better traction. This is done to help keep the rear wheels from spinning. With any street car with wide tires this is unnecessary since that powerful a car would not be street drivable.

Racing

With the value on acceleration and the powerful
cars racing does take place. It is, however, severely limited on the strip since traffic, in peak cruising times, runs from heavy to bumper to bumper. Most of this activity is confined to "peeling rubber" or squealing tires. This is done with caution and only when there are no police nearby.

The writer asked one respondent:

JB-- Do any of these people race?
R--- Oh, yeah!
JB-- Where?
R--- All over. Last weekend some guy lit them up (smoked his tires) all the way from down at that corner to here!
JB-- Don't the cops get on you pretty bad?
R--- They weren't around. They'll get on you though, "Exhibition of Speed".

Exhibition of speed is a fairly serious offense. It is usually considered as serious as reckless driving. The court sentence in these offenses is often followed by insurance rate increases or cancellation.

One evening, during his observation, the writer saw a modified Chevrolet accelerate rapidly. There was no screeching of tires, but the engine noise made it evident what was happening. Immediately two Highway Patrol
motorcycle officers began to weave through traffic in pursuit.

There is drag racing on the strip. Early one evening the writer witnessed a Mustang "Boss 302" race a Pontiac "GTO". A Plymouth "Road Runner" chased them hoping to get into the race. The writer followed, but by the second block all of the participating cars had disappeared down side streets or into the crowd.

One respondent was asked where cruisers raced, "It's too crowded up here. They go down there a ways", he said. The respondent pointed down the street to the south, meaning that cruisers went down the street off the end of the strip to race.

The Black respondent explained about serious drag racing.

They usually go out on the freeway . . . They go out there and stop at a standstill (when there are no cars approaching), and take off and race a mile, if the Highway Man don't get them. Or some of them meet at Fremont (a nearby sanctioned drag strip) on Friday nights, on Grudge Night.

On Friday night Grudge Nights a person can take his car to this Drag Strip and challenge others in legal drag races.

Racing on the strip is not common because of the number of police. On one evening, the writer observed
three San Leandro Police cars and two Highway Patrol motorcycles on the strip at the same time. There were five police units on the three-fifths of a mile long strip. Most racing, therefore, is not done on the strip.

Money

Most of the cruisers own cars seem to be bought by the cruisers themselves. Although many are older inexpensive cars, many are new or nearly new. One respondent had a one year old Plymouth "Road Runner" which he bought new and expected to pay off before the car was two years old. Although he was still in high school in a regular program, he worked eight hours everyday after school and all day on Saturday.

A second respondent, also a high school senior, had just purchased a brand new Plymouth "Baracuda". He told the writer that he was employed as a carpet layer by his uncle, and worked enough hours each week to make his car payments. After graduation he planned to continue laying carpet, at least until the car was paid off. Then he would decide whether he would continue his education or enter another career.

Both of these cruisers had good paying jobs and considered school less important than their jobs. Others,
who place school first and do not have access to good paying jobs through relatives or friends, must pay for their cars and gas with part time jobs, often paying only the minimum wage.

A Summarizing Interview

One of the most informative interviews was conducted with a member of the South County Bug Club. It was held in their parking area, the Safeway lot, on a Friday night. The respondent is typical even though he drives a Volkswagen and is in junior college. He may be described as an Ideal Type in the Weberian sense since he had the values of the strip. In addition, he was intelligent and expressed himself well. The interview is presented in its entirety.

JB-- Are you in school?

R--- Yeah, I'm going to Chabot.

JB-- Why do you come up here?

R--- Almost every Friday and Saturday night, just about. Sometimes I'll go out with a girl and I'll drop her off (at her home after the date) and come up here (to) see all these nuts (pointing to Bug Club members standing around) and we just goof around.

JB-- Does most of the club come up here?

R--- No. This is only a small part of it, but these are the more active members.
JB-- Do you actually cruise up and down, or just park in here?

R--- Well, about half and half. Some nights I just cruise, that's all, and some nights I just stand. Usually I just cruise a little bit and stop because, you know, I don't want to waste all that gas.

JB-- Then you come up here to see your friends and to meet girls?

R--- Yeah, that's about it.

JB-- What kind of girls come up here?

R--- A few good ones.

JB-- Just a few?

R--- Well, about half of them. Half the ones that come up here are good.

JB-- What about the other half?

R--- They are either real dolls, or they won't even say "hi". They just cruise up and down the strip; I don't know for what. They like a boy to say "hi", but when they (boys) say "hi" they just, you know . . . (ignore the boys).

There was a considerable amount of resentment in his voice. He seemed to feel that the legitimate reason for girls cruising the strip was to meet boys, and, as such, they should be somewhat responsive. For girls to give no response to anyone meant to the boys that those girls were only there to get their egos bolstered. Boys feel this one sided gratification is unfair and outside the rules of the strip. As such, these girls are referred
to as "snobs" and as being "stuck up".

JB-- What about when you meet them, what then? What kind of action do you get?

R--- Sometimes it's good. Sometimes you just end up cruising back and forth in the girl's car. Sometimes you go up in the hills up there somewhere. And sometimes you get it (sex), sometimes. I don't go in too much for that.

It seemed that he would go in for that (sex) if it was more available to him, but it seems that sex is not readily available on the strip.

JB-- How many nice girls are there up here?

R--- Quite a few.

Switching to other groups the writer asked:

JB-- What about other groups up here?

R--- Clubs?

JB-- Yes, and just people standing around.

