

THE CAREER CONTINGENCIES  
OF ROUNDERS

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the career contingencies of street hustlers or "rounders" from an ethnographic, symbolic interactionists perspective. It examines the contingencies involved in facilitating initial involvements in the rounder subculture, what is involved in maintaining continuity (rounding as a way of life) and how disinvolvement from criminal involvements take place. The information for this thesis is based on interviews and observations of rounders resulting from the author's ten year acquaintance of the rounder subculture. Salient throughout the thesis is the theme of interrelatedness and activity entanglements, that is the roles of others involved in the rounder subculture in terms of facilitating involvements, continuity and disinvolvements.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### Purpose and Definitions

Arising from a larger study on the "hotel community" this thesis will be an ethnographic interactionist account of the career contingencies of a group of persons who may be termed "street hustlers" or "rounders".<sup>1</sup> In examining the career contingencies of rounders, the purpose of this thesis is two-fold. First this thesis will examine how persons initially become involved in hustling activities, the contingencies involved in maintaining or dissolving involvement, what concerns are faced by involved parties, the different "levels of involvement" in hustling and how these involvements change over time; in short, their career contingencies.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, the thesis will examine the context in which most hustling activities take place (i.e. the criminal subculture). This is necessary since sociological understanding of any social group is possible only when we understand the context in which their actions take place. Thus, in examining the criminal subculture, we will attempt to illustrate its opportunity structures and the interrelatedness of those involved therein. The twin concerns of this thesis, are themselves extensively interrelated, that is, it is inaccurate to discuss the career contingencies of involved individuals without also

discussing the subculture in which his/her activities take place. Thus, the values, opportunity structures, and inter-relatedness of those involved in the criminal subculture will be revealed as we examine the career contingencies of street hustlers. It should also be noted that the approach of this thesis is "process" oriented. That is, particular attention will be paid to the process of how events take shape, and "flow". While a study of career contingencies may seem process oriented ipso facto, I believe that a process oriented approach to almost any sociological field study would more accurately put into perspective the topic at hand.

The group that this thesis is concerned with are sometimes referred to as "hustlers", "grifters" or (more commonly with my respondents), "rounders", however all such terms generally refer to streetwise persons having other than legitimate means of support and capable of survival in the urban street setting. The terms "rounder", "hustler", "player" and "grifter" as I will employ them, are to a great extent, interchangeable, with uses varying in terms of geography, race, and time sequence. To elaborate, the term "grifter" was in vogue in the early to mid 20th century in North America (Sutherland 1937, Maurer 1955), however, today, there appears to be little use of the term according to my respondents, however most older rounders are knowledgeable to it. "Player" is a more contemporary term however it appears to be more directly related to the larger black subculture with white respondents having limited knowledge

of the term.<sup>2</sup> Also, "player" appears to refer to certain caliber and style of hustling abilities that somewhat differentiates players from "common" street hustlers.

A player, that's somebody who hustles but isn't out there blowing it (money) or making a whole lot of noise you what I mean. A player will get into things that make money and don't involve a whole lot of risk. A rounder couldn't do that, they're all up-front, letting the whole world know what they're doing. (hustler)

The term rounder appears to be somewhat unique to Canada (Legrand, 1970; Letkeman, 1973, Prus and Sharper, 1977; Prus and Vassilakopoulos, 1979) with few of my American respondents reporting its present use in their home locality. Some of my respondents have suggested that the term rounder is declining in popularity, however, it still appears to apply more specifically to persons who are unspecialized in terms of their hustle and dependent on emerging opportunities. The more important aspects of distinguishing rounder type persons are such things as the extent to which they specialize in their hustles, are into the "action" and are "connected". However, as these elements become contextualized, such that in many respects, the more general terms rounder, grifter and hustler may be more useful. (Prus and Vassilakopoulos, 1979). "Rounder", then is a fairly generic term incorporating such people as thieves, bandits, gamblers, streetfighters, pimps, bikers and dope dealers, suggesting commonalities among those involved in the thief subculture and drawing attention to the frequently transitory and overlapping involvements of those engaged in these seemingly singular activities.

While the concept of rounder appears to be quite useful in describing my population, and highlighting their interdependence, "street hustler" will also be used interchangeably. "Hustler" appears to be in use more generally and in a variety of geographical locations (Canada, American Northwest, Southwest, Deep South) however, it is not as definitive as local labels. Nevertheless, while hustler may not be as specific as "player" and "rounder" it appears to incorporate both terms.

Heretofore, most of the deviance literature has conceptualized career criminals in terms of occupational categories. Consequently, there is literature available on thieves as a group, con men as a group, hookers as a group, etc. however, little has been written on how these persons work out different aspects of their lives in conjunction with one another.<sup>3</sup> This is particularly surprising since concepts such as role sets, systems interdependencies (functionalist) and joint action (interactionist) seems basic to social organizational studies. (Blumer, 1969: 16-20) suggests that "jointing activity" is the very core of all sociological phenomenon, however, little has been done in the field of deviance to illustrate how this joint action comes about or what is involved (Prus and Vassilakopoulos, 1978). This thesis through an ethnographic examination of the career contingencies of street hustlers, will also provide empirically grounded observations on how joint action comes about.<sup>4</sup>

## Outline

Along with providing the necessary definitions and purpose, the first chapter of this thesis will describe the setting in which the research took place, the methodology used to obtain information (participant observation) and also review the related literature. I have divided this into three substantive areas with which my thesis will involve itself: (1) symbolic interactionism (2) the criminal subculture and (3) criminal careers. The second chapter will discuss initial involvements in street hustling. Initial involvements are divided in terms of two participating groups; those receiving their primary socialization in the hustling subculture and those becoming involved at a later stage of their lives. Along with a description of early "scams" and "plays" there will be an attempt to delineate early contact networks and opportunity structures. The third chapter will describe hustling as a way of life and as such may be regarded as the "heart" of my thesis.<sup>5</sup> In this chapter we will discuss developing a hustler identity, the kinds of involvement in hustling, becoming streetwise, developing a reputation, making contacts, social life in hustling subculture, family relations as well as describing the ways of making out for the mature hustler. The fourth chapter will discuss an area of criminology that has thus far been largely ignored, that is how hustlers come to terms with the law on a day to day basis and the effect of encounters with the law on the career of the hustler. In this chapter

we will discuss attitudes and relationships with the police, arrest and trial procedure, the prison experience, fitting into the street upon release, renewing hustling activities dealing with parole, police surveillance, etc. The fifth chapter of my thesis will discuss the various forms of dis-involvement from hustling, encompassing such routes as old age, going "straight", loss of ability to hustle and "background" involvement. In the conclusion of my thesis I will summarize the findings of the previous chapters and indicate the contribution they provide to the sociology of deviance in general and to our knowledge of criminal careers and sub-cultures in particular.

#### Setting and Sample

As an increasingly important aspect from a major project on "hotel community" my contact with rounders began at Main and Central, two hotels located in a rough (quasi-slum) area of Eastville. (see Prus and Vassilakopoulos, 1977, 1978). The rounders (N = 110) ranged in age (17-83) with most being clustered in the 30-50 age bracket. Both hotels have bars and feature exotic dancers but draw a significant income from activities associated with prostitution. Although both hotels have great diversity in terms of clientele, street hustlers are particularly attracted to hooker bars since they provide opportunities to work on a hustle, develop contacts, be entertained, drink and take part "in the action". Although the hotel-bar setting is conducive to hustling and is a significant aspect of non-work activities for many street

hustlers, it should not be assumed that all such persons "hang out" in this setting, or that hookers' bars are the only places in which rounders are to be found. As contacts were developed and given the mobility of street hustlers we found street hustlers in a variety of settings such as area restaurants, booze-cans, pinball arcades, street corners, pool halls, race tracks, etc. Thus, although most of the material presented here is derived from street hustlers spending time in bars, their routines are often more general than that. Also, as I became more familiar with my respondents, much of my research was carried out while visiting in their or my place of residence. Given this, the setting can best be thought of as being the various "action spots", generally within the downtown urban core of Eastville (population 2,000,000). One should not presume, however that street hustlers are only to be found in the urban core of Eastville since "rounder bars" are also found in mid-town and suburban areas of Eastville.<sup>6</sup> Also, upon moving to Dixon (population 350,000) I developed contacts with street hustlers in this city primarily through colleagues engaged in a similar area of study and my contacts in Eastville.

According to my respondents, downtown Eastville and Dixon are by no means atypical in this sense, thus it appears that rounder-like persons can be found in most North American cities. Indeed, the similarities and the degree of inter-relatedness between street hustlers encountered in Eastville and Dixon, in terms of routines, attitudes, etc. testify to

the accuracy of this statement.<sup>7</sup>

### Methodology

The data presented in this paper was acquired by employing qualitative research techniques, or more specifically, participant observation and unstructured interviewing. This in turn involved using four participant observation fieldwork methods: i) direct observation, ii) informant interviewing, iii) respondent interviewing and iv) direct participation.

In using direct observation, I observed the activities and the social interactions that took place between street hustlers and their audiences. Generally speaking, through direct observation, I observed and noted who was doing what, to whom, and how they did so. Also, notes were made on who was excluded from these interactions. Informant interviewing was conducted with those claiming to be knowledgeable about rounder-like persons and their activities. These persons most often were hustlers themselves or have had past and/or current hustling involvements. Respondent interviewing was conducted with street hustlers exclusively, attempting in these interviews to have street hustlers describe their own involvements, concerns and activities. Direct participation consisted of my taking part in certain "rounder-type" activities and later describing my own experiences of them. In recording my data, I used various techniques, contingent on the specific circumstances prevailing at that time. For

some of my interviews, I was able to record them on tape and later have them transcribed, however for others, I made notes during the interview and for the remainder in which I was unable to record or take notes, I attempted to paraphrase the interview as soon as it was convenient to do so.

The unstructured interviews were conducted with persons I encountered as a consequence of accompanying rounders in their various routines. Most often these were unpremeditated "one-shot" encounters, and in keeping within the more general group definition of the situation, the interviews were, unstructured. The content of these interviews was recorded as soon as it was possible for me to do so. In adopting these methods of data collection, I attempted in my role as researcher, to play a natural interdependent role in the subject I studied, sharing in their life and becoming involved in the activities of the people I observed. This is necessary if one is to do a worthwhile participant observation study since the participant observer must view a culture as the people that he is investigating view it, seeing goals and interests of people in the same way that the people see them and seeing people in the concrete reality in which they present themselves in everyday life (Bruyn, 1966: 22). In developing this intimacy, I was in a somewhat more fortunate position than most social researchers in that I had been employed in a hookers' bar on and off for eight years (1973-1981) and during that time I was able to cultivate a number of friendships with persons who may be termed "rounders".

Also, in accompanying and occasionally participating in a number of their social routines, I was able to some extent, to get a feel for their round of life, their motivations, values and concerns.

Generally speaking, most of the participant observation literature suggest that it is best for researchers not to have a personal stake in their subjects (Gold (1969), Irwin (1972), Bogdan and Taylor (1975)). At the same time, however the participant observer is expected to identify and empathize with the subjects and "understand them from their own frames of reference" (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975: 8). Although the achievement of both aims is ideal for social scientists, I believe that it is extremely difficult that one will be able to truly empathize and be given access to "inside" information while still remaining uncommitted to one's subjects. This is especially true of research involving the activities of criminals in the field. Risking possible arrest and obtaining little in the way of rewards, active criminals are unlikely to "level" with social researchers who are unlikely to have no personal stakes in their relationship outside of obtaining information. While superficial and surface relationships with active criminals may be easily established, it often requires direct participation in their social round of life in order to be accepted as a more or less "natural" element in their environment. Once accepted in this manner, the researcher can interact and observe his subjects in their natural state. I do not wish to suggest

that one must become involved in criminal activities in order to study criminals, however, participation in their more general activities which the researcher finds personally acceptable will be of assistance in terms of gaining acceptance.<sup>8</sup>

I wish to argue here for the usefulness of conducting social research in the role of observant participant. Generally speaking, most participant observation literature acknowledges the usefulness of this role in terms of obtaining an inside view (Douglas; 1972), however this method is strongly qualified by the supposed difficulties encountered in conducting an objective analysis of the data and in maintaining the role of social researcher. In the passages that follow, I hope to prove that these "drawbacks" are not as restrictive to good sociological research as commonly assumed, and that much more use be made of this form of participant observation.

I would like to begin with a statement concerning my role as a quasi-observant participant. "Doing research" in this area was perhaps somewhat different in case than for most sociologists in that my association with my "subject matter" was not solely or even primarily motivated by an interest to gather data. My involvement in the hotel community predated my involvement in sociology,<sup>9</sup> thus it was rather awkward for me to regard friends as "subject matter". This did not however, hamper my ability (I believe) to gather data and to provide an objective analysis.

The greatest reservation that sociologists have

concerning member participation is that the researcher will identify with the subject to the point where he/she is no longer able to view the situation other than from the point of view of the subjects. When this occurs they are said to lose the "sociological perspective". I am in total agreement with this statement. However, most participant observation literature also insists that in order for the sociological perspective to be maintained, the researcher's primary identification be with sociology. This almost taken-for-granted contention is explicated by Douglas' statement (1972: 22-23).

While I believe the sociologist can overcome these problems (concerning member participation) by using retrospective analysis (Douglas' emphasis) of his experience after he is no longer involved and has returned (my emphasis) to his identity as sociologist, and while I believe surrender should, consequently, be encouraged as long as his primary identification remains (my emphasis) with sociology, it does create its own problems. (Douglas, 1972: 25)

What Douglas and the majority of participant observers are implying is that one cannot assume and adequately understand the sociological perspective unless one is primarily a sociologist. Put simply, "unless you are one of us, you can't really understand us." I do not feel that is factual.

It is my contention that this attitude not only creates a false mystification about what is involved in sociological research, (i.e. suggesting that only those chosen few "professional sociologists" can do it) but also makes it possible for those who are subjects of participant observation studies to state only "one of their own" can understand their perspective thus weakening almost all

participant studies conducted thus far. I believe that is possible to participate, perhaps best as a marginal member, and still provide a good objective sociological analysis.<sup>10</sup>

The participant observation research role that I am advocating is that of the informed observant participant, that is, one who has been trained in sociology (but not necessarily a sociologist by profession) and is also a participant in his/her area of academic interest. As far as maintaining objectivity in the gathering and analysis of data is concerned, objectivity can be maintained by temporarily and purposefully attaining role distance, that is, viewing the activity as an impartial observer would, by taking the role of other (social scientist) and looking back at yourself as that person would. By compartmentalizing the mind in this manner, I believe that it is possible to do good objective research and develop a true intimacy with the persons with whom you are working.

I do not wish to suggest that these are few difficulties encountered with this mode of participant observation. As the literature suggests, it does put a strain on certain relationships and it is difficult to remain objective at times. The main problem that I encountered in conducting my research concerned role management. Since my association with street hustlers would continue regardless of my academic interest, I found myself having to switch roles, that is, from my role as "friend" to my role as researcher and vice-

versa. Having to switch roles in this manner and often having simultaneously different interests in one specific occurrence, I occasionally encountered role conflict and even role confusion when I found myself not knowing which role I was playing at certain specific instances. This is an aspect of participant observation that should be thoroughly considered by those wishing to become observant participants.<sup>12</sup> It definitely does "a number on your head".

#### A. Symbolic Interactionism

The sociological perspective employed in this study is symbolic interactionism. Founded on the social philosophy of George Herbert Mead (1934) symbolic interactionism was further modified by leading sociologists such as Shutz, (1970) Goffman (1959) and Blumer (1969).

The symbolic interactionist's perspective differs from most other major sociological perspectives in that it is primarily concerned with the nature of interaction, that is, the dynamic interplay between persons. Focusing their concerns in this manner, interactionists portray individuals as active actors continually engaged in the social construction of reality. The social world for the interactionist is one that is created and continuously re-shaped and re-defined by interacting participants. Thus, interactionists generally reject the notion that man is a passive and determined organism (Charon, 1979: 23). Interactionists do

not argue with the general sociological belief that we are in essence created by society, however, they also assert that we in a very real way, create society. The relationship, in other words, is dialectical. (Berger, 1967: 3).

Having stated (albeit very briefly) the general perspective of symbolic interactionism, the remainder of this section will briefly outline its basic premises. In doing so, we alert the reader that symbolic interactionists do not have one theory for deviants and another for "normals". Rather, we maintain that the theory is applicable to all human behaviour (Prus and Irini, 1980: 239). Thus, while the symbolic interactionist perspective is employed in this thesis to specifically illustrate the career contingencies of rounders, the following assumptions hold true for both deviant and conventional human behaviour.

The most concise and generally referenced statement on what the interactionist statement is all about, is by Herbert Blumer (1969). Blumer maintains that the symbolic interactionist perspective ultimately is grounded in three basic premises, the first of which is that human beings conduct their overt and covert actions in terms of symbolic realities rather than objective or stimulus realities. (Blumer, 1969: 3; Prus and Irini, 1980:238) Thus, in order to make sense of human behaviour we must first become aware of the meanings that persons attribute to the reality they perceive. Blumer states that few scholars would argue with this premise, however, there is a tendency to downplay the importance of this statement and to ignore its full ramifications. For

instance, Blumer argues that typical psychological and sociological explanations of symbolic realities are swallowed up in other factors (e.g. stimuli, attitudes, cognition, etc.) that are in turn used to account for human behaviour (Blumer, 1969: 2). The symbolic interactionist's perspective, however, maintains that meanings in themselves are paramount in producing behaviour and cannot be ignored or by-passed.

It should also be emphasized that symbolic interactionists generally agree that a physical objective reality does exist independent of our subjective experience of it, however, it is of primary importance that this reality is not responded to directly (Blumer's third premise).<sup>12</sup> Rather, we respond to a social definition of that reality. (Charon, 1979: 37). Another ramification of Blumer's first premise, combined with his second premise, leads us to Shutz's concept of "multiple realities", (although both concepts, appears to be conceived more or less independently of each other). Blumer's second premise states that meaning arise out of interactions with other persons, that there is no intrinsic meaning that arises from any given object. As Berger states, man unlike other animals is "unfinished" at birth and must make his world. (Berger, 1967: 5). Since there is no given "paramount reality" as such, it follows that there are instead multiple realities, with differing realities being presented to persons in differing social environments. Further, when we take into account Blumer's third premise, that "meanings are handled in,

modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters" (Blumer, 1969: 4-5) it becomes evident that realities may differ amongst those existing in similar social environments. Also as Berger and Luckman illustrate, each individual experiences intra-psychic multiple realities (through dreams, changes in social environments, drugs, etc.) moving from one "reality" to another (Berger and Luckmann, 1966: 22). Thus, realities, being the products of interactions with others, are also subject to continual rearrangement.

In addition to being symbolic in terms of cognitive perceptions (and perhaps unconscious perceptions as well), humans are self aware and have a capacity for self-reflectivity. Mead contended that an integral element in attaining full participation in the social world was for the individual to get outside himself viewing, himself from the view of the generalized other and becoming object unto himself. Explaining this process, Mead states:

"The individual experiences himself as such, not directly, but also indirectly, from the particular standpoints of other individual members of the same social group, or from the generalized standpoint of the social group as a whole to which he belongs. For he enters his own experience as a self or individual, not directly or immediately, not by becoming a subject to himself, but only insofar as he first becomes an object to himself just as other individuals are objects to him or in his experience; and he becomes an object to himself only taking the attitudes or context of experience and behaviour in which both he and they are involved ..." (Mead, 1934: p. 138)

Blumer emphasizes the importance of Mead's statement, claiming that persons essentially act towards themselves as

they act towards other objects. Thus, persons assess, judge, praise, scorn, communicate and reckon with themselves as they would with other persons. When we take into account the previous assertions that persons are governed by symbolic realities, we arrive at the conclusion that persons act towards and in terms of a symbolically envisioned self. Thus, it is useful to note that we are social beings not only in our interactions with others, but also in our intrapsychic activities (Prus and Irini, 1980: 238).

Finally, and perhaps most distinctive among sociological perspectives, is the symbolic interactionist claim that human association is both problematic and negotiable. While interactionists generally acknowledge that past definitions and social structures influence the outcome of ongoing interactions and generally induced parameters of acceptable kinds of interactions, human interaction nevertheless has an emergent quality about it that prevents outcomes from being consistently predictable. Social order is ongoingly created and negotiated as actors promote their interests, take into account the interests of others and attempt to resolve unfinished problematic situations. While interactionists generally agree with Blumer's statement that society consists of persons working things out in relation to one another, that is, "fitting together their acts" (Blumer, 1969: 19) (joint-action) this does not mean (as many of Blumer's detractors claim) that all such alignments entail

common values or desired outcomes. As Blumer explains, individuals often fit their acts together in orderly joint action out of sheer necessity, compromise, duress, etc. (Blumer, 1966: 544). Also, when we take into account the phenomenon of multiple realities as well as self-attributed interests of individual actors, we are further alerted to the possibility of a conflict of interests and desired outcomes between interacting parties and the necessity of the negotiative process. Also, according to Prus and Irini, (1980: 238-9) as negotiation involves the promotion of certain interests and the dissipation of others, there is a likelihood that one's concept of 'reality' will be altered somewhat with each encounter.

### Negotiation

Given the hustling activities of the subjects of the thesis, it is particularly important in terms of successfully promoting their interests, that rounders become somewhat adept in their negotiative skills. While this may be more evident in the case of criminals who use the "con" as part of their hustle, negotiative skills are paramountly important to almost all criminals, in terms of their career contingencies given their encounters with the law and others in the criminal subculture. Accordingly, we will elaborate here, on what is involved in the negotiation process. In terms of illuminating the process of negotiation, Erving Goffman's dramaturgical framework (1959) takes "front and centre stage".

In discussing the elements that make up the presentation of self in everyday life, Goffman is also describing elements that are involved in the process of negotiation in everyday situations. In this respect, his discussion on "fronts", "idealization", "back region", are particularly useful. However, Goffman's discussion of teamwork and impression management is perhaps the most useful in terms of illuminating the "teamwork" nature of negotiation. While acknowledging that many negotiations are between two solitary individuals, it should be noted that such persons are often team "representants" in that they (1) may represent the interests of others (police, hotel security, etc.) and (2) may be reliant on those involved in "back region" activities in order to successfully promote their interests. Thus, negotiation can more accurately be understood in terms of teamwork.

In defining a team as "a set of individuals whose intimate co-operation is required if a given projected definition of the situation is to be maintained" (1959: 104), Goffman states that the team members will support each other's act while in the presence of outsiders, thus strengthening the team's position. In terms of the negotiating position, it is further enhanced as team mistakes are covered up by its members and as the "outsiders" are isolated from team interactions or more generally as "team loyalty" is developed. Briefly, Goffman explains that in-group solidarity, image of the audience as somewhat inhuman, dramaturgical discipline (1959: 216-218) and dramaturgical circumspection (preparing

for likely contingencies) (1959: 218-228) help in creating and maintaining team loyalty.

B. Criminal Subculture

As Letkemann, Polsky and others in the tradition of qualitative social research have stated, we are sorely lacking empirically grounded evidence on the routine activities of criminals. Literature describing the criminal subculture, its codes, traditions, prestige systems, routine work and leisure activities, values and beliefs are quite often shallow given the scant background information available and the apparent difficulty associated with obtaining such information first hand.<sup>12</sup>

Given this qualification, the following review of the criminal subculture literature will be somewhat brief. To make this topic more manageable, it will be divided in what I consider to be the two essential components of subcultures: (1) Codes, traditions, prestige systems, values and beliefs; (2) Routine and Leisure Activities.

(1) Codes, Traditions, Prestige Systems,  
Values and Beliefs

The scant literature available on the criminal subculture is evidenced by the fact that much of the most useful material available is by Sutherland (1937) and Maurer (1940), (1955) whose source material even predates Sutherland.<sup>13</sup>

With Sutherland, the codes, values, and beliefs of the thief subculture appear quite clear-cut. There is an "esprit de corps" among professional thieves, with proper codes of behaviour, agreements, sympathies and argot being shared, regardless of one's particular racket. Concerning values and codes of behaviour, Sutherland maintains that professional thieves are united in the face of a common enemy (the police) and assist each other in avoiding and/or escaping encounters with the law, irrespective of the personal feelings towards the involved thieves. Also, should a thief become incarcerated members of the thief's mob or other thieves known to him will financially assist him and his family (if any).

Further, Sutherland argues that a code of ethics exists among professional thieves condemning the passing of information about another thief to the police (squaking), "cutting in" into another mob's ongoing score, cheating one's partners and letting another mob "take a bum rap" without compensating them.<sup>14</sup> Should a thief violate these norms, Sutherland maintains that he would be slandered, making it extremely difficult for him to fit into another canon mob. Barring extreme competence on the part of the slandered thief (allowing him to grift alone), he is "kept broke" by such sanctions (Sutherland, 1937: 9-12). Along with these norms there are a number of "understandings" amongst members of a mob including (1) The even distribution of both profits and expenses incurred (usually legal), (2) The "Boss" (leader of

the mob) is not to misuse the "fall dough" (money set aside from the mob's score), (3) Punctuality and soberness while on the job, and (4) Performance of one's role in the mob's work activities without interference into another member's task (Sutherland, 1937: 35-38. ("Cutting In" in this way infers incompetence on the part of the receiver.) Qualities that accrue prestige to the professional thief are wealth, honesty, reliability, competence, etc., that is, within his own social realm which Sutherland argues is both tightly knit and exclusive.

To briefly conclude, Sutherland characterizes the profession of theft as "a complex of common and shared feelings, sentiments and overt acts." (Sutherland, 1937: 202). This leads to "consensus" that establishes a system of values which in turn assists continuance in the career of the professional thief.

While some sociologists such as Miller (1978: 25) criticize Sutherland's account of the thief subculture being somewhat "fanciful", Maurer's descriptions largely support Sutherland's. Maurer states that among class cannons (pick-pockets), members of the mob owe complete personal, moral and financial loyalty to one another.<sup>15</sup>

Arrangements within such mobs are understood in advance and are rigidly adhered to, whether the arrangements are long standing or varied (in the case of a "fill-in" member). These arrangements include how much (if any) "fall dough" is to be raised by each member, how the "knock-up"

(the day's profit) is to be divided, especially if for one reason or another, not all members participate in the execution of the crime.<sup>16</sup> Other morals and ethics that largely correspond to Sutherland's are sanctions against passing information to police about other thieves, burning one's partners and robbing, the handicapped along with charity towards other thieves in distress. Maurer also explains that this "honour among thieves" becomes less prominent when one examines the lower level pickpockets. Describing this group Maurer explains:

There would be little loyalty to the job; if a tool gets batted out or nailed in the act, he is in jail; the rest of the mob goes on its way and finds another tool. There is no fall dough, in the sense of resources for the mob to use as needed. There might be small amounts of cash owned individually, but these would not be shared. There would not be orderly arrangements and the occasional knife battle or fisticuffs. Each member would be trying to get the best of his partners in any way he could ... On these levels there is little if any sense of responsibility for the woman, in fact, she is expected to provide for the man much of the time. (Maurer, 1955: 198-199)

While Einstader (1966) in his study of robbers and Camp's (1967) study of bank robbers similarly indicated a lack of group cohesiveness and regard for subcultural traditions, Maurer's distinction between "class cannons" and lower level pick-pockets is quite useful in accounting for the differences between the "fanciful" descriptions of Sutherland and the "dog-eat-dog" attitudes of Einstader's robbers. While it is my intention throughout this thesis to illustrate the interrelatedness of those involved in the

criminal subculture regardless of their social standing therein, it would be erroneous to contend that all participants had similar operative moral and ethical guidelines. Consequently, we find lower level hustlers more apt to "burn their partners," "cop-a-plea", etc., however one should not assume that a feeling of "we-ness" is absent.<sup>17</sup> Often the lower level hustler lacking the financial resources and connections of the professional simply cannot afford to be "honourable". My own research suggests that many non-professional hustlers profess the professional's ideology and often exhibit that belief in their actions.

I was working on the bar that night and Jimmy was coming around collecting for James. (James a well known rounder had sustained serious injuries and was hospitalized). Like he was going around the strippers, the rounders, the hookers, the staff, regulars, the people that knew James. He came around to me too, I threw in a fin, you know, like I like the guy, he's weird but he's there when the chips are down. Yeah, I threw in a fin for old James. (bartender)

Maggie, a booster, stated that she was to attend a "benefit" for a boosting girlfriend who had the contents of her apartments destroyed by fire. Maggie explained that the other girls would do the same for her if the circumstances were reversed so she was happy to contribute. (field notes)

While one may argue that the work of Sutherland and Maurer is somewhat dated and is no longer applicable to present conditions, the more recent work of Prus and Sharper (1977) and Prus and Irini, (1980) is generally consistent with the earlier works, however, they qualify most of Suther-

land's and Maurer's claims. For instance, Prus and Sharper in their discussion of card and dice hustlers affirm Maurer's claim that lower level hustlers are more apt to be dishonest with each other than professional hustlers (1977: 24), however newcomers to professional crews are also likely to be "short-caked" (1977:52). Similarly, while Prus and Irini state "being solid" is the best kind of reputation a rounder could cultivate, one cannot assume that all rounders do regard one another as potential hustling targets.

Not all hustling activity is directed towards "straights", other hustlers also represent "fair game" both in "open" contests and as targets for hustlers. There is normative support for the notion that "one does not hustle friends," but concerns with making money tend to weaken the "honour among thieves" principle. (Prus and Irini, 1980: 210)

The preceding statement may appear to suggest an absence of morals, however it should also be considered that those rounders more thoroughly acquainted with their partners or well-connected and embedded in the more general "street community" are less likely to be targets of other hustlers. Such persons are more likely to be informed of potential "rip-offs" or be easily able to obtain pertinent information about the perpetrator. Also, as better connected persons are more apt to raise recruits in their pursuit of justice, other hustlers are further discouraged from viewing them as potential targets. Finally, as well connected rounders form long standing friendship bonds with one another, moral pressure censoring "hustling one's friends" increases.

"Action"

Other attributes that accrue prestige to those involved in the criminal subculture not mentioned in Sutherland and Maurer include being in possession of expensive jewellery, clothes, cars, etc., an abundant number of profitable sexual relationships and more generally being a "good action" person.

Defining "action" as participation in dramatic events Prus and Vassilakopoulos state:

Participants tend to be accorded more prestige than witnesses, (2) persons becoming involved in action more intensively are deemed more noteworthy than others and (3) persons spending time, in action, both in long terms and full time respects are apt to receive more recognitions and (4) winners of contests are much more esteemed than losers ("suckers").

(Prus and Vassilakopoulos, 1978: 29)

Thus being defined as a good action person, one is more likely to "be somebody". Similarly, Binderman et al., (1975) in their portrait of ghetto streetlife state that "being somebody" involved possessing charisma, "flash", expensive cars, jewellery and a degree of distinctiveness. Howard Becker in his study of dance musicians illustrates the interrelatedness of the criminal and quasi-deviant entertainment subcultures by stating that musicians who flouted conventional behaviour were given more prestige and thus would qualify as "characters" with their remarks to be widely recounted (Becker, 1963: 87).

Binderman et al. suggest other personal qualities that are deemed worthy of respect and admiration such as emotional aloofness concerning relationships with women

(whores), unflappability, and exploitative language skills, although it should be noted that these values are more pronounced in the black subculture and can more accurately be seen as "spilling over" to the more general criminal subculture.<sup>20</sup>

(i) Routine and Leisure Activities

The routine and leisure activities of those involved in the criminal subculture also remain largely unexplored by social scientists. And we are again indebted to Sutherland and Maurer for providing valuable insight into the subject. Both Sutherland and Maurer's work suggest the world of the thief is governed by "differential association" (Sutherland, 1939) that is, segregation from the rest of society.

This point is fundamental to our understanding of the routine and leisure pursuits of criminals as well as their morals, values and beliefs. The criminal subculture, according to both Sutherland and Maurer, defines its own membership and one cannot operate within the subculture unless he/she is acknowledged as "one of us." Further, as the individual is seen to organize his/her world around others more intensively involved in criminal activities, their probability of acceptance increases (Sutherland, 1937: 207, Maurer, 1955: 19-21).

After receiving recognition within the subculture the routine activities of criminals are largely dependent

on whether their hustles are "systematic" as opposed to "opportunistic". To elaborate opportunistic hustling refers to that which are committed primarily due to circumstantial expediency (Prus and Sharper, 1977: 12). Often lacking the expertise to engage in systematic hustling, opportunistic hustling characterizes the hustling pursuits of adolescent delinquents (West, 1974) and rounders.

Since opportunistic hustling is dependent on "being in the right place at the right time", being a rounder involves "being on the prowl", that is, searching for hustling opportunities. The following example from Hookers, Rounders, and Desk Clerks illustrates this aspect of the rounders hustling pursuits.

One of the things I'll do is go and approach one of the customers, maybe someone who's older or looks a little better off and I'll go and strike up a conversation with him and I'll let him know that I know a number of hookers and that I can set him up with this or that girl. And you try to make it seem like you are doing the guy a favour. You say, "Well, you know, if you want this girl, I'll be able to get her for you, but it'll cost like \$50." So you get the guy to slip you the money and then you go over and you sit down and you talk to the girl for a little while and it might be anything "Hello, how are you" "What are you drinking?", just to give the impression that you're there and that you're making this business transaction for this guy. Then you might pass her something, "Would you like a joint?" or whatever. You reach into your pocket and you get one for her and you give it to her. The guy at the bar, he's probably watching and he thinks that you are giving her the money so he thinks everything is getting set up. Then you tell him, "Everything is set up. Go to room 314 or whatever, and she'll be there within twenty minutes or so. Everything is set up for you." Well, then you kind of finish your drink and then you say goodbye to the guy. You tell

him that you have to leave, and away you go. The guy may go up to the room, but he won't get in, or he finds that there's somebody there, but they don't know what he's talking about and then he'll maybe get a little hot or whatever, and come back. Then if the girl's still there, like she hasn't gotten another date in the meantime, well he'll approach her and want to know where's his money, or what's going on and she'll say that she hasn't gotten the money from me, that she doesn't know what the guy is talking about. So then you can go to another bar and see what you can set up there. So in an evening you might go to 3 or 4 or 5 or 6 bars and maybe make two or three or four hundred dollars and each time setting people up. Now, if you make a big score, well then you stay away from the hotel for a couple days, because the guy might just be hanging around wanting to see you. But after a couple days he's likely to give up or he has to leave, he has business that he has to attend to and away he goes. You try and find out beforehand if the guy is passing through and if he's going to be staying longer and you sort of plan accordingly ....

Another thing I'll do is, when the guy is drinking, I'll doctor his drink so that he figures that he's getting drunk or high or whatever, and I'll be trying to help him to his room, or to his cab, to get him out of the bar. So you might take the guy upstairs and get in the room, and take his wallet and away you go, or you might take him outside and you let the guy pass out and you get his wallet as he's going down. You might then wake him up and put him in a cab telling him that he should be going home. (rounder) (Prus and Irini, 1980: 209)

Systematic hustling, on the other hand, refers to hustles that are thoroughly premeditated (Prus and Sharper, 1977: 13). Most generally systematic hustling involves (1) finding and organizing the members of hustling crew (2) locating and becoming consolidated with the target (3) obtaining goods or money from the target (4) cooling out the target and (5) take steps that would mitigate legal entanglements. While most of the leading literature in this area has dealt

with systematic hustlers (Sutherland, 1937; Maurer, 1940, 1955; Polsky 1967; Letkemann, 1973; Klockars, 1974; Prus and Sharper, 1977), one should also take into consideration that many rounders also are systematic in some of their hustling pursuits.<sup>19</sup>

Concerning the act of the theft, Sutherland states that this is usually in the context of a "mob" or "outfit". (Sutherland, 1937: 27). My own research and literature search also suggests that criminal work is seldom a solitary venture and can be best thought of as group activity. Concerning the organization of the personnel required to conduct criminal activities, Sutherland states that mobs are formed informally, from a "pool" of known thieves. When a vacancy exists in a mob another thief will be invited to join (Sutherland, 1937: 30). The mob may have a boss or may act together, however, the internal relations between members are more accurately described as equalitarian as opposed to stratified.

The basic units of a heist-mob are not a "master-mind" and some servile morons who carry out his orders. As a matter of fact, among "heavy" thieves no one gives order for the good reason that no one takes them - the heavy is as independent a character as walks the earth. Within the mob, equality reigns. (De Baun, 1950: 72)

Also, mobs may be temporary or permanent, road (working in various cities) or local. The delegation of duties is most often done in accordance to the individual capabilities on that particular job. For instance, in canon mobs, at least one member must act as the "stall" (putting the mark in the proper bodily position so that the act of theft may occur) and at least one member must act as the "tool", committing the act of theft.

Concerning the social context in which the organization of crews takes place there seems to be some degree of consistency over time. The earlier work of Sutherland (1937) and Maurer (1940) and the more recent work of Letkemann (1973) and Prus and Irini (1980) confer that this is done in criminal hangouts, (rounder bars, speakeasies, booze cans, pool halls, race tracks, restaurants, etc.). Consequently, there is in these "hangouts" a rather thorough blend of business and leisure pursuits with arrangements characteristically being informal in nature.

Elaborating on this theme Prus and Irini emphasize the importance of contacts and affiliated networks in terms of the day-to-day life of rounders (Prus and Irini, 1980: 243). Contacts determine the level of hustling one will engage in, thus hustlers desiring to "move up to the big score" will have to be involved in developing and maintaining contacts on a more or less continual basis. The concern with developing contacts is further highlighted as we take into account that rounders are usually dependent on emerging opportunities in terms of hustling. Consequently, they often find themselves forming alliances with "partners" with whom they are not well acquainted. Contacts thus not only shape the kinds of hustles one will engage in but to a great extent they influence one's orientation and interests in hustling. (This theme will be in extent in the career contingencies section.)