R--- There is always a bunch of hippie types down there (pointing south) a ways. They usually stand around together. Then over here at the parking lot (pointing across the street), those are the rowdies, you know with the real bad cars.

"Bad" is a term that is used to mean good. It is used as one would use "evil" or "wicked" for forbidden pleasures. Here, however, it was used sarcastically, meaning, again, bad.

R--- They think they're bad (good). They sit there smoking (tires) all over the parking, throwing
gravel all over. They are always over there. Spinning one's tires in gravel doesn't take much power and doesn't impress cruisers.

Returning to activities on the strip, the writer asked:

JB-- What about drinking up here?

R--- If you want to have a few beers or anything you just park back here (pointing to the darkened rear of the parking lot). Sometimes you cruise up and down, but that's taking a chance.

JB-- Don't the cops bother you back here?

R--- Back here? No... They used to hassel us. They'd come by here and say "Everybody get into your cars and to go to Pring's, or something", but that stopped.

JB-- How long ago did that stop?

R--- About three months ago.

JB-- All over the strip, or just right here?

R--- Mainly, right here.

Technically, the Safeway lot closes at about the same time as the other lots. The police will clear the other closed lots of parked cruisers, but will not bother the Bug Club area.

JB-- What about smoking pot and dropping Reds and that sort of thing?

"Reds" is a slang term for Seconal, a barbiturate. It is the most popular of the "downer". Reds are popular
because their effect is like being drunk. They are preferred over alcohol by many for three reasons; they are cheap, twenty-five cents a piece and two will suffice; they are readily available, you don't have to show an I.D. to a dealer; and one avoids the bad taste of alcohol.

R--- That's all over. Like the club here, half the club are potheads.

JB-- Yes, that is the general population, but what about up here? Are people in the back here smoking pot too, or are they mainly driving up and down?

R--- Well, God, I've smoked driving up and down, but usually a bunch of people get together and smoke. They trip over to someone's house, or go park somewhere.

Smoking marijuana on the strip is less dangerous than drinking, for at a distance it is impossible to tell a tobacco cigarette from a marijuana one. A person can be caught if the characteristic odor is discovered, or if he is seen passing the cigarette, or joint, to his friends. A joint is practically always shared. But because of the number of police on the strip, smoking while cruising is considered daring or foolish. It is safer to smoke pot before arriving at the strip, or to leave the strip to smoke, returning to the strip to enjoy the "high".

JB-- What about dealing (selling drugs) up here?
R--- Not much of that. Somebody may come by with one joint, or something like that.

JB-- Nothing harder than that?

R--- I've never seen anything harder.

Since the speed and power ethic of the strip seem to be in conflict with ownership of a Volkswagen, the writer asked:

JB-- You guys are a little different. Everyone else has super-cars, and you have your Bugs.

R--- Really. But we drive like they are super-cars. I have a '67 with just a Shoemaker exhaust in back. That's it.

The same speed and power ethic is present even with the Volkswagen owners. The only difference being that they start with a small engine. Modifications for performance are probably just as common on these Volkswagens as on the big American cars.

All during the interview there were boys standing on the sidewalk talking and laughing among themselves and shouting at passing girls.

JB-- Do you stand here near the sidewalk?

R--- Sometimes, yeah.

JB-- Do any good there?

R--- Not really, Just let them see us and we see them.

JB-- How old are the people on the strip?
R--- Most of them, I'd say are from about . . . (Interrupted by laughter from the sidewalk as a result of a verbal exchange with passing girls). The guys are a lot older than the girls that come up here. Most of the girls (that) stay in their cars and cruise up and down, like they're maybe juniors in high school, or something. There are a few older ones. They are the ones you have to watch out for. They want you to take them out and spend five hundred bucks on them. (An obvious exaggeration, but he made his point.) They drive around in 'Vettes. You don't even bother with them.

JB-- The girls cruising in the 'Vettes, who do they scheme on?

R--- They scheme on the dudes that are in 'Vettes, or ones in the big bad Chevies.

JB-- What kind of girls do you pick?

R--- That's a good question. My girl friend is asking that right now!

Results of Questionnaire

The questionnaire administered at San Lorenzo High gave the following results. (Tables are listed in Appendix B.)

The age question found no significant difference between cruisers and noncruisers. The question regarding the sex of the cruisers yielded the same results. The religion question showed a significantly larger number of Catholics cruised than non-Catholics at the .04 level, but no difference was found in the frequency of church attendance.
Father's occupation showed a difference at the .055 level, between cruisers and noncruisers showing a higher tendency to cruise for lower socio-economic class children over higher socio-economic class children. This question also showed 82 percent of the respondents from homes with white collar, working class or unemployed fathers for both groups.

Father's education did not vary significantly between the two groups, but did show that 86 percent of the respondents' fathers were not graduates of four year colleges.

Mother's occupation showed no significant difference between cruisers and noncruisers, nor did average grades or extracurricular activities.

Educational plans showed a greater tendency for cruisers not to carry their formal education as far as noncruisers, but this was only significant at the .08 level. Vocational plans, however, did not significantly differ.

There was no significant difference between the two groups and whether or not one had been arrested, but cruisers showed positive relationship, significant at the .01 level, with smoking marijuana and taking
amphetamines and barbiturates.

Party affiliation showed no significant difference between cruisers and noncruisers, nor did political participation, attitudes on our Southeast Asia policy or the draft.

The question asking the effect of the war on the respondent's future was not directly related to the study and was not analyzed.

The next question found that 58 percent of the respondents answering cruised the strip. Of those answering how they cruised 5 percent walked, 48 percent rode, 38 percent drove their own cars, and 9 percent drove their parents' cars.