Having organized the necessary personnel, the targets of the hustle must be located and when necessary, be consolidated with and this is often done with the assistance of

outside agents. Whether it is a pool hustler's colleagues providing information as to where the action is and the cons marks will go for (Polosky, 1967: 73) or bell hop tipping off a sneak thief as to which hotel rooms would be most lucrative (Sutherland, 1937: 22) or a waiter telling a rounder who is "blowing a lot of bread tonight" (Prus and Irini, 1980: 219), "bird dogs" greatly facilitate the criminal's activity, by locating and at times consolidating targets for him. Hustlers, and thieves, however, are seldom solely dependent on such persons and instead rely on their own larceny sense and ability to "case". Letkemann describes "casing" as consisting of the criminals perceptual skills, that is, his ability to derive unintended information from symbols designed for well-meaning persons (Letkemann, 1973: 138). Thus, a bank robber would be sensitive to the location of the safe, its make, etc. traffic flows and other such factors affecting the procedure and outcome of the crime.<sup>20</sup>

The criminal's ability to "case" (being opportunistic) has been more commonly referred to as "larceny sense" Sutherland describes larceny sense as "an ability to deal with unusual situations in the best possible manner and is acquired in the course of experience," (Sutherland, 1937: 32). Prus and Sharper, however, delineate larceny sense to its component parts. They note that there are two important qualities vis-a-vis opportunism, (1) favourable attitudes towards theft and (2) proficiency in the art of impression management (Prus and Sharper, 1977: 48).

Favourable attitudes towards theft in a practical sense involves capitalizing to the fullest extent every opportunity to hustle. For some hustlers and thieves this involves putting aside personal sentiments. The capacity for impression management involves the ability to present oneself in a manner that will expediate the execution of the crime. Whether it is a card and dice hustler attempting to initiate a card game in the guise of a conventioneer (Prus and Sharper, 1977: 51) or a safecracker out to "case," posing as business owner trying to find out more about cleaning (Letkemann, 1973: 140), the ability for impression management greatly augments one's opportunities to successfully commit crimes. Contingent on the type and manner in which the crime was committed, the hustler or thief may routinely become involved in "cooling out the mark" (See Goffman, 1952). Again, this involves impression management with the ultimate aim of creating acceptance on the part of the target to his losses, more specifically to ease their sense of regret and/or moral indignation. As previously mentioned, some crimes require more work on "cooling out the mark" than others. For instance, most surreptitious crimes, require no such action; crimes that involve victim confrontation (robbery) require it to a limited extent (to prevent retributory action on the part of the victim), however, "cooling out the mark" is exceedingly important to those involved in hustling pursuits (prostitutes, pimps, card sharks, pool hustlers, con men, etc.). For hustlers involved in gambling, "cooling out" often encompasses the hustler's ability to convince the target that

he had a reasonable chance of winning and that he/she may be more fortunate next time. Also, as gesture of good-will, the hustler may give the target "money to get home." Also, explanations may be offered that legitimate the loss of the target's funds, as in the case of stock frauds (see Maurer, 1940: 127), complete with the appropriate props and team work (Goffman, 1957). Proficiency in cooling out targets can greatly enhance one's success as a hustler in that, once the mark reconciled he/she may be hustled again with the cycle of hustling--"cooling out"--hustling being indefinitely repeated.

Finally, hustlers and thieves are routinely involved in activities that promote favourable outcomes with their encounters with the law. These activities may include establishing good relations with police, finding a competent lawyer, minimizing incriminating evidence and "putting in the fix." While there is some information available on how criminals routinely attempt to minimize incriminating evidence, Sutherland (1937); Maurer (1940, 1955); DeBaun (1950); Letkemann (1973); Prus and Sharper (1977); Prus and Irini (1980), there is every little evidence on how one establishes a good relation with police (outside of becoming a police informant or offering bribes) or how one comes to be represented by legal council.

Criminologists have largely ignored the personal interplay between law enforcement officials and criminal, although these encounters are crucial in determining the outcomes of the criminal's specific activities and their

careers in general.<sup>21</sup>

Usually more knowledgeable of legal procedures and regulations, experienced criminals concentrate their efforts on eliminating incriminating legal evidence rather than attempting to conceal the fact they committed the crime (Letkemann, 1973: 30). While most criminals would ideally prefer to have their activities totally unknown to the police, experienced criminals realize that information leaks are largely an uncontrollable contingency. Consequently, they tend to concentrate their "escape" strategy in terms of legal evidence. Thus, possessing some knowledge of what kind of evidence is admissible in court, safe crackers, for instance may "clean up" after the commission of the crime, (Letkemann, 1973: 85). Similarly Maurer claims that pickpockets will normally "ditch" a wallet or pocketbook after they had secured the funds contained there-in; (Maurer, 1955: 58). Another method of eliminating incriminating evidence for those involved in theft of property is quickly processing stolen items. Thus, the thief will make arrangements so that a ready market exists immediately after he/she has secured their bounty (West, 1974: 158).

Criminals may also attempt to escape legal prosecution by minimizing their actual participation in crimes. While relatively few criminals have the financial resources to employ others on a regular basis, some, largely through their organizational and interpersonal skills, are able to remain in the background." These arrangements, generally

speaking, are highly prized as Binderman et al. illustrate when they state pimping is the favoured game amongst those involved in ghetto street life since it involves obtaining money already been hustled by others (Binderman, et al., 1975: 220).

Also, arrest may be averted by the criminal arranging to "pay off" law enforcement officials before the commission of the crime. Such "immunity" from prosecution is again not common to most criminals since it creates exceedingly high overhead expenses. This arrangement appears to have been more common in the era described by Sutherland and Maurer with few modern sources reporting its widespread existence. Another method of avoiding conviction that has also become less common among working mobs is the "fix." The fix usually occurs after the arrest has been made and involves bribing various officials so that the charges are dropped. The criminal may attempt to bribe the arresting officer, often being successful when there is weak evidence against him. However, if the thief is dealing with an "honest copper" and/or one has made "a deadright pinch", the employment of a "fixer" may become necessary. The fixer, through various means (bribery of police officers, compensation for victims of theft, etc) (See Sutherland 1937: 89-92) is able to arrange that the thief avoid incarceration. Again, this method of dealing with encounters with the law reflects a practice that is not in common use among the "common thieves" of today.

It appears, as Messick (1971) illustrates, present day fixing is an activity more open to the more elite "organized crime" members. My respondents generally verify the occurrence of this change.

Its not like it used to be with the coppers. Used to be that you pay them off, they were all the take because they weren't making the money they make now. Coppers get paid too much to take a small pay off, they want to get paid big now. (rounder)

Before describing the leisure activities that are more particular to those involved in the criminal subculture, it is essential to note that many of the criminal's leisure activities are conventional pursuits (e.g. going to the movies, picnics, fishing, hunting, music, etc.). However, along with these more conventional activities, the criminal is likely to possess some unconventional leisure pursuits as well. These include frequenting such places as, gambling houses, pool halls, hooker bars, booze cans, area restaurants, after hours clubs, etc., attending parties drinking, taking drugs and generally living the "high life" (Binderman, et al 1975: 221). Generally speaking, most of these unconventional leisure activities constitute what Prus and Irini call "action events", that is, dramatic events that add an element of excitement to one's life (Prus and Irini, 1980: 216). While it would be erroneous to suggest that all time spent in these hangouts is "action packed", they do represent settings which actors anticipate action taking place. Harold Finestone (1957) nicely summarizes aim of these unconventional leisure pursuits (and perhaps some "routine activities" as well) in

his discussion of "kicks".

The main purpose of life for the cat is to experience the "kick". Just as every cat takes pride in his "hustle", so every cat cultivates his "kick". A "kick", is any act tabooed by "squares" that heightens and intensifies the present moment of experience and differentiates it as much as possible from the humdrum of routine daily life. Sex in any of its conventional expressions is not a "kick" since this would not serve to distinguish the cat from the square but orgies of various perversions and byways of sex pass muster for "kicks". Some cats are on an alcohol "kick" and others on a marijuana "kick" and others are on a heroin "kick". (Finestone, 1957: 5)

As the literature indicates the "kick" or "action" experience is central to the rounders' leisure activities. Central to the rounder's pursuit of action are legal and quasi-legal drinking establishments. The legal drinking establishments are licensed and predominantly patronized by rounders such as the ones described by Clinard (1960) and Prus and Irini (1980) (to be elaborated on later in our discussion). There are also establishments in which liquor is sold without a licence and these places are discussed by Prus and Irini; Hunter, (1975) and Roebuck and Frese (1976).

Clinard states that one of his 5 types of bars, the skid row tavern caters to patrons interested in cheap liquor, hookers and "a little gambling". Although I would consider Clinard's 5 typologies to be rather rigid in that they do not account for the overlapping characteristic of most types of bars, nevertheless, this would characterize establishments in which a rounder's leisure time is spent. Like most patrons they use the bar facilities to consume alcohol, relax and converse and as bar regulars they are acquainted with

bar staff and management.

For rounders these bars represent places to relax, see familiar friends, visiting, play games, meet new people, etc. For rounders, however, such bars represent a hustling as well as leisurely interests, thus, rounders can seem as extensively mixing business with pleasure in bars. It is in *The Rendezvous* (1976), however, that the leisure activities of those in the criminal subculture are best detailed. *The Rendezvous* was exclusive, elegant, an after-hours club patronized by members of organized crime and other competent criminals along with an assortment of hip squares (to which the authors belonged), call girls, party girls and "straight" females. Although the sample of rounders I have encountered would not be found in a "class place" like the one Roebuck and Frese describe, the activities of the "business men" (organized criminals) and professional criminals are worth noting. Roebuck and Frese state that for businessmen the *Rendezvous* occupies considerable amounts of their leisure time (2:00 a.m. to 7:00 a.m. week-days). They generally socialize amongst themselves, flirt and mingle with unescorted females and staff, however, they tend to avoid both males and female thieves (Roebuck and Frese, 1976: 172). This group tends to spend lavishly and in turn receives lavish attention and liberties especially amongst females present. With the owners' permission or instigation, sexual encounters are arranged with a variety of females.

For the male thieves, the *Rendezvous* was a place where they could celebrate occasions, pick up girls; live-it-up,

impress dates, meet comrades and plan criminal transactions. They usually sit amongst themselves, eating, smoking and bantering with the barmaids. Occasionally, they may pick up female thieves and call girls. For this group, (which would fall under the name definition of "rounder") The Rendezvous is particularly important in terms of arranging the processing of stolen goods. For all groups, however, the Rendezvous represents a place in which they can enjoy pleasures generally unattainable to the inhibited day people (Miller, 1978).

V. Hunter (1975) provides data on a similar semi-legal after-hours establishment, however, this treatment is less substantial in terms of delineating activities. Nevertheless the establishments described here parallel to the ones encountered in my research in that they are catered to lower echelon criminals and successful rounders (paralleling Roebuck and Frese's male thieves). Briefly, Hunter states that such establishment provide settings in which the norms of the surrounding society do not apply but rather they establish their own norms. Drinking appears to be a main activity here with high proportion of patrons indicating intoxication (Hunter, 1975: 70). Fighting which was usually quelled by staff members was also presented along with solicitation from hookers.

It should be noted that bars are not the only place in which rounders spend leisure time. As Sutherland states thieves tend to congregate in certain saloons, restaurants, speakeasies, cigar stores, etc. Some area restaurants, Sutherland notes, serve a straight establishment by day but

at night they are predominantly patronized by criminals. Leisure pursuits, open conversation often occur in such places where the thief is in the company of his peers and therefore at ease. Prus and Irini's findings, over 40 years later, prove Sutherland's findings valid, with booze cans replacing speakeasies and area businesses, pawn shops, restaurants, and variety stores, replacing cigar stores. Also prevalent as hangouts are certain area hangout apartments in which rounders engage in leisurely conversation, "dropping in" so to speak in between their daily routines. Indeed "dropping in" to certain rounder apartments, becomes routine for some as they "hash over" recent developments. A concise in-depth statement on the leisure pursuits of persons belonging to the criminal subculture is yet to be presented, and my research in this area will help fill the present gap.

### C. Career Contingencies

#### (i) Defining the Concept: Problematics

Sociologists adopting the interactionist perspective on deviance would generally agree that deviant behaviour should be examined as a social process. More specifically, that we should focus on the acts of individuals considered deviant in that they are interlinked and contingent on the responses of others. In examining career contingencies of rounders, we are in essence doing just that by investigating the various factors which influence the extensiveness of one's involvement in "rounding" activities.

The concept of career contingencies nevertheless appears difficult to "get a handle on." Most of the literature illustrating careers does just that, it provides illustrations of how persons become involved in certain lines of activity, how they come to terms with it, continue and evolve their participation and how disinvolvement and relapse take place. It should also be noted that good illustrations of criminal career contingencies are by no means abundant,<sup>22</sup> and there are even fewer concise statements on the concept of career contingencies per se (i.e. how the concept developed, what areas of human activity that it is concerned with, implications of the concept in terms of the conceptualization of human behaviour, etc.). The concept is further complicated in that it involves the intertwinement of four sets of careers, that is, (1) careers of role relationship (2) identity careers (3) careers of activities and (4) careers of relationship (Prus and Irini: 244).

The careers of role relationships is the most common usage of career and it will be the main usage and concern in this thesis. Identity careers, in which the work of Goffman (1959), Becker (1963) and Matza (1969), is primary, refers to one's self image over time and introduces a set of contingencies that effect self-identity. It should be noted, however that identity careers and role careers are extensively intertwined and are involved simultaneously and over time (Prus and Irini, 1980: 244). Similarly, the career of events,

which involve the joint action of persons involved as the event begins, develops and terminates, influences role and identity careers in terms of the outcomes and perceptions experienced by the participants. Relationships between people emerge, alternate in terms of intensification and dissipation and also ultimately terminate. Again the outcome of the careers of relationships are extensively interrelated to development and outcomes of the careers of roles, identity and events and vice versa.<sup>23</sup>

The reference to my earlier remarks on the multitude of "careers" operative in the term career contingencies, the usage of the concept of career in this thesis is somewhat broader than that used by sociologists who conceptualize a career as simply a succession of related jobs arranged in a "hierarchy of prestige" in which persons move through in an orderly manner. The perspective adapted in this thesis supports the conceptualization of a career as being a highly personal experience and observable phenomenon to others. Thus, in agreement with Hughes, the concept of career is viewed as being two-sided, that is, one may have an objective career that is observable to others and a subjective career that refers the individual's personal account of his work and himself (Hughes, 1958: 69).

(ii) The Development of the Deviant Careers Contingency Concept Sutherland:

The first major contribution to our understanding of deviant career contingencies came with Sutherland's notion

of differential association (1939). In attempting to explain participation in criminal activities, Sutherland maintained that

"(1) criminal behaviour is learned...(2) criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with other persons in a process of communication...(3) the principal part of the learning of criminal behaviour occurs within intimate personal groups...(4) When criminal behaviour is learned, the learning includes (a) techniques of committing the crime (b) the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes...(5) The specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of legal codes as favourable and unfavourable...(6) A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favourable to violation of law over definitions unfavourable to violation of law...(7) Differential association may vary in frequency duration, priority and intensity...(8) The process of learning criminal behaviour by association with criminal and anti-criminal patterns involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning and (9) though criminal behaviour is an expression of general needs and values it is not explained by those general needs and values since non-criminal behaviour is an expression of the same needs and values." (Sutherland, 1973: 8-10)

Sutherland also maintains that those with whom the person had the most intensive and extensive contacts would prove most significant in influencing the orientation of that person. Sutherland's most greatest contribution however, stems from his emphasis on the social nature of criminal involvements, and the role of others in influencing outcomes and orientations. On the other hand, Sutherland did ignore the career aspect of deviant involvements, remaining content to ask the question when are persons more likely to engage in criminal activities and not how involvement in criminal activities are stabilized.

Lemert:

Edwin Lemert (1951) also made a strong contribution to our understanding of deviant careers in his concept of secondary deviance. Maintaining that as a person becomes extensively known as a particular type of deviant, people would interact selectively with him in terms of that label, facilitating that he/she act in a way that is considered appropriate for that type of deviant. As a person becomes embedded in his/her deviant social role they find certain lines of activities relatively inaccessible while other opportunities (usually involving association-interaction with other "deviants") become available. In this way the deviant career stabilizes.

Matza:

David Matza (1969), more commonly known for his contribution of "drift" to help explain criminal involvements, contributes much more with his concept of affiliation, which explains the stabilization of both the subjective and objective careers of deviants in terms of "conversions", that is, the acceptance of the appropriateness of the deviant activity. While persons involved in criminal activities throughout their careers may become entwined in conventional moral concerns in reference to their activities, they are unlikely to establish prolonged careers in criminal activities if they do not come to define their activities as appropriate and acceptable given the circumstances.

Becker:

Continuance commitments (Becker, 1960; Stebbins, 1970; Hearn and Stroll, 1975) which refers to the aspects of a given activity that influence the individual to perceive other alternative actions less feasible, thus contribute to his/her continuing in a similar line of activity. Becker for instance explains this commitment in terms of side bets which act in such a way that other interest which were originally extraneous to a line of action become directly related to it (Becker, 1960: 33).

In *Outsiders* (1963) Becker presents us with a sequential model of deviance, providing us with a framework in which we can find out more about deviant careers. Becker begins his analysis of deviant careers with the "first step" of the deviant career, the execution of the non-confirming act. Becker argues that not all deviant acts are motivated, that some occur out of ignorance of the existence of rules. He states that we may profit more by asking why conventional people do not commit deviant acts and does so claiming that conventional continuance commitments often prevent persons from carrying out deviant fantasies. The normal person, Becker claims, perceives that he/she has too much to lose. Becker, then asks why this does not occur in the use of intended non-conformist acts, and suggests that persons may have somehow avoided "entangling alliances" with members of conventional society and are thus free to follow his/her impulses. This suggestion is rather weak in that even in situations where persons have been almost exclusively social-

ized in non-conformist social environment they would not be free to follow their impulses since involvement in the deviant subculture would require that they generally adhere to subculture norms which also require self control. Citing Matza's and Sykes techniques of neutralizing the influence of lawful values, Becker then suggests that non-conforming acts may be committed in terms of expediency; however there are few true life examples of this form of initial involvements to warrant it a great deal of significance. Becker then moves on to discuss how deviant involvements stabilize, how deviance becomes a way of life which he considers to be the most important component of deviant careers. Becker suggests one such mechanism that facilitated the "conversion" to the deviant way of life was the development of deviant motives and interests. These are learned in interactions with those already involved in the deviant subculture organized around that particular deviant activity. Another mechanism that stabilizes deviant involvements is the experience of being publicly labelled a deviant. This places the person in a new status, Becker argues, and radically changes his/her public and self-image. Also, "Deviant" is a master status" and that auxilliary traits are also thought to accrue from that one deviant trait. One common such auxilliary trait is the deviant's disrespect for the law. Treating the individual as though he were generally rather than deviant in specific aspects, produces, a self-fulfilling prophecy. The societal reaction to deviants

denies them ordinary means of engaging in conventional routines thus they are "forced" to develop illegitimate routines. Becker adds, however, that "the prophecies do not always confirm themselves and the mechanisms do not always work" (Becker, 1963: 36).

In relation to disinvolvement, Becker examines the factors that tend to slow down and terminate deviant involvements, however his suggestions appear somewhat weak, illuminating only parts of a more involved process. For instance he states that apprehension by the law may not lead to future deviance if the individual in question is able to regain entry into the conventional world and realize the consequences of what he/she is doing. While this may account for some initial encounter with the law, it surely does not deal with the more numerous cases for whom entry into conventional routines is problematic and which one legal encounter is followed by another. Becker gives Ray's account of ex-drug addicts difficulty in convincing associates that they no longer were addicted and the associates continued treatment of the ex-addict as if he still was a junkie. This suggests that deviants of all kinds must have difficulty in removing the deviant label even if it is no longer based on actual events. Again, he does little to answer the core of his own question. Becker states that "a final step in the career of a deviant is movement into an organized deviant group." (Becker, 1963: 37). Becker however does not specify what an "organized" deviant group consists of, although he claims that a move into one has a

profound effect on the deviant's conception of himself, presumably further embedding that individual into deviant lines of activity. A subculture arises between persons experiencing similar deviant labels and as they come to share perspectives and understandings. Becoming a member of an organized deviant group, Becker concludes, one is also provided with a rationalization of their deviance, an "ideology" if you will. Also, once in a group, the individual is exposed to solutions that enable him/her to continue deviant activity with a minimum amount of trouble (Becker, 1963: 25-39).

#### Prus and Sharper

Becker's sequential model helps alert us to the importance of the area of deviant careers and the areas we should examine more closely, and his subsequent work on marijuana users and dance musicians, illustrated how persons initially (1) become open to deviant activity (2) learn to define the deviant activity in an accepting manner, (3) how persons continue to engage in an activity that is socially disapproved of (by learned attitudes, procedures subcultural group) and (4) how persons manage to remain involved and "progress" in their career (largely through support of contact network). While these statements are quite valuable, it is Prus and Sharper who bring the interactionist perspective on career contingencies into sharper focus. Using (1)

"the acquisition of orientations to the world  
 (2) the significance of personal and group notions of deviance for deviant involvements (3)

the implication of opportunity structures for deviant and conventional involvements, (4) the contingencies that promote the stabilization and intensification of one's involvement in a particular option sequence and (5) the conditions that promote disinvolvement"

as their focus of the content of career contingencies, Prus and Sharper then proceed to delineate an eighteen statement account of the above contingencies (1977: 164).

(1) Orientations are acquired through association with others and their orientation structures, however persons "interpret" these orientations and are often influenced by immediately situated others. These orientational frameworks are by no means fixed rather they continually undergo re-alignment and change. (2) Perceptions of deviance are influenced by associations with focal others and are induced into deviant involvements "as these behaviours are seen; to be more consistent with personally valued beliefs or goals; to represent a solution to a pressing problem thought insolvable by more conventional means; to involve less risk; to have more extensive social support from persons outside the deviance defining group (Prus and Sharper, 1977: 166).

(3) Defining opportunity structures as one's perceived opportunities to participate in deviant and conventional activities, Prus and Sharper state that opportunity structures are both differential and shifting with the role of personal contacts determining option availability when the option was more exclusive. (4) These options are in turn assessed in terms of their feasibility in promoting their interests as they defined them at that time. Options stabilized (i) as

persons perceived that previously used options provided more exclusive routes to desired outcomes (ii) as persons developed a reputation as a particular type of person (leading to intensified involvement in that line of activity) (iii) as persons became involved in special networks around that activity (iv) as person made more extensive personal investments in that activity and (v) as persons did not seek other options or option contact. Finally, (5) disinvolvement is likely to take place when (i) external situation face current outcomes unsatisfactory (ii) present options sequence is not working well enough (iii) the perception of social support is dwindling, (iv) present options become more risky (v) a person from "another specialty" is able to convert the target. (vi) as present associates are perceived is less accepting as those from another specialty.<sup>24</sup> Prus and Sharper provide with this model of career contingencies a more encompassing and clearly delineated framework in which to "sort out" and arrange career contingencies.

While Prus and Sharper discuss in their description of career contingencies how persons could act, Prus and Irini (1980) provide a more refined framework which is more "socially grounded" in that a variety of deviant career "categories" (hookers, strippers, in hotel staff rounders, patrons) are taken into account. This is the framework that I will employ most generally in accounting for the career contingencies of rounders.

(iii) Model For The Study of Career Contingencies

Prus and Irini divide career contingencies into 3 basic components (1) initial involvements (2) continuity and (3) disinvolvement.

(1) Initial Involvements

Prus and Irini claim that closure, seekership and recruitment are the major routings that exist in relation to deviant involvements. Closure (Lemert, 1951) as Prus and Irini employ it refers to situations in which persons feel obliged (due to the perceived unavailability of other options) to commit deviant acts. The authors warn however (in reference to closure) that "financial necessity" in and of itself is seldom a major factor in promoting involvement and continuity in deviant activities. Financial necessity, then can be more accurately seen as a consequence of community embeddedness and closure, as the result of entanglements with others. Seekership, in and of itself, is also insufficient to account for deviant involvements.

While many persons may desire to become involved in activities, only those who possess the adequate contact will be able to do so. Also, insider contacts are often instrumental in shaping the desires and interests of the novice.

Defining recruitment as the attempt of the agent to involve the target in some activity and/or lifestyle, Prus and Irini state that there are three levels of explicitness in recruitment (1) inadvertent involvements (ii) sponsored involvements and (iii) solicited involvements. Inadvertent

involvements refers to situations in which persons experienced unforeseen options and capitalize on these options. This again must be qualified by the fact that is (again) contingent on the "strength" of one's social contacts. Sponsored involvements refer to situations and opportunities to engage in deviant activities are "set up" for the novice by an "insider." The insiders are typically friends or family and are instrumental in facilitating adjustment to the newcomer's arrival. This is one of the most common and most successful forms of involvement in terms of continuity. Solicited involvements refers to situations in which the agent makes more explicit attempts to involve the target in deviant activities. At times the targets are aware they are being solicited and use this to their advantage in terms of bargaining for better arrangements. At other times, the targets may be relatively unaware of the ultimate plans of the agent, however, insofar as the agent is able to provide sponsorship for the targets new role, the more likely the agent is to succeed.

Prus and Irini also note that "multiple routings" are operative in terms of initial involvements, which means that any one person may experience closure, seekership and recruitment. We will elaborate on this in the following chapter.

## (2) Continuity

Prus and Irini envision continuity as contingent on five factors: conversion; continuance commitments; activity entanglements; deviant community; and reputations and identities.

(i) Conversion:

Conceptualizing conversion not so much as a radical rearrangement of one's social conceptualizations, Prus and Irini refer to conversion as representing a less dramatic departure from previous orientations. Consequently, the authors argue that conversion is more likely to be successful when the targets prospective lifestyle is more compatible with his/her present lifestyle. Conversion may also consist of becoming aware of one's status role and activities. Conversion to deviant weltanschauungs, nevertheless, entails that one come to terms with disrespect from the conventional world. This is greatly facilitated as one is accepted and recruited into the activities of other "deviants" easing the "sting" so to speak. Conversion, however, should not be thought of as "permanent", rather, "adherence" is problematic with persons sometimes finding their deviant involvements terminated as they lose key contacts and/or develop others that prove more significant. On the other hand when one takes into account irretrievable investments, disrupted lifestyles, altered identities, intensive personal relationships, conversions may also become more permanent than originally anticipated.

(ii) Continuance Commitments:

For Prus and Irini, continuance commitments refer to aspects of the current deviant activity that make involvement in other activities unfeasible, thus facilitating further deviant involvements. Such commitments include the acquisi-

tion of expensive habits and tastes which make conventional job inadequate in terms of "paying the nut." Also, as deviant entanglements reflect negatively on one in the view of conventional society, conventional lifestyle options may be more limited. Experience of continuance commitments then is much akin to the experience of closure, with the closing of options characterizing continuance commitments.

(iii) Activity Entanglements:

Prus and Irini here again highlight the importance of others in terms of promoting continuity in deviant pursuits. They note that novice hustlers are dependent on the way they are treated by their audience (more so than experienced hustlers) insofar as advancing their hustling skills and orientations. While novices are expected to be observant and "pick up on things", only when operations are explained and illustrated is the novice able to more clearly understand hustling principles, procedures, routines and possibilities. Thus, as the audience becomes more accepting and ready to involve the novice in their hustling pursuits, the person is more firmly embedded in the thief subculture. Also, as the persons develop contacts with a larger variety of hustlers, he/she may have an opportunity to engage in different hustles, should the present one(s) be unsatisfactory. Thus the variety of hustling opportunities open to the well connected rounder serve to promote continuity.

(iv) Embeddedness in the Social Life:

As persons become more entangled in the social lives

of other deviants the more likely they are to remain involved in the deviant subculture. Through friendship and more intense romantic involvements with other deviants, contacts may multiply with opportunities and operations expanding and intensifying. Also, as one becomes more involved in the social life of other deviants, their notions of "the good life" may be adapted thus promoting commitment to a deviant way of life.

(v) Reputations and Identities:

Prus and Irini discuss two additional factors vis-a-vis continuity; reputation and identities. Regarding identities, the authors emphasize the importance of acknowledging oneself as a hustler, a hooker, etc. in terms of promoting continuity. As persons have these identities crystalize in their own minds, they are more apt to involve themselves more intensely with activities and lifestyles they associate with these identities. Reputations within the subculture also influence continuity with these strong reputations increasing one's opportunities to become involved in criminal pursuits. Prus and Irini argue that reputations are not only dependent on what one does and says but also by the company one keeps. While contacts alone do not make one a hustler, strong connections with well respected rounders do much in terms of establishing one in the criminal subculture. Also, as persons attempt to "be somebody" in the criminal subculture, that is, to be the "sharpest", the "fastest", and "coolest" hustler around, they often become more involved

in their roles than anticipated. Concerning the problematics of conventional respectability, Prus and Irini argue that people in the hotel community are somewhat buffered from the "sting" of conventional morality as they are "converted" to a deviant lifestyle and as hustlers become more caught up in the precarious, unstable life-circumstance that their way of life entails, little time is left for assessment and contemplation.

### 3. Disinvolvement

Disinvolvement, according to Prus and Irini, is less likely to happen as persons come to terms with the initial rebuffs associated with their round of life. However, those not able to "handle" (1) the unreliability of some associates; (2) the roughness; the dishonesty; (3) the legal entanglements and unpredictable incomes are not likely to remain involved. Generally, however the same patterns that facilitated involvement in deviant activities also deter disinvolvement. Also, the unsteady work records, poor education and prison records of rounders severely limits legal employment opportunities along with their general distaste for routine, "square" work.

Prus and Irini delineate five routes to disinvolvement. (1) Marriage (2) legitimate business (3) disqualifications (4) internal conflicts and (5) arrest. (1) Marriage with squares on the part of female rounders is one route to disinvolvement; however, this is contingent on the husband

being able to support his wife. This event is not usual, as marriage has little effect on male rounders and female rounders who more often marry someone within the subculture, often find their combined affiliational networks further embed them in the deviant community. (2) Some hustlers are able to "retire" into a "legitimate" business in which they have invested. It should be noted that this is often done in connection with the "hotel community", in that they often serve the pursuits of various hustlers as well as employing members of the same group. Thus, for obvious reasons, this form "disinvolvement" must be qualified. (3) Persons may also find themselves "disqualified" as they lose their ability to hustle. This "rejection" occurs as rounders can no longer "hold their booze", become addicted to drugs or become advanced in age, thus losing their desirability as "partners". Such persons often eventuate as derelicts and "no accounts". (4) Persons will also become entangled in internal conflicts, which often leads to disinvolvement. Internal conflicts may have a wide variety of sources (romantic disputes, money disputes, trust violation, etc.) however, all lead to disinvolvement if one's contacts are limited. Internal conflicts lead to concerns with personal safety and reputations, however it should be noted that most internal conflicts are "patched up" and action taken against offending parties are usually limited to threats and slandering. Those with limited local contacts are most likely to become disinvolved due to internal conflicts as they are "dismissed" from their hustling

operations. However, hustlers who are more geographically mobile tend to be less effected by (specific local) internal conflicts insofar as disinvolvement is concerned.

(5) Being arrested at times promotes disinvolvement, however, this is more likely to occur to the weakly connected novice rather than the experienced rounder. As novices find they are not able to contend with this very real aspect of the hustling life, they often re-think their involvements finding conventional lifestyles more attractive. Otherwise, "getting busted" often leads the novice to feel an affinity with other hustlers and helps him develop a "solid" reputation, thus serving as an instrument of continuity.

As a final remark, it should be noted that career contingencies, as evidenced from what has been stated thus far, are extensively influenced by the interrelatedness of those who constitute specific deviant communities. As we take into account the individual's power and prestige within the community being largely dependent on his/her affiliation-al networks; as members tended to be associated through friendships, marriage and family ties, and as they assume multiple hustling roles concurrently and over time, the paramount importance of interrelatedness in terms of influencing career contingencies becomes evident.

## FOOTNOTES

1. This thesis has its origin in a study of the "hotel community". In this study Dr. Prus and myself developed the theme of interrelatedness amongst the various actors involved in the "hotel community". This theme will be further examined in the thesis.
2. For rounders, the term player appears to apply exclusively to pimps.
3. A recent work by Gale Miller "Odd Jobs" (1978) has attempted to describe the "social niche" of persons involved in illegal and quasi-legal occupations. Although I would agree that the general focus of Miller's work is worthwhile I found his reliance on secondary sources provided weak support for his central concepts. Other useful sources include Cressy, (1932); Sutherland (1939); Maurer, (1941; 1955); Polsky, (1967); Prus and Sharper, (1977); Prus and Vassilakopoulos (1978).
4. For another empirically grounded statement on joint action see "Working The Bar: Examining Joint Action in an Ethnographic Context" Prus and Vassilakopoulos (1978).
5. To a large extent many of the concepts developed in this chapter are contained in "Rounding as a Way of Life" (1979) a paper written by myself and Prof. Robert Prus.
6. While not frequenting such bars on a regular basis, many of the persons I came in contact with "downtown" also frequented certain mid-town bars. Also, while lacking strong evidence to support my contention respondents, have informed me that certain suburban bars contain hustlers who primarily hustle in that suburban setting.
7. Some of my respondents indicated overlapping involvements in both Eastville and Dixon. For instance one hustler who resided in Eastville conducted B & E's in Dixon and sold his merchandise in Eastville. Such evidence would suggest that street hustlers are somewhat interrelated on a inter-city as well as intra-city basis.
8. Polsky (1969: 116-119) makes a contrary argument, claiming that it is best for the researcher not to try to be "one of the guys." However, implicit in Polsky's

argument is, that it would be unnatural and out of character for the researcher to do so. To the extent to which this is the use, I would wholeheartedly agree with Polsky, however, if this is not the case, then I would suggest that it may be useful to parttake in activities in which the researcher feels comfortable.

9. My situation can be likened that of Scott (1968) and Polsky (1909) in that both authors had been active participants in the subject they later wrote about.
10. While I do not advocate Kurt Wolf's (1964) version of "total immersion", Hunter Thompson in his excellent book, Hell's Angels, proved that it is possible to be totally immersed in a way of life, and still provide an objective account of it.
11. There are benefits accrued from this mode of participant observation, which counteract the difficulties involved. The observant participant method not only gives the reader an excellent inside view of the subject matter, but also invites valuable contributors to sociology from those not sociologists by profession. It is my belief that many capable sociology students with outside affiliations (and most students do belong to groups outside of the university) are in an excellent position to make good observant participants. Encouraging this mode of research (with discretion) I believe will produce a wealth of solid participant observation studies in the various areas of sociology such as occupations, community, family, etc.
12. Ethnomethodologists would take issue with this assumption, claiming that objective realities as such do not exist, only subjective realities "exist".
13. Polsky argues that this obstacle is over-exaggerated by sociologists' reluctance to "get their hands dirty with research." (Polsky, 1967: 124).
14. The period described in The Professional Thief is 1905-25 (Sutherland, 1937: V).
15. For a more detailed description of this practice see Sutherland (1937: 10).
16. Financial loyalty entails contributions to the "fall dough." (Maurer, 1955: 181).
17. Maurer describes instances in which pickpockets would have moral objection to participating in particular scores, for instance, the example of the Jewish pickpocket not taking part in the robbery of a rabbi,

(Maurer, 1955: 185).

18. West's study of "serious thieves" in Toronto's Regent Park, lends much credence to my claims. Describing rough hustlers and future rounders, West states that concerns with establishing trust between partners are great and there exists an ideological commitment to the thief subculture although "burning" one's partner is not uncommon (West, 1973: 276).
19. In the process of conducting my research I observed that the "hotel community" was extensively racially integrated, perhaps more so than most other sectors of our society. When questioning one of my informants on the racial mix I was told "you fund a lot of mixing between black and white in this area. I guess its because we're all underdogs, you know on the other side of the law. And after awhile you don't really notice colour all that much. Now you take Sandra, Toni and Mahageney, they're just a bunch of other broads at the hotel to me." (rounder)
20. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.
21. Letkemann provides an excellent description of "applied casing." The following example from a safecracker is one such "case".

And during my fishing trips up there I'll run across certain things that I'm lookin' for, like this store here. I usually find that they don't bank their money--usually I'll find out from somebody that been through the town, some other heeler or somebody like this and they'll tell me--just in a matter of conversation. They'll say, "my Gawd, I saw a nice store." And you sit down and drink a beer or somethin', and he'll tell you about the ----- store (women's dress shop), a legitimate store (laughs). So I went up there to the dress shop--I went fishing and when I come back I decided to look at it.

How did you look at it? I'd go inside, see" I'd have my girl with me or something. And I'd usually hand them a hundred dollar bill for something I buy. They usually don't carry this kind of money in the till--they don't like to, anyway. And they have to go to the office. Now that's all I need to know. If I see them go in the office I know the money must be there and the safe is there. I'd say, it's a way of doing things, the way they work. Like when I go, I'll carry three or four hundred-dollar bills in my pocket, just for this reason. July to find out--if they can cash it in the till, fine and dandy--then I've

got to find out some other way.

Oh, I see, they are going back for change. Yeh, they're going back to get change. They go into an office so that's where the money is. Now, if I get serious about the place, I'll park across the street at closing time and I'll watch them...I'll see where they go. If they go home, fine. Next night, I'll sit there and watch them. Till I find out when they deposit. Like, we sat out there and waited at the ----- (dress shop) to find out when they do deposit their money. It was a Monday morning. So we went in Sunday night and blew the safe! You know, it's more or less unconscious - just like a businessman. Like a salesman looking for customers and he gets tipped--this store is opening and so on and so forth, and like I say, it's a separate way of life altogether from legitimate people--it is illegal, but it gets to be a way of life so that you unconsciously--even when I'm not ...(Letkemann, 1973: 144-145).

22. I will attempt to fill in some of the missing information in Chapter 4 "Encounters With The Law..
23. Notable exceptions to this are the work of Sutherland (1937), Maurer (1940, 1955), Becker (1963), Polsky (1967), Lesieur (1977), Prus and Sharper (1977) and Prus and Irini (1980).
24. Becker's work on sequential careers is especially relevant and influential in terms of the formulation of the framework employed in this thesis will be on becoming, and (staying or not staying) deviant AS A SOCIAL PROCESS with definite sequential stages, that is, how deviant patterns of involvement and behaviour develop in a sequence (Becker, 1963: 23).
25. Prus and Sharper do not actually state this however, this statement would appear to be the natural "flip of the coin" of Prus and Sharpe's Statement 18: as former associates remain more accepting of them, persons are less likely to disinvolve themselves from those specialties.

## CHAPTER TWO

### INITIAL INVOLVEMENT

In examining initial involvements in rounder-like activities, two routes will be delineated; (1) through primary socialization into the criminal subculture and (2) through secondary socialization or more specifically conversion to the subculture. Those receiving secondary socialization were initially raised in the conventional world, however, due to various influences (to be discussed at length later in the Chapter) their activities became more embedded in the "rounder world." Although two distinct routes have been delineated, we again wish to alert the reader that they not place too much importance on these "categories" in terms of understanding the social-psychological processes that occur when one becomes initially involved. Thus, while some persons are primarily socialized in the criminal subculture and others are "converted" to it, both experience closure, recruitment, sponsored involvements, and multiple routings.

#### Primary Socialization Into Rounder Subculture

##### A. Setting

The majority of the respondents received their primary socialization in Ramone Park, a housing project in central Eastville. While we do not go so far as to suggest that all primary socialized rounders are raised in similar socio-environmental settings, Ramone Park is typical of many North-

American urban lower socio-economic areas in which primary socialization into the criminal subcultures occurs. Ramone Park is a housing project containing some 8,000 residents, in a mixture of low and high rise buildings. It is adjacent to Eastville's tenderloin district and until recent renovations and the influx of middle class residents, the surrounding neighbourhoods were also slumlike. In addition, there are a number of hostels in the area with a relatively high concentration of "drunks" and "winos" in relation to other areas of the city.

The apartment buildings themselves appear usual from outward appearances, however the interior structure is characterized by a high degree of disfigurement and ill-repair. There are numerous single parent families in Ramone Park, and a high concentration of children. Juvenile delinquency and street gang formation is also disproportionately high. The neighbourhood is however, according to respondent residents and in my own personal evaluation somewhat more "tightly-knit" than other high-rise communities.<sup>1</sup> This is not to suggest the neighbourhood is harmonious, however, there is in my estimation a greater degree of interaction amongst residents in Ramone Park than in other high density areas of Eastville.

In brief, Ramone Park can be characterized in many ways as a "breeding ground" for rounders, providing a close-knit, highly interactive community in which norms and activities conducive to delinquency have been established for at least three generations.<sup>2</sup>

## B. Opportunity Structures

Cloward and Ohlin (1960) state that opportunity structures exist in the illegitimate world that facilitate the transition from juvenile delinquent to adult criminal. The authors contend that access to illegitimate roles is not freely available to, all, as it is commonly assumed.

Rather, Cloward and Ohlin assert that,

Only those neighborhoods in which crime flourishes as a stable, indigenous institution are fertile criminal learning environments for the young. Because these selected young people are exposed to "differential association" through which tutelage is provided and criminal values and skills are acquired. (Ohlin and Cloward, 1960: 137)

In this section we will examine the opportunity structures that exist in Ramone Park which may well be "ideal" example of the neighborhood referred to above in the Weberian sense of the word.

(i) "Coming Out" - Describing the process of becoming a known delinquent, Miller (1958) distinguishes six focal concerns for youth in the lower class culture; (1) trouble (2) toughness (3) smartness (4) excitement (5) fate (6) autonomy. There is a process of selection, Miller argues, in which these youths who are perceived as relating overtly and positively to the above focal concerns are likely to be recruited into further delinquent activities as well as achieving status. As youths demonstrate a willingness of ability to engage in delinquent activity with perceived favourable outcomes, they are not only more likely to desire continued delinquent involvement but they are also likely to achieve the social support through

their peers to make this possible. My research lends credence to these findings.

One of the initial testing grounds, in which youths could indicate their willingness to partake in delinquent activities is in the school setting. The school setting offered an audience of peers to impress and authority figures to flaunt. Most of my respondents indicated they either dropped out of school when they were of legal age or were expelled before that, often being sent to training school. While in school most respondents reported a high incidence of absenteeism and disruptive in-class behaviour. "Playing hookey" is of particular importance since it afforded the participants the opportunity for youths to be in company with others in a delinquent context. This activity facilitates the crystalization of both the delinquent's public and private deviant identities.

I used to skip school all the time. If I went to school for one week straight, that was a record! .... I couldn't stand anyone telling me what to do. The school would send notes to my grandmother and they would suspend me but there wasn't much they could do about me. I was a wild kid ... (rounder)

School was shit. I went to a Catholic school and couldn't take the discipline. I was getting the strap all the time. After awhile I was used to it, and I wouldn't cry when they'd hit me. That really used to piss them off. I remember this one teacher, Father Daemien, he had this triangle wooden ruler he would hit you with. You had to hold out your hand with fist clenched. If you were good he would hit you not so hard with the flat side of the ruler, but if he didn't you would get it wham! with the pointy side.

He caught me cheating on a test one time. He got real mad because I grabbed the test paper from a really bright boy that sat next to me and started copying his answers. He snuck up behind and split my knuckles open. I started screaming calling him a fucking asshole, which is something you shouldn't do to a priest. You'll burn in hell and all that shit, eh. They eventually threw me out of there and transferred me to a public school, but I didn't go there much. I was fucking around in the streets most of the time. (rounder)

Looking back on it, the only real reason I ever went to school at all was to raise hell. I was really tough on the teachers. Some of them didn't make it through the year. They would quit or get fired. One or two cracked up, they had nervous breakdowns. I bet they were glad when we didn't show up for class, you know, "I hope Woody skips class today." (rounder)

Another method of indicating one's willingness and ability to partake in "street life", was through fighting. Willingness to engage in physical violence was often used to differentiate between "toughs" and "sucks".

Most of the kids were into fighting but not all of them. Most of the ones I hung around with did. There were some that didn't. They went to school and church on Sunday, and all that! We thought they were saps. They were the smart ones though, no scars on them. (rounder)

I remember when we first moved into Ramone Park, I got into 8 fights that day. They were all testing me out, taking a poke here and there. My grandmother nearly had a heart attack when she saw me, cause I looked like I had been run over by a streetcar or something. Word must have got out there was a new kid in the neighbourhood so they were all taking their shots just to see how much jam I had. (rounder)

Methods of provoking a fight ranged from personal degradation to insulting family members, all of which required immediate and strong rebuffs. Provocation and responding to provocations were a focal concern for my respondents and the outcomes often were instrumental in determining the youth's orientation toward delinquent activities again in terms of his public reputation and private self-image.

Most of the kids I grew up with came from broken families like mine. My father left when I was six, I don't remember much about him. My mother didn't talk about him too much except to curse him. My sister was hooking, by the time she was 16 and she took off with some nigger to Boston when she was 18 so I didn't see much of her either. She got me into a lot of fights though when the other guys started coming on to me about her always being around niggers. But I used to get in fights all the time anyway, almost everyday. (rounder)

I was a real quiet kid, I always minded my own business and liked to keep my own company. To look at me now, its hard to believe but I was small and wiry. Maybe that's one reason I didn't like to fight much. I was in a few though.... There's one that stands out.

I was in the schoolyard and a 3 or 4 boys cornered me. There was one boy Titor, he had the reputation for being the roughest kid in the school, he was the leader of the gang I suppose. He took my hat off and had all the other boys piss in it and they were going to make me put it on. I went crazy. I don't remember much about the fight itself except that they had to sew Titor's ear back on. That made my reputation in the school and I was left alone after that. (rounder)

Although fighting usually promoted antagonisms between participants, it also provided a means of establishing friendships. Since violence was often initiated over somewhat trivial matters that the participants consequently did not

consider "unforgiveable", their sense of moral indignation usually quickly dissipated. Also, fighting often helped "clear the air", "getting rid of bad blood" so to speak. Therefore having combated, and given a good account of themselves, participants felt they had preserved their personal integrity and were able to honourably cease hostilities. Thus, it was not uncommon for my respondents to indicate fighting often resulted in the development of mutual respect and admiration, seeing in their opponent a potentially rewarding associate.

This may sound weird but I met some of my best friends fighting. We would be fighting like crazy one day, next day we would be the best of friends. Most of the fights I was in as a kid, there was no real hard feelings between me and the other kid. I would start a lot of them myself. I'd go over and make some smart ass remark to him like how stupid he looked or how I saw his mother sucking off a dog in the park. That would always work. If somebody insulted your mother or family, you had to fight. But like I said, there was no hard feelings. If the other guy showed he had a lot of heart we'd end up being friends. That happened to me a lot of times. (rounder)

Another method of indicating ones propensity for delinquency was through norm violating behaviour in the pursuit "thrills". Thrill-seeking usually involved dangerous risk-taking exploits often with violent connotations. Youths willing to partake in these adventures regarded them as a method of testing ones "balls" and participation facilitated disassociation with non-delinquents who were usually both uninclined and uninvited to take part. Thus,

with truency, fighting and thrill seeking we see youths indicating their inclinations toward delinquent behaviour and we also see the genesis of differential association.

When I was in grade school they were building the subway. When I was a kid that was a big thing. We used to sneak on and just go back and forth all day. Ride the trolleys too. We used to run up behind them and hold on the back of them. You had to be pretty good to do that. A few kids were really racked up when they fell off. One boy was crippled for life when he was dragged across the cobble stones for about 300 yards. Got his foot stuck in that bar connecting to the wires. I saw the whole thing happen. We used to do the same thing with the delivery trucks, milk and ice trucks, hop on and ride! (rounder)

I was kind of twisted in my younger days. We did some really sick things but it was like our entertainment. We just did it. We would get cats and throw them off Riverside Bridge. Not too many survived. Its like a hundred, 200 foot drop. Splat! If we felt a little more vicious we'd cut off their tails. Cats weren't safe in our neighbourhood. Neither were dogs for that matter. I saw one wizzing down the street one day on fire. Somebody had soaked it with gasoline and put a match to it! (rounder)

(ii) Stabilizing Involvements

While sociologists such as Cohen (1955) have suggested that a sense of rejection and an inability to achieve success in terms of middle class values leads to the formation of delinquent subcultures which flaunt conservatism and decency and glorify short run hedonism, this tells of us very little of how members of the subculture become "committed". Matza, (1964) explains commitment to delinquency as a "shared mis-

understanding" in which members, due to status, masculinity and membership anxiety, do not discuss and therefore do not become aware of the other's doubts or misgivings concerning their delinquent involvements.

Matza claims that these misconceptions are perpetuated through "sounding", a practice which probes one's commitment to delinquent activities and values (Matza, 1964: 59)

While Matza does provide us with an account of one method by which commitment is reinforced through sounding, he does not provide, along with the majority of sociologists writing on this subject, an analysis of the delinquents association network. It is only through a focus on this type of analysis that we can begin to concretely understand how delinquent activities stabilize.

To better manage this analysis, associations will be placed into two categories, associations with family and a "gang" associates. This categorization is done purely for the sake of clarification, since we do not wish to suggest that associations are so clearly delineated in the mind of the delinquent. Indeed, for many future rounders, "gang" and family associating are substantially interrelated.

(a) Family Associations

A great deal of the literature linking family associations and criminal activity has focused on "the mafia". As Ianni and Reuss-Ianni (1972), Teresa and Renner (1973), Joey (1976) illustrate, kinship ties are especially important in

terms of developmental contacts, working skills and attitudes necessary to engage in crime on an ongoing basis. However, aside from the organized crime focus, there has been surprisingly little attention paid to the role of kinship ties and delinquent behaviour, other than the typical conclusion exemplified by Miller which links the broken-home syndrome to the development (see Journal of Social Issues (1958)) of delinquent gangs. (Miller, 1958)<sup>3</sup>

My research, however, suggests that kinship ties directly contribute to involvement in delinquent activities. To begin with, kinship ties are often instrumental in "showing the ropes," to younger, less experienced kin. Not only are the initiatives favoured with tutelage in the techniques of criminal pursuits but they are also vouched for, socially supported in the context of peers and taught appropriate behaviour and attitudes. In short, kin are often the most conscientious and committed educators in the delinquent way of life.

I remember that I just couldn't wait for my kid brother to grow. I used to tell him that he would have it made when he got old enough to hang out with me. I'd just show him everything he'd need to know because he'd need to know in this neighbourhood. I had a good reputation in the neighbourhood. Everyone looked up to me ... I remember he was having trouble with some kids trying to shake him down for his lunch money. They used to come up to him outside the corner store. They beat him up pretty good but he didn't give the money, which is good. That's something I told him never to do. So I tell him to go there again. The next day and tell those guys that they just got some new partners. I would be there with a few buddies to back him

up ... He was collecting from them every Friday, just like a pro. (ha! ha!) (rounder)

Kinship ties are also instrumental in the development of one's contacts. The more extensive and solid one's contacts are, the more opportunities one has to engage in delinquent activities. When one has kin whose contacts are varied and "deep", opportunities to develop new contacts increase dramatically. Also, when the reputation of the connected kin is particularly solid, there is a tendency for the initiate to be regarded as likely processing similar characteristics. Thus, the initiate with these family connections appears particularly advantaged over initiates with no "family rep" in terms of delinquent opportunities and status amongst their peers.

You take Roger for example, he wasn't all that much smarter than the rest of us but he had James as his old man. James was probably the top rounder in the area, everyone thought he was something like God, you know, he was really looked up to. So Roger you think was something too. He was always talking about how he was meeting all these people through his old man, he could get all these things, and to an extent he did. So we swallowed all his bullshit and no one would dare lay a finger on him for fear they would be found in a field somewhere. (rounder)

Delinquency amongst kin may also place an obligation upon them to further their delinquent activities. Not only do kin members often experience a need to "keep up" with the daring exploits of other family members and uphold the family's honour<sup>4</sup> but they may also find themselves targets of police scrutiny as well as that of the community in general. Thus delinquents with extensive kinship ties often reported that "trouble found them" just as often as they sought it.

My old man was a pimp, you know big cars, big diamonds, the whole set up. Now everyone thought I was into the same thing. Like father, like son, right? I have to admit it gave me the chance to do it too because I've had whores offer to take care of me. (rounder)

The extensive delinquency effect of family ties is perhaps most evident when we take into consideration that associating rounders and delinquents often provide social opportunity for their respective kin to interact and become associates in crime. The pre-existing friendship amongst members of two sets of kin often "lays the foundation" so to speak for further co-operative action amongst other kin members, with the pre-existing friendship acting as a qualifying agent. This is not implying that inter-family relations are only characterized by co-operation and tranquility, since conflict is also likely to result. Nonetheless, kinship ties in either case leads to interaction with others involved in delinquent pursuits.

(b) Delinquent Associations

The function of delinquent gangs has been the focal concern of most of the sociological literature on the subject. For instance Yabolonsky (1959) suggests the primary function of the gang is to provide a vehicle in which members can satisfy their momentary emotional needs, while Cohen (1966) regards the gang as a social group in which lower class youths can construct criteria for status in which they are able to succeed. For our purposes here, however, we will focus our attention on the way in which delinquent associations stabi-

lize one's involvement in delinquency. It may be noted that the term delinquent associations is employed rather than delinquent gang since my research indicates that "hard-core" gang members were somewhat rare. Many respondents indicated that they were associated in varying degrees of closeness with such gang members and that they belonged to cliques, however, to describe these associations in terms of gang membership would be somewhat misleading. Further, we will organize this section in terms of activities, thereby illustrating techniques of stabilization as well as the actual context in which stabilization takes place.

#### Hanging Out

In accordance with Miller (1958) much of my research indicates that much of the delinquents time fluctuates between brief moments of intense excitement and long periods of relative inactivity. Much of this "inactive" period is spent "hanging out", that is leisurely interacting with a more or less stable clique. "Hanging Out" occurred at a variety of locations with pool-halls, neighbourhood restaurants and varient stores, parks and streetcorners being most commonly reported. As well as means of "killing time", hanging out also provided social context in which delinquents could plan future criminal activities, exchange information facilitating the commission of crimes, buy and sell merchandise, all of which facilitated continued involvement in delinquent

activities. Also, as Matza (1959: 51) suggests (although my data is somewhat weak in this area) the delinquent ideology is inferred in these social groupings as persons are discussed, challenged and evaluated.

Yeah, we would spend a lot of time just shooting the shit. Sometimes we would go over to Bob's place and suck back a few beers but mostly we would hang out in front of pool halls. That's all it was, just hanging out seeing what was going down, running down this or that guy, try to score an ounce, things like that. Passing time mostly. (rounder)

We would hang out in the park by the river all the time, maybe scare some poor kid shitless if he was dumb enough to be down there when we were. We were constantly planning things to do, like one guy wanted say some clerk at so and so was adoze and we could steal it blind or somebody he heard had a lot of money stashed in their house, talking about those things constantly, mind you, we hardly followed through any of them but we'd sit and plan it down to the last detail. Or we'd get into these discussions on how to get stuff across the border. Talk, right, just talk. But we'd be right into it. (rounder)

As mentioned previously, thrilling seeking was often an indication of one's propensity for delinquent behaviour. However, as one's delinquent behaviour becomes routine, risk taking, norm violating behaviour (street fighting, wild parties, gambling, drug consumption, etc.) also becomes routine. It becomes the staple of the delinquent's form of entertainment. Thrill seeking, however, is not only conducive to the satisfaction of personal desire but rather it serves as an indication of one's continued commitment to delinquency as a way of life. Also, the high-risk and cliquish nature of many of these predominantly conflict oriented ex-

exploits tends to polarize participants into opposing solidarity groups (us against them). This solidarity, although it usually is of the fleeting variety, encourages further commitment to the activities of delinquent peers and crystallizes their delinquent identity.

Most of the fights I was in was with this gang I was with. We weren't really a gang, we didn't have a name and didn't have sweaters, but we'd hang around our corner and get into fights, specially with the blacks. There were a lot like mini-race riots then but most people outside of Ramone Park didn't know it. There was always reasons to fight. Like if one of our guys was nailed by the niggers we'd go after them, like a little posey. Or, if one of them crossed over to our territory, that was good enough. Then they would be hunting us down too, like trying to trap us. One thing I really got the shit beat out of me. I put this one nigger in the hospital. I split his head open with a whiskey bottle and I was like public enemy number one in the projects. So I'm ducking and diving, always hanging around with my gang and stuff, but one day 3 of them got me alone in the elevator. They must have followed me for awhile because when I stepped into the elevator two were right there behind me.

I don't know if you have ever been in the elevators in Ramone Park, but they are all steel inside with little grooves in them. Now these guys are bouncing me around in there and I'm getting cut up really bad. Then one of them pulls out a knife and tries to stab me in the back. I wheeled around real fast and caught the knife in my shin and this guy pulls the knife right up one leg. That's how I got this. (Indicates foot long scar). I nearly died from loss of blood. (rounder)

I got into dope when I was 14. Mostly acid. There was a lot of it around at that time. We'd do about 3 or 4 hits and really be humming. Drop some acid and go partying. Go over to somebody's house and smoke up and drink, there would be a 2-4 of beer, a few cases. A lot of just straight partying, but sometimes it was fighting time. When you drop acid you get paranoid but you feel really strong. Like sometimes I would drop some and be walking

down the street feeling ten foot tall. I'd be coming on with everything, meanwhile, I was just a skinny little squirt. And if there was somebody there at the party that you didn't like, you know, like bad vibes coming off them a fight would break out. ....Othertimes, we'd just smash things up. Like it wasn't your place, so it didn't matter. Most of us thought like that back then. You'd go over to guys or chicks pad and wouldn't think twice about dropping a cigarette and putting it out right there. Most of the parties we went to, things got smashed up. It couldn't be helped. (rounder)

### Scams and Plays

While thrill seeking does tend to commit one to delinquency, behaviour becomes more routine when it is perceived as financially lucrative. As the delinquent matures, he may "outgrow" many of his thrill seeking activities, viewing them as childish with the "crime for profit" motif becoming more central. Also, while we do not wish to suggest that necessity in and of itself leads to the commission of a crime, perceived necessity does tend to orient the delinquent toward crimes involving financial and/or commodity returns.

You have to understand that we didn't have a lot of things people have today. There is no such thing as an allowance. I never even thought of asking my old man for one. Times were tough. People don't know how good they have it today. If I wanted a chocolate bar I had to go out and steal it. Same thing with clothes. I've always liked to dress well so we'd go out and boost them. (rounder)

### Theft

The most common lucrative delinquent activity reported by my respondents was theft. Theft included shoplifting,

burglary, theft from delivery trucks, etc. with the type of theft chosen usually dependent on circumstantial opportunities presently available. Thus, many delinquent thefts have a haphazard quality about them, involving little or no preparation.

When I was living in Ramone Park I was strung out on wiz pretty bad. I was doing a few cracks a day, mainling, staying up for weeks at a time. Never sleeping. Not even thinking about coming down. It was always around. Most of our days were spent shooting wiz or trying to get it. We would just go around and break into cars, stealing the stereos or anything else we could get at. Never thought about how much the stuff was worth, just thought about how much wiz we could get for it. Our connection would take stuff instead of money for wiz. Most of the time I figure we were getting ripped off, but that didn't matter. I needed a hit of speed. That's it. Get another hit and just keep on truckin'. (rounder)

It was all spur of the moment stuff. Sometimes we would be in a store not thinking of doing anything, just like regular shoppers and all of a sudden me and Spike would look at each other and we knew we were going to rip something off. Snatch and run. Mostly stuff we didn't need or use, it was all a laugh anyway. (rounder)

Other thefts, however appear to involve more organization and planning. Routines are developed, the pro and cons of the particular job are considered and efforts made to minimize risks. For instance in contrast to the snatch-and-grab example given in the previous extract, efforts may be made to become familiar with the identity of store detectives, develop routines to distract clerks, and recruit confederates from the store's staff. These more "complicated" thefts require that delinquents become alerted, as suggested

by West (1974: 139), to the weak points of the target's control and in turn redefine social situations in terms of the opportunity to commit theft. Also, thieves must become somewhat adept at playing upon the trust which individuals in society find necessary to place upon each other in carrying out their daily tasks and how to present a legal front. (West, 1974: 141) Thus, as thefts become more organized and technically demanding, involved delinquents invest more of their time, risk, effort and often their money in these pursuits. The sense of "elitism" ("not everybody could pull this score"), the increased monetary rewards, and the advancement of status amongst their peers that accrues from these procedures facilitates the continuation of delinquent activities and reduces the desirability of disinvolvement.

What did we do? Its my favourite I was like, like, robbing the register. What didn't we do. Me and my partner would go into the storekeepers and draw his attention down to the other end of the store. I would say something like "Could you give me that cereal, I can't reach it, sir," and my partner would sneak over to the register and push the key slowly and hold the drawer so it would open without making a sound. Then he would take as many bills as possible. We would always start to lift the tray first and check underneath because they usually keep the largest bills there. Sometimes we'd find a fifty or a hundred there. Then we would go from the right to left because the largest bills are usually put on the right and the ones are on the left. The other guy would stall the shopkeeper as long as possible, asking them questions, dropping things. (rounder)

Some places we cased for a long time. It took a long time to lay down the ground work before we actually broke in. We were after the safe in the spare parts shop and we managed to get to

this kid who worked in the store. I noticed he was always complaining about how the owner was such a slave driver so I got friendly with him, bought him coffee while he was working and all that. Then I told him he could make a bit of money for himself if he let the window open in the back a touch and he could get back at the old man too. He did it and we were in and out the shop in a matter of minutes that night. (rounder)

I was into Band E's, lots of them. Sometimes we would really sit down and plan it out, you know, where to make the in, what time to go, when the people were not likely to be in. It made you feel you were really sharp, planning everything out to the last detail. A lot of times we would just break in, didn't give a shit who was in, just bust right in there. If there was someone in, I would say "Sorry, wrong house" and get out. The people were too shocked to do anything. I mean what do you do, it's 4 in the morning and someone has just busted in the back door. They're relieved to see us leave. If they called the cops we would be long gone .... When we would be in the house we were mostly looking for cash, jewellery, stereos, t.v.'s, things we could cart off easily. It was interesting when you were in there because you had to figure out where people would hide things. If you were smart you could find it out right away without having to turn the place upside down and spending a long time in the joint, but we weren't adverse to doing that either. (rounder)

In order for theft to become financially lucrative, the delinquents must be able to convert the merchandise into cash. Typically, delinquents may both sell merchandise or they may sell to a fence. As thefts become more routine, thieves are inclined to sell the goods to a fence since fences provide a more or less ready market for their goods. Whatever marketing option the delinquent may opt for, it becomes imperative that he develop access to persons willing to facilitate his delinquent activities. Typically, the

more extensive the delinquents contacts are with such persons, the greater his success will be in quickly processing stolen goods. Also, should the delinquents contacts with willing buyers become extensive enough, he may be able to successfully engage in fencing more exclusively himself.

Getting rid of hot stuff is no problem in Ramone Park. It wasn't a problem when I was there and it sure as well isn't a problem now. I still go there to pick up stuff. Everybody is looking to score. You had a watch, I'll get an electric one for a sawbuck. You can't beat that in any store. I would just off the stuff to people I knew. If I couldn't do that, there was a couple of fences in the neighborhood who would take it. (rounder)

Most of the people who buy hot stuff are people who are doing wrong themselves. Hustlers buy from hustlers. I liked buying from them, helping them out making ends meet. It worked both ways. If I scored a radio or a stereo or whatever I knew were to go. I knew who wanted what and they knew what I wanted, see what I mean. (rounder)

We really didn't have anything that you would call organized if that's what you're getting at. The most consistent scam we had was with bicycles. There was a guy down in the east end with a repair shop that would take all the bikes we could get. I never asked him what he did with them but he had a basement full of stolen bikes. I just handed over the bike, and took the cash. (rounder)

Other methods of "making out" for delinquents included victim confrontation crimes (robbery, extortion, etc.) and drug dealing. While quite prevalent, these methods were more often than not, sidelines to theft, although some delinquents did indicate robbery as being a "mainline". Again, both activities were "group projects" with drug dealing requiring extensive sub-cultural connections in order to be engaged in

successfully.

There were a few shake down artists in the neighbourhood as I remember. You'd find just outside the building that they come up and ask if you had spare change! If you gave them something, they'd ask what else you had. If you didn't give anything they'd get all upset and go through your pockets anyway. It was trouble anyway you looked at it. (rounder)

I used to deal a bit of dope at Ramone Park, about 2 pounds a week on a typical week. It was easy getting rid of it. The price was right then, not like it is now. People can't afford to smoke these days like they used to. And everybody I knew smoked. I had it set, I could get a pound and have it sold in ounces in the same day. (rounder).

I'll tell about a really good score when I was a youngster. Me and my brother were robbers you see. We'd be waiting outside the hotels around closing time waiting for someone who hammered and looked like they had some scratch left on them. I'd cut in on him, start talking to him tell him he should get in a cab. I'd tell him my buddy had a cab waiting around the corner, take him home no problem because he was in no condition to drive. So I have this guy going down the alley way and brother comes up behind him grabs him and puts a knife to his throat. Now I cut in again and tell him to stay calm and nothing will happen. I tell him he'll be safe if he doesn't make a move. I go into this guys pants pockets, but nothing there. Then I go upstairs and pull 5 one hundred dollar bills. I go to my brother "my, my, my, I think we have a millionaire with us." So now I have a closer look at this guy and tell if he wants to save his hands and fingers that he better unload his jewellery. He's being co-operative so there is no problem. We made nearly a G-note off that one mark, not bad for a couple of punk kids. (rounder)

Secondary Socialization into the Rounder Subculture

While the majority of my respondents received primary socialization into the rounder subculture, a sizeable minority appear to have been "converted" to it. Conversion for this sample often involves a re-definition of an activity and the abandonment of one set of beliefs for another. However, as Prus and Irini state (1980: 249) conversion need not be as dramatic as it is commonly assumed. Thus for example, some respondents indicated a strong dissatisfaction with their conventional life-styles prior to criminal involvements while others indicated rounder-like activities in a conventional context.

My family was never hurting for money. We were "comfortable". I couldn't hack it myself. You're bred from the time you're in the womb to go to the right school, play with the right children, meet the right people and marry the right girl. It's all designed to keep the money within one group of people. It's wasn't for me, it was too hypocritical. I've found more honesty in street people than in all the right people put together. The street really opened my eyes to what people are all about. (rounder)

I mostly was into drug dealing myself. (Question: How did you get into that?). Well the high school I was at, there was a lot of it around ... I started using when I was in grade nine but it was mostly pot for a year. The kids that got high, well we were like a clique. We'd skip classes and get high. We'd all hang around the front steps at lunch time together. All the kids in the school knew who we were and who I was. In grade 10 I started having a few kids come up to me and ask if I knew where they could buy some dope. A lot of kids wanted to try chemicals in those days. By this time I knew the connections pretty well so I

could buy in quantity. I never was in it to make a great deal of money, I just wanted to keep my friends high and have my own personal supply for free. (rounder)

The majority of respondents experiencing conversion indicated that they actively sought rounder involvements. Successful conversion, however, as suggested by Prus and Irini (1980: 250) depends considerably on the receiving audience. Should the "recruit" not be accepted by the receiving audience he may find rounding career quite short. Also, should one receive minimal acceptance, one may become only marginally and sporadically involved in rounding activities, often the target a rounder's hustle.

You get some straight guys who want to be rounders. They're marks, suckers. They like the action, they want to be in there amongst the gangsters and the whores. Take Joe for instance. Now there's a guy making a good buck selling real estate. He's got a wife and kids and doesn't need this bullshit for anything. Still you find him at the booze cans, in the strip-joints all the time. If he's got a place that he knows the owner has to sell, he'll tell some rounder and he'll end up stealing the place and selling it a few months later. A lot of guys will go for that because they can make a few grand for themselves. I guess that makes Joe a bit of rounder too, but he's not in it for money, he's not a solid rounder like James. Sure, the rounders will put up with him as long as they can get something from him. (rounder)

I've had some really beauties come my way. You get a lot of these guys that like to play gangster. When I got through with them they wish they never thought of crime. I had this one guy who had a string of hardware stores, always acting like he was something. I got him to put 10 grand on a dope deal. I told him he would get back 25 grand in a week. Then I told him the shipment got busted and that he'd better lay low because the cops were asking everybody on the street who financed the whole deal. I told him not to worry

because I'd make sure it never got traced back to him. The sucker ended up thanking me! He didn't get wise to play. Yeah, I burned him a few times. I guess I must have got 30 grand out of him in around 2 or 3 years. (rounder)

For those achieving successful conversion to the rounder subculture a favourable reception is most readily facilitated when the initiate's involvements is sponsored by an insider (Prus and Irini, 1980: 248). The sponsor typically qualifies the initiate to others, assists him developing a hustle and contacts and generally facilitates his adjustment to the rounder subculture. There may also be an element of solicitation on the part of the sponsor as they attempt to make the prospects appear more enticing than the newcomers present involvements. Nonetheless, conversion is still contingent on the initiate's ability to be accepted and come to terms with their new environment.

I guess you could say that turned out my ex-boyfriend. He was a store manager and straight as he could be. Then he started going out with me and associating with my people. My people were mostly hustlers, street people but they had class. I guess Henry was fascinated by all that and he wanted to play their little game too. Then of course he had me there to make sure that he could tell the players from the played if you know what I mean. (female hustler)

Take Kelly for example, Joan's husband, now there's a square you got turned into a rounder. When I first saw him he was delivering for Pepsi. He used to come around and pick up Joan after work. (Joan is a barmaid at a strippers - hooker bar). Now you got to admit, Kelly is a good looking man, right, and a lot of these broads took their shots at him. This guy played his cards because he didn't fuck any of the broads right away. A black hooker got him broken in. Josie went and told him that if he was with her, she wouldn't make him deliver bottles all day.

So he quits his job and starts throwing an odd fuck or two to Josie. She must of really schooled this guy because he pulled play that made him a rounder. Most squares would try to hide that they were fucking someone on the side, right. Kelly tells Josie that if she doesn't start bringing in some money hustling that she can take a walk. Josie doesn't want to let go so you see her doing the odd fucks (tricks). So there's a square who ended up turning out his own wife! (rounder)

As a final note one should be reminded that conversion should be thought of as contingent as opposed to final.

(Prus and Irini, 1980: 251) While some may find disinvolvement difficult due to extensive investments, obligations, personal involvements and altered identities those primarily socialized in the conventional culture are apt to find re-entry into the conventional stream more easily than those who had relatively little contact with it at anytime. Thus, secondary socialized rounders who become disenchanting with rounding as a way of life are more apt to become disinvolved. Further, conversion becomes an extremely tenuous task when one retains extensive conventional ties and commitments.

### Discussion

As it was stated in the introduction of this Chapter that a difference in how one is taught the rounders way of life (i.e. contingent on one's primary socialization) does not entail a difference in the generic socio-psychological processes. Regardless of one's primary socialization, the following processes in varying degrees apply to all respondents. To conclude this Chapter, we will discuss how the preceding

material illustrates more the general processes of (1) drift, (2) closure (3) seekership (4) recruitment and (5) multiple routings (Prus and Irini, 1980: 245-249).

#### A. Drift

Matza (1964) uses the term drift to refer to situations in which persons feel freedom from moral restraints. Consequently, since most delinquent acts are norm violating, drift appears necessary if participants are to overcome any reservations they have about engaging in delinquent activities. Prus and Irini however argue that if we conceive of the term in a more generic fashion, drift can be used to describe situations in which persons are referenced from any normally operative restraints. Thus, drift can also be seen as describing a situation in which persons appear apparently unconcerned about physical safety or financial loss. (Prus and Irini, 1980: 248)

Initially, committing an act of deviance requires drift to be present. As Matza states, drift is best conceptualized as being transient and situational thus one should not assume that drift is not present in the commission of future deviant acts. The overcoming of reservations appears a more or less continual concern and process. It should also be noted that drift is influenced to a great extent by the receiving audience in terms of their situational definitions and behaviour. Consequently, as the receiving audience does not impute a loss of respect but rather

favourably receives one's deviance, the degree of drift necessary for the reputation of the deviant act would become less. With my respondents, the degree of drift necessary became markedly less as delinquent acts were made routine in the context of one's peers.<sup>5</sup>

#### B. Closure

When persons feel themselves pressured into committing a deviant act as means of attaining a goal they regarded as imperative, we speak of a sense of closure. Closure is Lemert's term (1953) and he used it to describe persons who wrote bad cheques to resolve uncomfortable financial situations, however this term can also be used more generally to describe situations in which individuals commit deviant acts as a means of meeting of their felt obligations, responsibilities and needs. Thus, we may find delinquents engaging in Band E's as a means of re-paying debts incurred while gambling. Also, as delinquents find that their personal reputation and criminal record makes it difficult for them to find legitimate employment, they may exclusively look to illegitimate opportunities as a means of getting by. However, it should not be assumed, counter to popular belief, that financial necessity is a reason for involvement in delinquent activities, not only do some persons in need fo money rule out criminal involvement but involvement in criminal activities by persons otherwise hostile to the idea is likely to result

in disinvolvement at the first perceived opportunity. Thus it appears more important that persons overcome reservations about committing deviant acts and come to terms with their receiving audience although financial need certainly facilitates the overcoming of these reservations.

Closure also occurs when delinquents find it necessary to portray family and peer loyalty and project particular public and private images. This is illustrated as delinquents fight over perceived personal violations and family honour. Delinquents may also experience closure as they attempt to project a "solid" image to their peers and thereby participate and suggest participation in any number of delinquent activities. This aspect of closure illustrates, I believe, the most salient aspect of the concept which is that it usually reflects entanglements with others, perhaps more so than it reflects principles and concerns with self images. Thus others may place pressure on the delinquent to make good on his claims or may place him in a position of responsibility whereby he finds himself obligated to behave in a delinquent manner. However, as the person is able to meet these obligations with rewarding results, the sense of closure is likely to diminish dramatically.

As Prus and Irini state (1980: 246) closure is both negotiable in its development as well as its diffusion. Negotiations, then, may develop as to what the individuals' obligation will be and accounts may be given in the form of justifications, apologies and explanations in lieu of the

original demands. Consequently, closure does not always entail a continuation of deviant action.

### C. Seekership

Seekership refers to self defined attraction towards an activity, and a desire to take part in it. In this respect seekership is evident in the careers of almost all my respondents. While the previous concept discussed, closure, seems to be the flip side of seekership (one describing a strong feeling of choice, the other indicating little choice) the concepts are more closely related than one might assume. Closure often leads to development of a strong set of interests and seekership involves perceiving a set of interests and finding a setting in which these interests can be realized. Closure then, may be instrumental in defining the nature of seekership. Also, others may simultaneously effect seekership as well as induce closure as they promote certain interests and discourage others. An example of this would be the target being offered participation in a burglary in order to help them pay outstanding debts to the agent of the proposal.