The question asking the amount of time spent on the strip each week found 32 percent spending one-half hour or less, 28 percent over one-half hour to one hour, 19 percent over one hour to two hours, 6 percent over two hours to three hours, and 15 percent over three hours. Visits per month showed 8 percent less than one, 43 percent one or two visits, 32 percent three or four, 10 percent five or six and 8 percent seven or more.

A positive relationship between car ownership and cruising was found significant at the .001 level, but
data on car type was varied and did not readily lend itself to analysis. The same was true of the percentage of car cost paid by the respondent, and who paid the balance. Hours worked per week was analyzed and no significant difference was found between cruisers and noncruisers. Pay per week, being closely related to hours per week, was not analyzed.

The short open-ended questions did not lend themselves to analysis. These questions, why respondents go to the strip and their description of the ideal girl and boy on the strip were, however, carefully reviewed by the writer and used to substantiate his conclusions from observations.

The questionnaire also revealed that 29 percent of the cruisers responding to the parking question had a particular place where they parked on the strip. Where they parked, however, was for the reasons mentioned above, not analyzed.
ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

Participant Observation Phase

From the participant observer phase of the research it was found that the San Leandro Strip attracts cruisers from a forty mile radius. It draws participants from other strips such as Walnut Creek, Richmond and San Jose. It has been called the best strip in Northern California.\(^{25}\)

Ages of the participants varies between sixteen and twenty-three, with the extremes being thirteen to twenty-seven. The lower age is dependent on freedom granted by parents, and access to a car and licensed drivers. The upper age seems to be determined by the youthfulness of other cruisers and by the ability to enter bars and night clubs to meet friends and the opposite sex.

Cruising in San Leandro is a nearly all white activity. This seems to be a characteristic of this strip

\(^{25}\text{Laufer, op. cit.}\)
in particular. San Jose has a large Mexican-American minority which is active in cruising, and the same is true in Richmond with Blacks. Cruising itself is not a segregated activity, but the San Leandro Strip is nearly all white.

The strip as an activity is highly organized with a definite traffic pattern and turn around points. Parking areas are defined, some loosely, some rigidly. While some parking lots are relatively open, the Bug Club area, the "½ lb.", and the bikers' area are so well defined and exclusively used by particular groups that other cruisers don't even think about parking there.

The reactions of cruisers regarding the importance of owning a car, the kind of car, and its modifications was divided. Girls seemed to find these things relatively unimportant, serving only to attract their attention. Boys, on the other hand, considered these points extremely important. Ownership of an automobile is very important, followed by how fast it is and how it looks.

Comparatively little racing is done on the strip because of two factors, the heavy traffic and the number of police. Even when there is a break in traffic, cruisers know of the number of police and will usually not race.
It is not uncommon, however, to arrange a race either on a deserted street, on the freeway, or at the legal drag strip.

The cost of owning the cars seems to come from the cruisers themselves—from jobs and savings. Those driving more expensive and newer cars probably have good paying part or full time jobs. San Leandro is not a wealthy community and the number of families who buy their children new cars is relatively small.

Hard data from the strip was gathered by methodically tallying cars in the categories being surveyed. The initial count was made to determine the number of persons cruising at the peak period. A count early in June found 163 cars cruising and 104 parked, for a total of 267 cars on the strip. During this time the writer observed only four cars that he determined were not cruising, i.e. families, delivery trucks and older persons. Later that month he found 210 cruising, 87 parked, totaling 297, with 11 not cruising. In early July, during warmer weather, he found 224 cruising, 125 parked, totaling 349, with 22 not cruising. The following week 305 were cruising, 139 were parked, for a total of 444. Non-cruisers were not tallied on this count.
Two tallies were made of the sex of cruisers. The first found 117 cars with boys, 29 cars with girls, and 13 with couples. The second tally made several weeks later found 150 cars with boys, 53 cars with girls, and 6 couples. Boys outnumbered girls three to one at any one time on the strip. Couples were definitely in the minority. Cruising is not a couples' activity.

Two counts, approximately one month apart, were made to determine the kinds of vehicles on the strip. On the first count, with 151 total vehicles tallied, 14 were Muscle cars, 17 were Pony cars, 74 were Standard, 4 were Old, 3 were Corvettes, 15 were Volkswagens, 5 were Other Imports, 3 were Motorcycles, 6 were Hot Rods, and 2 were Trucks. The second tally found, out of a total of 305 vehicles, 30 Muscle cars, 36 Pony cars, 153 Standard, 2 Old, 7 Corvettes, 30 Volkswagens, 15 Other Imports, 16 Motorcycles, 4 Hot Rods and 6 Trucks. Although Corvettes, Pony cars and Muscle cars enjoy the most esteem, they are in the minority. By far the most common type of car used for cruising is the standard American car.

The count made to determine the percentage of high school students cruising yielded 140 cars of high school students, and 84 cars of persons determined by the
writer to be out of high school. This means that a little over sixty per cent of the cruisers were in high school.

Tallies as to the ownership of the cars cruising found that of 224 cars, 84 were owned by the cruisers themselves, and 140 were family cars.

Counting the number of persons per car yielded the following results: one, 39; two, 90; three, 27; four, 16; five, 6; six or more, 0. This averages just over two persons per car. Two per car for 444 cars is 888 persons. Adding at least one hundred for those persons standing on sidewalks and in parking lots brings the total number of cruisers to approximately 1000 for the evening of July 17, 1970.

Analysis of Questionnaire

The questionnaire administered at San Lorenzo High School began with several general exploratory questions which did not directly relate to the hypotheses, nor were they an attempt to reinforce conclusion made from observations. The first questions were an attempt to find unsuspected characteristics which might distinguish cruisers from non-cruisers.

The age question was not expected to show a relationship. Surely age is a factor. It was determined by
observation that cruising is a teenage and young adult activity and ages range from thirteen to twenty-seven, but this survey of high school students was not expected to show an age relationship.

According to the results of the questionnaire there is no significant difference in the sex of cruisers. This seems to be in conflict with observation which found boys outnumbered girls by a ratio of three to one. The most probable explanation for this is that boys seem to stay on the strip longer than girls. If an equal number of girls cruise but stay only a very short time, the three to one ratio could easily occur if the boys came early and stayed late.

It was found that a significantly greater number of Catholics cruise than non-Catholics. This is difficult to analyze since the writer can find nothing in Catholicism which would make cruising attractive. It may be argued that this is a social class characteristic, but this factor alone is not near enough evidence to make such a generalization.

The next question showed that the higher the status of the father's occupation, the less likely the person was to cruise. Cruising is more common among
the children of unskilled and skilled workers, but it was not quite significant at the .05 level. It should be noted, though, that some relationship was found and this would tend to support the hypothesis stating cruisers come from the working class.

In addition, 82 percent were found to come from white collar or working class homes. Father's education was not significantly different between cruisers and non-cruisers, but 85 percent had not completed four years of college.

The hypothesis that cruisers are poorer students than non-cruisers is not substantiated by the questionnaire. There was not statistical difference in the grades between those who cruise and those who do not. Nor was there any statistical difference between these groups and extracurricular activities. Cruisers are neither more active nor less active in these activities than non-cruisers.

Some dependence was found between cruisers and non-cruisers and their educational aims, but this was significant only at the .08 level. This does show a tendency, however. If this is the case, it would show that cruisers, while not being poorer students, are less aspiring and, possibly, less upwardly mobile.
Vocational plans did not vary significantly between the two groups, tending to dispute the possibility that cruisers are less-upwardly mobile. Interviews and questionnaire analysis have shed some light on this discrepancy. It was discovered that many respondents know little of the relationship between education and occupations. Some respondents wanted to enter the professions, but planned on only two years of college. Similar discrepancies were found in numerous other responses and the discrepancies were more predominant in the younger respondents. This casts a shadow on the validity of these particular responses.

A perfectly valid statement concerning arrests may be made, however. There is no statistical relationship between arrests and cruising. Those who cruise are no more delinquent than non-cruisers.

Use of soft narcotics, however, did show a definite relationship with cruising. While taking pills, amphetamines and barbiturates, is not necessarily a natural progressing from marijuana, they are recognized as being more powerful and more dangerous than marijuana, and persons who take pills may be expected to smoke marijuana.
The relationship between drugs and cruising seems to be twofold. The first consideration deals with free time and freedom from parental authority. Using drugs by young people is seldom done at home. The possibility of detection is too great. The use of drugs, then, is dependent on being out of the parents' house for a period of time. Cruisers are persons who have this freedom and time.

The motivation for drug use may come from the festive atmosphere of the strip, but cruising is not a drug oriented activity. Seeing persons high on drugs is not a common occurrence. While there are some motivating factors present, they are not nearly as strong as those at a house party or even a high school dance.

It was hoped that the political party affiliation question would give a clear indication of the political leanings of cruisers. The results showed no difference between cruisers and non-cruisers. There are some factors which would have made this a poor question from which to generalize. First is the tendency for children to vote like their parents. Then there is the rebellion of youth which might cause a switch from parental party. Finally, as noted in the discrepancy between educational
aspirations and vocational goals, there is a lack of sophistication on the part of high school students, especially those in the lower grades.

Political participation was expected to show that cruisers were politically more conservative. Reasoning that the most common political activity for persons under voting age was peace rallies, and that these attracted liberals, non-cruisers were expected to score higher on this question. They didn't. However, the writer still believes from observations that cruisers are conservative. Two explanations are possible. One is that many cruisers may have participated in conservative activities such as handbill distribution. The second possibility is that the total population from which the sample was drawn was conservative. San Lorenzo is a working class high school with, exception for one or two exceptions, an all white student body. If there were only a few liberals in the total population, both cruisers and non-cruisers would be expected to be conservative and show no difference on the questionnaire.

Questions on the government's Southeast Asia policy and the draft were expected to show conservatism among cruisers like the political participation question.
No significant differences were found, and it is suspected that the same reasons may have been factors here as well as in the political participation question. One must also keep in mind the lack of sophistication of the respondents already discussed.

As expected, owning a car is directly related to cruising. One must not overlook the implications of this, however. Nearly all of the respondents in the sample were old enough to drive, and presumably had some access to a car. The fact that one owns his own car gives him more access to the strip, but even those who do not own cars are not denied access to the area. It is not necessary to own a car to cruise. Ownership has, therefore, a meaning in cruising besides merely giving access to the strip. This meaning is probably founded in the strong value of the strip on car ownership.

Work hours per week was expected to show that cruisers placed a high value on material possessions such as a car, and worked long hours at jobs to achieve these ends. No difference between the two groups was found, however. Two factors may be present here also. The first is the lack of availability of jobs. Possibly more cruisers are willing to work and to work more hours, but are unable
to find jobs.