Although seekership was common, it should be noted that in of itself it is not sufficient to account for involvements in delinquent activities. While many may desire participation in certain criminal activities, involvement is much more contingent on the extent and strength of one's existing contacts. Without proper connection, seekership is not an extremely effective form of involvement since the

receiving audience is not as likely to accommodate the initiates interest.

#### D. Recruitment

Recruitment refers to the attempts of persons to involve others in delinquent activities. As Prus and Irini state, attempts to recruit may vary from high pressure propositions to grudging consent to let someone participate, giving him a break so to speak. (Prus and Irini, 1980: 247) The authors delineate three forms of recruitment; (1) inadvertent involvements, (2) sponsored involvements and (3) solicited involvements.

Inadvertent involvements refer to situations in which persons encounter unanticipated options usually intersecting their present line of activity. An example of this would be a delinquent being offered to take part in drug trafficking while "hanging out" in the pool hall. Since most delinquents (and rounders for that matter) do not specialize in terms of hustles and much time is spent "kicking around", inadvertent involvements are somewhat common.

Sponsored involvements refers to attempts made by insiders to "set up" the newcomer in a given line of activity. As mentioned previously this form of recruitment is especially effective not only in securing initial involvement for the newcomers but also in facilitating his adjustment to the setting in general. The stronger the contact between the newcomer and the insider (i.e. when they are related), the more likely that the recruitment will be a success. Sponsored

involvements, although they occur to all respondents in terms of initial involvement, are particularly crucial for those receiving primary socialization in the conventional world. Having little previous experience in criminal activities and contacts, these persons are especially dependent on their sponsors for guidance and tutelage. Also, sponsors to a great extent may influence the scope and range of the newcomers activities, making them contingent on what they are shown and who they are introduced to. Further, these initial introductions may play a significant role in shaping the initiates long term career in rounding activities, as they become more involved with their introduced contacts.

Solicited involvements refers to more explicit attempts on the part of the agent to involve a newcomer. Solicited involvements are more likely to occur when the target appears particularly talented and their services are sought by the agent(s). These kinds of involvements are also likely to occur as they initiate is perceived to possess valued resources. To help secure the targets involvement, the agent will often attempt to make involvements seen more enticing. Solicited involvements however are not very common in terms of initiating one to criminal activities, rather they are more typical of attempts to involve those already involved (experienced and capable persons) and those targeted to be "marks".

E. Multiple Routings

While persons may become initially involved in delinquent activities as they are sponsored by a relative, there is no reason to believe that they were not also solicited and that they perceived closure. The point here is that persons have several bases for involvement and these may occur, simultaneously. Thus, multiple routings are more characteristic of initial involvements than any one form per se.

Concluding this statement on initial involvement, it is important to note that an explanation on how one becomes involved in criminal behaviour would not be radically different than an explanation on how persons become involved in a legitimate career activity. As Ohlin and Cloward state, sociologists are well aware that career involvements in legitimate activities are contingent on a number of factors other than aspiration, however, they often explain criminal activity in terms of the individual's readiness to employ illegal procedures. (Ohlin and Cloward, 1960: 98) It is our contention that if we remove the deviance mystique associated with delinquency and regard it primarily as a set of related activities, the procedure for becoming initially involved would be similar to those involved in any career activity. Thus, persons becoming involved in accounting may experience closure (familial pressures to be in a respectable profession), solicited involvements (promising

students sought out finance company) seekership (applying to several places of business) sponsored involvements (relative in business "sets up" apprentice) etc. Consequently, in accordance with the symbolic interactionist orientation of this thesis, we are not only developing an account of initial involvements in deviant activities. (We do not present a separate theory for the deviants).

Finally, it should be stated that not all those involved in delinquent activities, become involved in rounding activities as adults. My sample, being composed of adult rounders, does not provide an accurate representation of this early disinvolvement. Matza, however, does provide us with several explanations. First, Matza (1955) suggests as masculinity anxiety reduced when the delinquent reaches manhood instead of merely aspiring to it, he may exempt himself from the demand to engage in delinquent activities. While this form of closure may no longer be experienced, other forms may persist into adulthood. This explanation, consequently, is not particularly strong in my opinion. Closure, may also be alleviated as misconceptions and misunderstandings are made public, that is, as doubts about participation in delinquent activities are brought out into the open. Although, it too may neutralize some forms of closure, it assumes that the delinquent was somewhat uncomfortable with his involvement. It does not account for how these reservations originate and are cultivated to the point where they lead to disinvolvement. Rather, the key to understanding early disinvolvement, found by examining the impli-

cations of associations and commitments. West (1974) claims that as the delinquent develops conventional associations, responsibilities and commitments participation in criminal activities becomes more problematic. I suggest that when conventional commitments become achieved primarily as conventional side bets are developed and criminal pursuits may desist.

An often neglected explanation for disinvolvement is that many delinquents are not able to "pass muster" as adult criminals. This "dropping-out" occurs as adult criminals they are typically required to (1) increase financial income dramatically (2) develop contacts with adult criminals who through tutelage and introductions can make crime financially viable (this is done as the delinquent shows "potential" over and above many of his peers), and (3) face stiffer legal penalties. Those unable or unwilling to come to terms with requirements are apt to find conventional alternatives more appealing and plausible. However, for those who are (1) selected and given tutelage by established rounders (Sutherland, 1937: 213), (2) are given recognition by their adult criminal peers, (3) and are able to perform satisfactorily in terms of subcultural norms, an adult criminal career is likely. As Ohlin and Cloward state, the illegitimate opportunity structures are not open for all, rather, involvement is differentially available.

Yeah, there was a few guys that I ran around with when I was a kid that didn't grow up to be bad guys. Some of them didn't have the heart, you know what I mean. The stuff we did as kids was nothing, but when you get older, that's when things get hot. No more fooling around, you've got to be there, all there, or not at all. No more fuck ups. The guys that can only boost out of department stores, well you don't want to hang around with them anymore. No way you get by with that. You have to start scoring big. If you can't, you better get a job. That's what they should do because they won't make it any other way.  
(rounder)

## FOOTNOTES

1. This observation is made in reference to a study I conducted for my honours thesis concerning neighbourhood satisfaction in high rises.
2. This contention is made on the evidence compiled from 6 older rounders (55+) who stated that the Ramone Park district had been an established high crime area in their youth.
3. More specifically, Miller argues that one parent families which are a prevalent lower class child rearing unit (female based) do not provide essential psychological and educational functions which the peer unit does. (Miller, 1958: 85)
4. This corresponds closely with Sykes and Matza's "Appeal to Higher Loyalties" in the article on the techniques of neutralization.
5. At this point, I would like to offer my own conjecture that the degree of required drift is (positionally) related to the "thrill" experienced in committing the deviant act. I qualify the word "thrill" defining it more in terms of an act that generally raises one's anxiety level. This may account in part, of course, for the general nervousness of initiates and the relative calm of the "seasoned pro". It is also my belief that the connection between drift and thrills may go beyond the conscious realm and may involve processes in the subconscious which manifest themselves in personal quirks and apparently unaccountable apprehensions. ("I shouldn't be nervous after all this time").

Further conjecture on this topic however would be opening up "a brand new can of worms" and would be beyond the scope of the general topic at hand.

CHAPTER THREE  
HUSTLING AS A WAY OF LIFE

As the delinquent reaches maturity and maintains his unlawful involvements, he is enroute to making rounding a way of life. In doing so, certain contingencies must be dealt with, with the outcome of these contingencies shaping their future involvements. In this Chapter we wish to elaborate on the contingencies faced and their outcomes, thus describing in essence, the events that constitute the rounders way of life.

Developing a Rounder's Identity

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the development of a delinquent identity promotes the stabilization of criminal involvements. My own data on stabilization as a consequence of identity is somewhat slim, thus I will primarily rely on more theoretical oriented in terms of addressing this question.

Harris (1977) provides us with a good starting point in terms of delineating the perceived socio-psychological components which are necessary if a deviant act is to be committed.<sup>1</sup> First goal utility must exist, that is, "the end" of extrinsic rewards of successful execution. Second, behavioural utility provides intrinsic rewards as the actor feels good about committing the act. Behavioural utility may be closely associated with goal utility although it may also be an end itself (e.g.

getting high, being rowdy). Probability refers to the chance perceived by the actor that a certain action will result in the attainment of the desired goal. Finally, self attribution refers to the perception of the self as the type of person likely to perform the above behaviour. As the person defines favourable goal and behavioural utility and as he perceives a high success probability, and positive self attribution in terms of that act, he is likely to commit the deviant.

It is however the question of self attribution that is of primary concern to us here. When one comes to see oneself as an adult who routinely engages in rounding activities, a crucial contingency concerning lifestyle has been encountered. For Matza (1969) the question of identity is one of indices. The person asks himself whether the activities in which he is engaged in are accurate indications of his true being. In relation to this thesis, rounders face the philosophic question of whether their illegitimate and quasi-illegitimate behaviour is indicative of them (Matza, 1969: 165). Engaging in sophistic reasoning, which Matza regards as misleading, persons often turn "star witness" against themselves and ordain themselves as essentially criminal. Indices are seen as problematic since many may produce a provisional deviant identity, although it may be dissolved in light of new evidence, it may stay permanently provisional or be embraced as an indication of true self.

In my opinion the contingency of developing a rounder identity has dialectical relationship with participation in rounder-like activities. In other words participation in the rounder's lifestyle is both a consequence of and an element in constructing a rounder identity. To elaborate, as a person becomes more embedded in the rounder subculture the more likely he is to conceive of himself as a rounder and as he does so he is more likely to be open to further rounding involvements. Therefore, it is important to discuss the activities and the contingencies encountered therein in order to illustrate what is involved in hustling as a way of life and how the rounder identity both evolves in and shapes these activities.<sup>2</sup>

#### Kinds of Involvements - Fringe vs. Solid Rounder

Persons on the hustle vary considerably in terms of street knowledge and specific hustling skills, and they may vary in their ambitions or their dedication to hustling as a means of livelihood. Thus, for instance, someone dealing in marijuana may be content to make enough profit to support his own drug consumption, while other persons may attempt to make a livelihood from this enterprise. This differential degree of involvement delineates "the real hustlers" from other marginal people.

The term "rounder", thus, is a somewhat nebulous term in that it encompasses individuals involved in varying types and degrees of hustling activities. Given this, it should

be noted that persons are often more specifically typed as "a bit of a rounder" or "a kind of a rounder" or as "a real rounder". How one's involvement in rounding activities is conceived is contingent on one's perceived (1) Knowledge of street-life (2) Hustling capability (3) Connections (4) Reputation (5) Action involvements (Prus and Irini, 1980: 205). Those scoring high in these 5 dimensions will most likely be thought of as "solid rounders" while those who are somewhat weak in some or all the above dimensions will probably be accorded fringe rounder status.

#### A. Fringe Rounders

The term fringe rounder refers to persons achieving limited recognition as rounders. The term encompasses a variety of persons such as "has beens" (those once established rounders who retain only limited involvement due to a decline of hustling capabilities) to prospective rounders looking for a break to persons who routinely "moonlight" in criminal activities.

"Has beens" account for a significant number of fringe rounders encountered in this study. Most often one becomes a "has been" when hustling abilities are deteriorated due to drinking, drug addiction and/or old age. In terms of rounding careers more generally, this stage of limited involvement following a stage of more intense and extensive involvements appears to be fairly salient. For such persons, hustling opportunities and community prestige are in the pro-

cess of "drying up".

Sam ain't what he used to be. He don't have the pull he used to. Used to be what he said, went. He could bring business to a bar just by being there. Pretty soon you'll find all the rounders there ... (Now) he isn't much into anything. He's trying to run some food store in the suburbs but he isn't making a go of it. He lost most of the things he had. A lot of people here now haven't ever heard of him. (rounder)

There also exists a group of persons who may be termed prospective rounders. These persons are most often young males who are in the process of attempting to establish and expand their rounding activities. Typically, they perceive their fringe rounder involvements as temporary in nature, seeking opportunities to become involved with more established and connected rounders. However, it should also be noted that those unable to perform at the level of an established rounder or who never attain "the breaks" are likely to have an indefinite "stint" as a prospective rounder.

There also exists a group of persons who appear to be perpetually marginally involved in rounding activities. These persons may routinely venture into rounder settings but they typically have other basic sources of income. They also tend to have conventional commitments and indicate no evidence of desiring extensive rounding involvements. My data indicates that these sort of involvements are more characteristic of those receiving conventional primary socialization. These persons, often having a provisional rounder identity are more likely to "moonlight" at criminal activities.

Frank is the sorriest excuse for a hustler I've ever seen. If he didn't have his old man to bail him out every time one of his schemes backfired, I don't know what he would do. (rounder)

James said that Nat was in the process of becoming a rounder. He said that it involved being around other thieves, strippers, and hookers all day and having these people become the central social element in one's life. I also asked James if he would consider social workers in this neighbourhood to be rounders. He replied, "No I wouldn't, because their life is not on the street and in bars. Sure they may know something of what's going on but they don't experience it the same way as rounders. When they finish work, they go back to a straight life at home, a rounder doesn't have many straight relationships. (field notes)\* from Prus and Irini, 1980: 205.

#### B. Solid Rounders

In contrast to fringe rounders, solid rounders are those with more intensive and extensive involvements in the rounder subculture. Rounding activities are both a way of life and means of financial survival for the solid rounder, with illegitimate revenues being their "main stay". This conceptualization corresponds with Letkemann's definition of a rounder, i.e. a "true criminal" (Letkemann, 1973: 20). The established rounder is almost exclusively involved in the criminal subculture, seeking intrinsic and extrinsic rewards within its social boundaries.

I'm in a position now where some thieves will come to me and ask me to settle a dispute for them. On how the split should go, stuff like that. That's respect, when your word goes. (rounder)

The rounder's life, that to me is normal.  
 The average citizen's life is all fucked  
 up. I don't want that routine for nothing.  
 (rounder) from Prus and Irini, 1980.

### Dimensions of Rounding

#### (A) Being Streetwise

A major contingency influencing the career of a rounder is the extent to which he becomes "street-wise". Being streetwise most generally involves concrete knowledge of the activities, values and procedures of the "underlife". To be more specific, this entails having street-sense to know among other things, how to find a place to "crash" or "score" a free meal as well as developing a working relationship with other rounders. Also, in being streetwise, one should be familiar with the location and time in which "action events" such as card and crap games will occur. Finally, being streetwise means being alert, aware and not easily duped, that is, being aware a "con" and being able to protect one's interest.

Buddy is a real "corner boy". He seems to know a lot of the people we meet walking on the street and as people drive by the will wave to him. Others will come up to him, some of the hookers will come up to him on the street and talk to him, being very friendly with him. A major exception to this is Buddy's old lady. She does not talk to him in that area or does so only very, very briefly. (field notes)

While we are on the street, Buddy seems sensitive to all the action who is with who, and who is going where, and who is coming down the street etc. He might count for example, the number of times a particular unmarked squad car has circled the block. (field notes)

People like Delmar, James, Vito are really streetwise. Rocky too is streetwise even though is just young. I would consider him more streetwise than myself....It takes a lot of time on the street to become streetwise, but it also takes some smarts too. You have to be able to learn from mistakes. It takes awareness too, like you don't walk around in a fog all day, but you keep track of what's happening around you. Its kind of like having eyes in the back of your head. Delmar, James and Vito are like that. Not too much happens around them that they are not aware of. (rounder)

Being streetwise also involves knowing "who to tell what". Given the problematics of trust in the thief subculture, streetwise people tend to be discreet in discussing their activities and those of others with other parties.

You realize you really have to watch what you say to people. You just can't lay it out to people. You just can't say what you do for money. I'm just not used to doing that, 'cause' it ain't going to do me any good if everyone knows what I do....It's only a fool who puts his business out on the street. (rounder)

When I was at Buddy's with Lyle one night, Buddy said, "I hope we don't have to be judged when we die because I have many things to repent. It scares me to think that I would have to pay for all my wrongdoings, because man, I've done a lot of wrong in my time. I'm guilty as hell. There are things that I've done that I would tell no one about. No one at all." ...Lyle added, "yeah, you're right about that one. A lot of rounders can't do that though, they pull a score and they have to tell everyone about it. With the stuff I've pulled, I just hope that certain people keep their mouths shut. My friend Miles has got something on me that could get me life if it ever got out." (field notes)

As one is more "streetwise" and recognized as such,

he will have greater prestige in the rounder community. Not only will he reduce his chance of being designated as an easy mark for a hustle, but he will also be regarded as a desirable partner. However, those that do not come to possess a working knowledge of street wisdom and attempt to become involved in rounding pursuits more extensively are likely to find themselves as targets of any number of hustles and further involvements may indeed become problematic.

You take Max for instance, there's a guy who thought he was a rounder. He used to come in the hotel and tried to sell jewellery but he ended up giving away more than he sold, and when he did sell, he lost money. Everybody was using him, especially the broads. A stripper would get friendly with him, spend a little time with him and he'd end up giving her a diamond ring. Next week she's gone...He don't come around much anymore, I guess he can't afford it. (rounder)

(B) Contacts

Another important contingency involved in maintaining involvements is the development and maintenance of contacts. Since most hustles require the cooperation of two or more persons, it is inaccurate to speak of hustling without reference to contacts.

The "group" nature of criminal involvements is clearly illustrated in the older "classic" studies of Sutherland (The Professional Thief, 1937) and Maurer (The Whiz Mob, 1955) as well as in the more recent works of Polosky (Hustlers, Beats and Others, 1969) Prus (Road Hustler, 1977) and Lesieur (The Chase, 1977). Sutherland explains, how when a vacancy

exists in a canon mob, that members will suggest names that could fill it. Sutherland states that the weaknesses, habits and idiosyncracies of all thieves become common knowledge to other thieves thus members would know just by hearing a name whether they wanted him in or not (Sutherland, 1937: 31). This suggests that being known by more working thieves would increase one's opportunity to engage in professional theft. Prus and Sharper, 40 years after "The Professional Thief", found considerable support for Sutherland's material, finding considerable variation among card and dice hustlers in terms of operating procedures and affiliations (Prus and Sharper, 1977: 155). These variations to a large degree are determined by the nature of the "hustlers" contacts.

Lesieur (1977: 167) supports this statement in his study of the careers of the compulsive gamblers, stating the degree to which one was connected and affiliated with other gamblers determined to what extent one would become involved in "the chase" (get even strategies used by gamblers "in the hole"). My research corroborates these findings, indicating that those developing "solid" connections are more likely to continue and become embedded in rounder pursuits while those failing to do so will at best remain marginally involved as fringe rounders.

Concerning the development of contacts, established rounder typically will not disrupt his routine for the newcomer but may "give the kid a break" when the need for assistance arises. If he "likes the kid's style", he may involve

the novice more extensively in his routines thus alerting him to hustling more generally and introducing him to other rounders. These contacts in turn expand and define the nature of the newcomers affiliational network. Contact networks are critical for rounders since persons knowing and known to more rounders will have more opportunities to become established rounders and involved in a variety of hustles. To reach this point the novice must indicate that he is dedicated and must be prepared to organize his life around rounders, their activities and their settings.<sup>3</sup>

Contacts are usually developed at sites most commonly habituated by rounders (after-hours places, pool halls, action streets, race track, etc.). These places represent areas in which one is more likely to find or learn of a little action, however one should not assume that making casual acquaintances with rounders in such settings constitutes becoming well connected. Nonetheless, as persons become part of settings in which rounders are present, their opportunities to become involved in rounding activities increases. This however is wholly contingent on the extent to which one is seen as "fitting in" the rounder subculture and the extent to which more established rounders are willing to involve him in their activities.

I asked Mitchell how a newcomer came to be accepted by the established rounders. He said that it took time, that it involved talking to him and "feeling him out." Also rounders observe the newcomer's behaviour, watching how he conducted himself, and whether he did what they said he should do. If the newcomer proves himself, he will be accepted. (field notes)

Involvement in juvenile delinquency represents one route of making contacts with established rounders, however, these links are not as effective as it is commonly assumed. Again, its more important that one develop a personal relationship with someone into rounding more extensively (Prus and Irini, 1980: 211). Thus, developing ties with an established rounder can expedite the acquaintance process as well as alerting the newcomer to hustling more generally and consolidating the newcomer to those he comes in contact with.

I picked up a lot of things from the old pros (thieves). They're the ones who give you the breaks, really get you started doing worthwhile things, showing you the angles...I met them through my older brother. He was into a lot of shit, armed robbery, auto theft, etc., and he did a lot of time. He was pretty well connected and I met these guys by hanging around him. You pick up a lot of things just listening to these guys talk. Sometimes they'd take you on a job but just as a lookout at first. As they get to know you better and you prove yourself on jobs, you get to do the actual thieving. They have to trust you and like you, though, because they really don't need you. They're doing you a favor. (rounder)

Neil said that his older brothers were quite extensively involved in delinquent activities, and that is where he, himself, learned skills such as stripping a car at a fairly early age. He said that his brothers taught him quite a lot about street life and he found that the police were "on his case" rather early and kept a close watch, again because of his brothers. (field notes)

Finally, we would like to emphasize that developing contacts should be thought of as a continuous concern for most rounders. As persons become disinvolved in rounding pursuits for various reasons, rounders may endeavour to locate new partners. Also, contacts should be regarded as something

one works on to maintain, as partners may drift into other involvements and associations. (This aspect of contacts will be discussed in more detail in our treatment of dis-involvement).

(C) Reputations

Another key element affecting the career that a rounder may have, is the reputation that he develops in the rounder's subculture keeping in mind that importance of recognition amongst one's peers, establishing a reputation of being "solid" is one of the best single labels a rounder could achieve. There are several "ingredients" that are involved in being solid one which is being dependable in high pressure situations. Typically, then, a solid rounder is one who "comes through in the clutch".

Mitchell mentioned that at one time he was in the midst of breaking into a drug store when he was spotted by the police. He made his escape on foot and headed into a bar where he was a regular. He saw his friend Glen and joined him at his table. About 5 minutes after his arrival, the police walked in and arrested Mitchell. Glen at that point told them that they were mistaken since Mitchell had been drinking with him all night. When the case came up in court, Glen stuck to his story and also got a few more friends and a waiter to support the story as well. Mitchell beat the rap and considered Glen a really solid friend. (field notes)

For me a solid rounder is a guy you can count on. That's what I try to be. It's really the only way you can stay ahead of the game. There's a million guys who swear up and down they are as good as their word but that don't mean a thing to me. Just look at their track record. Ask their partners how many times they messed for this reason or that. I don't work that way. If I tell you I'm going to be there, I'm there. (rounder)

While reliability is valued in terms of expediting hustles, the high risk nature and lack of safeguards associated with hustling, place a great deal of importance on one's personal integrity. Thus, "being solid" is often synonymous with being trustworthy. ]

There's few people I trust in the world, I mean really trust but Bobby is one of them. That guy as far as I'm concerned is beautiful. If I ever make it big, you know, if all these things come through I'm going to make sure he has a place there....I was in the joint and before I go in I gave him a G-note to hold for me. A year later I'm released and he comes to pick me up and hands me the same G-note. He didn't touch a dime of it but then I never really worried about it. That's the kind of guy he is. A thousand different guys will tell you that. (rounder)

Some guys will drive you nuts with their big mouths. Like after you do something everybody will know about it because you're partner told everybody who would listen. Especially the broads. Some guys thing "Oh, Wow, all these broads will be all over me now." That's stupid. You tell a broad about your business and that's it, it becomes public knowledge. Its like "Hey, there's Jack the bank robber." These bitches, that's all they do all day, especially the hookers. They fuck and they gossip, right? And these guys, they go and tell them "we robbed that jewellery store" just to impress them....But Wayne, he's different. He's solid. I like working with him. With him, it's like if you don't have to know, you won't. (rounder) ←

Being solid also involves being able to successfully complete hustling pursuits. Thus, a solid rounder along with being trustworthy and reliable must also exhibit a good success ratio in terms of attempted hustles and successfully completed ones.

Most of these guys, all they're good at is making excuses because that's all they've ever done. Nothing goes right. They'll say if only this went right, if only I had the money, I should have done this, you know, it makes you sick. I'm sick of hearing about it. That's all you hear, are goddam excuses. They expect everything to be handed to them, like here's 5-thousand, take it, it's yours... I want a partner who comes through, not excuses. Save the excuses for somebody else, I'm tired of hearing them. (rounder)

Another aspect of being "solid" is that of being able to take care of oneself. Thus, if a person is able to "give a good account of himself" in a fight, to where other persons would not want to combat him, this would also contribute to his "solid" image. It should be noted, however, that persons need not be "toughs" or "heavies" to be solid, and persons thought too reliant on physical force as a means of doing business or resolving difficulties tend to be distrusted. They say be accommodated because of their force potential, but they are often avoided since they often disrupt routines and/or draw unwelcome police attention to others. Additionally, to the extent one is considered "solid", he is apt to have other rounders supporting him. Thus, for example, where two strangers get into a fight in a bar, the rounders may watch, but if a stranger and a "solid rounder" were to become involved, the newcomer may find that other rounders (and the staff) may turn on him. This is not to suggest that rounders are a tightly knit group. Indeed, they are not. It is, further, relatively rare for someone defined as "solid" to require the assistance of the others, and if he is seen capable of handling threatening situations independently with

composure and tact, his overall prestige among his peers is likely to be enhanced.

It's not so much that a rounder has to be physically tough, but he can't let somebody shit on him. If someone tries to walk all over him or insults him, he can't just let the guy do it. He's got to stand for his own or else he'll lose it. Even if he's 5 feet high and some huge guy is trying to intimidate him, he's got to stand up to him. You know, most often when the other guy sees this, he'll back off and respect him for it. (rounder) Prus and Irini, 1980: 215

Perhaps the single most important consequence of a rounder's reputation is that it will greatly influence the extent and range of his hustling opportunities. Typically, the more "solid" the reputation of a rounder is the greater his opportunities to hustle will be. His disreliability as a partner will be enhanced, hence a greater variety of hustles will become available. Finally, as solid rounders are advantaged vis-a-vis less established rounders in terms of street wisdom and soliciting support from others in the thief sub-culture, they are also less likely to be designated as targets of other rounder's hustles.

Charlie, well he's one of a kind....He was <sup>x</sup> busted on jewellery hiest 15 years ago. He took the rap himself and did 7 years. Never said a word about anybody else. When he got through, he got his end, 50 grand which his partners put away for him. He put the money on the street and he's still making money off that only now the guy's a millionaire. Let me tell you a story about the respect this guy has. He's over at The Starlight and he's buying rounds. I don't mean for the table, I mean for the whole fucking bar! Come midnight, he's dead drunk and ordering rounds for the bar. He's got 100 dollar bills in his hands he's waving round. But no one is going to beat him for it because his friends are so fucking solid, they'd break your arms and legs if you tried it. (rounder)

(D) Ways of Making Out(i) Hustling

The ability to "hustle" is the most central aspect of being a rounder. However, regardless of what one's hustle is, the ability to hustle requires larceny sense, (i.e. willingness to steal, "take the edge" etc.). Larceny sense is most effective and best exemplified when rounder's systematically make their own breaks, providing them with greater opportunities to hustle.

Most generally, hustling involves realizing one's interests at the expense of others most often by way of "edge-taking" activities (Prus and Irini, 1980: 208). While rounder's hustles are typically illegitimate in nature, it should be noted that rounders may often conceive of hustling more generically, indicating relatively little concern for the legality of their pursuits.

A hustle's a hustle. There's no difference as far as I can see. You don't have the cops to worry about. I used to sell dope, now that's work, believe it or not. It really is, because you always have to stay on top of things...You have to know who to sell to, how to make sure your customers are happy and they don't go elsewhere....Now you also get some guys that are passing through, you'll meet them in the bar or something. You give a sample of good dope and sell them an ounce of home-grown. I'm selling furniture now. Its the same thing. You tell the customers, this is a great couch, it will last a lifetime. An excellent investment. Good re-sale value and all that, meanwhile the thing is held together with spit... so you tell me what the difference is.  
(ex-rounder)

Would you do legitimate work?

I don't really care if something is illegitimate, legal, or illegal. Money is the big thing. If the money is there, I'll do it legit. (rounder)

Another distinguishing aspect of rounder's hustles are that they tend to be diversified as opposed to being specialized. While specialized hustlers such as those mentioned by Sutherland (1937), Maurer (1955) and Prus and Sharper (1977) are more likely to catch the public imagination, through "sophisticated" planning processes and occupational expertise, the more varied exploits and interests of rounders appear more typical of criminal pursuits in general. In other words, while specialized hustlers have rounder-like characteristics, (i.e. engaged in other hustles at some point in their lives and less significant sideline hustles ongoing through their participation in their major hustle(s)) it is the persons more or less concurrently involved in a variety of hustles to whom the term "rounder" is more aptly applied. While specialized hustlers can be categorized as "rounders of sorts," persons more extensively involved in a variety of hustles are more likely to be reliant on, and embedded in, local affiliational networks. Thus, while some rounders may systematically "make their own breaks", similar to specialized hustles and most are open to any reasonably safe opportunity of making money, overall, they are much more dependent on emerging opportunities than are specialized hustlers. Thus, in contrast to specialized hustlers whose routines are more standardized,

rounders' short term hustles require them to be "out and about", prowling for a "score".

To illustrate the general characteristics of hustling mentioned above, we will now list and describe some of the more oft mentioned ways of making out albeit, briefly. Due to space limitations we will outline the principles involved in each type of hustle and illustrate its accusalized form of expression. It should be noted however, that rounders may and often do have even more diverse hustles than the ones about to be described. Again, although rounders may have "favourite" hustles, and develop a "line" for which they are known, their hustles can be loosely characterized as "everything and anything".

For organizational purposes, we will begin with theft oriented hustles in which there is little or no notion of "fair-exchange" offered to the target (typified by victim-confrontation (robbery) and surreptitious crimes (burglary)) and develop to legitimate involvements and service-oriented hustles (drug dealing, fencing etc.) in which the target is usually not conceptualized as the victim by the target himself or the agent. Typically, hustles which are theft-oriented require a greater degree of technical expertise and a lesser degree of social skills and comparatively little technical expertise. However, given the interrelatedness and diversity of interest of most hustlers, rounders are required to show competence in both areas.

(ii) Theft

Under the category of theft, we refer to property theft without the ongoing awareness of the target (surreptitious crimes). This includes crimes such as boosting, burglary, breaking and entry, pickpocketing etc. Typically, these crimes require varying degrees of mechanical expertise to execute and most often there is little concern with victim confrontation and management. One should not assume however, that social skills are totally non-essential. When we take into consideration what is involved in making theft an ongoing viable source of financial return (i.e. organizing the involved persons, locating and dealing with a fence, bribing and influencing confederates and law enforcement personnel) the importance of social skills are more accurately represented. The following examples illustrate the variety of forms of theft.

I was in a few good scores with this group that was into B & Es. They'd pick out goods spots, like they had tips coming in all the time, because they really took care of their sources. Some guys, they'll give a guy a pat on the back for some information and walk away with all the money. Now these guys wanted the good tips so they made it worth your while. But if your information didn't check out they'd let you know that they were in no mood for that. We'd always hit a good place, places that had a lot of jewellery and stuff like that. But we'd really case the place before. They wanted to know where everything little and everything in the house was. (rounder)

Larry said that he worked the shopping plazas. Paul would act as the decoy tying up all the stuff, and Larry would boost. Larry said in some stores they would get some other person

to come along if there was a lot of sales stuff. "He'd be an insurance decoy, he keeps on an eye on me and ties up anyone trying to cut in on me". (field notes)

If you're going to go for something, you shouldn't fuck around. If you're going to rob somebody, rob a bank and make a few bucks instead of trying to beat up some guy in a candy store that can't make ends meet anyway. Like, if I was going to break into a place, I would go for the safe. We used to spend a lot of time looking the right place to hit, a place that had the dough. It's stupid to go into a place and hope for the best. (rounder)

Regardless of the type of theft committed the following concerns are salient: (1) location of the target (2) obtaining relevant information concerning entry and location of desired goods (3) entry into target establishment (2 and 3 are not equally applicable to boosting activities) (4) location and obtainment of desired goods (5) leaving the scene of the crime with impunity (6) minimizing residual evidence that is legally relevant and (7) processing stolen merchandise into cash.

### (iii) Robbery

Robbery refers to attempts made to coerce money or property from others. This type of crime is referred to as "victim confrontation" by Letkemann (1973). The degree of social and technical skills is contingent on the type of robbery attempted since robbery includes such diverse targets as lone persons and banking establishments. The following examples illustrate the variety of forms robbery may take,

however it should be noted that successful robbery most generally involves (1) the organization of involved agents (robbers) in terms of task assignment; (2) the location of the target (3) obtaining desired goods from target by verbal and/or physical coercion and (4) leaving the scene of the crime with impunity. In some cases there may be attempts made to cool-out the target.

There are always a few guys who hung around the hotel, Mike, Sandy and Jack, these guys are always a pain in the ass. They usually always had money, because they were at the race track or they would rip somebody up. They were forever ripping people off, you know? .... They were always forever grabbing people at the bar, "Buy me a drink, buy my friend over here one too." What do you know when you are drunk? If you've got a few bucks in your pocket when you are drunk, you would probably do it. But if you have done it once, these guys would be with you all night. Then you say, "I'm going over to another hotel," "Fine, we'll go with you." As soon as you order a drink, they order two, saying "He's paying." If the guy did get drunk enough, then they would clip him off for whatever he had, rings, watch, whatever he had. Like I have been in the washroom and they've come in saying, "Look at this ring, we just ripped this guy off." "I got his watch too, nice watch, want to buy it?" They make it sound like you're getting something. Look at it, gold strap. (rounder)

Frankie was a mugger when I was running with him. He'd do it right in the open. He'd go up to a guy and act like he knew him. The guy usually said that he must be making a mistake and Frankie starts to get angry. He starts threatening the guy that he'd better give back the money he owes him or else. People are walking by but if they stop and listen they think its just a private argument. He'd ask the guy for \$100. If they didn't have it, he'd ask them for all the money they had or they'd be through a store window. I've seen him pull guys into the alley that didn't hand over the money and beat them to a pulp. (rounder)

(iv) Game Hustling

Most rounders indicated that they have received financial returns due to involvements in game hustling (pool hustling, card games, "crap" games, etc.). The degree of involvement and edge-taking activities in this sort of hustling varied considerably however, few rounders could be said to be extensively and systematically involved. Also, the targets of these types are often more hustlers "looking for a little action". Thus rounders overtime often experience both target and agent roles in game hustling. However, it should be noted that non-hustlers who are more easily cooled out and are generally less problematic in terms of retaliation and are preferred targets.

I also hustle pool sometimes and there of course you have to be able to keep the game close because otherwise the guy is going to know that you are hustling him especially if he's a hustler himself. Something that you have to watch for when you are up against someone else who is pretty good. And there if you see that the person is holding back or if they look pretty tough, well then, you can just pack it in. Because it's better to do that than to try and beat everybody. (rounder) (from unused data in Hookers, Rounders and Desk Clerks).

Like part of it is that pool room setting. Because you figure that pimps, runners, B and E men, where are they likely to go, bars or boot-leggers and pool rooms. So they get together and they create action and then maybe it's off to the racetrack or find some women. In a pool room these contacts start to snow ball ...But like these pimps, at the pool room, we rated them suckers and they were always good money in the pool hustle. Their old lady was out making them fifty or a hundred a day and they have five or six chicks working for them,

so if they didn't blow all their money on dope, you'd get it in the pool room. They're suckers for it. Where else can they go and say, "Look at this diamond ring I've got. Look at all these nice clothes I've got," but the pool room. Like all the guys are there. (rounder) (Prus and Irini, 1980: 21)

I'd hustle a little pool from time to time. I'd go over to Johnson's Tavern, you know, the pool game is always going on there, and those guys never play for nothing. Its not too often I lose to any of the guys in there so I come out with few bucks in my pocket. Nothing great, eh but it helps cover a few of those expenses. (rounder)

There was a dice game we had set up this magistrate, so listen to what we pulled on this guy. Mac's old lady Betty she's up on charges for soliciting and she gets this magistrate who was a trick of hers, a real sick pervert who wanted her to cut his back razors, right. So he lets her off and she gets hold of him later and gets him to go to this booze can. So she's drinking with him and there's this crap game going on upstairs and he gets interested, right. Now I'm talking to him, and buys him a couple of drinks and he's flying, you know, he does know whats going on. I ask him if he brought any gambling money and he pulls out 5 bills. The game gets going and I can switch dice right so he starts shooting, I start switching and he starts playing, I let Doug in on the play and he bets against the guy and cleans up too. Ended up the magistrate didn't even make it home, he flaked out during the game dice in hand. (rounder)

Generally speaking all forms of game hustling much like the confidence game model involves (1) organization of hustling crew (if any) (2) location of target(s) (3) becoming consolidated with the target (4) promoting game involvements for the target (5) "winning" money from targets through edge-taking activities and (6) cooling-out the target (Prus

and Sharper, 1977: 2).