A second factor is the degree of involvement in cruising. An inherent problem with the questionnaire was that it divided the sample into only two groups, cruisers and non-cruisers. In the cruiser group were those persons who cruised for one half hour once each month, and those who spent many hours each evening, six or eight evenings each month. Surely the characteristics of those marginal participants were different than those of the regular cruisers. In addition, the questionnaire sampled a population that made up an estimated sixty percent of the population of the strip. There was, however, no other way to administer a questionnaire, and only a questionnaire could have yielded the information desired within the limitations of this study.
Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions from the Hypotheses

Looking at the characteristics of cruisers, the first hypotheses stated that they had a "now" ethos in that they rejected deferred gratification. This is somewhat supported by the tendency on the part of cruisers to have less ambitious educational aspirations. Although it cannot be said conclusively, the questionnaire showed cruisers as planning to end their formal education sooner and, thereby, presumably to enter the job market and acquire material possessions.

The questionnaire sampled only the high school people of the strip. The majority of the estimated forty percent not sampled, those out of high school, seemed to be working at full time jobs. Some were attending college, but these seemed to be in the minority.

The writer also detected a low regard for higher education and a strong work ethic. Even those in college...
were attending a two year school. The writer did not find any upper division college students in any of his research.

Although other factors are involved in the ownership of a car, the fact that, at the one percent level, significantly more cruisers owned their own car, adds credence to this hypothesis.

One would expect with the rejection of deferred gratification, a high incidence of working at jobs, but the questionnaire showed no significant difference between cruisers and non-cruisers.

Although the questionnaire evidence is varied, the writer did reach a conclusion. The questionnaire showed cruisers with significantly higher car ownership, a tendency away from prolonged education, but no difference in hours worked. This evidence concerns the estimated sixty percent still in high school. Observation of the total population leads the writer to believe that the forty percent not in school are more involved in cruising and are working to acquire material possessions. The abundance of newer and modified cars and accessories, and the attitudes expressed on the strip lead the writer to accept the first hypothesis.

The second hypothesis stating that cruisers placed
a high value on external manifestations of the person was largely substantiated by observation. Nice clothes and styled hair were frequently noted as well as cars and accessories as previously discussed. The one question on the questionnaire which would pertain to this hypothesis was the car ownership question, and this was significant at the one percent level. A review of the questionnaire's last open-ended question also tends to substantiate this hypothesis. On this basis the writer accepts the second hypothesis.

The hypothesis stating that cruisers come from the working class is not as easily analyzed. One question which would tend to support this hypothesis is the religion question. Significantly more Catholics cruised than non-Catholics. If Catholicism is a working class religion, this would tend to substantiate this hypothesis, but the writer has shown no relationship between religion and the working class, so no such generalization will be made.

One of the best indicators of social class is father's occupation. In the questionnaire cruisers showed a tendency to come from homes of father's with lower status occupations. Although only significant at
the .055 level, the result does lend support to this hypothesis. In addition, the questionnaire showed 82 percent of all respondents as coming from homes with white collar, working class or unemployed fathers, which shows a high percentage of the entire population as working class.

In one of the other indicators of social status, father's education, cruisers did not significantly differ from non-cruisers, but the fact that 86 percent of the fathers of all respondents had less than four years of college again supports the conclusion that little difference would be expected since the total population was almost wholly working class.

What is more difficult to substantiate, but probably more definitive of social class is values. The values on the strip seem to be working class values. The attitude toward work as not being pleasurable or rewarding in itself as mentioned by Gans, was found in many cruisers interviewed. One individual was a carpet layer and would continue to lay carpet because it was paying for his new car. The result of work, that is, what earnings are spent upon, is extremely evident on the strip. Material possessions are highly valued and cruisers tend
to get jobs to achieve these material possessions. The job is a means to the possessions and not a satisfaction in itself. It is a means to Kahl's pleasures of consumption.

The writer also found the traditionalism mentioned by S. M. Miller and Riessman. Although not shown by the questionnaire, many traditional values are present. Most noticeable to the writer was that little has changed in the activity in years. While some others in their age set are concerned with current issues such as pollution, poverty and war, little concern was shown for these issues by cruisers. Big engines, even though they are more polluting, are valued, and the current anti-materialistic value taken by some of the young definitely has not hit the cruising crowd.

Over anti-intellectualism was not found among cruisers. The questionnaire did show a tendency among cruisers to aspire to less high educational goals. Observation on the strip, as previously mentioned, showed a low regard for higher education. While this is not as severe as anti-intellectualism, it is symptomatic of a working class value.

Values of stability and person centeredness are
closely related to traditionalism. While no direct evidence was present regarding these values, it is strongly suspected that they exist among cruisers.

Bennett Berger put forth three working class values used in this study. The first was the feeling of little chance for advancement. Berger referred to workers and their advancement in their jobs. The only questionnaire question that approximates this is vocational aspirations, and this did not show such feelings. Little data was obtained from observations to substantiate or refute this concept.

Berger found Democratic Party affiliation among his working class. The questionnaire shows the entire sample, cruisers and non-cruisers, as overwhelmingly Democratic.

Church attendance was inconclusive, as was organization membership. One strong possible explanation for these results is that the community served by San Lorenzo is a working class community and, therefore, no differences between cruisers and non-cruisers would be expected. Both groups would be working class. With this evidence, and his close observations the writer accepts the working class hypothesis. Probably a more definite statement
could be made about the values of the strip rather than the social class and values of the cruisers themselves. It is strongly believed by the writer that the value system of the strip is clearly working class. All the participants, however, need not be wholly working class. Although colleges have middle class values, many of their students are from the working class. The same is suspected of the strip. The dominant value system is working class, even though one may not be able to say with finality that the participants are a homogeneous working class group.

The hypothesis stating that cruisers are poorer students must be rejected. Average grades between cruisers and non-cruisers did not show any significant differences. It cannot be said that cruising adversely affects grades. Nor can it be said that cruisers are the less active individuals in extracurricular activities, because, again, no difference was found. One may argue that cruisers are poorer students in that they are not preparing for higher education. This conclusion cannot be made on the basis of the educational aspiration question alone. It must, therefore, be concluded that cruisers are not poorer students.
The statement that cruisers are politically conservative was not substantiated by the questionnaire. The comparison of cruiser and non-cruisers on political participation, Southeast Asia policy and the draft showed no significant difference. However, the writer still believes that cruisers are conservative. With his contact with the school sampled, he believes the entire population was basically conservative, and for this reason no differences were found. The questionnaire data, however, does not allow for acceptance of this hypothesis, although acceptance of the working class hypothesis would indicate a politically conservative value system.

The first of the motivational hypothesis stated that persons go to the strip to gain status and build self-esteem by displaying external manifestations of the self. The most obvious external manifestation is the automobile. Because of the high regard with which the automobile is held, and the values on recent cars and modifications, possession of such an automobile gives one status. It has been shown that the automobile can become an extension of the person's ego, and therefore status on the strip because of one's car would
give one a higher sense of self-esteem. This is evident from observations made on the strip. A prime example is a high school senior who is not active in school activities, nor is he particularly good looking or have an outgoing personality. He is, however, well known and enjoys high status because his car is highly customized and modified and is shown in automobile shows. As far as the writer can determine from interviewing the boy and his friends, the sole reason for his status is his automobile. Observations of the automobiles and the cars and pride with which they are shown, as indeed they are shown as in a parade, leads the writer to accept this hypothesis.

The hypothesis stating that persons go to the strip to meet the opposite sex is evident not only from interviews, but from observations as well. To anyone who has observed the activity there can be no question but to accept this hypothesis.

The excitement seeking hypothesis is also evident from observations. The strip in itself is exciting with fast cars and available members of the opposite sex. Reasons for visiting the strip such as "There is nothing else to do," substantiate the hypothesis. In addition, there is always the possibility of finding a party. On
the basis of these observations, this hypothesis is accepted.

Theoretical Implications

If the writer's conclusions about cruisers are correct, many fit in well with William F. Whyte's stable corner boy response. Those persons who have a full-time job and a new modified car; those persons who epitomize the strip, seem to have accepted the fact that they will not be upwardly mobile. Their response is accepting, and without hostility. It is the corner boy's preference for the familiar, and immediate satisfactions. These cruisers reject the uncertainties and risks taken by college boys, and deferred gratification. Also rejected is the hostile response of the delinquent and its further alienation from the middle class.

Cohen's theory of reaction formation is not present on the strip. There is no "wholesale repudiation of middle class standards or the adoption of their . . . antithesis." While some middle class values may be reduced in importance or rejected, such as education, there is an acceptance of the majority of middle class

\[26\text{Cohen. op. cit. p. 132.}\]
values, or at least the outward signs of them.

Although he was not dealing with the same environment as the current study, part of his theory fits into it very well. In describing parents of high status and their ability to provide their children with clothes, care and other material possessions, he makes the point that these material possessions serve as the external trappings and insignia of their status. These are also a means to activities and relationships which confer this status. If a working class boy does not have this ascribed status, and is unwilling to defer gratification until he can achieve it, he can take the short cut and acquire the outward appearance of this status. He can buy for himself the external material possessions of status and masquerade as middle class, or use these to gain admission to status conferring activities and relationships.

Cloward and Ohlin dealt with more disadvantaged boys than cruisers. Their subjects' responses to life were either criminal, conflict, or retreatist. The criminal and conflict patterns are not present in the major value system of the strip. Bikers are actually a tangent group and not wholly integrated into the value system. Their third category, retreatist, is also not
present. One might argue that the drug use on the strip would correspond to this category, but retreatist drug use would be use in isolation and a withdrawal from participation. The strip is just the opposite. It is teeming with activity. Drug use there is like drinking at a party, and not retreating from life.

Some of Walter B. Miller's focal concerns have already been shown to be present. Many cars on the strip are Tough by being brutish and masculine. Many of the cars themselves are fast and exciting, and excitement has been shown to be a motivation for cruising. Smartness may be present, along with Trouble in the building and buying of cars designed for illegal purposes such as street racing. Tempting trouble and outsmarting it by being technically legal is evident on the strip. Fate is not present unless one was to consider the working class acceptance that they were not upwardly mobile, or would advance in their jobs, as Fate.

Autonomy is very evident on the strip. Although the value system tends to dictate the type of automobile and modifications, the motivation for individual differences within this narrow range is strong. It is the impression of the writer that identical cars on the strip
would be worse than identical gowns at a ball.

In analyzing the strip in terms of Merton, one would expect to classify cruisers as conformists. On closer examination, however, they appear to be Ritualists. Cruisers seem to be Ritualists because, although they are working to get ahead, from observation and interviews, and from working class theory, we know that they don't expect any real advancement. They do, however, continue to work and act as if they expect to. The adoption of the external trappings of the ends which they know they will not achieve, further substantiates the conclusion that cruisers are, in Merton's term, Ritualists.

McFarland and Moore's characteristics of hot rodders is viewed with suspicion by the writer. Psychiatric analysis and conclusions are often made from a limited number of case studies and tests of significance and validity are often absent. The writer will not comment on "severe compulsive early training" or "ambivivial relationship to the mother," but the two moods mentioned, boredom and the stimulation of wild rides, are present. These are included in Walter B. Miller's focal

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concern of excitement, which is evident in the cars, the activity itself and racing, and is a major motivational factor.