Sometimes the suckers find me instead of the other way around. That's used to happen to me at Central a lot. These suckers would be out looking for some action and they'd come up to me and ask about a game going on. If the guy had some dough on him we'd get a game going on. Like I'll tell him to come up to the game in about half an hour and I'd get things set up with Eli and Bobby. Sometimes we'd get them in groups, you know like I'd tell them they'll be some broads around, and we'd get some broad to come in for awhile for a drink. (rounder)

I've done a bit of hustling at Johnson's... Just about everything, that's what I'd do. I'd get some guy sometimes, like I'd know the guy can't play pool or shuffleboard or anything and I would play really wiz the guy. Just keep him playing and clean the sucker out. Sometimes I'd let him win once or twice so he wouldn't feel so bad. But I'd get him for everything I could in the long run. I had one guy a few days ago that wanted to quit. I got him for about \$20 and he wanted out. I just lost a bit of money at the pool table so I really needed to get even and I wasn't about to let a beauty like that walk out! So I tell him to step outside and tell him that he'd better hand over his bread because I needed it and I didn't appreciate him chickening out on me. He said he wasn't into fighting and I grab him and tell him that I don't mind beating on the guy that don't fight back. So he goes back in the club and I clean him out. (rounder)

Sometimes you got to cool the guy out, if the guy's lost a bit. Some guys really flip out when they lose. There's guys we took for a fair bit, I think it was a couple of grand the guy lost in the card game. We rigged it that he would blow his bread. Freddy was the mechanic and he feeds the guy nothing but he kept on betting heavy. So this guy flips out after he's blown his money and says he's going to kill himself and going on like this. Then he splits and comes back with a gun that he's waving around saying we're all using mirrors. Buster wants to beat on the guy, you know Buster, he's always got a hard on for a fight.

But I go over to him and hand him a fifty and tell him to get a cab and dry out. I told him he was betting crazy to lose if he keeps acting the fool. Now I'm telling him in a nice way, I'm being a nice guy to him cause this guy is close to doing something. (rounder)

(v) Swindles and Frauds

This type of hustling involves securing an investment from the target in accordance to a given arrangement. Typically, the agent (rounder) presents the target an opportunity in which he claims (the target) will receive a satisfactory commodity and/or financial return. The forms and the degree of planning and expertise involved in these hustles vary considerably amongst rounders, (i.e. bogus sales of goods and property, drug "rip-offs", stock frauds etc.) however, it should be emphasized that few rounders are involved in elaborate long term confidence games as the ones described in Maurer's The Big Con (1940). Rather, the confidence game hustles of rounders, although indicating systematic creation of hustling opportunities in some hustles, overall tend to rely more on situational opportunities with minimal effort spent on "front props".

The various forms in which swindling, de-fraudings and confidence games occur are almost as varied as are the sum of subjects of investments. The targets of the hustle, however, are usually chosen in response to the agents perception that his proposition will be favourably received by

them. Hence, persons perceived to have sufficient investment capital and open to suggestions concerning profitable investment opportunities are preferred and likely targets.

There was this guy Benny, he used to own a variety store around here. He was always wanting to talk to me. I'd be standing around on the street corner and he'd come out and shoot the shit with me. He'd always say that he thought I had it made, just standing around taking my time about things while he was running his ass off at the store. Another thing he was always trying to get into deals with guys, you know, rounders, eh. So Joey decides he can take the guy down. I never went along with it because the guy was good with me. He was good to Joey but Joey would fuch his grandmother and rob her blind too. Him and Blackie and the whole crowd, they're homoside. So Joey tells this guy he's got a connection for cigarettes with the government stamps and everything and he's got them real cheap for Benny. He makes good on the first delivery but the second don't show. He comes back to Benny and tells him his contact's in jail and won't deliver until they get him out. He says they'll both have to pay half of it. Benny comes up with his half of the bail. Joey takes off again and comes back to Benny with another story. He tells Benny that the cocksucker jumped bail and they lost the bail money. He's putting on a show, I was with Benny, Joey laid this out. He's saying he's going to kill him and he's going to make it up to Benny and all that. Meanwhile he's laughing to himself because there was never a bust in the first place. (rounder)

Don't ever talk to Mario if you have some loose change in your pocket. He's always talking business, talking about stocks, investments, man, you wouldn't believe it man. He's too much. He loved them stocks, though. Stocks, he had one for every day. He had an "investment expert" working on a few scams. Mario would get anyone he could talk to and tell them about how successful he'd been in the stocks "it doubled in price, look at these rings, I bought them yesterday with my winnings". Mario brought some guys in and he and his partner would take them for all they were worth. They'd buy stocks, options, even property in

their name, get them to sign it and everything. (rounder)

You could make a fair buck just ripping people at the bar. I've done it. I'd come in with a few joints, starting talking to one of your guys at the bar and asking if he wanted to buy an ounce of weed. He'd take him outside, take him up and give a really good price on an ounce. The guy is going to jump it, right? So I tell him to give me the money for it and I'll be back in 10 minutes with the smoke. (rounder)

The commodity in question or the legality of the subject of transaction may vary considerably here, however, the following are required for the successful completion of this way of making out. (1) Locating a target (2) consolidating with the target (3) present target with investment opportunity (4) secure the target's investment and (5) cool-out target (Prus and Sharper, 1977: 2). Concerning cooling-out the target, Goffman (1952) accurately states that this involves providing the target with personal integrity while dissolving the agents responsibility for the loss.

I have some dope, I'll maybe try and get rid of some of this stuff, passing it off as coke. So if you snort some, the stuff would sort of freeze your sinuses and although it's not coke, it has sort of the same immediate effects as coke. If they're looking to buy a gram or something, then that's probably enough to convince them. And mostly you just do that to younger guys because the older guys are there to get a girl. And you ask a good buck, like you ask top market price and if the guy doesn't want to pay, you just say, "Well, that's too bad, I can't sell it for anything less, you know." You try to give them the impression that what you have is the legitimate stuff and you're kind of doing them a favor by giving it to them at this price and you just can't

go any lower. Now if you have some quality stuff, well that you might sell to the regulars or people that you know really well because you don't want them coming back at you. Now this one time I sold some bad stuff to Rhonda's brother, I didn't know who he was and she came back and told me. "You ripped my brother off", sort of thing. So I gave him his money back, you know and sort of buy the guy a drink and sort of explain that you didn't know who he was. You try and make the best out of it in those situations. (rounder)

This buddy of mine made a mint on the mail order business. He had this aphrodisiac thing advertised in these local magazines. He really made a good business on this because it cost him nothing. All he said you had to do was open the envelopes and count your money. He did that a few times with other things, like this cockroach trap. So he put in the magazine that it was a fool-proof method of catch cockroaches, money back guarantee and all that. He said you move in fast and get out fast. (rounder)

(vi) Pimping

Sharing the criminal subculture with prostitutes, pimping opportunities are often presented rounders. However, in contrast with career pimps, (predominantly black) rounders are less likely to be totally reliant on hookers for their major source of income (Prus and Irini, 1980: 223) and some shun this hustle as being "beneath them". Thus, rounders are not as likely to develop systematic routines to promote pimping involvements, although they often find themselves in settings cohabitated by hookers and develop pimping sidelines as a facilitated consequence thereof. The most common "pimping" arrangement involves a rounder-hooker couple with

the rounder and hooker having independent sources of income. Some rounders nevertheless seek to personally gain from their companions income, and often seek relationships which offer or promote this sort of arrangement. Rounders however, have differing views concerning who constitutes the "best" female prospect for this relationship, indicating that there is a wide range in the target population.

Its a lot better if you get a broad that is already in it, its that much less trouble. A broad like that knows what the score is, she knows what she has to do. These other new girls, they expect to get a free ride. You might see them for a few weeks but they're not really doing anything for you. Some of them have potential, but its better if you have someone who is going to be consistent. There's nothing like consistency. (rounder)

Well, I like to find a girl that's totally naive to the scene, that she's never done it before and I like to introduce it to her myself, because if other people do it, well then you don't know what you're up against. If you can find a girl who's maybe just gotten thrown out of home, or she's lost her boyfriend or she's a little down in her luck to where she's sort of looking for someone that she can depend upon, well then that's the best situation. (rounder)

I'm not really a pimp, I'm a whore's companion. Like Rona, she's my old lady but I'm not living off her. I've got my own money and I don't need her's. I'd say most rounders are looking at a broad, a whore just for a fuck. Lucky, he sees a broad and he's looking to make some money off her but me, I just am looking to get laid with a broad....I expect my old lady to help me out. I'm not going to pay her bills like a sap while she's fucking around but a guy like Lucky, he expects that the broad is going to give him \$1,500 a week. (rounder)

It should also be noted that rounders may also seek personally profitable arrangements with other women in the criminal sub-

culture such as female rounders and strippers who at times double as a hooker.

A broad doesn't have to be a hooker to get money off her. I was living with a cheque forger in L.A. and she was bringing in a lot more than any of the hookers around here. (rounder)

When I was with Maggie she was a hooker and a booster but she did me more good as a booster. She had really bad habits as a hooker, like coming in at 10 at the bar and getting drunk, you know, blowing money instead of making it. (rounder)

For the most part the "pimping game" model closely resembles the confidence game-model. Generally, pimping involves (1) location of the target (2) consolidation with the target (3) promoting a personal relationship with target that involves investment on the part of the target (this may include "converting" the target's identity and values to "racket values" (see Heyl, 1977: 15) (4) securing the investment and (5) promote the continuance of the arrangement and relationship. It should be noted that similar to black pimps, rounders who appear to be financially successful and possess "flash" are advantaged vis-a-vis less prominent and influential rounders in terms of promoting "pimping" arrangements.

I have a lot of working girls coming to me wanting to be with me. I turn most of them down, it just is too much hassle and I would rather have my piece of mind. With me and the other guys down there at Main, Fred, James, Lucky, all the hookers and strippers come on to us. They figure we're really something, like we run the establishment. But it takes money to attract money. Then they figure you are not interested in their money because you have your own. (rounder)

(vii) Service Oriented Hustles

Service oriented hustles, refer to hustles in which one provides illegal goods and services for a profit. These are "victimless crimes" in which the client's (target) various needs are serviced (i.e. bootlegging, drug dealing, book-making, fencing, loansharking, bail bonding, etc.). This kind of hustling, perhaps more so than any other is dependent on the rounders pre-existing contacts in the criminal subculture and appears to be the most salient hustle amongst rounders. Rounders engaged in these hustles are required to find their source and/or clients in the criminal subculture, with rounders with "stronger" and more extensive contacts are particularly advantaged. Service hustles may be lone ventures, however typically they involve partnerships or the use of "runners".

(viii) Bootlegging

Bootlegging involves the sale of liquor without a license. This may be done in the form of a booze can in which drinks are sold in a manner paralleling the legitimate bar situation or in bottles, (paralleling a legitimate liquor outlet enterprise) or a combination of both the above.

I've had a bit of success bootlegging. I'm one of the best known bootleggers in the area. I've had a couple of booze cans too, but they're real headache. I've had runners too, Sam, he used to be my runner. I've never been busted for it and I've been in it for 22 years... My runners have been busted but I haven't.  
(rounder)

Sally's doing well at her booze can. Her prices aren't cheap. I've come out of her place with a \$50 tab quite a few times. Then you have to consider that her place is packed on the weekends....A lot of people know her from the Sunset and Main when she used to work there. Then her old man brings in all the musicians so they do a booming business down there. (rounder)

(ix) Fencing

Fencing involves the routine sale of stolen merchandise. Thieves may fence the goods directly to the customer wishing to purchase but the term "fence" more often refers to persons who purchase goods from thieves and then retail to their customers. It should be noted that fences do not deal in stolen merchandise from thieves exclusively. Rounders finding themselves in financial binds may also sell merchandise legitimately purchased to fences as well.

This one old guy used to come around and he would fence different things, usually for about a third of the price. Perfume, jewellery, whatever it might be, he would come and tell the girls, "Well, I've got this or that," and they would go running out, to check out what he had in his car and buy different things from him. (hooker)

I was at Sam's when Polly and another hooker came up. Polly had a number of dresses and a large shopping bag, very good quality dresses, not flashy, but good quality. She had about eight or ten of them and Luck was going through them. She said that she wanted 80.00 dollars for each one. Eventually he went through and found three that he thought he would like to get. He wanted to get all three for \$150.00 indicating to Polly that he would be getting more from her, later on. Eventually she agreed, and that was it for that. (field notes)

(x) Drug Dealing

Drug dealing involves the sale of illegal as well as prescription drugs. This is most often done at the street level (small quantity for personal consumption) however, some of the "well-heeled" rounders are able to make "quantity deals" on a wholesale level.

Man, if you have some good dope on you, there's no problem getting rid of it. You get people calling you up, coming up to you, ask you what's happening, wanting to party. You don't have to go trying to run up some business. (rounder)

Freddy's a good dealer but he knows all the people in Ramone Park. He told me he handled 3 pounds a week easy and he's got deals on has on as well. (rounder)

Percy hangs around the hotel a lot and he is one of the main suppliers of dope, grass mostly. He will come around at night or a few nights a week. He seems to do a fair amount of business there supplying Nick and Lea and Mike and some other people there. He will come around and ask, "How are things?" I'll say, "I am fine this week. Maybe we will see you next week," kind of thing. A lot of people are into pot and for them it is a rare night when they don't do it. Around there, it is sort of being sociable, it is like buying someone a drink. Like one night when I was working the desk, I had rolled a joint and Flo came along. I got her key to the room and put a joint under her key. She took a few steps and then she realized what she had. She really seemed to appreciate that. (desk clerk)

(xi) Bookmaking

Bookmaking involves taking bets on sporting events such as horse racing, baseball, fastball contests, etc.

Typically, persons involved in bookmaking attempt to balance the bets placed with them, thereby "skimming off the top." Rounders, however, are seldom able to do this on a routine basis and often find themselves in effect betting against their customers.

I was talking to Pax, a bookmaker. He said that one of his customers lost quite a bit of money a couple days ago. He seemed concerned stating he wanted his money. This person, however the guy usually pays, so he doesn't want to pressure him that much since he want to retain him as a good customer. He says he likes lawyers. He has a number of lawyers, as customers, he says they are good because they always pay. (field notes)

Me and Sam were taking bets. We went in partners with Jake. I've been a gambler all my life so I know most of the other gamblers...We mostly took action on the football games, we'd take turns on the phones. (rounders)

(xii) Loansharking

Loansharking involves the lending of money to persons at an agreed upon rate of interest. While the typical rate is 6:5 on a weekly basis, the actual "juice" to be paid is highly variable, contingent on the customer's relationship with the lender as well as the customer's ability and willingness to make good on his debt.

You don't have any contract, you just write it down, that's all. You owe me so much. They know, and you know, that's all that matters...Sometimes they'll disagree. You get a few like that, we had a book from when you lent him the money, and every week, when you're paid, you mark it. It was done all of the time, so I had the record and account for each one. We didn't have names, we didn't have dollars, we just put numbers. And for

each person, you'd put a different name all together, but you knew it was her, maybe put a little initial or something beside it. That's the way we had want it, maybe somebody else has their own little ways, everybody does. But everytime we went to pick up the money we'd end up back at the hotel where we had the office upstairs. We'd just take out the list and marked it off how much they give us, so it was always there. We were never really wrong. We'd bring the girl up. "Come on up, take a look at the book yourself". She'd go up, she'd look at it, this, this, this, okay, you're right. We never ripped anybody off, that wasn't the idea behind it. We wanted them to come back. (rounder)

The requirements concerning the operation of illegal goods and services are very similar to legitimate goods and services concerns. Service oriented hustles attempt to (1) locate source desired goods or service (2) make arrangements to assume ownership of the cleared goods or service (3) locate and become consolidated with potential clients (4) make exchange with clients and (5) insure discretion on the part of all involved in the transaction to secure impunity.

There's a lot of precautions you have to take if you're dealing. If you sell to wrong persons then all the money you ever made goes down the drain. First, you have to sell to only people you know. Then you tell the people you're selling to to never bring anyone with them. I had this dumb broad I sell downers to bring in some guy she just picked up off the street. She said she wanted some pills but I told her to get lost. I threw her out. She kept saying, he's O.K., he's a nice guy but how do you know. I told her never to bring anyone with her and that's that. I've never been busted for dope and I'm going to keep it that way. (rounder)

(xiii) Legitimate Involvements

Along with illegal means of support, rounders often "supplement" their income with legitimate sources of revenue. For some rounders, legitimate involvements are used as a "front" to minimize suspicion on the part of law enforcement agencies while others attempted to "launder" illegal funds. For other rounders, especially those marginally involved or otherwise incompetent in hustling, legitimate incomes are required to "make ends meet".

Perhaps the favoured legitimate involvement amongst rounders is investment in legitimate businesses and enterprise. Particularly, appealing are "cash business" in which the taxable profit is difficult to calculate and the cash flow is very fluid. Similarly, rounders appear to be attracted to speculative investments which hold the potential of "a fast buck." Other rounders, however, become proprietors of neighborhood bars, restaurants, variety stores, etc., often servicing, employing and dealing with others in the rounders' subculture.

A lot of guys got into pinball and cigarette machines. You know, pool games, electronic games those kind of things. Those machines make a mint. Those kids, they're wired to them. They play them all day long. You got one of those machines, you make nothing but money. Mike, he's got dozens of pinball machines in the arcade and all he does is collect his money. It's great. All it costs is the cost of the machine. You get that back in a few months, and it's all legal. (rounder)

If you got machines, whatever they are, whose going to be able to know how much you make? If you have machines that don't need to be re-stocked, like those computer games or

laundry machines, you got it made. (rounder)

Tony's Tacos is a small fast food take-out restaurant near Central. Lucky, and Sam, two rounders are the proprietors and they have a large clientele consisting of other rounders, hookers, cab drivers, and the like. Also, they have frequently small time rounders as counter help. (field notes)

Some rounders find employment in legitimate, often as a consequence of their prior and current rounding involvements. Therefore, rounders often find employment as bouncers, and hotel-bar staff in bars frequented by rounders as well as other businesses managed by associates. Also, given the hustling opportunities and orientations of bar-staff described in Hookers, Rounders and Desk Clerks (1980), "legitimate" employment may not entail a significant alteration of one's routines.

Felix doesn't need that job at Main. Neither does Hank. They have a lot going on their own. I don't know what Hank is into but he can't afford all he's got on what he makes there. Felix is smart too, he's got a couple of nice girls and a bit of money out on the street. (rounder)

Working the door was great for me. I had all the people I was doing business with come down there and see me. (rounder)

Finally, rounders may also supplement their hustling income with various government relief payments (i.e. welfare, unemployment insurance, injury compensation, etc.). While recipients may receive a certain degree of prestige for arranging "pogey" payments, those becoming extensively reliant on these payments will generally be discredited.

Pogey is alright if you set it up right. If you have other things working for you to where you just put that pogey money away or use it to invest in something, that is scamming. But you look at my cousin, and he ain't doing none of that. He gets his welfare cheque and he drinks it up in a few days. Then you see him, he comes to my door asking me to loan him some bread until the end of the month. He's a lush. His head isn't into making money. He hasn't had a money making idea in years. (rounder)

Perry, now there's a guy that put 3 months in the canning factory and went out on a lifetime casualty. He's got 10 grand coming his way, but he really had to set it up right and fight the board all the way. (rounder)

E. Booze, Bars and Booze Cans: The Social Life Rounders

(i) The Action Life

The social and recreational pursuits of rounders in many ways parallel to the leisure activities of conventional persons (i.e. watching t.v., going to movies, visiting friends, etc.), however, unlike most conventional leisure activities, an important aspect of a rounder's social life involves participation in "action" involvements. Leisieur (1976: 44) in describing gamblers refers to action in terms of events that produce thrills, "get the adrenalin flowing" and assist the gambler to "get his rocks off".

Similarly, participation in events which create action, or in other words create an element of excitement and adventure, are often cited as being one of the main attractions to "rounding" as a way of life.

While activities thought to be illegitimate, challenging and daring are likely to "stir up" some action, action activities can be further delineated into 3 types or sources of action: (a) hustling (b) dramatic events and (c) being somebody (Prus and Irini, 1980: 216).

a) Hustling: To a certain extent, action may be built up by one's hustling endeavours. While routine hustles (i.e. fencing, drug dealing, etc.) may lose some of "the juice" overtime, hustles that are particularly challenging and lucrative are apt to generate excitement. Also, as most rounders are ongoingly concerned with encounters with the law, action may be created as rounders attempt to elude and otherwise avoid detection from law enforcement officials. Thus, the contingent and unpredictable nature of hustling in general and its associated anxieties are one source of action for rounders.

b) Dramatic Events: Participation in dramatic events constitutes another source of action. While one may get some action by witnessing dramatic events (i.e. fights, kinky sex, wild parties, being rowdy) it should be noted that central participants are accorded more prestige and that winners are more esteemed than losers (Prus and Irini, 1980: 217).

While some dramatic events may reflect one's involvement, dramatic events are much more likely to arise from, reflect and occur within social context of his peers. Consequently, dramatic events are more likely to occur when

rounders congregate and "stir up some action" amongst themselves.

One time we were down at a party downstairs, a bunch of the guys were there, with two strippers, both colored, e.g. this one young one had nice firm little tits on her, a small girl. Anyhow, she was sitting there in a chair, and this other colored girl, another stripper, an older woman, like she's got kids and everything, was sitting down beside her. We were all sitting around this table, partying away, drinking to music, about 2:30 in the morning and all of a sudden this one little girl starts opening her top, the little colored one: And she's massaging herself, you know, wow! This girl's really whaling away. She's sitting there really getting into rubbing herself and the other chick was right beside her, I don't know if she cared if anybody was watching, but she was just licking her lips and literally freaking out. Then she started rubbing the other girl's tits for her. We had like a show going on down here. This chick, I think she really wanted to get into this broad's pants, she was just freaking right out. She didn't care who was watching. She started holding her head back, one porno movie right there, live. Really weird! You didn't know if you should look or turn away. Fuck it, look, everybody else was. Everybody started urging her on, "Come on, you can do it." (rounder)

I went down to Main today and ran into Buddy. He got into a fight with the former bouncer Dion. When the fellow came in, Buddy said, "Oh no! Look what's here." He seemed to be quite unhappy that the fellow came in. The fight started when a girl came over to the bar and started talking to Buddy. Dion came over and said that she shouldn't be talking to Buddy because he was a piece of scum and pretty well with that, he and Buddy started fighting. They rolled over a few tables and were sort of grappling with one another. Buddy got him down and then let him up. But shortly afterwards, they started again, this time by the stairs. A number of people had gathered around and they seemed quite angry at Dion for having started the fight. Rocky

who was working the bar, picked up a chair and went after Dion but he couldn't reach it: because, of a number of people in the way. Ron also joined in the fight and he apparently got a couple of shots in it. Dion who then got scared and ran out. Another fellow had tried to help Dion, and Rocky, and Ron got into a fight with him and Rocky had kicked him a couple of times in the face, in the process of tearing the heel off his shoe. At that point Henry got into a fight with another fellow, Bob, who he had not liked from before, I guess this gave him an occasion. Bob and a couple of fellows had been walking around the place as if they owned it and Hank seemed to take exception to this. Anyway, the fight started because Hank thought Bob was going to interfere in the fighting and then he said that he wanted all three of those guys out of there. Li, a chinese fellow, who is the assistant manager, said he was going to bar Bob from the hotel. Bob got pretty mad about this, and said he was going to get the shotgun and blow Li's head off. Then Li called another man over, a friend of Bob's and he told him he had better get him out of here because all he had to do was make one call to Chinatown and he would take care of the situation. The other guy, Joe, seemed to be quite upset about this and seemed to take the threat seriously. He said that he really didn't hang around with Bob at all, but he would help get him out of here. After the fighting was all over, there were a number of the hookers gathering around Bill asking him if he was okay after the fight seven or eight police came in. They came in and just sort of stood around. They were talking to Hank for a little while and one of them motioned to Buddy to come over and then they took him away. I don't know what happened at that point. Later, Rocky and I were going to look for Buddy and I said we would go to the police station. (field notes)

c) Being Somebody: "Being somebody" is another form of action involvements for rounders. Persons may show themselves to be "somebody" by being more intensively and extensively involved in action events and by developing their own distinctive personal style of self presentation. Similar to

Becker's dance musicians, rounders may attempt to develop a lore about themselves by "pulling stunts" and otherwise exhibiting behaviour which flouts conventional social norms (Becker, 1963: 87). Rounders may also "be somebody" through a flamboyant lifestyle, conspicuous consumption, expensive clothes, jewellery and automobiles much like the black street hustlers "in the life" described by Binderman et al. (1973).

A sense of importance may also be achieved by being generally recognized, graciously greeted, and receiving differential treatment by others, before an audience of peers. Rounders who are widely recognized in the criminal subculture as being solid or otherwise worthy of respect are more apt to receive preferential treatment and privileges in action bars and booze cans than are other patrons and less established hustlers, however their privileged status may otherwise be exhibited by gifts received, attractive and obliging female companions, etc. While more conventional persons may also attempt to indicate to their audiences that they are "somebody" by their ability to secure "V.I.P." treatment, for rounders to receive such treatment within the criminal subculture is an indication to self and others that one has "arrived".

James is probably the best action person in the bar. He is always cutting up in the bar, on the street, wherever he goes it seems...He really knows how to live and he has the knack of creating excitement wherever he goes....You'll always have a good time if James is around he could start a riot in a phone booth. (rounder)

I could walk in a bar, lets say once every month and the bartender, the waiters they would all know me and talk to me. I could walk in there and they'll be syaing, "Hi! how are you and all that while they won't say a word to the guy that comes in everyday and drinks his beer and leaves. That's because they know I'm hustling and I don't have to walk my ass off in a factory everyday. (rounder)

I was out with Mahgoney, a black stripper, Harvey a rounder, and Sheila another stripper. We decided to go out after the bar closed to a booze can. Harvey was interested in Sheila who was discontented with her present boyfriend who was a bar-boy at Main. Harvey seemed particularly well received at this booze can and managed to secure for the group several bottles of rye and some cocaine. After leaving the booze can Harvey took the group to an all night restaurant and Sheila and Mahgoney stated they were hungry. Again, Harvey was well received at this establishment and although it was a dive, the staff and management gave us the royal treatment, with the manager of the restaurant often chastising the staff for moving too slow. After the meal, the manager refused to bill us although Harvey graciously insisted on picking up the tab. At this point, Sheila who was by now quite drunk said that she was glad she left Tony and was with a guy who had class and knew how to treat a woman. Before the night was over, Harvey indicated to me that he could get a room for the night for Mahagoney and myself free of charge and he also had pull in several area hotels. (field notes)

I'm sitting at the bar, see, and I'm with my buddy. Mikie, wants to stick his dick into this barmaid. I think she's a hose bag myself and the word was out that you had to watch her with the change, you know, she's N.E. Now Mike wants to play with her and when she handed him a cracked glass he went to town. He's turning to me, he says "back up this play." He takes a drink spits it out and starts yelling. The broad comes over and Mike pulls out a piece of glass from his mouth. His eyes are popping out and he tells her he swallowed a piece of glass and he runs to the washroom. The barmaid's flipping out. She thinks that she damn near killed this guy, she's talking about let's call an ambulance. Then Mike comes from the bar and he's got blood coming out of his mouth. How he did that I'll never

know, but it sure looked real. The barmaid's giving this guy drinks, she apologizes and everything and then I start in on her telling her she better throw Mike a fuck before he gets over the shock of cutting up his stomach with the glass and decided to sue her. We really had that barmaid going! (rounder)

(ii) Bars, Booze Cans and Other Hangouts

As evidenced by the respondent interviews and field notes in the previous section, subcultural settings such as action bars and booze cans seem central to the rounder's leisure pursuits. These settings not only provide rounders with an opportunity to interact in a relaxed manner with like-minded others, but also provide opportunities to develop contacts and execute hustles. Thus, in these subcultural settings, the rounders social and hustling activities are extensively interwoven. Many rounders, then, become embedded in certain "hangouts" (i.e. hotel-bar, poolroom, etc.) and their lives tend to revolve around other persons in these settings.

(a) Action Bars

While regulars appear to be a common bar phenomena, rounders are much more likely to be found in some bars than in others. More specifically, hooker bars, stripper bars and other action bars in the rougher section of the city are more likely to be patronized by rounders.

In "action bars", rounders often form and define the overall "atmosphere" of the establishment. They are, in other words, the central cast of characters around which the social

life of the bar revolves. This set of circumstances are more likely to come about as certain cliques of rounders designate a particular bar as their "hangout". It should be noted, however, that rounders are more apt to "hangout" in bars with a pre-existing reputation as a rounder hotel.

A rounder can walk in another bar outside his own circle and he's nobody in there. They don't know who he is or what he does and if he lets them know, they would probably want him out. But, if he goes in at Central, he's somebody special. The people look up to him and treat him with respect. Take me for instance, some straight people would think I was pretty low but in my own circles I'm respected. (Prus and Irini, 1980: 219)

The North Star is not your average hotel. You take a walk in there, you'd be surprised. They're smoking dope right out there in the open. Nobody seems to get concerned, the bartender, the waiters, nobody seems to be bothered by it. They have a lot of fights there. The whole place seems to get involved in them too. There are also some two bit hookers there, very rough hookers, and old hookers. They have some in there who must be nearly 60 years old. They sit there all day, blow the guy in the laneway, or wherever, go to the back of the hotel, it doesn't matter to them, and they'll sit there all day trying to get guys to buy them drinks. (rounder)

### Rounder-Staff Relations

Establishing a congenial relationship with the management and staff of the hotel-bar is crucial in terms of the way a rounder will be received in any given bar. It is considered prestigious amongst rounders to be recognized by staff and to be afforded privileges that most bar clientele do not enjoy. To be treated in this manner is an indication

of acceptance by one's peers and a sign of "being somebody".

Generally speaking, one finds mutual social support amongst rounders staff, in the bar setting. This support is facilitated by circumstances such as a rounder's previous shows of assistance in distressful situations. In this way, the rounder may come to be defined as "a good guy to have around the bar" insofar as he can be counted on to assist a staff member in handling trouble-some patrons. Likewise, rounders are more likely to have the staff and rounder support should they become involved in conflicts in the bar. Rounders may also assist certain staff members in the more mundane aspect of their duties such as watching the door. In return, rounders are afforded privileges that few regulars or even staff enjoy.

Its good to have rounders around in a way. They help you look after the place, you feel a lot safer when they are around. You get some assholes who come into the bar and they want to blow off steam and they end up harassing the staff. When you have a few of your regular rounders in there with you, well you know the guy is either going to cool it or wind up on his ass in the street. (bartender)

Being on good terms with staff also facilitates the smooth execution of bar hustles insofar as staff members "keep quiet", cover up or even assist in his hustling activities. Given that rounders' hustles often involve staff members and that few systematic hustlers can operate without staff becoming aware, cooperation with staff members is often essential. Rounders, then find it in their best interests to become "tight" with certain staff members and to establish

at the least a non-antagonistic relationship with the remaining others. A deterioration of relations with staff and management can have negative consequences for the rounder to the extent that he may be unable to hustle out of a particular hotel or even a group of hotels.

Its important to be well-liked by the staff, the waiters and bartenders because different times somebody might have a little bank roll, and they're drinking and these people will tip you off. Now they'll want a little something for their help too, so you make sure that you don't forget them....Or the desk clerks, you might give them \$20 or \$30 just to forget that you were there, like if you took the guy up to the room and rolled him there....When you're in the bar hustling you want it to appear that you know people, that you are a well liked guy and tipping helps that way.... (Prus and Irini, 1980: 219)

A shared outlook between rounders and bar staff to a great extent reflects the bar staff's knowledge of street life, commercial sexuality, gambling and hustles. Where staff members are extensively and systematically involved in bar hustles, this sense of a shared perspective is particularly heightened.

Also, most of the bar staff and management encountered in this study have been or still are rounders and have been affiliated with particular rounders before being employed in the bar. One also finds that most rounders have past employment in "action" bars. Thus when we take into consideration that there are staff members who are "rounders of sorts and rounders who use work at the bar as a "front", it is not unexpected to find overlapping identities between rounders and staff.

Rounders and bar staff also tend to socialize outside of the bar setting. They may meet and interact at after-hours clubs, booze cans, private parties, race tracks, etc. with dating between rounders and female bar staff being common. Informal leisurely interaction between bar staff and rounders outside and inside the bar selling is to be expected since they are reciprocally defined as "hep insiders". This perspective in turn facilitates meaningful interaction for both parties.

J.R. indicated that he was anxious to become better acquainted with a waitress in a strip bar that he frequents. He said that he had taken her out before and that she seemed somewhat impressed with him. He hoped their relationship would develop further. (field notes)

While rounders generally tend to be tolerated and even welcomed in certain action bars it should not be assumed that all rounders are universally welcomed. Rounders may provide assistance in creating the social order of a bar, however they may also instigate aggressive behaviour and otherwise disrupt the peaceful operation of the bar. Such rounders are often the source of negative concern for the management and staff and concerted efforts may be put into "clearing out" such persons.

There were some guys down at Main that you just hated to see come around. Nobody wanted them in there. Like there was a notice there on the desk "These persons are barred." Li cleared this group of guys out and he didn't want them weasling their way back in. They were ripping people off right at the bar. That's no good for the joint. (desk clerk)

Other conflicts between rounders and staff may occur when staff members feel that certain rounders are abusing their privileges by taking too many liberties in the bar. Quite often rounders who may be known to management but unfamiliar to staff (particularly new staff) may be perceived as overstepping their jurisdiction. Also staff members may be reluctant to obey those whom they believe to unjustly presume the status of "real rounder", while these rounders often feel morally outraged that staff are failing to provide justly deserved respect.

I also get some rounders who are always trying to con you around, through the manager or the owner. They'll say "Well, he said I'm good for it," or "I'll take mine on credit," or whatever it is. And you sort of wonder." "Do they have one cent." Like you're worried about being stuck with the bill yourself. You hate having these people around because you make money off them and you never know where you stand with them. A guy will run up a 50 or 60 dollar tab and you figure, "Well, what am I going to do with it afterwards." And You're on the bar, you're busy working with people and they want their service right now," "snap, snap". You just get a little annoyed with them. But then, if you don't give them service before the other regulars, well, they run off to the boss. "Well, what's the matter with this guy, he's not giving us good service." I'm the only one on the bar and working my ass off as it is, and I'm not making any money off these guys and if I don't serve the other people, they're going to walk out too. These guys might run up a 50 dollar tab and they'll say, "We'll straighten it up tomorrow," and they might go back and pay it upstairs. But what do you get out of it, just a headache, listening to these guys bullshit all the time....Sometimes they'll come and they'll name off about 7 drinks one after the other that they want. Now, it's okay if they say, "I'll have a rye and soda" you fix that up, boom boom and then you go to the next one. But they will just list them all off, so

it's harder to keep all them straight. So you remember the drinks and get them straight, but then you know, someone will take the water from the rye, and they sort of mix everything up, the soda with the gin and what-not, and then they complain, "Hey, you haven't got our drinks straight." Like one time I got so upset with them, I said, 'Look, you want a fucking drink? Then order the drinks one at a time and you take the one you ask for. I'm having a fuckin nervous breakdown with you guys. Every night you're here, it's the same bull-shit rambling on and on. Now, it's kind of a change because it was always them who was doing all the complaining and I was always getting all the shit. But that night this one guy gave me a five dollar tip which surprised me so something must have gone right, there, eh. He's very cheap with his money, like I heard him say a thousand times, When we make it, you'll make it", kind of thing.... (bartender)

A lot of rounders hang around the Bluegrass, you'd have a lot of trouble because of this. There is trouble when you get too many rounders who become regulars because they take too many liberties. They try to run credit and sometimes they don't want to pay for drinks or they'll get loud. They also try to hustle people in the bar, and will fight amongst themselves trying to prove who's the toughest, building a reputation. Sometimes they boast a little too much, one guy may call the other a bullshitter and a fight will start over that.... When I was working there as an assistant manager and as a bouncer I had to pretty well fight all of them because all of them were trying to test me. That was the only way you can build any respect with them or with any of the other people who hung around there. That's the only thing they understood. You have to fight them, you know, beat up their heroes. Then they'll all pat you on the back and get along with you. After you handle some of the tougher guys, most of them stay out of your way....But it doesn't take much to start a fight. Maybe somebody'll be getting loud and you tell them to be quiet, and they'd take offense at that and start fighting. Or they'd swear and you'd tell them to be quiet and they wouldn't want to do it. They'd put their

feet on the chairs, and that wasn't allowed. Or you might ask them to leave when they got a little drunk and they'd really get mad at that and start fighting. They didn't want to be pushed around or give an inch to anybody. Respect is the name of the game, and the only way you could go about it was with violence, proving you were the toughest.  
(doorman)

I almost got into a fight with one of the guys. I can't stand this guy. It was like they were taking over. They walked in and what they wanted to do, was to grab a drink and walk around. I will just take it, here, put it on my tab. I said, "You ain't got a tab, Jack. If you pay me cash, you got a tab, sure." I never let them run a tab when we can get cash because these guys would screw you up left and right if they could. Then when you do get their money, they come in and throw you a quarter, "Hey, I'm good to you." You are about as good as a kick in the nuts, right? I can live without you. (bartender)

Finally, rounders may find themselves unwelcome in certain bars as they are perceived to have "heat" on them. Rounders who are known as rough hustlers or rounders involved in ongoing noteworthy criminal prosecutions are more apt to be distanced by bar management and staff, fearing that their association may be incriminating. This distancing may also reflect police efforts to curtail the activities of certain rounders by having bar owners "bar" them from their principal haunts.

I walk into Main one day and Moon walks up to me and tells me that I'm barred from the hotel. I ask him how come because I've done the guy a lot of favors in the past. I can't see how he could do this to me. He tells me that I'm a heat score and he doesn't want me coming around his hotel anymore. (rounder)

(b) Booze Cans and Other Hangouts

While rounders may spend considerable amounts of time and money in certain bars, other action hangouts are worth noting. These other hangouts become particularly important when we take into account that for some rounders, action bars do not become central to leisure and hustling activities. Rather, for these rounders, other hangouts such as boxing clubs, area restaurants, "rounder" apartments, race tracks, pool hall, social clubs and the like assume greater significance in terms of lifestyle, contacts and activities. However, regardless of the particular significance of any individual subcultural hangout, most of the hangouts mentioned above are likely to involve at least some participation from most rounders. Taken under the more general category of criminal subcultural hangouts, these hangouts (including action bars) will usually be the centre-piece of rounder's social activities.

Booze Cans: "Booze Cans," (also known as bootlegger joints, "blind pigs", etc.) are amongst the favoured haunts of rounders. Referring to unlicensed "establishments" which sell liquor (often after the bars close operations), booze cans are places where rounders can go and "unwind" relatively safe from encounters with straight persons. In booze cans rounders will encounter other rounders, bar staff, dancers, hookers, bikers and "night people" in general.

The significance of contacts, and reputation and

interrelatedness with others in the criminal subculture is crystalized in the example of booze can operations. Due to the illegality of selling liquor without a license, most booze can operators tend to be somewhat selective in terms of clientele. Unknown persons or person who cannot be vouchered for by a trusted other are screened out, however, some booze cans are relatively "wide open". The success of most booze cans is reliant on the extensiveness of the operators' contacts in the rounder subculture, since clientele are primarily recruited from this population.

It should be noted that other similar operations (selling liquor without a license) such as after hours clubs, and social clubs also have a rounder element present. Nevertheless, after hours clubs (selling soft drinks) having open door policies (allowing straights in) or catering for other special interests (homosexuals, blacks) are not as likely to be frequented by rounders on a regular basis. The typical arrangement for booze cans is an owner operated business based in a residential dwelling. Typically booze cans are located in the rougher sections of the city, in the same general area as other action spots. The following extracts describe some of the booze cans encountered in the study.

Fritz had this booze can. Mostly for very rough people. They were like maniacs, if somebody just happened to may be crack accidentally, well, they were already up and, "Do you want to fight?" Right away! This booze can was a real dive, it was dirty and it kind of stunk, but you'd find all the heavies there. At this place, the beer was

like a buck a bottle and you had to pay right there, whereas at some other places you can run up a tab. This place has been just literally torn up many times and they'll still use the chairs where the backs are torn up, torn off or whatever. Usually they open it up right after work and you get all these heavies there, and they'd be talking about the joint all the time. A lot of them have been in prison or have just gotten out.... (rounder) from Prus and Irini, 1980: 234.

When I was Falling River I visited a booze can "called Joey's". I was brought in by a local dancer, who vouched for me at the door. This was an owner operator business and there was quite a crowd on hand. I was told that there was quite a few rounders present, that this was the favorite local "watering hole" and there was also a few bikers that came in. There apparently was quite a fight when the owner and one of the patrons threw out some bikers. (field notes)

Pat's Booze Can - Oh, it's beautiful. It's a realistically nice quiet place, never no fights down there. A lot of musicians go there, Musicians, waiters, bartenders. Like we opened the place up, we were the first ones there, when it first opened up. We sort of started the place off and we've been going there all the time. You've got to have a key to get in there. She doesn't answer the doorbell, very seldom. She made a bunch of keys, and only certain people get the keys. So when we go down there, just open the door, go on upstairs, you know, everybody's going in. It's usually a good time. She's open about three days a week. That's all she has to be open, because she gets a packed house all the time. People are just standing all over, there's no room to sit. She's got three fair-sized rooms, plus the kitchen, and it's always packed. It's a beautiful place to go. And it's not expensive, about a buck a bottle for beer and a buck and a quarter a shot, a buck and a half at the most. Like I never pay anyhow. As I go I run a tab, and when I pay it, I pay it. I don't have to pay it that night. I come back maybe a week or so later and pay it. But when I pay it, it's never really that much, ten, twenty bucks at the most, and you're like, "Give him a drink, give him a drink", you're buying people

drinks all the time.....(rounder) (from Prus and Irini, 1980: 232)

Joan's booze can, a lot of rounders used to go there, it was a really good place to go to. It was a really nice house. May used to run it, but I haven't seen her around in a couple of years. Everybody used to go there, but there's more rounders there. (rounder)

As in conventional bars, the central activity in booze cans is drinking, however booze cans represent more than just a place to drink for most rounders. Whether rounders seek to "let loose" and unwind, go on a date with a female companion or execute hustles, booze cans are often regarded as the places in which these desires can be accommodated.

Similar to many bars "rowdy" behaviour is one of the most prevalent activities in booze cans as patrons attempt to "let off steam". While many patrons tend to become loud and boisterous as their alcohol consumption increases, outbreaks of violence are not uncommon. Since the possibility of receiving assistance from police is virtually eliminated, almost all violent incidences must be managed informally.

You're bound to get a few fights breaking out when you get all the rounders coming in, drinking the way they do. You get guys passed out on the floor, some guy makes a move for another guy's chick and bang, you get fight breaking out...Some guys came in begging for a fight. Look at them the wrong way and they'll tear your head off. (rounder)

Anyways, I was there one night and things were getting a little hot and then suddenly you hear some shots through the window. Everybody was down on the floor and I was sort of scared to make a move. All of a sudden, I saw all these

guns coming out and a few people are firing back in some general direction. I didn't think they had guns. I just thought they were all here for a sociable drink, or whatever, but out comes the guns. A couple of hours passed by, you know and everybody's just sort of hanging around, just sitting there, and finally one guy walked out and it was safe, so after a bit I left. I went back a couple of times after that, but I made sure I didn't stay for any length of time. I stayed for an hour or so, but that was about it. (rounder)

Booze cans also represent places in which romantic interests may be pursued. Rounders may come accompanied by female companions (a night out) or they attempt to initiate involvements with females already present. Typically, most females present are in varying degrees involved in the criminal subcultural, the population from which rounders generally choose their romantic partners. It should be noted that the hedonistic atmosphere of most booze cans facilitates such encounters, and often booze cans provide facilities in which sexual interests can be accommodated. (Romantic involvements will be discussed at length in the following section.)

I've scored with a few chicks over at Joey's. I scored with one of the strippers at the Solomon Hotel. I was at the bar and she was next to me and we started talking, nothing sexual, just talking. Then she tells me I got bedroom eyes. She was a good looking broad, eh, no spring chicken but she was a horny looking bitch. So I'm not about to let an opportunity like that go by so I put my aim around her and started necking. Later on I took her out and we fucked in her hotel room. (rounder)

Ted's place, I've gotten lucky in there. He's got a room there upstairs, the bedroom, its the fucking room. I took one of the waitresses, Flo, over there. We ended up at the top of the stairs, you know, necking and feeling each other up. We were both really loaded. Anyway,

we ended up in the bedroom. We were lucky to get the room because there's someone in there usually. You get some orgies going in that room sometimes. (rounder)

For other rounders, booze cans provide opportunities to engage in hustling activities. Rounders may attempt to "roll" or otherwise rob other patrons of booze cans, however, the targets of these hustles are usually unvouched conventional persons or other undesirable who are otherwise unconnected. This practice appears more common in after-hours clubs, as social clubs in which admittance is not severely restricted, and preferred conventional targets are more plentiful.

The Grass Hut is a place you got to watch for. You get a younger crowd there, a lot of the younger rougher guys from Ramone Park. They'll follow a guy out the door and rob him in the alley and then come right back in. If the guy is a straight-john what's he going to do. Call the cops. Then he'll have to explain why he was drinking illegally. (rounder)

Another revenue producing (or revenue reducing) activity in booze cans is gambling. Some booze cans may on an occasional or regular basis have gambling activities available, the most common being card and dice games. My respondents indicate that for the most part these games "legitimate" and do not involve edge-taking activities on the part of the participants. Often the operators of the game will simply charge a flat rate for entry into the game, take a percentage of each pot or charge for time at the table. Occasionally, however, participants may form coalitions

tions to hustle a particularly desirable target (see game hustling) or take individual edges.

You got to watch James when you're gambling. He'll cheat you if he thinks he can get away with it. Doesn't matter if he knows you or not, like you are not or anything. He'll do it if even when he knows you're looking for him to cheat. That's what happened when he got into that but over at May's. He was switching dice and Jack nailed him. (rounder)

### Other Hangouts

For some rounders other hangouts such as racetracks, pool halls, area restaurants, rounder apartments, coffee shops and the like assume particular significance in terms of their social lives. Similar to action bars and booze cans, these settings represent areas in which rounders may gather with like-others for leisurely interaction and hustling related activities. It should be noted that these hangouts along with action bars and booze cans are likely to play a role in most rounder's social lives, however, for some rounders particularly those with less extensive contacts and limited social and hustling routines, certain hangouts are visited regularly while others are seldom frequented.

There's some guys you'll never see at Main or Central. Free Meal is never there. The only place you'll ever see him is in his place, my place and the race track. He used to be somebody in the racetrack a few years back, he was in with some people in the mob, but now he don't have one cent. (rounder)

Gizzard practically lives in the club (pool hall). Anytime you're looking for him, the club is where you're best bet of finding him ....He gets the odd bit of loose change

hustling pool but he doesn't have all that much else going for him. Everybody in the club knows who he is but you go to some other places downtown where you have your players and they've never heard of the dude. Myself, I like to walk into all kinds of places and say "Hey, whats happening today."  
(rounder)

In discussing other hangouts we will pay particular attention to pool halls and racetracks since these sites are more often associated with the rounder lifestyle of the general public and by rounders themselves. For some rounders these sites do not become significant, however, they provide what I term an "action backdrop" for most rounders' lives. I am associating this term, with a dramaturgical model and more specifically to background activity which sets the "atmosphere" for the front stage action. It does so as it is often referred to and taken into account in terms of the central activity. For instance, the race track becomes an action backdrop since the activities and performances of trainers, jockeys, horses, gamblers, etc. are regular points of reference for rounders throughout their careers. While some rounders are more deeply involved in race track action than others, nevertheless almost all rounders are aware of and "touched" by it.

Before discussing pool halls and race tracks, we will briefly discuss two other sites in which rounders hang out, sites that do not ordinarily come to mind when one thinks of hangouts for those in the criminal subculture. These are area businesses (restaurants, variety stores, coffee shops) and area rounder apartments or homes.

Area businesses become hangouts often as a result of the proprietors and/or staff developing personal relationships with rounders. Often the area business people have or at least develop some rounder-like qualities thereby inducing an atmosphere in which rounders feel they may "unwind". Also, as the more prestigious "solid" rounders are amongst the biggest spenders and tippers as well as "drawing cards" for these establishments, their presence is usually welcome. On the other hand, rougher and untrustworthy rounders usually find themselves unwelcomed and proprietors may launch campaigns to have them barred from the premises should they attempt to establish it as a hangout.

Another rounder hangout seldom referred to in the literature is rounder apartments or homes. In the course of my research I encountered 5 such sites that functioned as a "drop in clubhouse" for certain cliques of rounders; (membership in these cliques overlapped). Rounders would often "drop by" in the course of their daily routines to discuss hustling pursuits as well as more mundane topics, "get high", or "just kill a little time."

This place is like a clubhouse. Its the kind of place you drop by, smoke a little pot, you know, the door is always open and there's always somebody here. I love it. I've had some good fucking times here.  
(rounder)

In accordance with the findings of Polosky, my research indicates that pool hustling in general and pool rooms are as hangouts in particular they appear to be declining in popu-

larity amongst rounders. Several members of my sample indicated that pool rooms were central to their social activities in their youth, however, only 2 of my sample indicated regular patronage presently.

I never hung around pool halls much at all. I played a little pool when I was a teenager, but it was never my scene. It never was a big thing with me, it was something most guys left alone when they got older. I was a bit of a pool hustler when I was, oh, about 19 or 18 or something like that. (Question? - did you try to fish in other guys into playing with you?) Not really! I just tried to beat them. They thought they were good but I was better. I beat them straight out....I have the odd game here and there now but I don't make a living off it or anything. You can't really make a living at it unless you're really involved in it. I can't really name more than one or two people I know that have made any real money playing pool from around here. (rounder)

Although pool halls do not appear central to most rounders' social routines, it should be noted that the visitation of pool halls on an occasional and/or unroutinized basis constitutes an "action backdrop" to the rounder's more general lifestyle. On these certain occasions a pool game "with the boys" serves as the focus in which interaction with others in the same subculture is made possible.

I like to get the odd game of pool in with the guys, too you know, I like to, lets say, when you get a guy over to see you you haven't seen for a while so you go out and shoot a game of pool; it's that I don't hang around pool halls a lot, but I like to have a game in a bar, if I'm in there drinking with the guys. (rounder)

While pool halls per se do not appear central for rounders, pool tables in certain bars are often the focus around which action and other social activities take place.

Rounders in groups of 3-12 often monopolize pool tables in bars for several hours (and occasionally for the greater portion of the drinking day). During these contests actors leisurely interact and challenge one another, individually or in teams, to games of pool or billiards. Similar to Polsky's findings, it is customary for players to place bets on the outcome of the contest. Most contests between rounders in this setting can be described as "friendly" with wagers being relatively small (\$5-\$10), however as players become "caught up" in the action and play numerous games through-out the course of the day, winnings or loses tend to become significant. Nevertheless, few rounders identified pool hustling in such bars as a major source of revenue. Rather, playing pool was more often described in social and recreational terms.

I can't say I've made money at the Starlight.  
 I've had some days mind you and I've had days  
 I've blown bread but it pretty well evens out!  
 You're playing people you know all the time  
 so there's not that much hustling, just the  
 odd time you'll nail some guy that walks in.  
 Here, people mostly know each other, we just  
 sit around and shoot the shit all day mostly.  
 (rounder)

### Racetrack

Another element that provides a similar "action backdrop" is patronage of the race track. For rounders, the racetrack represents a setting in which fast money may be obtained and where the values and lifestyle of the criminal subculture are more generally accepted. In comparison to pool halls, racetrack patronage is more pronounced, however,

persons frequenting the racetrack on a fairly regular basis are also likely to assume the reputation-identity of gambler. These rounders may become "wired" to the racetrack and become known as "horse degenerates" amongst their peers. While at the time of my research most of my respondents were not considered by themselves or others in such a manner, most indicated previous heavy betting at the racetrack.

I've gotten into big trouble through my gambling. When I think of all the money I've blown just at the racetrack....I was bad. I'd bet a C-note a crack and be broke by the 3rd race after bringing \$500 with me. The rest of the day I'd try to borrow money to bet the exactor and tri-actors and come out of there owing 2 grand or something like that. Its the worst thing, gambling, worst sickness you can have. (rounder)

Yeah! rounders go to the track, they go there to visit their money. They're strung out. I've seen some guys blow their bread there and want to do themselves in later. Guys that hustle a good buck but blow at the track. Same thing with your Greek waiters and bartenders and cab drivers. They're all wired. (rounder)

Rounders patronizing the racetrack indicate their capacity for action involvements amongst peers by being a "high roller" at the track. Similar to Leiseur's (1977) compulsive gamblers, rounders generally do not get enough "action" out of small bets, while larger bets are also more apt to distinguish rounders from the other racetrack patrons.

For a certain segment of my sample the racetrack, the clubhouses at two area tracks served as a "hangout". While this group was fairly integrated into the rounder sub-culture more generally, their daily presence in the racetrack made them somewhat distinct. This "clique" appeared to re-

present a more "distinguished" group of rounders (i.e. in terms of manner of dress, action capabilities, style and "class") and their sidekicks. My limited visitations to this site did not permit me to make an in depth analysis of the interaction between these actors, however two activities appear predominant. Much like the "regulars" described by Scott (1968: 82) the gathering of "inside information" appears central. This inside information originates from grooms and other employees in the paddock, trainers, jockeys and drivers, horseowners, etc. and then passed on to selected connections with such persons and appeared privy to this kind of information. Thus, although inside information is not discussed openly by rounders at the clubhouse, this clique of rounders occasionally end up betting on the same horse or set of horses.

I was at beachview Clubhouse with Lucky, as he was anxious to make a bet on a horse he had received a lead on from a trainer. At the clubhouse I noticed several rounders along with a few bartenders and waiters from Main and Central. There was little discussion of betting prior to the race, however after the race it became apparent most of the rounders present had placed a bet on Lucky's horse, since they received similar inside information.... (field notes)

Although rounders at the clubhouse are familiar with one another and regularly interact, attempts are made to keep inside information or hot tips confidential since this information loses its value as it becomes commonly known. While rounders who are "tight" with one another or "owe favours" may share information it is generally expected by sources that this information be kept confidential. Those that fail to do so often find that their sources "dry up"

and that they are generally shunned by insiders at the racetrack.

You can't let out information about a horse to nobody. I mean nobody, not your best friend, your girl, your brother, nobody. Once you tell one person, then he tells 10 other guys then the whole fucking track knows 'cause I'll tell you one thing, news spread around a track like crazy. And lets say a trainer tells you about a horse and the odds drop because you were shooting your mouth off, well there's going to be a few heavy people hot at you. (rounder)

Another prevalent activity at the clubhouse was the cultivation of contacts with "well connected" people. This includes owners of horses or stables as well as others thought to possess a "good bankroll". There appeared to be little concern amongst rounders whether these persons were "legit", however partnerships with such persons for various endeavours were sought after.

I'm looking to buy a horse with Roger, you know, the kid that one trainer for Ben's horse. We'll both chip in and he'll take care of the horse, you know, cause he's got a stake in it too. Then Tuesday I'm going up north with Fat Joe to look at a farm.... The place has got stables and 400 acres, you know, you could raise a lot of ponies up there! And Fat Joe, he's got the B.R. (bankroll) and the guy listens to me, I've helped the guy make a lot of money over the years. I'm the one who got him hep to real estate. I'm the one who set him up with big B.R., too, so you know the guy is going to listen to me. (rounder)

### (iii) Romantic Involvements

To conclude this section on action life we will discuss

the romantic involvements of rounders. Generally, rounders become romantically involved with women who are in varying degrees associated with the criminal subculture more generally. Also, as indicated in several of the previous interview extracts, these encounters are likely to be initiated and enhanced in the subcultural settings described in this Chapter. There are several reasons for this, one being that strippers, hookers, female thieves, waitresses, barmaids and the like are more likely to be encountered during a rounder social routine. Encounters with conventional women in the subcultural hangouts described previously are somewhat rare. Although women who share the rounders' subculture are the "bread and butter" of rounders romantic interests, most rounders claim several relationships with conventional women. It should be noted however, that rounders generally claim that their association often resulted in straight females becoming in (varying degrees) "converted" to the rounder subculture.

One of my ex-old ladies used to be an office manager at one of those computer companies. Then she met me and that all changed. She was living with a guy in this house in the suburbs and everything and she gave it up to be with me. (rounder)

June used to be a square bitch. It took me a while to get her going, cause she was interested in the way I would go about my business. Never put the pressure on her or anything, just being myself, you know, and then one day she asked if she could have a toke off the joint I was smoking. Then she started partying and going downtown. She got along really well with the downtown people, you know, it really opened her eyes to a lot of things. (rounder)

Although rounders are not likely to develop a long term romantic relationship with conventional women, most rounders believe that conventional women harbor covert and sometimes overt desires for such relationships. This belief is for the most part a result of rounders more general belief that women regardless of their social background, find rounders more exciting and enticing than conventional males. Viewing themselves more independent "gutsy" and resourceful vis-a-vis conventional males, rounders believe that their possession of "balls" puts them in an advantageous position insofar as romantic interests are concerned.

These suckers that come to the bar, man, they got nothing over me. I'm just a young street kid, but man I go through more broads in one month than these jerk-offs go through in 10 years. I'm not bullshitting, you ask Lou, if its true or not. When I was staying here I fucked 30 or 40 broads a month minimum. We'd take 3 or 4 dancers up to my room at a time, strip them down naked, jump into bed with a couple of them. Man, it was unreal. You know what it is though, its the attitude that you have with these girls. The mouches that come to the bar, they ask these broads "can I buy you a drink, can I buy you supper". They're lowering themselves in front of these broads. I bet these guys have a hard time getting a piece of tail off their wives. That's probably why they come here. Man, I tell these broads. "Hey, listen, you don't have the golden cunt. You're a whore and I'm a stud, so let's not bullshit around, you know, I got things to do and people to see." That's the way you got to come on to these broads, you have to show them you got balls, or man its game over. (rounder)

The previous extract illustrates as well, rounders general attitude toward power relationships between the sexes.

Rounders indicate disdain for relationships with women in

which they feel the woman is advantaged vis-a-vis the man. Rounders perceive that in conventional relationships this is most often the case, that is, that conventional men have few benefits and many responsibilities from these relationships.

I couldn't stand having a broad tell me what to do. No Way. I don't care if she had money or anything, I just couldn't do it. I call the shots, not some broad. A lot of guys, straight guys eh, I don't know how they put up with the bullshit they do. Imagine having all those kids to support, the house, the car, food, tax, and the fucking wife too, and half of these broads are cows, they're a lousy fuck and they got big fucking mouths. I'd go nuts, I'd probably have to leave. (rounder)

I was with James and his girlfriend Jean and with Frank and his girl Lois in Frank's house. Frank had indicated that he was thirsty and Lois had gone into the kitchen to get Frank a beer. Upon returning James said "That's what I like to see, a woman who serves a man." Then James began to chastise Jean for not being as considerate with him. (field notes)

I treat broads rotten, out, and out, I tell you they love it. They're all mental masochists. They love the aggravation....If you want to get a broad you have to get some real emotion out of them. I rub them against the grain but I get them going. I've had broads tell me they hate my guts but I still fuck them! I'll have a broad in bed with me and she'll be calling me a bastard one minute and the next she'll say "I can't help it, I love you, you bastard." (rounder)

While rounders are apt to spend lavishly on some women on certain occasions, most rounders expect to receive "assistance", often financial, from women they are romantically involved with. This expectation is likely to be heightened should these women be hookers, strippers, and thieves, that is, women who are perceived to possess good revenue potential. Rounders who do become romantically involved

with such women and do not receive assistance from them are likely to encounter "ribbing" from their peers as well as a loss of status.<sup>4</sup>

Believe me when I tell this because its really important to know, broads will either make you or break you. If you get involved with the right one, she can make your life a lot easier. You can't think with your cock, you have to find one that can do you some good....Ella's a beautiful girl. She keeps the house clean and tidy, she cooks really good and she keeps those coupons rolling in. But you take that fucking wacho Mike was going out with, what's her name, Juanita. Sticking needles in her arm, man all that broad would do for you is put you in the can or get you killed. (rounder)

Freddie turned me on to how to handle broads. I was only a young kid and I was going out with Joannie and I thought I was doing really good because I was going out with a really classy chick I mean like she had diamonds, always dressed right in really expensive clothes, driving around in a T-bird. So I'm talking to Freddie one day about this broad and he cracks to me something like "How come if you're with this broad and she's got all kinds of dough, how come you're broke all the time". Then he comes out with this really heavy rap on how I'm goof ball not to be getting any money off her and that she was going to dump me when she got tired of playing with me. That's what he said that she was doing with me, playing. Anyway I didn't pay attention to him and everything he said, it turned out just the way he said it. She dumped me and I felt like kicking myself in the ass for not listening. (rounder)

While rounders ideally prefer to remain emotionally aloof in their relationships with women, corresponding with the findings of (Binderman et al (1975) in their discussion of black street hustlers) most rounders experience several commitment oriented, long term emotional relationships with women in the course of their sexual careers. These relationships often lead to marriage or common-law arrangements of

which rounders are likely to experience several in their lifetime. At times these relationships produce offsprings to which rounders show varying degrees of commitment. Rounders, however, are apt to become disenchanted with family life. While many of these relationships are long term affairs, they tend to be characteristically unstable with a permanent contingent element about them. To a great extent this is due to rounders value of the freedom to become romantically involved with any woman who interests them, thus monogamous relationships are not common although most rounders indicate several such relationships. Nevertheless, these kinds of relationships are likely to become strained as rounders, in the course of their action involvements, encounter the temptation of multiple sexual involvements. Indeed, one of the enticing aspects of the action life for rounders is the promise of these promiscuous sexual involvements.

Sammy settled down with Carol for awhile but I know he misses the action down there. When he was hanging around with me, he had all kinds of broads....it's nice to stick with one girl when you're used to having a few all the time. I tried it and believe me its tough. I wouldn't try it now. (rounder)

### Discussion

This Chapter has attempted (at some length) to describe what is involved in making rounding a way of life. We began with a discussion on developing a rounder identity in which it was argued that rounder's identity was essentially a pro-

duct of self attribution. We do not wish to suggest however, that "outside influences" such as law enforcement personnel, peers and social structure are not instrumental in the outcome of this process. What is being put forth here, is the notion that identity is in actuality an individual creation. Next, we discussed the kinds of involvements one may have in rounding activities and indicated that rounders vary in the degree of intensity of their involvement in criminal activities. They also varied in terms of their ability to become involved in certain hustlers and their status in the rounder subculture. We then discussed the 5 dimensions of rounding (being streetwise, hustling, contacts, reputation and action involvements) and indicated how rounders must come to term with these "requirements" of living in the rounder subculture.

The second part of this Chapter ("Ways of Making Out") concentrated on a description of the kinds of hustles that rounders employ throughout their careers. The hustles were organized for presentation in terms of categories (i.e. victim confrontation, surreptitious crimes, service-oriented hustles), however, it was argued that rounders are diversified hustlers who typically have multiple involvements in a variety of the categories mentioned above. In terms of the format for the hustles listed in this section, the principles and stages of organization were delineated and later illustrations and first hand accounts of the hustles were presented.

Having discussed the dimensions of rounding and the economic activities of rounders we then shifted our attention

to social and recreational pursuits. In this section we discussed involvement in "the action life", which distinguishes rounder recreational activity from the conventional population. We described the sources of action (i.e. hustling, dramatic events, being somebody) and then elaborated on the subcultural settings in which action most often takes place. In describing these leisure settings an attempt was made to illustrate the overlapping qualities of social and economic activities that occur in bars, booze cans, racetracks, poolhalls, etc. The section concluded with a statement on the romantic involvements of rounders.

The theme of interrelatedness was once again dominant in this Chapter. Throughout the chapter it was illustrated that rounding activities are very much embedded in the rounder subculture and one's career in rounding particularly contingent on the relationships developed with others sharing the subculture. Due to a shared sense of values and interests with other rounders and the perceived undesirability and unfeasibility of conventional involvements rounders lives are centered around like others.

Another central theme in this Chapter, and one heretofore not discussed in this thesis is the theme of deviance and hustling as normative. Prus and Irini (1980: 239) state that much of what is labeled deviance is best understood as "normative behaviour" and not as norm violating behaviour as it is commonly assumed. In order to understand what is normative behaviour and what is norm violating we need to examine

the context in which the behaviour occurs. To rely on conventional moral standards and simply label those in the rounder subculture as "deviant" adds little to our knowledge of that subculture and misses the entire effect of the sub-cultural framework. A more accurate conceptualization incorporates Berger and Luckmann's (1966) notion of multiple realities which suggests that there are multiple frameworks in which reality can be conceptualized. Thus each subcultural group can be seen as possessing its own style of life, values etc. that make the activities of its members seem "natural" and "correct" (Prus and Irini, 1980: 240). In the case of rounders, the waltenshaung of those involved in the rounder subculture allows rounders to view their activities and those of their associates as normative.

Similarly, hustling must come to be seen as normative if one is to become involved in the rounder subculture more extensively. The following are the generic components of the hustling ethos to which all rounders must come to terms.

1. Hustling is a respectable and profitable way of making money as hustler are accorded more prestige.
2. Hustlers are always alert to hustling opportunities and are expected to create situations favourable to hustlers or hustles they can manage.
3. Hustlers are expected to know places and people conducive to action along with strategies to minimize risks and avoid trouble.
4. Hustlers are primarily self oriented however they will cooperate when it is perceived to their advantage to do so. Many partnerships reflect long standing friendships and loyalties, however others they are apt to be viewed with "natural" suspicion and distrust.

5. Hustlers must overcome any moral dilemma arising from feelings of sympathy for targets. Otherwise, hustling for a living may become extremely problematic.
6. Hustlers should not be "suckers" for other hustlers. Those extensively hustled by others are apt to be hard pressed to maintain their rounder status.
7. Hustlers are expected to be "cool" in maintaining composure in difficult situation, and remain disinterested in activities and involvements that do not directly concern them. (Prus and Irini, 1980: 240)

Having discussed initial involvements and rounding as a way of life, we now turn our attention to another major contingency encountered by most rounders (encounters with the law).

## FOOTNOTES

1. Harris uses the following 4 theoretical provisionous conceptual elements in terms of his attempt to provide a functional theory of deviant type-scripts that is able to "survive" the sex variable.
2. In discussing the following dimensions we will be in essence relying on the framework developed in "Hookers, Rounders, and Desk Clerks, 1980: 205-218.
3. Again, this provides considerable support for Maurer's (1955: 160-163) account of how one becomes a pick-pocket.
4. This loss of status varies considerably and is dependent on the desireability of the women in question. Those rounders who become romantically involved with women reputed to be "nut bars" and financially support them are likely to encounter the greatest loss of status.

CHAPTER FOUR  
ENCOUNTERS WITH THE LAW

One of the most important contingencies encountered by rounders in the course of their careers are encounters with law enforcement personnel. While the contingencies mentioned in the previous chapter are instrumental in determining the lifestyle of rounders, encounters with the law are apt to have more dramatic consequences. (i.e. For some, encounters with law may result in disinvolvement from rounding activities, while for others, these encounters may crystalize their criminal identity.) Also, as the contingencies faced in hustling as a way of life reflect the influence of those sharing the rounder subculture, legal contingencies reflect the influence of conventional persons enforcing conventional values and norms.

Encounters with the law are complex and problematic phenomenon for most rounders and in this Chapter we will detail legal problems faced by rounders and how they attempt to come to terms with them. We will begin with a discussion on how rounders attempt to take into account and deal with the possibilities of legal entanglements, and discuss the precautions taken to prevent arrest and conviction. Next, we will discuss the differing relationships that rounders may have with police, that is, the varying ways in which rounders behave and relate to police officers. In the following section we will discuss in more detail the trial and

sanctioning experience. Here we will outline activities associated with the arrest procedure, choosing a lawyer, strategies for assuring the earliest possible release and dealing with the effects and outcomes of legal entanglements. In the next section we will briefly discuss the prison experience in terms of its influence on the more general career of a rounder. The Chapter will conclude with a discussion of the experience of legal entanglements after release from prison and the attempted renewal of previous rounder involvements.

#### Living With the Law: The Dynamics of Information Control

Rounders are somewhat disadvantaged vis-avis conventional citizens in that they constitute the target population for many police campaigns and routine investigations. Almost all rounders assume that the police are at least aware of their identities, associations, etc. and a great many assume that police are also aware of their "lines". Further, most rounders claim to be targets of surveillance from time to time living in awareness of the fact that they receive selective attention from police. Although some rounders never seem to come to terms with this situation, (i.e., they do very little about it) most rounders attempt to minimize the amount of information concerning their activities from becoming known to the police. This necessarily involves that one exercise control over the information that becomes known about himself

to others in general and to specific others. There are various methods by which this is done, however, given the "requirements" of the rounder lifestyle all are apt to be somewhat problematic.

The situation of the rounder concerning the contingency of personal information release can be best characterized as ironic. Letkemann (1973: 43) describes this situation as one in which there is a need for criminals to display their competence to their peers in order to sustain their present activities but at the same time they display their expertise to police officers (as in the case of burglary) thus becoming known to them. Letkemann also states that rounders assume that there is a steady influx of information concerning their activities going to police. This concern is particularly heightened when rounders perceive themselves to be generally well known within the rounder subculture and a "hot" topic of conversation. Thus, the irony is that on one hand notoriety facilitates contact expansion as well as satisfying ego needs and on the other it increases the potential for a bust.

I know about the way they (police) do things and when they see a guy that they know has capabilities and I mean not for little shit jobs like knocking off a Beckers, but somebody that is going to be going for 10, 15 grand then that guy is going to have some heat and you bet that when the coppers get a guy like that around, they're going to find out who he is. (rounder)

There's not a hell of a lot you can do about it. The coppers know that I'm not your average square Joe citizen and I don't make no bones about that. Man with my record they're going to check me out, and what can I tell them. "Oh I got a new job". They'd come up to me and they would say, "Hear you got some good pot, you want to sell some" and I say "No, I don't smoke I hear its bad for your health" and I'm high, right. They know. They say "We're going to catch you with a nice chunk one day" but its going to be a while before they do that. (rounder)

I was having supper with Todd and he was discussing what he thought was a new influx of notoriety. He was visiting with a well known "player" when that player mentioned that Todd was the "talk of the town" amongst other players and street people in general. Todd also expressed concern about making too prominent a "splash" because this may appear offensive and insulting to the police as they were presently campaigning against him. (Field notes)

Letkemann states that experienced criminals are not so concerned with secrecy as they are with evidence that can be used against them legally (Letkemann, 1973: 40). While criminals who are able to successfully control the amount of admissible evidence to the point where the probability of conviction is significantly reduced, they may not be as able to control the number of "phoney beefs" or "bum raps" they receive.

My respondents generally described these phoney beefs as methods by which police attempt to disrupt the activities of a person they can't "nail".

Phoney beefs, jeez, I've had a million of them. That's when the cops got nothing on you, nothing at all and they start playing little head games with you. You wouldn't believe all the petty little things I've been arrested for

and charged. I had a baseball bat in the car and got arrested for possession of a deadly weapon. I got arrested for having 2 fucking joints when they were talking about legalizing pot. I've had \$3,000 of traffic and parking tickets in one year. All the cars on the street wouldn't have a ticket and I got a ticket. I've had stuff planted on me, it just goes on and on. (rounder)

Alder and Alder (1980: 447) in their discussion of secrecy in the drug world state that given the importance of secrecy for drug dealers, they appear relatively unconcerned about secrecy. Should fellow dealers experience legal difficulties, then "waves of paranoia" may be sent to other dealers and there may be a temporary fixation on the police activities. However, when the immediate danger has passed the police are likely to assume their secondary status in terms of importance to dealers. Alder and Alder (1980: 450) My findings of Alder and Alder in that most rounders seem to vacillate between candor and secrecy concerning their hustling activities. Like Alder's and Alder's drug dealers, they seem to be more concerned about their peers informing on them or "ripping them off". However, unlike Alders & Alders drug dealers, they felt that police did know and care about them. My findings indicate that fringe rounders are more apt to believe that the police are not aware of their hustling activities, than are more established rounders and that almost all rounders are apt to occasionally believe that they are in demand by the police.

I'll tell you how they think. They look at a guy like me and they say look at Mike he's being on the corner for 10 years and its been 10 years since we busted him. Let's see what's up with him so they go and get you. Just checking you out see if they can nail something on you just so you don't get too comfortable. It really bugs them when they see somebody walking around here like he's doing good. (rounder)

Given that most rounders assume that they are known to police and that police are somewhat aware of their activities, rounders nevertheless routinely attempt to minimize the amount of damaging information that becomes known about them. Other methods stated by Alder and Alder for maintaining secrecy are (1) keeping a low profile, (2) "laundering" illegal money, (3) having a legal front and (4) conducting illegal activities outside of one's residential area. One of Alder and Alder's respondents even indicated that he did not meet new people and refused to interact with anyone not previously acquainted with him. (Alder and Alder, 1980: 452) Rounders, however, rarely establish such elaborate safeguards about their activities. The fact that rounders are more apt to be embedded in the local community works against any attempt to keep their criminal identity secret. Rounders are more apt to be concerned that the details of their hustling activities (i.e. when and where hustles are "going down", what's involved, who's doing what, etc.) are kept confidential. It is these details, that if known to the police or to rivals could seriously jeopardize operations. Nevertheless, rounders do exhibit a tendency towards secrecy when they perceive that they have "a little heat" on them. At such times

rounders attempt generally to keep a low profile, keep hustling activities to the minimum and more than usual care about the personal information released. At these times rounders often request that their associates be "very cool" about what they disclose to others about him and certain areas are closed for discussion under any circumstances.

For rounders who are particularly concerned with not drawing unnecessary heat, attempts at information control may be more of an on-going rather than temporary concern. For these rounders almost every interaction with unknown persons is likely to be perceived as problematic and a potential cause for concern.

I was visiting with Larry at his apartment with a friend of mine at university. Larry and my friend seemed to get along fairly well, however, after my friend left Larry indicated some concern that my friend might be an undercover police officer. He asked me several times how well I was acquainted with him. (field notes)

Another method mentioned by Alder and Alder to avoid detection from police is by insulation (Alder and Alder, 1980: 454). This involves that rounders conduct business transactions and discuss the important details of their activities with a restricted clique. Insulation also involves distancing certain members of their peer group, particularly those persons who are perceived to be "heat scores". Rounders who have court cases pending, those known to have current surveillance and those recently released from the penitentiary are the most common targets of this distancing. Also,

rounders who are reputed to be too "wide open" about their hustling activities are likely to be distanced, fearing that such persons would advertantly or inadvertantly release sensitive information.

Alder and Alder claim that the most comprehensive system of insulation as far as drug dealers are concerned is the "family system" (Alder and Alder, 1980: 456). In this system there is a high division of labor in which persons perform specific and separated roles that are necessary for the transaction to take place. This produces a clique of persons who are financially insulated and self sufficient. Again, rounders usually do not achieve insulation to this degree, however, as rounders develop successful long term joint activities with like others, some degree of insulation is achieved. This is due primarily to the decrease in the perceived necessary contacts needed to conduct hustling activities.