McFarland and Moore's most important point in relation to the current study is the idea of the individual's ego expanding to include his car. The idea of the car being an extension of the ego seems to be true on the strip, and it is the method of interpreting much of Walter B. Miller in terms of the strip, as well as being the basis for accepting key hypotheses.

The collectives of cruisers driving and cruising can be analyzed in terms of group, crowd and Yablonsky's Near Group. Cruisers while driving the circuit constitute a Near Group. They do not have the anonymity or lack of organization of a crowd or mob, but neither do they exhibit the cohesiveness or the degree of organization to be classified as a True Group.

Parking lot collectives, however, present varied classification. The largest number of patrons at MacDonald's represent a crowd, while the Boss 302 collective is a group. The collective behind the building, the Citizen's Band collective, is a Near Group, since it has some organization but not enough to be called a True Group.
The remaining parking areas represent Near Group, with three exceptions. The Bug Club at Safeway's lot is a True Group as are the bikers across the street from them. One other True Group also occurs when owners of the same make of car park them in a line at the curb. The resultant interaction between the owners make them a True Group.

Observing the strip in its entirety, the whole collective would be classified as a Near Group. Although composed of groups, crowds and Near Groups, because of the lack of anonymity and the presence of organization the strip is not just a crowd, but neither does it have the cohesiveness nor degree of organization necessary for a True Group. Tallying between these extremes it represents a good example of Yablonsky's Near Group.

The writer largely concurs with Cavan's analysis of meeting the opposite sex. The writer, however, would add a middle step when relating the analysis to the current study. Cavan's opening moves are present on the strip generally by just being there. Unlike the pick-up bars she describes picking up on the strip is done in a crowd and necessitates the expanding of midgames, or the adoption of a new phase. The writer would include, after opening moves, an isolation stage. This would be
the walk in the garden at a party, or in terms of the strip, parking at Macy's. Following this would be Cavan's resolution, often aided on the strip by the ever present police.

Concluding Comments

The San Leandro strip is a relatively inexpensive and entertaining way for many young people to spend an evening. While there are more productive activities and probably more healthy value systems, cruising should not be feared by parents or officials. The participants are non-delinquent and cause major traffic congestion only late in the evening, and then only in a small area. While soft narcotics are present, they are probably less so than at a house party or even a high school dance, and the activity is supervised to the point of harassment by police. And one must ask themselves where else five adults overseeing one thousand young people would be considered excessive supervision.
APPENDIX A

Questionnaire
This questionnaire is part of a study by Mr. Bradley of this school, but it is not connected with San Lorenzo High School. Do NOT write your name. Please fill out completely and honestly. Incomplete or incorrect answers could invalidate months of work.

Age____  Sex____  Religion_________________________  Attend church weekly____
Attend church once or twice a month____  Several times a year____
Not at all____

Nationality: (French, Mexican, African, English)_________________________

Father's Occupation_________________________  Mother's Occupation_________________________
Amount of Father's education:  Completed Grammar School____
Completed High School____  Completed 1 or 2 yrs of college____
Completed 4 yrs. of college____  Completed more than 4 yrs of college____
Amount of Mother's education:  Completed Grammar School____
Completed High School____  Completed 1 or 2 yrs. of college____
Completed 4 yrs. of college____  Completed more than 4 yrs. of college____

What grade are you in?____

What major are you in? (Business, Vocational, College Prep., etc.)________

List the number of A's, B's, C's, etc. on your last report card:
A's____  B's____  C's____  D's____  F's____

What extracurricular activities are you involved in? (School clubs, sports, outside organizations, etc.)________

How far do you plan to go in school? Not Graduate____  High School____
Graduate____  Trade School Grad____  1-2 yrs of college____
4 yrs. of college____  Graduate School____

What do you want to do for a living?______________________________

How many times have you been arrested?______________________________

Have you ever smoked marijuana?______________________________

How often do you smoke marijuana?______________________________

Have you ever taken amphetamines?____  How Often?____
(benadryl, meprobamate, etc.)

Have you ever taken barbiturates?____  How Often?____
(red, downers, etc.)
What political party do you consider yourself?

Have you ever registered in any political association, (hand out literature, canvass voters, etc.)

Regarding President Nixon, do you favor: (I) moderate withdrawal, (II) cautious withdrawal, (III) immediate withdrawal.

Regarding military service, (This ONLY) do you plan to volunteer, (If so) how soon? (If not) what would be possible reasons?

Because the possibility of having to go to war affects your attitude now and your plans for the future. 

Do you own the Strip (East 14th)?

How do you get to work? (I) walk, (II) bike, (III) drive own car, (IV) parent's car.

How long do you spend each week on the average?

How many times a month?

Do you own a car? 

That part of car cost did you pay? (I) $0, (II) $10, (III) $20, (IV) $30, (V) more than $30. 

Do you lease the rest? 

How did you pay your share of it?

Do you work now? 

How many hours a week?

Pay per week?

Why do you go to the strip?

Do you shop or park at a particular place? 

Describe the ideal girl on the strip (kind of car, looks, dress, education, job, money, hairstyle, etc.)

Describe the ideal boy on the strip (kind of car, looks, money, education, job, money, hairstyle, etc.)