There is only one guy that I sell acid to and that guy is out of town. He comes here and he takes off north. I don't sell to people around here. I don't want to get involved with it, too much heat in the area. (rounder)

Generally speaking insulation and attempts at invoking secrecy are unsuccessful in the long run. Again, rounders are generally resigned to the fact that police will be somewhat informed concerning their activities. Rounders, however, are intent in making that flow of information as insignificant as possible.

## Relations With The Police

While rounders generally have unfavourable attitudes towards police, they do develop relationships with the police officers as a consequence of the legal contingency operative in rounding careers. These relationships are often instrumental in providing crucial career "turning points" for rounders, due to a large part, to the power of police officers to intervene and disrupt the activities of rounders. Given the importance of relationships with the police, rounders develop and display various modes of relations with the police. I have delineated 3 significantly different modes: (1) information-exchange relationship, (2) distant-stoic relationship, (3) confrontational relationship. It should be noted that rounders generally shift in terms of the modes of relationship, that is, they are likely to change the way they relate to police in the course of their careers and they are likely to change their mode of relation with individual officers. For instance, a rounder may have a distant-stoic relationship with most police officers, however, he may have a friendly information-exchange relationship with an officer considered to be "cool".

### A. Information-Exchange

Some rounders develop an information-exchange relationship with the police. Such rounders are often typified as "stool pigeons", a derogatory term implying a betrayal

of one's associates. Information-exchange relationships, however, are more diversified than this stereo-typical conception. The diversity in part reflects the differing personal relationships developed with individual officers. While police officers generally are not trusted by rounders, a small minority are considered "more cool" than others. These police officers are considered somewhat complacent about their duties (i.e. they are not crime crusaders) and tolerant of non-violent service oriented hustles. These officers, once accepted and trusted by rounders may become involved in rounder-like social and recreational pursuits (i.e. gambling, going to booze-cans, etc.). Reflecting a sense of trust and friendship, these officers are likely to receive information from rounders when that information is seen to be non-consequential to the individual and his associates.

Some cops are cool. The ones down at Falling River, they sit in the coffee shop with all the whores and rounders reading the newspaper sipping on their coffee. They don't bother you. If you're cool about what you're doing, so are they. We used to see them down at the booze-can, they're getting drunker than hell. There was this one cop I got along well with, Tommy. He was a young guy, really quiet, never bothered nobody. We were in the booze-can one night and I asked him if they caught the guys that robbed and beat up this old couple. He said they didn't have a clue who was doing it. So I told him that there was these coloured kids that came across the river and hit the older people's apartments. I figured, these kids are coming over here robbing old people, coming in our fucking bars like they own the place. Who the fuck needs them. I told him that he just has to wait by the bridge Friday and follow them out. (rounder)

There's this one cop that's always hanging around Frank's (a bar) You can't avoid the guy, like he's there everyday so you end up rapping with the guy eventually. I shy away from him but everybody there says he's cool. He probably is, you know, cops like to party too. He gets a bit of information about what's going on but if you're not hurting anybody, you know, not getting heavy, he doesn't bother you. And if someone is trying to get really heavy in the neighbourhood and the people around here don't like it, well he's going to get the tip. (rounder)

Information may also be supplied to the police in order to eliminate competitors or as a means of attack on persons to whom one may harbor antagonistic feelings. Although the ethic exists amongst rounders that personal disagreements should be resolved by the involved parties without involving outside agencies, the sense of moral indignation experienced by the person who perceives himself as the victim may overcome any reservation they may have had about violating this ethic. Also, given that rounders tend to base their loyalty on commitments to individuals rather than to general principles, leaking information in order to eliminate competitors is apt to be seen in the context "sharp hustling", more generally.

Albert mentioned that Olga, a former hooker and presently a petty thief had threatened to inform on him as well as a number of people he and I were acquainted with because she felt she had been unjustly shunned by them. She claimed that she had assisted them and Albert particularly and that the favour was not returned. Albert claimed that Olga had given him no assistance whatsoever and that he got tired of "putting up with her bullshit". (field notes)

Do you want to know how people get busted. I tell you, its because somebody don't like them. Something happens between them, or maybe the guy never liked him to begin with. It doesn't matter .... If its going to be a good pinch it has to be somebody that knows the guy's business and how he does things. (rounder)

There was this one undercover cop I knew, I used him to lock up this area. This guy just basically tried to keep the area from being overrun with all the riff raff, all the two bit hustlers and thieves. You'd always have these guys coming around trying to sell things, you know, like they think they can just walk into an area and o hustle whatever they want like they were born here or something .... So there would be these guys coming around trying to off things and they'd come up to me and I'd tell them watch out for the heat. Then I'd tell the undercover cop to go and rap they guy about whatever he was dealing with and the guy would freak out and split. So I ended up lock-up all the business. You wanted something, I was the man you wanted to see, but this cop he don't know this and helping me all the time. (rounder)

On occasion rounders may otherwise use the promise of information to "con" police into providing special considerations. More specifically rounders may attempt to secure release from police custody and/or pressure by convincing police that they will deliver crucial information if released. Once securing release, the rounder would either fail to report any information or report vague and/or relatively useless information. It should be noted that this type of "information hustle" is only effective if uses sparingly and is also apt to result in the perpetrator becoming a target of police retaliation. Generally speaking, however, police are seen as unpromising targets for "con shots" in

general.

I was busted this one time and they brought me down to the station and started asking me all these questions. One cop was really being a prick about it, telling me that I'd better tell everything I knew about this fencing operation down at Ramone Park or he would get rough on me. He's telling me this after he's already driven his fucking fist half way through my gut. I was thinking to myself and I wonder what he means by getting rough. This isn't rough? So I'm trying to talk my way out of this and I tell them "I don't know everything that's going, why don't you let me get out there for a few days so that I find out." So I give them my number at work and they call me up a few days later and ask "Have that information?" and tell "Yeah, the flowers bloom in the spring." and I hung up. They really hated my guts after that. See, but you can't go with that too much, the word gets out about you amongst them. (rounder)

Its tough to con a cop. They are not dummies you know, they're pretty much on the ball. You might be able to do it once in a blue moon with a rookie or something but the added heat you're going to get, it just isn't worth it. (rounder)

Rounders may ideally aspire to play the agent role in their information-exchange hustle with the police, however, it is more often the case that rounders find themselves in the target role of these relationships. As the second example of the above set interview extracts indicates, police routinely attempt to coerce rounders who are arrested into informing on others. Police may use physical violence and/or the threat of it as well as threats of long term prison sentences should rounders fail to cooperate. Most rounders claim that they weather this assault and hold the expectation that other solid rounders would likewise sustain resistance, making no deals whatsoever with the police. Some rounders,

however, are unable to resist this pressure and "cop out".

Its tough when the police start putting the pressure on you. They start firing all those questions at you, going over it again and again, shouting at you trying to cross you up. Its tough. Sometimes you get going and you're wondering what's coming off here. They really put the pressure to try to crack you. (rounder)

Man, if you're busted with your partners, all you should have nothing to say. Nothing to say, nothing to say all the way down the line. Let your lawyer do the talking, the less the cops got to go on the better off you all are. (rounder)

While there may be a variety of information-exchange relationships that rounders may have with the police, the victims of this information release are apt to feel a sense of moral indignation more generally and trust violation specifically. Should the agent and victim be associates, the release of information to the police usually terminates the friendship, with slandering and distancing being the most common forms of retaliation. The use of violence as a means of retaliation, however, is usually restricted to rougher rounders who otherwise possess reputations as "heavies".

It really hurt me when Carl did that to me. I thought he had more balls than that, but I guess I was wrong. I would have taken the charge myself and gotten him off the hook, he knew I would do that. But you see what happened. They (police) twisted his arm a little bit and he nailed me to the cross. I did time over that, and I tell you something, I thought about what happened every day I was in there. I'd think about all the things we'd been through together, all the road trips, all the parties, this and that. I couldn't understand why he did that.

See, you can think that you know a person, you think they would never stab you in the back and then "bang!" it happens. I was really let down, it still disappoints me when I think about it. (rounder)

Charlie was through in this area after he testified against my old man. I don't know where he got the guts to walk into Central and start talking to me like nothing happened. I told him "Man are you off your fucking rocker you fucking asshole" and I laid into him. Deckerd him out cold. If you notice, you don't see Charlie around here anymore. He knows better because next time I might want to do some real damage. He knows I'm nuts and wouldn't hesitate for a minute. (rounder)

#### B. Distant-Stoic

The majority of rounders adopt what I term a distant-stoic relationship/attitude towards the police in most instances. As suggested by Sutherland (1937: 122) and Joey (1974: 241) most rounders come to accept police as a natural "occupational hazard" that must be endured. Encounters with the police are typically approached with a sense of resignation, that is, there is an awareness that police possess the power to apprehend any person that they perceive important enough to merit the effort. Thus, these rounders attempt to take "run-ins" with the law in their stride, with a minimum amount of "bellyaching". Rounders adopting this perspective assume the attitude "if you can't do the time, don't do the crime."

Neuman (1956: 283) confirms the prevalence of this attitude, stating that recidivists claimed that they knew

most of the police and that they often bantered with them in a friendly or even jocular manner upon arrest. My respondents indicated similar types of interactions with the police, however these exchanges do not typify their attitude towards them. It would be erroneous to interpret those interactions as an indication of "friendship" or even that rounders take police encounters lightly. Rather, it reflects the more general rounder ethic that one should have the "heart" to face the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" associated with the rounders lifestyle stoically.

All the cops down at the station know me. I know most of them to see them. When they brought me down there its "Hi, how are you. We missed you down here. What happened, did you go straight or something. Like they're making all these jokes about it, like you're in there for a social visit or something. (rounder)

I figure, you make your bed you lie in it. You know, its not like you got a square job where no one is going to bother you. Some of these guys, like Wayne, he gets busted and he's looking at maybe doing 6 months tops and he's acting like its the end of the world. I've done 10 fucking years with no hope of parole on a beef that I was set up for and he's complaining about doing 6 months on an honest pinch. (rounder)

Rounders assuming this perspective also attempt to minimize their interactions with police, that is, they attempt to distance them. Ideally, rounders attempt to have no contact whatsoever with the police. Indeed, rounders often inform one another of police activity, with special emphasis concerning the identity of undercover policemen.

These "suspects" are apt to be distanced and avoided. However, should they interact, rounders generally attempt to reveal the minimum amount of information without appearing particularly offensive to the enquiring officer. Consequently, rounders are apt to attempt to keep conversations with police centered around "small talk", being vague and inconcise when discussing the activities of oneself or that of others. It should be noted that this type of approach to the police characterizes the older more legally experienced rounders who constituted the majority of my sample. Generally speaking, these rounders indicate that they have "arrived" at this position (which they consider to be the most logical one) due to their previous encounters.

I was at Main drinking with Joel when he whispered to me and indicated 3 men seated by the washroom. He said that they were in the vice squad and that they should be avoided. He stated that frequently attempted to strike up conversations with persons they believed to be hustlers, trying to entrap them. (field notes)

You have to show respect to the police, you can't spit in their face and expect to get away with it. It might take them awhile, but they'll nail you. The best thing to do is be polite with them, you have to respect that they have their job to do, and you have yours but if you're a gentleman about the way, you talk to them, well they'll respect you for it at least. It doesn't mean they won't get busted but changes are they won't take a cheap shot at you unless the guy is a real prick. The guys in morality are the pricks but the typical cop on the beat, I've got nothing against them .... Some of the cops, not the ones around here, over on the north end, I sit and talk with them, you know, just talk no business or anything like that. I don't invite them into my home, I know them just to say hello to. (rounder)

C. Challenge - Confrontation

While mature rounders are apt to be more passive in their encounters with the police, younger rounders are more likely to adopt a confrontational approach in their interactions with them. This approach makes little or no attempt to take into account the subjective perspective of the police, rather, the police are viewed as untrustworthy persons who unjustly disrupt one's activities. Consequently, they often experience a sense of moral indignation when they encounter police, often perceiving that they have been unjustly targeted.

Rounders who employ the confrontational approach are also likely to develop interpersonal hostilities with individual officers and/or cliques of officers. These may become long term hostile conflict oriented relationships in which rounders perceive that certain officers are "out to get them". The origins of these conflicts vary from perceived disrespect to conflicts over a romantic interest or in the view of many rounders, police jealousy of the rounder lifestyle. Nevertheless, the result is the development of a feud-like relationship which rounders often find extremely costly and damaging.

Cheeseman ruined 'Chew Tobacco Red'. He made him give up everything he had ever, he lost everything he had just because of one copper. The other cops didn't bother with Chew Tobacco, they knew he wasn't bothering anybody but Cheeseman had a hard on for him for years and he got him over the length of time. He got him through lawyer fees, it just took everything he had. (rounder)

Corky is making me starve to death. He got me barred from the hotels. I can't see this person or somebody else, it just is killing me. I'm getting all these set-backs and Corky does not have one thing on me, he's just jealous that's all. (rounder)

Also, while mature rounders are more likely to assume the reactive role in their relationship with the police, younger rounders are more apt to assume an aggressive role, with the police being the targets of pranks and retaliation.

Peter was really bad when he got drinking. He liked to fight with the cops when he got drinking .... We were walking down Blue Street and Peter is pissed right off his head. We almost make it to the car and he starts yelling at these cops cruising down the streets. "Hey, you pigs come quick here, you filthy swine" and then he starts running after them and picks up a beer bottle and heaves it at them. So they naturally stop and get out of the car, right. Peter is still ready to kill these guys and he's going on about how they framed his partner and all that, yelling it right in their faces. These coppers were just freaked right out, they didn't know what to make of this guy. If it wasn't for me and Ralph to pull him back and cool out the coppers, old Pete would have been in a spot. (rounder)

Mel mentioned that he had been involved in numerous fights with police officers. He also mentioned that on several occasions he pulled pranks on police officers such as joy riding in the police car and then crashing it into another police car. (field notes)

Police officers who are perceived to be on personal "crusades" to combat crime, are likely to invoke hostile reactions amongst rounders. Such officers are more likely to be confronted by "clash oriented" rounders since crusading police officers are perceived as a much greater threat. Feelings of hostility are enhanced in these situations as

rounders take into account the damages accorded their associates by crusading officers.

Man, I'll tell you, I nearly had it out with Reynolds one time. He brought me in on a phoney beef and they had to let me go and when I got to the door of the station I yelled out at him "O.K. you motherfucker, me and you outside here on the steps, toe to toe motherfucker." I just had it with all the bullshit this prick has been pulling around here. Him and his partner dragged out Sarah out of the Sunset booze-can, Man, they grabbed her, threw her up against the wall, down the stairs across the lobby and out the door. This is two fucking chunky pigs messing with a skinny little bitch. Those guys should be transferred or something, them motherfuckers are crazy. (rounders)

You get these Starsky and Hutch types around, you know, the ones with balls and no brains. My son wacked out Corky. Corky's got a hard on to clean up this area. It's been a fucking obsession of his for a long time. So we were talking about what a bastard he is and somebody ought to do something about him. My son says that the next time Corky gets on his case he was going to deck him. So Corky goes after my son's old lady, he gets her pinched right, then he cracks to my kid that he's going to put her away into Leventown, where all the gay broads are. My son gets really hot and he knocked out a couple of his teeth. (rounder)

Rounders assuming the confrontation approach to police are distrustful of police generally and tend to be extremely hostile to officers if they perceive as employing "dirty" tactics. While it would be erroneous to suggest that these rounders have a political orientation in their relationship with the police, they often challenge the authority of police to interfere and disrupt their personal endeavours. Stated differently, it would appear that these rounders do not accept the primacy of conventional morals and values in-

sofar as these morals and values become imposed upon them. Resistance to conventional moral standards is particularly heightened when it concerns "victimless" crimes.

No, I don't accept the right of a cop to walk into my house and stop me from doing what I want to do. They might tell you up at your school that this is a free country, but that's a crock of shit. This country is a police state. They got you monitored and bugged, and I'm not hurting anybody. There hasn't been one person go up to the coppers and he says "James did this and this to me and he should be in jail. So you tell me why am I getting all the heat. Its just because I won't let these coppers walk all over me. (rounder)

### The Legal Experience: Arrest, Trial and Sanctioning

#### A. Arrest

Constituting a target population for police investigations, almost all rounders (with few exceptions) experience the arrest procedure. This involves being apprehended and taken to the police station for questioning. My data suggests that there are several different perceived accounts of how a "bust" may come about, however there was a general agreement amongst rounders that most arrests contain an element of surprise.

You never know when its going to happen so you can't really prepare for it... They (police) lull you to sleep and then they nab you. (rounder)

Most rounders claim that their arrests and that others originate as a result of information that is relayed to the police. Some of this information reflects a deliberate attempt made on the part of the informer to have the target

apprehended. Such information will attempt to provide police with concrete details concerning criminal activities (when, where, who, how much, etc.) so that they can make a "good pinch". Other information sources leading to the arrest of a rounder involve the inadvertent release of information to police sources. This may happen as rounders inadvertently directly relate their own activities to undercover police officers or the activities of others. Also, busts may occur as a rounder's activities become known through the subcultural "grapevine", eventually becoming known to police. While information that is related to police through "the grapevine" is unlikely to contain sufficient detail for police to make an arrest, it often results in rounders becoming a target of surveillance and their telephones being "bugged".

I was set up for that bust last week. The cops walked in and they knew exactly where the dope was. You figure they must go around looking here and there but they went right for it. I know who told them about it and when I get hold of that person, they're going to wish they never heard of the cops.  
(rounder)

You can't go around putting your business out on the street. Once you let one person know they tell ten other people and eventually the cops are going to find out about it ... You're going to end up with heat anyway you want to look at it. People start talking about you around here, its only a matter of time until some stoolie goes to the cops or some undercover cop overhears it. (rounder)

An arrest may also result from police "building a case" against rounders. This involves police using a number

of combined techniques such as the analysis of documents, personal and telephone surveillance, and information gathered from informants. Arrests resulting from these combined efforts are particularly problematic due to the anxiety they generate amongst rounders. This anxiety is heightened when rounders become aware that police are building a case against them yet they feel relatively helpless to do anything about the situation. Few rounders possess the financial resources to cease hustling activities for any length of time, however, most make attempts to make their activities more covert, often exhibiting signs of extreme paranoia.

Its not that the cops only use one way of busting you. If they only did that you'd have nothing to worry ... They'll bug your phone, they'll put your house under surveillance, they'll get their stoolies to start asking questions, you know. Its murder. You start going wacho, after awhile. I got into a beef with my old lady because she was talking business in the kitchen and I thought there was a bug planted in the fridge. We had a repair man come in and I got into this thing where I thought he planted a bug in there. Its really crazy when you think about it. (rounder)

Arrests may also result as rounders are entrapped into conducting illegal transactions with undercover policemen. Alder and Alder (1980: 455) refer to this as the buy-bust method in reference to drug deals, however the same principle can be applied to fencing operations, bookmaking operations, and other service oriented hustles. Typically, the undercover officer will pose as a prospective client enticing the rounder-dealer. It should be noted that, that rounders with limited client contacts and/or rounders ex-

periencing a financial squeeze and/or those operating their "business" in a wide open manner are particularly vulnerable to this type of arrest. Gary Marx (1980) in his discussion of undercover police work claims that there has been a shift in recent years to proactive law enforcement in which undercover police officers infiltrate the criminal subcultural, make contacts with known criminals and entice them into conducting illegal transactions. In agreement with Marx, these undercover officers are often seen to create the crime they crack-down upon by inducing and providing capital for small time dealers to conduct larger transactions than they are accustomed to.

This friend of mine got busted just last month by an undercover cop. This cop was a real fucking cock-sucker. He bought an ounce off him in the bar so Don thought everything was cool. He came next week and did the same thing. Next week he comes back picks up an ounce and puts an order in for a pound, money up front. Don figures this guy's bought 3 ounces, he's drinking with the guy, taking up with him that there would be no problem. So he comes with the pound and he gets bused outside the bar.  
(rounder)

Another account for the phenomenon of arrest given by rounders ineptitude on the part of rounders while executing their hustles. (These are more commonly referred to as "fuck ups"). Because of these "mistakes" the hustle fails, the crime is detected, the police are alerted and the arrest is made. The sources of these "fuck ups" range from misinformation concerning the hustles to mechanical ineptitude on the part of the performers to a loss of nerve or panicking while the hustle is in progress. In some instances a

"fiasco" may result in which all the ill-fated contingencies mentioned above come to pass.

When I got busted, man, it was like a nightmare. We got busted because my partner got all his information wrong. He had some asshole tell him that this broad had all her jewellery, he said about 20 grand worth of jewellery in the top drawer of the dresser and this guy drew up a map of the house and how he would get in and everything. Well it was all fucking wrong. I mean not one thing was where this guy said it would be and we ended up making a mess of the thing, tearing the house apart because I was hot about the whole thing ... some guy next door must have heard what was going on and he called the cops. We were opposed to spend no more than 5 minutes in the house and we ended up being in there for nearly an hour. (rounder)

I'd say most of the younger guys doing time in the pen have no talent whatsoever. They're all fuck ups. They'd start telling me about how they got busted and I'm thinking to myself how can anybody be so stupid. They don't even have any street smarts but all of them think they do .... This kid was telling me about how he got busted trying to crack a safe. He had all the wrong equipment, he didn't case the place properly, he panicked for no reason and naturally got arrested. He was finished before he even got in there, and he's trying to impress me thinking he's a big time criminal (rounder)

Finally, some arrests are the result of unforeseeable and unpreventable contingencies which can be best characterized as "acts of God". These arrests are regarded with a certain sense of irony by most rounders since they often neutralize the most elaborate precautionary and planning procedures. Rounders are particularly fond of re-telling these accounts, adding to the rounder folklore of "hard luck

stories".

Spanish Stevie had one of the most unfortunate things happen to him you can imagine. Just pitiful .... He was one of the top heroin dealers in this area back in the 1950's, he had this whole city locked up. He was also one of the nicest guys you would ever want to meet, you know, he was always willing to give you a break, not like the way the guys are now. Anyway, there was a pick up to be made to the Earl Hotel and Stevie's pick-up man got into a car accident and was in the hospital that same morning. So Steve's stuck and he goes to make the pick up himself. He's walking out of the hotel, he's almost out the door in the lobby when this little kid runs into him and the suitcase with the smack was popped open and a half a pound of uncut smack spilled out right there in the lobby. Now the hotel dick he spots this and nabs .... Spanish Stevie died in prison, never did get out. (rounder)

Once arrested rounders must deal with police questioning. Police questioning is seen by rounders as an attempt to make one confess to the crime, provide incriminating evidence about oneself and one's associates and provide useful information on other current criminal activities. Rounders reported various methods by which this is done, one being a procedure whereby arresting officers separate the persons arrested immediately upon arrest and question them about their activities. Should the accounts differ, the arresting officers then pressure the prisoners to "come out with the truth".

When we got busted, one cop pulled me over and the other pulled Rocky over and started asking us where we had been. I had a set up of keys on the ground. I don't know how they got there but this cop was asking me about the keys and why I had so many of them. So its 5:00 in the morning and he's asking me where we've been and

me and Rocky had different stories and he (police officer) starts on how he wants to get the straight story. Then I tell him "Listen, what does where we've been have to do with what we were busted for." He didn't have an answer to that. They were just testing their shot at us, see what they could come up with. (rounder)

Other police "tricks" for obtaining confessions and information include claiming to be in possession of incriminating evidence which they do not possess, threatening to "throw the book" at rounders if they do not cooperate and, according to Joey (1976: 241), claims that they are already in possession of a "confession" from one's associates. While applying this "pressure", police may also attempt to entice rounders into cooperating by offering them a "deal" in which they would be sanctioned less severely than officially prescribed. Some rounders succumb to these tactics, however, as the interview extracts on page 192 of this Chapter suggests rounders believe that it is to their advantage to reveal as little as possible upon arrest.

#### B. Dealing With Lawyers

Once arrested, rounders perceive that the outcome of their encounter with the law is largely contingent on the lawyer defending their case. Ideally, rounders attempt to obtain a lawyer who will "fight" for them, someone who is competent, well connected and to whom they are joined by a bond of friendship. While most rounders are not able to

obtain such a lawyer, the solid, "well heeled" rounders in my sample claimed to be associated with lawyers possessing these qualities. It should also be noted that these rounders generally shared a small set of such criminal lawyers (five), and that these lawyers were well known and highly regarded in the rounder subculture. While these lawyers were seen as competent and trustworthy, lawyers are generally viewed with an element of mistrust.

I don't like Meyer, I love him. He's like part of the family. Me and him go back 20 years, before he even became a lawyer. I wouldn't think of going elsewhere for a lawyer cause I'll tell you something, Meyer, is one of the best courtroom lawyers in the country. I'm just saying that because he's my friend, you know, because I've been in a lot of court rooms with a lot of lawyers and he's brilliant. (rounder)

I'll tell you how good Meyer is, my kid had 22 charges in the last 3 years and Meyer's beat all of them. Not only that, he's thrown cases out of court, had them dismissed for me. He's one of a kind. (rounder)

The important thing about a lawyer is that he fights for you. You get a lot of lawyers and all they want to do is get your money and sell you down the river. You have to get someone that's not afraid to stand up against the system and in the end the words gets out about a lawyer who's a fighter, you know, if a guy is no dummy and he really puts an effort in, he's going to be sought after. (rounder)

While some lawyers are capable in the combative aspect of law, according to Blumberg (1969: 222) the majority of convictions are brought about by a negotiated bargained-for plea of guilty. Blumberg argues that defense

lawyers are an integral part of the organizational structure and personnel of the criminal court and that "smooth" relations with these other personnel are of prime importance to all involved parties if the system is to be functional. As part of the "legal community" the defence lawyer has greater professional, economic and intellectual ties to various elements of the court system than to his client. Also, it is necessary to the smooth functioning of the court system that most cases be settled out of court (Blumberg 1969: 224). This state of affairs, according to Blumberg results in defence lawyers "conning" their clients to pleading guilty, leading them to believe that they are best served by this form of settlement. Also, since the service of the lawyer is largely intangible the client is further "conned" concerning the actions taken on his behalf and the probable outcomes of those actions in relation to fee collection, price fixing, etc. According to Blumberg:

Lawyers, therefore seek to keep their affairs in a proper state of tension, and to arouse in them the precise edge of anxiety which is calculated to encourage prompt fee payment (Blumberg, 1969: 227).

With the defense lawyer acting essentially as a double agent, a confidence game model, seems very appropriate. This may include, according to Blumberg, an "all out" performance in the courtroom (which does not significantly influence the pre-determined outcome) in order to "cool-out" the mark (client) in terms of the amount of his fee (Blumberg, 1969: 231). While the perception of the practice of law as a confidence game may or may not be somewhat startling

for conventional clients, rounders perceive this as the normal course of legal events. (This is illustrated rather poignantly by the rounders' euphemism for the word lawyer, i.e. "liar")

Rounders consequently feel particularly disadvantaged vis-a-vis the lawyer, with few rounders developing effective strategies to counter-balance the perceived lopsidedness of this power relationship. Consequently, most rounders indicate being the targets of this legal hustle during their careers in crime and generally come to view the entire legal system in terms of a "game".

The lawyers end up with all the money. You could hustle a million of dollars but most of it going to end up in the lawyer's pocket. You ask any rounder what he would want to do if you could start all over and have the opportunities, he would tell you that he would want to be a lawyer. I know I would. Look at what happened to Ted when he got busted. He ended up paying 15 grand over boosting a jacket at Eatons. He knew Ted didn't want to go in the can again so he took him for everything he had. (rounder)

While rounders perceive that lawyers with whom they have no personal bonds are likely to view them as "targets", rounders who use court appointed lawyers are equally pessimistic about the outcome of their cases. Typically, these lawyers are seen to represent the interests of the court or otherwise inept at mounting an effective defense.

If you can't afford a lawyer, forget it. You'll get some flunkie from legal aid, and there isn't too much those guys could do for you even if they tried. They're trying to impress all their higher ups so they're not going to buck the system to get you off. I got to admit though there was one

that tried to pitch for me but he was too wet behind the ears. They just walked all over him .... He couldn't handle the pressure when they (judge & prosecution) started on him, zinging him because of what he was doing or trying to do. (rounder)

Some guys are doing time in the pen and they don't know that they wouldn't have to be there if they had a half decent lawyer. That's their trouble, they can't tell a good lawyer from a bad one. Rounders that have been around for awhile, they would be able to tell, and they would have a fair idea by what their lawyer is doing whether he was going to get it up the ass and whether he would have to dump him or what. (rounder)

### C. Legal Strategies and Outcomes

The pleading strategies of rounders are contingent on (1) the amount of evidence they perceive police and prosecuting attorneys have on them, (2) the trustworthiness and competence of their lawyer and (3) the perceived effect of their previous convictions and the desire of the court for a conviction. More generally, some rounders (i.e. those with extensive legal experience) will estimate the success of various strategies in terms of perceived outcomes and plead accordingly. The majority of rounders, however, do not plead in accordance with such strict reasoning, thus their plea tends to reflect the advice of their counsel and/or situational contingencies (re: shortage of capital, etc.). Newman discussed two groups of offenders, those who retained counsel and those who bargained without the aid of an attorney.

Newman also claimed the disposition of the cases was not drastically effected by the absence of an attorney, however, those who were recidivists and legally experienced were more likely to bargain informally for their sentences. Those that retained counsel were more likely to be non-recidivists and frequently entered a not guilty plea on the advise of their counsel in case "something comes up" (Newman, 1956: 785). These offenders were also more likely to change their plea to guilty. Nonetheless, Newman presented 4 general types of considerations that offenders receive for pleading guilty.

- (1) Bargain concerning the charge. A plea of guilty was entered by the offender in exchange for a reduction of the charge from the one alleged in the complaint ....
- (2) Bargain concerning the sentence. A plea of guilty was entered by the offenders in exchange for a promise of leniency in sentencing ....
- (3) Bargain for concurrent charges. This type of informal process occurred chiefly among offenders pleading without counsel. These men exchanged guilty pleas for the concurrent pressing of multiple charges generally, numerous counts of the same offence or related violations such as breaking and entering and larceny ....
- (4) Bargain for dropped charges. It involved an agreement on the part of the prosecution not to press formally one or more charges against

the offender if he in turn pleaded guilty to (usually) the major offense (Newman, 1956: 786).

While Newman's account is based on American offenders, rounders claim that plea bargaining is not firmly established in Canadian courts. Since "coping a plea" is often not seen as viable alternatively, rounders tend to assume a combative strategy in the courtroom. Should rounders' perceive the prosecution to be in possession of flimsy evidence that their lawyer could discredit effectively, they are apt to be optimistic about the outcome of a combative strategy. This optimism however is tempered by the rounders' perception of the court's intent to obtain a conviction. More established rounders who were well known to police and court personnel alike are particularly apprehensive of this prejudice.

Its not like the States here where you can plea bargain. The only way you can make a deal here is to become a stool pigeon and that's no fucking good. No, the only thing you could do is fight the case. Its not really with it to plead guilty. If you're guilty let them prove it. (rounder)

For rounders that have been around for awhile, like, when most of the police department knew who you are, you're not going to get off. There's kids going up for armed robbery and assault with a deadly weapon and they're getting 6 months, a year but if the guy is a rounder that has been in the area for 20 years, they're going to try to get the maximum sentence behind bars. (rounder)

Another legal strategy mentioned in the literature that does not appear applicable to rounders is Sutherland's (1937) description of "the fix". According to Sutherland

the fix may be attempted by the thief himself (bribe arresting officers) but usually involved the employment of a politically well-connected "fixer". According to Sutherland every major city in the United States had a regular fixer who was available to professional thieves. The fixer in most cases obtained co-operation with the complainant, the police, (change testimony, persuade complainant to drop charges) the prosecution and (less often), the judge. (Sutherland, 1937: 89-92). While remnants of "the fix" appear available to present day professional criminals (Joey, 1972: 198 ) for rounder it is largely unattainable and considered "a thing of the past".

Rounders, however, at times, consider "making a patch" a more viable alternative for strategic bargaining. Making a patch with police usually involves providing police with information or evidence that is generally considered more important than the conviction and sanctioning of the rounder in question. While "making a patch" may appear to be strikingly similar to "turning stool pigeon", rounders attempt to spare their associates and target instead of those with little connection to the rounder subculture (deviates such as child molesters, rapists-murders, radical political minorities, etc.)

Whatever the outcome of the legal procedure, rounders are likely to encounter serious "set backs" as a result of the experience. Not only are such procedures financially draining, putting rounders "in a hole" so to speak from which

they often never fully recover, they may also facilitate the labelling of the offender as "heat score" by his associates so that his hustling activities are severely restricted. (The consequences of legal encounters will be discussed in more detail in the conclusion of this chapter). The most severe set back, however, that rounders face in terms of legal sanction is conviction and being sentenced to a prison term.

D. Doing Time

There are two distinct variations in terms of "doing time"; (1) in holding jails and (2) in penitentiaries. Rounders may remain incarcerated in a holding until their bail is met or until their bail hearing (they may be denied bail, thereby remaining in custody until their trial). Time in a holding jail may also be served as rounders await classification (whether their time will be served in a provincial or federal penitentiary) or when they are in the process of being reclassified. Generally, provincial penitentiaries are allocated for those convicted of less serious crimes (bootlegging, small quantity "soft" drug trafficking and possession, etc.) and whose sentence is under two years time. For more serious crimes (trafficking hard drugs, armed robbery, etc.) which are punishable by 2 years and higher, "time" is usually served in the federal penitentiary.

Insofar, as incarceration in holding jail is often indeterminate (reportedly ranging from overnight to 4 years) there is a great deal of anxiety and uncertainty generated

during this time. This sense of anxiety is particularly heightened as rounders are held without bail and their trial is repeatedly remanded. A sense of resentment is usually generated in these situations as rounders perceive themselves as "doing fine" before their guilt has been legally established.

You look at what happened to Lewis. He got arrested on a phoney beef and because he was on parole at the time they wouldn't let him go out on bail. He spent 9 months at Brookfield and when his case came up the judge threw it out of court! And he was going through a lot mentally, he didn't know whether he would have to go back to the pen because of parole violation that would have been a cocksucker, to go back to the pen because of a bust on a phoney beef that the guy couldn't defend himself on. (rounder)

Once a rounder is convicted, sentenced, and classified, he begins doing penitentiary time. Regardless of whether he is sentenced to a provincial or federal penitentiary he must come to terms as to how he will do his time. Irwin (1970: 66) distinguishes between two available options in terms of orientation to prison life; i.e. (1) identification with broader world outside prison and (2) orientation to the prison world. The difference in orientation, according to Irwin, lay the foundation for the formation of some very important choices, choices which will affect the prisoners long term career. For the rounders in my sample, these choices were important in terms of maintaining one's self conceptualization as a viable street hustler. Those who attempted to make a world out of prison, (i.e. "jailing") and became extensively involved in the prison subculture and prison hustles were thought to be somewhat disadvantaged in this respect.

This unfavourable condition that befalls rounders who become extensively and exclusively oriented to prison life is referred to as "institutionalization". Similar to Irwin's state of raised youth, rounders who become institutionalized are thought to be capable of relating to prison life exclusively. They become accustomed to the "luxuries", privileges, and pleasures available in prison (drugs, homosexual relationships, special clothing, etc.) and are perceived by and large to be unable to effectively function in the outside world. This disadvantage is particularly heightened as institutionalized rounders find themselves shunned not only from the conventional world, out from the criminal subculture as well. This is due to the street hustlers conceptualization of institutionalized rounders as being unpredictably dangerous and somewhat out of tune with the times. Further, institutionalized rounders are considered to be exceptionally strong "heat scores" and are apt to be avoided by other rounders.

A guy that really gets into hustling in prison, he won't be able to make it out in the street. All he'll know is jailhouse scams. In prison, you're in a totally criminal element and everybody is thinking in the same vein. When someone in prison gives you a hard time, you go after him and either he does you in or you do him in. And, man, nobody says anything about it. There could be a hundred guys watching you cut up some dude and no one will every think of telling the man about it. If they did they'll be known as a stoolie and that's as good as being dead. When you're out in the street, man, you can't be doing that shit. You have to be a little more cool when you're out there .... Usually if a guy tries to hustle out on the street the way he does in prison, he'll end up back in prison in a hot New York minute. (rounder)

Ike is institutionalized. He went in 1968 and he's still in that same headspace. He came out for a while last year but for him it was still 1968. Didn't change at all. He went around looking for all the people he used to hang with wanting to do all the same things they used to do but, then, people were into something else altogether. Its like the guy walked into a different time zone. He was used to hustling in a certain way, getting so much money but today 1968 money won't buy you a coffee. So he went out, raped some broad and went right back in the can. He couldn't have been out for more than a few days. He just couldn't cope with all the changes. (rounder)

For a small minority of my sample, prison was seen as an opportunity to "glean" (Irwin, 1970: 48). For these rounders, the learning programs offered in prison were used so that they "could" "turn their lives around". While some of my sample indicated a genuine interest in learning new trades, up-grading their education, etc. the majority of my sample did not indicate extensive commitment to rehabilitation programs. Rather, most rounders attempt to pass through the prison experience in a manner of Irwin's "time doers". These rounders exhibit much the same stoic attitude to doing time as they do to police encounters and legal experiences more generally. In doing their time these rounders attempt to minimize their involvement in other people's affairs and make prison life as comfortable as reasonably possible. The strategies employed to realize this aim are:

(1)...avoid trouble (2)...find activities which occupy their time (3)...secure a few luxuries (4) with exception of a few isolates, form friendships with small group of other convicts and (5)...do what they think is necessary to get out as soon as possible. (Irwin, 1970: 75)

To avoid trouble rounders generally attempt to distance other prisoners known to be "wachos" or "nut bars". My respondents indicate, however, that in recent years this has become somewhat problematic and the maxim of "do your own time" has become weakened.

To tell you the truth the only apprehensions I have about doing time is all those young goof balls that are in the can right now ... it used to be that you could do your own time and if you didn't want to bother with anybody the other cons would respect that. But now, you go in and there's always some fuck-up yelling at you, "Hey, Goof". And, you have to do something about it or its going to get 10 times worse. (rounder)

To occupy their time rounders may read, work on hobbies, play cards, watch t.v., drink, take drugs, converse, etc. To obtain certain luxuries rounders may use their "connections" in the prison to secure "comfortable" work positions and deal in contraband items that are at their disposal. For rounders who are able to deal effectively in this milieu, and circumstance doing time does not represent a overwhelming crisis situation.

LUCKY: Hank knows how to do time, it doesn't him at all.

HANK: What's there to doing time. I've done enough fucking time so it shouldn't phase me. What do you do. You pick up a book, you read, you play cards, watch tv, have something to drink, you sit down. What the fuck. As long as you can get on a quiet tier, you're all right. (rounders)

While rounders generally attempt to distance themselves from intense involvement in the prison subculture, friendships with other convicts are formed in varying degrees

of intimacy. The closest relationships, however, are developed with other convicts who share the same perspective in respect to doing time.

Also, rounders are likely to encounter former acquaintances in prison and this at times leads to the development of a "tight" relationship between them. My respondents generally concede that it is advantageous and at times necessary to "have people" in prison in order to prevent being preyed upon by other prisoners as well as providing companionship and access to "prison luxuries". Further, affinity with other "time doers" leads to the development of contacts and plans for "working together" upon release.

I got in really tight with Jack when we did time together in Newbrook. I never really associated or worked with the guy before, you know, I knew just to see him in the booze can but, I knew about him and he knew about me. We never really got together to do things, but he started rapping to me in the pen and we knew a lot of the same people. We palled around together, you know, he was cool and we got pretty tight after that. (rounder)

Finally, rounders in prison also attempt to secure release as soon as possible. This involves trying to "stay out of trouble", token involvement in rehabilitation programs and filing for early parole. In sum, most rounders attempt to maintain their street criminal identity while in prison, and generally conceive of the prison experience as a more general part of criminal life.

Back On The Streets

Once released from prison, rounders must come to terms with life on the outside world and "doing straight time". If released on parole, rounders are often required to live in halfway houses, exhibit commitment to conventional employment and more generally indicate that they are attempting to "turn their lives around". The most problematic area in terms of meeting parole conditions reported by my respondents was disinvolvement from former criminal activities and associates. Not only were rounders ill-prepared and ill-qualified for legitimate involvements, but the forced disassociation implied by parole conditions was viewed as another form of "doing time". For the most part rounders would either covertly break parole and become involved (if somewhat marginally) in criminal associations and activities or they would meet parole conditions and become involved in the criminal subculture when it was relatively safer to do so. Some rounders, however, (i.e. young rounders involved in petty and/or rougher hustles) involvement in criminal activities did not involve any "waiting period" to speak of it should also be noted that these rounders were most likely to be caught breaking parole and their time on the street was quite limited.

Sometimes, man, its worse doing time on the outside than it is doing time on the inside. I was staying in the halfway house after I got out and that's like doing time. You got to stick with the other guys, all the guys you know, living cramped up just like in the joint, no privacy or anything. And they al-

ways got the threat of the pen hanging over your head, checking to see if you're fucking up at work not staying out pass curfew ... (rounder)

When you get out you have to show them that you're not going to get involved in the same shit you were. It's bullshit but if you want to say out you have to do that .... I've always been good with my hands so I started up in the renovation business, but fuck you just can't make it these days. There's more people trying to rip you off in the straight world, than there is in the criminal. You just can't make it with the interest rate, the banks, the insurance companies and all the customers that are trying to chisel you. I spent more time just cursing these cocksuckers on the blower than anything else. (rounder)

As implied in the previous section, ex-cons do not only face legal obstacles in terms of re-involvement in crime, but also "shunning" from their former associates. Again, it is due to the perception of a recently released con as being "heat score". Apprehension regarding association with such persons is particularly heightened when "free" rounders believe that police have them under surveillance as well.

I nearly had a heart attack when Carmen cut in to me on Delta Drive. He just got out of the can and starts pulling me out on the street and there's a cop car parked right across, you know, and the cops have a hard on for both of us ... Ben is another one. He's really fucking heavy duty, they got him on film and everything. Don't get me wrong I like the guy, he's aces in my book but with all the heat I got on me right now, the last thing I need is to be hanging around guys like that. (rounder)

Other rounders, however, exhibit very little concern about "heat" they may draw through some of their associations.

I'm not afraid of heat. I've lived with heat all my life and it don't fucking bother me. What are they going to do, arrest you because you're sitting down having a drink with a pal. Let them fucking arrest me. That's my fucking attitude. You could go nuts living, like, you can't see who you want to see .... I'm not going to let the cops make me live like a door mouse. Those cocksuckers can do anything they want to do anyway so what does it matter. You're better living until they haul you away. (rounder)

Becoming re-involved in criminal activities is largely contingent on one's past contacts and reputation in the criminal subculture. In this sense solid well-established rounders are advantaged vis-a-vis fringe rounders. "Doing Time" for established rounders is likely to enhance their reputation as "stand up guy" while fringe rounders may find that their absence from the street scene has dissolved the few solid contacts they had. Whereas solid rounders are likely to be sought out as desirable partners for ongoing "scams and plays" (thus alerting them to current hustles and styles of operations) fringe rounders may have to be content to "kick around" and become involved with less competent criminals like themselves. It should be noted, however, that solid rounders who become extreme recidivists and exhibit traits of being "institutionalized" may find their reputation somewhat diminished and their hustling opportunities reduced.

If you have a guy like Victor that has a solid rep, he's not going to have any problem when he gets out. There's guys all over the continent that would love to work with someone like him. All he had to do was make a few

phone calls when he got out and he was out in no time no question asked and I mean with some well heeled people .... When he was getting out the joint, he had a limo waiting to pick him up! (rounder)

I worked with Brad before he went into the can but he just did too much time. The guy is a nice guy and when he tells you he's going to do something, he does it, but, I don't know, there's something "off" about him. I get these really weird vibes off him now. (rounder)

### Discussion

While I have attempted to provide a rather extensive discussion on the legal contingencies involved in the rounders way of life it should be noted that, due to space and time limitations, accounts of court orders, petitions, affidavits, assessments, documentary proofs, clarifications, complaints, repudiations, agreements, negotiations, letters of applications, witnesses, pre-sentence reports, hearings, court appearances for pre-trial investigatory sessions, relations with penal personnel and the like were omitted. It would require an entire thesis or monograph to do justice to this neglected area of sociology.

With this in mind, this Chapter has shown that rounders attempt to control information released by police concerning information of their activities by (1) keeping a low profile (2) invoke secrecy upon their associates (3) avoid interaction with persons not known to

them and (4) conduct business with known associates. It was also shown that due to (1) financial pressures, (2) ego "needs", and (3) the local embeddedness of most rounders in the community, attempts at invoking strict secrecy were often futile. In the next section concerning relations with the police it was argued that rounders generally have unfavourable attitudes towards them, however, three "distinct" styles of relating were delineated. It blurred and that individual rounders tended to assume different styles contingent on situational elements and their attitude toward individual police officers. The information-exchange relationship involved (a) bartering information (b) selecting friendship with "cool" cops (c) attempting to eliminate competitors and/or enemies (d) attempting to "con" police officers and (d) "coping-out" to ensure less severe sanctioning. The distant-stoic relations which was most common amongst rounders involved minimizing one's contact with police without exhibiting flagrant disrespect. The confrontational approaches was more commonly assumed by young rounders and involved pro-active attempts to disrupt police work, often reflecting interpersonal rivalries with individual officers and a direct challenge to the authority of the police.

In the next section we discussed the arrest procedure and more specifically how rounders perceive that "busts" come about. Awareness that one is "up to no good" is usually the result of information coming to the attention of police through the criminal subculture "grapevine".

The specific information necessary to make a "good pinch" requires more specific detailed information and this is the result of (1) some "ratting" (2) documentary proof (3) surveillance, and all of the above as police attempt to "build a case".

Arrests also result from entrapment (dealing with an undercover officer), "fuck ups" while operating and "acts of God" (unavoidable, "freak" accidents). Further, we discussed in this section how rounders attempt to deal with police questioning, that is, attempts by police to extract confessions and information from captive rounders.

In the section dealing with rounders relationship with lawyers it was argued that rounders attempt to secure the service of lawyers with whom they have a personal friendship bond, believing that such lawyers are more likely to have a concerted effort into securing their release. The majority of lawyers, however, were perceived to be "con artists" with rounders being targets. Next legal strategies were discussed including pleading guilty for considerations, "fixing", "making a Pitch" and combating the charge.

In our discussion of "doing time" we distinguished between doing time in holding jails and in the penitentiary with the former being a temporary house of detention and the latter being more permanent. Concerning doing time in the penitentiary, Irwin's model orientation to prison life was employed with three styles being delineated (i.e. (1) jailing (2) gleaning (3) "doing time").

It was argued here that most rounders adopt the "doing time" perspective to prison life and that rounders who become extensively involved in the prison subculture are apt to become "institutionalized" thus, less adept at successful street hustling. Finally, we discussed the problematics involved in "making it out in the streets" when release from the penitentiary was secured, discussing attempts by rounders to meet parole requirements and renew former criminal involvements.

It was argued here that solid well connected rounders were advantaged vis-a-vis fringe rounders in that their contacts and reputation facilitated a "welcomed return" to the criminal subculture.

Having discussed in this chapter the contingencies that make involvement in the criminal subculture precarious and problematic, we will shift our attention to how disinvolvement from rounding activities comes about.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISINVOLVEMENT

In this Chapter, we will discuss disinvolvement from rounding activities and the problematics involved in disentangling oneself from criminal associations.

#### Disenchantment

Desires to become disinvolved from rounding as a way of life reflect relative disenchantment on the part of the participants. While almost all rounders become disenchanted with criminal involvements at various stages of their careers, for some rounders this state of disenchantment assumes a more permanent nature. The "thrill" once associated with hustling may be totally lacking for these rounders and other action involvements may also be perceived as dull, routine, senseless and somewhat immature. Negative experiences with one's associates (being ripped off, being ratted on, etc.) also contribute to feelings of disenchantment along with the perception that criminal involvements ultimately offer little hope of financial or emotional success and happiness. For rounders who become more or less entrenched in this emotional state, criminal involvements offer little more than prolonged experiences of paranoia, tension, and depression.

I got to thinking to myself, what the hell am I doing here. It was just a waste of a life. I mean here I was, going to the hotel, spending all my money drinking with all those jerk-offs,

you know, bullshitting with the best of them. That's all it was, a whole lot of bullshit flying through the air. And I would be leaving my wife and kids at home to be around these people ... Almost everybody I knew really let me down. They want to be around when you're doing good, when you got something going for you, but, when you have a real need, forget it. Nobody wants to know you then ... I got to thinking about it and I didn't want any part of it. (ex-rounder)

### "Going Straight"

Disenchantment with hustling as a way of life may prompt some rounders to develop interest in legitimate involvements, however, a lack of references, limited education, a prison record, etc. create a formidable barrier in terms of obtaining viable "straight" work (Prus and Irini, 1980: 256). Thus, disenchantment in and of itself does not lead "conversion" to a conventional lifestyle.

Developing relationships with conventional significant others, however, is a much more effective method of promoting disinvolvement from rounding involvements. Not only do these relationships facilitate the adoption of conventional norms and values but they also provide lucrative employment and social opportunities in the legitimate world. Rounders may become further embedded into a conventional life style as they develop "side bets" (Becker, 1963, 121) such as getting married (to a "straight broad") buying a home, etc.

If it wasn't for Betty I'd still be doing the same shit I'd been doing all my life. She saved my life. I'm not just saying that, I mean she really saved my life. Man, if I was cracking

wiz into my veins the way I used to, I'd be a corpse right now. No doubt about that. I really did myself in a few times. She really took care of me. She got me a job in her uncle's construction company and I started more money there than I ever did hustling. Sure its heavy work, but, man I don't mind working hard. In fact, I like it, I'm telling you it did wonders for my health. I used to be skin and bones, never eating for weeks but now I work hard, make good money, and when I get home, Betty's got a real fucking meal waiting for me. She keeps the place spotless, you could eat off the floor, no problem and you remember the shit holes I used to live in. You had to beat off the cockroaches if you wanted a bite of your dinner. Its great man, I've never been happier in my whole life.  
(ex-rounder)

I've known a few guys to go straight. I'm too used to living the way I do, I'm a loner, right. But these guys they settled down with a straight broad, they had money, they knew people so the guy wouldn't have to work as a fucking janitor as something like that. No, these guys got right into it, bought a house, and some kids and all that. They just packed it in, you'll never see them around here anymore. (rounder)

Another event heading to "going straight" is the accumulation of sufficient funds on the part of rounders so that they could establish one's own legitimate business. (Prus and Irini, 1980: 256) While some rounders establish businesses that are not related to the criminal subculture, in any way, shape or form, it should be noted (as stated in Chapter 3) that these businesses usually reflect the proprietors interest and contacts in the rounder subculture. Thus, these businesses often cater to desires rounders, bar staff, and the like as well as employing persons from a similar background.

Ted and Tom bought a hotel in Falling River, that employed many ex Main staff; Cliff bought a restaurant in which he hoped would cater to the strippers, rounders, etc. that he knew; Kurt opened up a contracting company which employs some of his rounder acquaintances. (field notes)

My sample indicates that disinvolvement from criminal activities due to prison rehabilitation programs appears to be somewhat rare. While the majority of sample have "done time" and consequently, been involved in rehabilitation programs, this appears relatively ineffective in terms of invoking disinvolvement from criminal activities. Again, the development of conventional commitments that compete and overshadow criminal commitments appears instrumental in inducing disinvolvement from hustling as a way of life.

### Disqualification

While disinvolvement for some may reflect an intentional effort on their part, disinvolvement may also result from disqualification or rejection of persons as acceptable "partners". For instance, a rounder may find himself rejected by his associates should he develop a reputation of being untrustworthy. While most rounders during the course of their careers are accused of and accuse their partners of dishonesty, those who are reputed to routinely "rip-off" their friends may find their opportunities to hustle with viable hustlers markedly reduced.

No one in their right mind would ever work with Dead Eye. There's a guy that would rob his dying Mother blind. The guy is not a bad hustler, but

he's guaranteed to try to take off with your end of the deal. (rounder)

A rounder may also find himself disqualified by his associates should he develop the reputation of being an incompetent hustler. He may be deemed incompetent as a result of being perceived to lack the mechanical, verbal, etc. aptitude to hustle effectively as well as lacking the "balls" to come through in the "clutch". It should be noted that many prospective fringe rounders have such a reputation which prevents them from becoming bona fide hustlers and makes them more reliant on conventional sources of revenue.

You get a lot of these younger kids knocking around the area, thinking they're hustlers. Nine out of 10 of them couldn't hustle a buck to save their lives. No talent whatsoever. We worked with a few of them when we were hard up for partners, mostly as point-men but I'll tell you most of them don't even have the balls for that. There's this one kid, I think you've probably seen him around here, Peppy. Well, he kept bugging me to take him along with us so I did. We used him to keep 6, but wouldn't you know it, the first sound he heard that sounded like somebody coming, he took off like a shot ... I told him he should get a job. (rounder)

Perhaps the most effective label one could possess in terms of invoking disqualification from the criminal subculture is that of a "rat" or "stoolie". Not only are such persons likely to encounter hostility and/or retaliation from those who perceive themselves to have been their targets, but they are also likely to find that other rounders having only marginal acquaintance with them are apt to "shun" them once becoming aware of their designated label. There is a powerful negative stigma associated with the label of "stool-

pigeon" in the criminal subculture and there is an overwhelming difficulty involved in discrediting this designation. Consequently targets of this label usually find their hustling opportunities and contacts greatly diminished if not totally destroyed.

That's their worst thing in the world to be, a stoolpigeon. I've done time so that my partners could get off the hook, and believe me when I tell you this, I could have had 15 years of my life back if I ratted out. But I couldn't do that, I couldn't live with myself ... Van is a rat from the word go. He's fucked up a lot of people, but he's a marked man right now. If he's got two cents worth of brains, he'll stay out of downtown. I saw him tripping around through last week, going around saying hello to everybody, you know, like everything was cool or something. Shit, he couldn't get the time of day.  
(rounder)

Other events that promote disqualification such as "being institutionalized" and "being a heat score" have been elaborated on in the previous chapter on encounters with law. All the events discussed to this point that promote disqualification reflect internal conflicts and animosities amongst rounders. While this may pose no great problem for some rounders (i.e. boosters, thieves) who are somewhat geographically mobile, most rounders have few and then only weak contacts beyond the local community and are consequently somewhat stymied by these events. These "crisis" events are often instrumental in invoking rounders to re-think their criminal involvements, making legitimate commitments appear more enticing (Prus and Irini, 1980: 257).

Other events that lead to rounders becoming disquali-

fied from hustling activities do not readily reflect conflicts with othe rounders, but rather, they reflect a "natural" degeneration of one's hustling ability due to the aging process and the destructive effect (mentally and physically) of the rounders way of life. Some rounders simply become "too old to hustle", exhibiting signs of senility. There is also a "loss of nerve" associated with older rounders and they are often regarded as having "gone soft in the head". Further, the ill-health that befalls most older rounders prevents them from achieving the mobility that is required in order to hustle effectively.

Facilitating the degenerative state of most older rounders (70<sup>+</sup>) is life long patterns of heavy alcohol and/or drug use which appears as an integral part of the rounders way of life. It should be noted however, that some rounders are disqualified due to their inability to handle their drugs or booze long before the onset of old age. Regardless of whether degeneration is brought about by old age and/or drug and alcohol "abuse", such persons are likely to become the "afficionados" described by Wallace (1968: 99).

While old age and degeneration most often result in rounders being disqualified from extensive involvement in the rounders way of life, some older rounders enjoy considerable popularity in the criminal subculture. While their hustling activities are somewhat curtailed, they are usually welcomed in most rounder hangouts and their extensive hustling experience along with their lucidity is highly valued by other

rounders. Also, the respect and admiration generated by those rounders along with "favours owed to them" at times results in other rounders "taking care of them".

I Love Old Man Al! There's no way I could repay him for what he's done for me. He really educated Me, like, when I first met him all I used to do is get into fights and knock people over the head, but he took me aside and started laying down to me that I would never get anywhere doing that. He got me started in bootlegging, fencing, you know, things that don't draw too much heat. You know that flat he's staying in now, well that's my house and I don't charge him nothing for rent ... He doesn't have the bread now, but man, in his day he took care of a lot of people. Some people forget things like that, but I don't. I'm not made that way. (rounder)

#### Disinvolvement Problematics

In the previous section, we discussed how rounders become disinvolved in criminal activities, however, there are a number of "social influences" that discourage disinvolvement. Even for those persons described in the previous section who "go legit" or become disqualified, total disinvolvement from rounder-like activities and associations is somewhat rare. Indeed, it is more accurate to conceptualize rounders as diminishing their involvements instead of completely severing them. Further,

Insofar, as rounders may (1) pursue similar activities in other settings, (2) become less obvious while continuing to hustle in the same setting, or (3) resume former hustles at a later point in time, it becomes difficult to achieve an adequate statement on disinvolvement (Prus and Irini, 1980: 227)

A. Continuance Commitments

Continuance commitments (Stebbins, 1970) refers to aspects of a certain activity that make alternatives to that activity appear somewhat unattainable. As a consequence individuals may feel themselves to be "forced" or "obliged" to continue in that activity. In the case of rounders, hustling as a way of life involves extensive pleasure spending (gambling, drugs, drink, frequent nights on the town", etc.) as well as requiring a fairly large and fluid cash flow for "wheeling and dealing". Since conventional sources of revenue could not support these spending habits, rounders often experience "closure" (Lemert, 1953). In other words, hustling activities come to be viewed as a necessity "to make ends meet". Also, insofar as much of the rounders economic relationships with other rounders involves "fronting" money and/or goods which must be reimbursed within short periods of time, closure tends to be acutely experienced at times.

Well, when someone fronts you the goods, then you really have to hustle to get rid of it. Usually that's the only way a dealer will front you anything, and if he knows he can trust you and that you can move it pretty fast. Anyway he probably is desperate for the quick money because some guy is probably fronting him.  
(rounder)

As rounders perceive themselves as being "successful" in the criminal subculture thoughts of disinvolvement are not likely to be acted upon if they materialize at all.

As rounders become accustomed to the independence involved in hustling as well as the pleasures of the action life, conventional work and life-styles are likely to appear rather shallow and dull. Further, as rounders internalize criminal subculture norms and values, most conventional persons will tend to appear rather negatively in terms of these values and norms, thus further distancing them from conventional involvements.

To tell you the truth straight people really bug me sometimes. They really seem goofy ... just the way they act and everything they talk about really turns me off ... I can't believe the way most of them live. From what I've seen of it, it doesn't seem like living to me ... You can't trust straight people to go to bat for you. Most rounders have more balls than straight guys. They are not afraid to stand up for themselves and their own the way most straight guys are. (rounder)

#### B. Activity Entanglements and Embeddedness in the Social Life

The continuity of a rounding career is also contingent with the continuing acceptance of "insiders". The acceptance of the audience insures not only that participants will feel more comfortable in their surroundings but also tends to keep them committed to rounding as a way of life. As acceptance facilitates the creation of hustling interdependencies and embeds participants in the social life of the group, "conversion" to conventional lifestyles also becomes less likely.

Further acceptance facilitates the accumulation of specific hustling knowledge. While some hustles may be learned

as one observes, and employs deductive reasoning, others require specific knowledge that must be shared by those "in the know". This knowledge is somewhat valued by those rounders who possess it and is generally privy only to those who are accepted and hustling with them. The accumulation of this special knowledge improves the hustling potential of those who receive it, thus making involvement in criminal activities more enticing and feasible.

The hustling interdependencies created as one accumulates a number of "partners" also create continuance of commitments. As working relationships are established with other rounders, hustling as a way of life is likely to become more stable and lucrative. These working relationships tend to consolidate participants in the criminal subculture and as persons creative, cause extensive network of these working relationships, they are apt to find themselves involved rather intensively in criminal life.

My problem is that I know too many people. There's so many people that drop by to see about business that it just boggles my mind sometimes. Broads keep telling me, don't you have time to just come and see me for a minute but they don't understand that I got a zillion things going on all at the same time ... (rounder)

The flexibility and diversity of a rounder's style of operation also promotes continuity. Since being a rounder involves having a variety of ways of making out, competent and well connected rounders are not "destroyed" by the failure of one particular hustle. For instance, while a rounder may become disenchanted with drug dealing, he may find(through

his rounder contacts), pimping and/or bookmaking more lucrative. In other words, being a rounder means always having a different hustle to "fall back on".

The social life affiliations that one develops as a rounder are also critical in terms of continuity. As rounders become more extensively involved with others in the criminal subculture, terms of friendship, recreation and romance, the possibility of disinvolvement becomes reduced. Social involvements with other rounders are also apt to create multiple bonds as these contacts facilitate hustling opportunities. For instance, a drug dealer who is romantically involved with a stripper may find his operations has expanded as she helps him find customers through her contacts. He may also be instrumental in facilitating the stripper becoming involved in hooking activities as he introduces her to hookers who are willing to "show her the ropes". Again, there is a "snow-ball" effect in terms of criminal involvements as one establishes extensive and diversified rounder activities, and contacts.

Involvement in the social life of rounders also promotes continuity in rounding activities "climatize" them. Becoming involved in the social activities of rounders promotes a definition of "the good life" that is somewhat at odds with the conventional definition and generally unattainable through conventional resources. For rounders the good life entails personal economic autonomy, "solid" friendships, heavy partying (bars and booze cans), multiple romantic and

sexual involvements, adventure, danger, excitement, conspicuous consumption, "flash", an ample "stash" etc. and as persons become accustomed to these activities and the way of life that makes them possible conventional involvements will appear somewhat unenticing. Further, the emotional bonds that are created with others in the criminal subculture are influential in promoting continuation in rounding activities more generally.

In conclusion, the hustling and social entanglements that rounders develop in the course of their careers make disinvolvement highly problematic. This entanglement process is rather poignantly illustrated by the following quotation in The Jack Roller

Life is just that way, a lot of entanglements that hold you in their grasp and carry you deeper and deeper until you become indifferent and don't care. At first you take a taste, a sip here a dabble there and in a little while you then get into the ring or the gang and then your hands are tied. The thrill, the lure then leads you on and you can't think about the results. (Shaw, 1983: 161-62)

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSIONS

To conclude this thesis I will summarize the career contingencies of rounders. To structure this summary we will refer to the career contingency model developed in Chapter 1), that is, it will be done in terms of the 3 basic components of careers; (1) initial involvements (2) continuity and (3) dis-involvement.

#### Initial Involvements

In Chapter 2 we discussed two major "routes" by which initial involvements in rounder-like activities come about; (1) through primary socialization into the rounder subculture and (2) through "conversion" or secondary socialization into the rounder subculture.

For those receiving primary socialization into the rounder subculture, the values, norms and beliefs that are conducive to criminal involvements were presented to them by their significant others at early childhood. For these rounders who were raised in a high crime slum-like social environment, criminal and deviant involvements were more or less defined in normative terms. For instance, violence was perceived as an integral part of day to day life; a "fact" that one must come to terms with. Violence was also a method by which one established oneself as "stand up guy", an indication to oneself and others in one's social environment that

"I am one of you". Similarly, involvement in other delinquent activities (vandalism, theft, drug and alcohol use, promiscuous sex, etc.) were an integral part of this social environment, rounders experienced in early childhood. Thus, being presented with a rounder weltanschauung by their significant others (family as peers) and being geographically limited to the local neighbourhood (as children usually are), for these rounders, involvement in the criminal subculture appears a "natural" consequence of their upbringing.

A sizeable minority of my sample, however, received their primary socialization in the conventional culture and were "converted" to the rounder subculture in later life. For these persons, there was an expressed dissatisfaction with conventional life styles and an "openness" or "inclination" to deviant activities prior to conversion, thus, the conversion experience was not exceptionally dramatic. While these rounders exhibited elements of "seekership", their involvement in rounding activities was more contingent on their ability to be sponsored by an insider(s). These insider(s) typically qualified the newcomer to others in the rounder subculture, "showed him the ropes" in terms of hustling, assist in the development of contacts and more generally "climatized" him to his new way of life. They also demystified themselves in the newcomers eyes, helped them come to terms with self-respectability, offered normative definitions of hustling and of what "the good life" entails. In short,

these newcomers received secondary socialization into the rounder subculture.

While sponsored involvements appear to be a crucial contingency in terms of facilitating initial involvements for "converted" rounders, sponsored involvements were no less consequential for primary socialized rounders. Even for rounders who were raised in a criminal environment, an absence of sponsored involvements would result in an inability to take effective part in the criminal subculture. For primary socialized rounders, however, sponsored involvements are more readily available through kinship and friendship ties in the criminal subculture. In other words, access to illegitimate opportunity structures (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960) are crucial in terms of initial involvements and these opportunities are more readily "at hand" for rounders raised in the criminal subculture.

### Continuity

Once initial involvement in rounding activities has been established, participants must come to terms with rounding as a way of life. Of particular importance here is the issue of identity, that is, the significance of acknowledging one's identity as a rounder. Generally speaking, the more completely persons accept identities of this nature, the more likely they are to continue their rounding activities (Prus and Irini, 1980: 253). As these identities crystallize

in the minds of the participants, the more likely they are to involve themselves more extensively and intensively in the criminal subculture. Further, identity, appears to be much more influential in promoting continuity than "loyalty to the community" in that hustling, is more generally conceptualized in terms of self orientation although the issue of loyalty to one's peers is certainly salient in the lives of rounders.

Rounding as a way of life also involves coming to terms with contingencies of (1) becoming streetwise; (2) hustling one's livelihood (3) establishing and maintaining contacts (4) creating and maintaining a reputation as a viable hustler; (5) action involvements and (6) encounters with the law. In becoming streetwise rounders encounter the problematics of how they should present and conduct themselves in the criminal subculture, given the dangers, uncertainties and opportunities involved in this way of life. Those able to acquire and effectively put their street wisdom into action will be advantaged vis-a-vis non-street wise persons insofar as the outcomes of their encounters with street people and law enforcement personnel are concerned. Rounders must also be able to sustain their livelihood via illegal and quasi-legal activities, thus they must come to terms with developing and executing viable hustles over an extended period of time. In order to effectively engage in these activities typically require teamwork, contacts are of paramount importance insofar as continuity in hustling pursuits are con-

cerned. The development of contacts in turn are largely contingent on one's reputation in the rounder subculture. The reputation that a rounder develops will influence what he will be able to do and with whom he will be able to do it. On the other hand, reputations are developed as a consequence of what one does and with whom one is affiliated. Thus, as one becomes known as a well-connected, solid rounder, his ability to extensively engage in rounding activities over time will be greatly enhanced.

Action involvements, or involvements in rounder social and recreational pursuits is also crucial in promoting continuity in that it tends to embed rounders in the criminal subculture through multiple social and economic bonds. Being a rounder entails socializing with others affiliated with the criminal subculture such as bartenders, thieves, waiters, hookers, strippers, loansharks, drug dealers, musicians, etc. and this in turn essentially centres their social and economic life around such persons. Since rounders social and economic relationships are so extensively interwoven, recreational activities in criminal subcultural "hang-outs" (i.e. action bars, booze cans, racetracks, pool halls etc.) induce continuity in terms of facilitating hustling pursuits as well as promoting emotional commitment to others embedded in the rounder subculture.

Encounters with the law are perhaps some of the most unpredictable, problematic and negative contingencies that rounders must face. Not only do encounters with the law po-

tentially threaten to eliminate a rounder's livelihood source but they also pose the danger of severing him from the life he is accustomed to "put on the street". In order to deal with this contingency, rounders develop "safeguards", albeit imperfect ones, that attempt to minimize the danger of police intervention. (i.e. invoking secrecy amongst one's associates, conducting "business" with known persons only, minimizing incriminating evidence, etc.) Should rounders be arrested they are required to develop strategies to deal with encounters with lawyers and other court personnel, pleading, etc. and the effectiveness of these strategies is crucial in determining the outcome of their trial and consequently their entire career in crime. Once in prison, rounders face the contingency of how they will "do their time". For those who are able to keep their street hustling identity intact and avoid becoming "institutionalized" and/or overly involved in the prison subculture to where they can no longer effectively orient themselves to street hustles, the transition from prison life to street life will be more successful.

Encounters with the law, while aimed at invoking disinvolvement from criminal pursuits, in actuality do much to promote continuity in one's criminal career. Not only do the prevalent negative attitudes toward law enforcement personnel help bring into focus one's criminal identity but the forced confinement of persons to a totally criminal social environment almost "necessitates" that one assume a criminal

perspective on the world, since there is virtually no social support amongst other inmates for a conventional one. Further, since legal fees are apt to be extremely high and require prompt payment rounders experience closure in that intensive illegal activities are the only viable method by which these revenues could be raised. Finally, encounters with the law entails the development of a criminal record which effectively disqualifies rounders from many conventional social and economic involvements thus facilitating, the onset of secondary deviance.

In conclusion, it appears that the key to understanding the concept of continuity in rounding as a way of life is conceptualizing it in terms of coming to terms with the theme of interrelatedness. Generally speaking the degree to which rounders become embedded in the criminal subculture is both reflective and a result of his interrelatedness with those sharing his way of life. The multiple involvements which are an integral part of being a rounder help bring about interrelatedness and interdependencies with other hustlers, entangling rounders in the lines of like-others to an even greater degree.

### Disinvolvement

Since the "social forces" promoting continuity are so powerful, total disinvolvement from rounding activities was rare amongst my sample. Nonetheless, disqualification (non-acceptance on the part of significant others) promotes

disinvolvement for some rounders. Since continuity is dependent on maintaining acceptance and working relationships, those that are no longer able to achieve this due to alcohol and drug abuse, becoming institutionalized, untrustworthiness, old age, etc. are likely to assume unprestigious diminished fringe roles in the rounder subculture (i.e. derelicts, drifters, winos, etc.). Other rounders reduce their involvement in the criminal subculture by buying into legitimate businesses, however their rounder affiliations to varying degrees are kept in tact.

Disinvolvement, is also possible by the development of conventional commitments. Should these commitments effectively compete with criminal commitments, disinvolvement, to varying degrees, is likely to take place. Further, the more extensive "side bets" that one makes on their conventional commitments, the more complete disinvolvement will become. This statement on disinvolvement however must be qualified by the fact that rounders may continue hustling activities in other similar settings should they be disqualified and that they may resume activities at a later point in time should they cease and desist in their criminal involvements (Prus and Irini, 1980: 227).

To conclude this discussion on disinvolvement it is important to note that rounders receiving secondary socialization in the rounder subculture are advantaged vis-a-vis rounders receiving primary socialization in that the first

group of rounders are fringe rounders and maintain a series of on-going conventional relationships. Rounders, on the other hand who have been involved in the criminal subculture their entire lives are unlikely to be inclined or able to effectively come to terms with conventional lifestyles and relationships.

### Future Considerations

This thesis has examined the career contingencies of rounders. However, if we ignore for a minute, the deviant label attached to rounding activities and examine them in terms of simply being activities, the career contingency model presented in this thesis would then be relevant for any number of conventional and deviant activities. Examining the career contingencies of these activities in this manner will assist not only in terms of understanding how career outcomes come about, but it will also highlight the process orientation which is, in my opinion, the essence of the concept of career. My work in the future will focus on promoting this interrelatedness, process oriented, phenomenological perspective on symbolic interactionism more generally and on careers in particular.

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Acid	LSD
blower	telephone
balls	courage, willingness to engage in risk taking behaviour
booster	shoplifter
booze-can	establishment where liquor is sold without a license
B.R.	bankroll, having an ample available amount of cash
bum rap	unjustified conviction
bust	arrest
book	record of bookmakers' accounts
can	prison
casing	examining criminal opportunities
chemicals	synthetic drugs
cool	(1) to be problem free (2) composed, calm
cool-out	(2) to appease, neutralize possibility of conflict and/or aggression
C-note	100 dollar bill
coppers	police
coupons	money
con shot	attempt to promote one's interests at the expense of another
coping	a plea - plea guilty for considerations
coke	cocaine
crash	to sleep
dive	drinking establishment in decrepant condition

ducking and diving	trying to avoid contact with certain persons
dope	illicit drugs generally
doing-time	(1) passing time in prison (2) being incarcerated
fingered	pointed out for crime
fin	five dollars
fix	arrange for a certain judicial outcome to come to pass
front	to give persons goods without payment, money to be owed
G-note	one thousand dollars
get-wise	to be aware of, to gain understanding of
hangout	to spend time leisurely unoccupied
heat	police attention, police target
heat score	someone apt to draw police attention
heart	courage, willingness to engage in action
high	to be in an altered state of consciousness
hooker	prostitute
honest pinch	a legitimate arrest
hose-bag	an unattractive, promiscuous, inept female usually old and having problems with alcohol and drugs (Used in a derogatory context)
home-grown	marijuana grown domestically
horse-degenerate	one who compulsively bets on horses so as to perpetuate his financial ruination
hat	stolen
jam	courage
joint	(1) marijuana cigarette (2) prison (3) an establishment

keeping-six	watching for possible intruders during the commission of a crime
kicks	activities to provide intense pleasurable excitement
laying track	telling a story, a falsified account
lush	one who drinks excessive amount of alcohol and possessing a "sleazy" nature (used in a derogatory context)
the man	police
mark	a hustler's target
nab	to apprehend
N.G.	no good
nut	operating expenses
off the hook	to be removed from a pressure situation
pal-out	to show one's friendship for another in the presence of an audience
partner	criminal associate
patch	arrangement to appease legal prosecution
pen	penitentiary
phoney-beef	unwarranted arrest, made on fabricated grounds
pig	police (used in derogatory context)
pinch	arrest
play	illegal ventures
player	(1) typically refers to blacks with varying degrees of involvement in pimping (2) hustler
point man	person who keeps alert for possible intruders during the commission of a crime
pot	marijuana
pull	to draw into one's sphere of influence
rap	(1) legal penalty (2) communitive conversation, talk
rat	informant (used in a derogatory context)

ratted out	informed on
ribbins	to joke, to playfully misrepresent the truth
rip-off	(1) to steal, swindle (2) unfair exchange
roll	to rob
rounder	streetwise person with other than legitimate means of support
rumble	fight
sap	fool, one who is easily misled
sawbuck	ten dollars
scam	illegal venture
score	to acquire something at substantial personal gain
scratch	money
shake down	to extort
shit	(1) drugs in general (2) goods in general
smack	heroin
smoke	marijuana
snatch-and-run	theft in which articles are stolen and the agent immediately leaves the scene of the crime
solid	trustworthy, reliable
speed	amphetamines
square bitch	conventional female
stash	a storage place for drugs or other illicit goods
straight	conventional, non-criminal
stoolie, stoolpigeon	police informant
throw-the-book	to maximize legal penalty
toke	a puff from a marijuana cigarette, hashish, cocaine, etc.

trick	a prostitute's client or other persons who accepts sex as payment
twisted	not of sound mind
wiz	amphetamines

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