Thank you for your help. Your cooperation is truly appreciated.
APPENDIX B

Tables
### Table 1

**AGE**

Ho: There is independence between age and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Cruise</th>
<th>Don't Cruise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14-15 yrs.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-17 yrs.</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-19 yrs.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 1.238 \]

\[ \text{df} = 2 \]

\[ P(\chi^2 \geq 1.238) = .54 \]

### Table 2

**SEX**

Ho: There is independence between sex and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Cruise</th>
<th>Don't Cruise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = .184 \]

\[ \text{degrees of freedom} = 1 \]

\[ P(\chi^2 \geq .184) = .67 \]
Table 3

Religion

Ho: There is independence between the number of Catholic's and non-Catholics who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Non-Catholic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 4.444 \]
\[ \text{df} = 1 \]
\[ P(x^2 \geq 4.444) = .04 \]

Table 4

Church Attendance

Ho: There is independence between church attendance and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Weekly</th>
<th>1-2 Month</th>
<th>1-2 Year</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 4.549 \]
\[ \text{df} = 3 \]
\[ P(x^2 \geq 4.549) = .21 \]
Table 5  

Father's Occupation  

Ho: There is independence between the father's occupation and those who cruise or do not cruise.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 9.299 \]  \[ df = 4 \]

\[ P(X^2 > 9.299) = .055 \]

Table 6  

Father's Education  

Ho: There is independence between education and those who cruise or do not cruise.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>H. S.</th>
<th>1-2 Coll.</th>
<th>4 Yrs. or greater</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 1.173 \]  \[ df = 3 \]

\[ P(X^2 > 1.173) = .76 \]
Table 7

Mother's Occupation

Ho: There is independence between mother's occupation and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prof.Mgr.</th>
<th>Skilled</th>
<th>W.Collar</th>
<th>Unskilled</th>
<th>Unemp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 0.443 \]
\[ df = 3 \]

\[ P(x^2 \geq 0.443) = 0.79 \]

Table 8

Grade Point Average

Ho: There is independence between grade point average and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D or worse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 2.322 \]
\[ df = 3 \]

\[ P(x^2 \geq 2.322) = 0.51 \]
Table 9

**Extracurricular Activities**

Ho: There is independence between the number of extracurricular activities and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2 or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 1.369 \]
\[ df = 2 \]
\[ P(X^2 > 1.369) = .50 \]

Table 10

**Educational Plans**

Ho: There is independence between educational plans and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Trade S., H. S.</th>
<th>4 Yrs. Greater Than 1-2 Yrs. Coll.</th>
<th>Coll.</th>
<th>4 Yrs. Coll.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 6.677 \]
\[ df = 3 \]
\[ P(X^2 > 6.677) = .08 \]
Table 11
Vocational Plans

Ho: There is independence between vocational plans and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 3.490 \]
\[ df = 4 \]
\[ P(X^2 \geq 3.490) = .48 \]

Table 12
Arrests

Ho: There is independence between the number of arrests and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
<th>One or More</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 1.970 \]
\[ df = 1 \]
\[ P(X^2_1 \geq 1.970) = .16 \]
Table 13
Marijuana Smokers

Ho: There is independence between marijuana smokers and who do not smoke marijuana and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruiser</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 6.307 \]
\[ df = 1 \]
\[ P(x^2 \geq 6.307) = .002 \]

Table 14
Amphetamine Users

Ho: There is independence between amphetamine users and who do not use amphetamines and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 7.93 \]
\[ df = 1 \]
\[ P(x^2 \geq 7.93) = .005 \]
Table 15

**Barbiturate Users**

Ho: There is independence between barbiturate users and those who do not use barbiturates and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ X^2 = 7.50 \quad \text{df} = 1 \]

\[ P(X^2 \geq 7.50) = .004 \]

Table 16

**Party Affiliation**

Ho: There is independence between political party affiliation and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ X^2 = 2.138 \quad \text{df} = 1 \]

\[ P(X^2 \geq 2.138) = .14 \]
### Table 17

**Political Participation**

Ho: There is independence between political participation and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = 1.134 \quad \text{df} = 1 \]

\[ P(\chi^2 \geq 1.134) = .29 \]

### Table 18

**S. E. Asia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Liberals</th>
<th>Conservatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ \chi^2 = .168 \quad \text{df} = 1 \]

\[ P(\chi^2 \geq .168) = .68 \]
Table 19

Draft

Ho: There is independence between agreement and disagreement with the draft and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = .188$  
$P(X^2 \geq .188) = .66$

Table 20

Own A Car

Ho: There is independence between owning a car and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 11.076$  
$P(X^2 \geq 11.076) = .001$
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 21</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No Response</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do You Cruise</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 22</th>
<th>Walk</th>
<th>Ride</th>
<th>Own Car</th>
<th>Parents' Car</th>
<th>No Response</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 23</th>
<th>&gt;½hr.</th>
<th>&gt;½-1</th>
<th>&gt;1-2</th>
<th>&gt;2-3</th>
<th>&gt;3</th>
<th>No Response</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time Spent Each Visit</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 24</th>
<th>&gt;1</th>
<th>1-2</th>
<th>3-4</th>
<th>5-6</th>
<th>7+</th>
<th>No Response</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vists per Month</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table 25**

**Hours Worked Per Week**

Ho: There is independence between the number of work hours worked and those who cruise or do not cruise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1-20 hrs.</th>
<th>21-36+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cruise</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Cruise</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 2.429 \quad \text{df} = 2 \]

\[ P(X^2_2 \geq 2.429) = .30 \]
Books


Periodicals


Interview

Statement by Peter Laufer of Radio Station KSAN, in personal interview, April 12, 1971.