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# "You'll Never Leave Harlan Alive": Using FX's Justified to Form A Cultural Understanding of Crime in Harlan County, Kentucky

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“YOU’LL NEVER LEAVE HARLAN ALIVE”: USING FX’S *JUSTIFIED* TO FORM  
A CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING OF CRIME IN HARLAN COUNTY,  
KENTUCKY

By

MORGAN A. STONE

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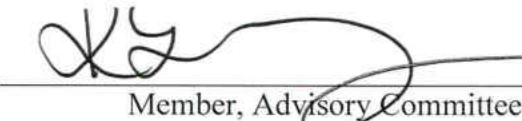
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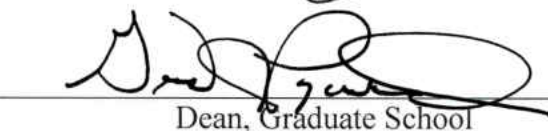
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KENTUCKY

By

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Bachelor of Arts  
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Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of  
Eastern Kentucky University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of  
MASTER OF SCIENCE  
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## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to  
my family for teaching me that growing up in  
the mountains of Appalachia is one of the  
greatest gifts I could have ever been given.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank, first and foremost, my family and friends for their support throughout this entire process. I know it was not easy to hear me carry on about the thematic implications of culture in *Justified*, especially for those who had no idea what I was talking about, but their willingness to listen and offer feedback did not go unnoticed. I would also like to thank my thesis advisor, Dr. Travis Linnemann, for reading multiple unfinished drafts and refocusing me when I got overwhelmed and distraught. Another big thank you goes out to my other two thesis committee members, Dr. Kenneth Tunnell and Dr. Kishonna Gray-Denson, for taking time out of their busy schedules to serve on my committee and offer constructive feedback on my topic and drafts. I would not be at this point in my life if it were not for the influence of two professors from my undergraduate institution who encouraged me to consider pursuing graduate study. Dr. Carrie Trojan and Dr. Edward Bohlander, both of Western Kentucky University, had a significant impact on my academic path and I would be remiss to not offer them gratitude for believing in me and my ability to succeed in a graduate program.

## ABSTRACT

Rural southern violence has long been a sensationalized issue. From the Hatfield and McCoy feud to *Deliverance*, social issues unique to the rural south have received a significant amount of focus within modern popular culture. One of the most recent and popular examples of southern culture and violence is the television network FX's *Justified*, set in Harlan County, Kentucky. The storyline follows US Marshal Raylan Givens as he is sent back to Kentucky after a misstep during his tenure in Miami. After arriving in his home state, he finds himself constantly drawn back to his hometown of Harlan, Kentucky, whether it is through work assignments or his personal life. The criminals that Givens comes in contact with are colorful individuals who are active members in the illegal activities that pervade this rural community, such as the manufacturing and sale of illegal drugs and illegal arms trading. The real Harlan County is nestled in the mountains of Kentucky and is only accessible by state and local highways. Access to stable employment was limited in this area due to Harlan's mountainous geography so, once the coal companies established themselves, individuals were able to start building lives on the stable wages that they were earning. After conflicts between coal company executives and coal miners reached an all-time high, violent crime increased significantly due to strikes and general frustration toward the coal companies. The riots that erupted among law enforcement, mine company security, and strikers led to this area being referred to as 'Bloody Harlan'. Even though these events occurred in the 1930s and violent crime in Harlan has decreased, this reputation remains among those in the region. Since the viewership of *Justified* is not localized to rural areas, but rather encompasses the majority of the nation, this often leads viewers to make



assumptions about rural crime trends that are not statistically valid. This mixed methods project will study the current cultural and criminal landscape of Harlan County, Kentucky and will compare those findings with what is presented in a sample of *Justified* episodes to find how rural crime is presented to viewers as opposed to its reality. The impact of social institutions within these communities will also be addressed.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

As the beginning guitar chords are picked out in an ominous tone, the lyrics “in the deep, dark hills of Eastern Kentucky...that’s the place where I trace my bloodline,” follow close behind, sung in a deep country voice laced with emotion (D. Scott, 1997). The song “You’ll Never Leave Harlan Alive” paints a picture of life in Harlan County, Kentucky, addressing the economic and social problems that plague this impoverished rural community. It pays homage to the importance placed upon family and heritage in these mountain communities and the significant role played by the coal companies in the economic stability of the area. Rural communities, especially those similar to Harlan, are not well understood outside of their own geographic location. In some outlets, rural America is depicted as the community embodiment of the American Dream—cities and towns entrenched in virtuous and patriotic values stemming from their rich immigrant heritages. However, in other outlets, rural communities, specifically those located in the Appalachian Mountains, are seen as impoverished, crime-ridden areas flooded with ‘white trash’ individuals that proliferate the illegal subcultures leading to the breakdown of social cohesion.

Images of life in rural America have long been prevalent throughout various media outlets since the late 1800s (Thompson, 1993). In the beginning of its media coverage, Appalachia was painted as an agricultural paradise that was considered to have unlimited economic possibilities in the palm of its hands. However, as time progressed

and these rural communities were left behind both socially and economically, they became considered havens for violent crime attributed to the barbarism of the individuals living within these communities (Burton, Lichter, Baker, & Eason, 2013; S. Scott, 1995; Thompson, 1993). Cultural characteristics perceived to be definitive of Appalachian life are sensationalized through television programs, motion pictures, music, and other cultural media outlets. This study seeks to address life in Harlan County, Kentucky as portrayed in the six seasons of FX's popular crime drama, *Justified*. After analyzing the narrative presented through the storylines and characters in this television show, the findings will be compared with actual crime data from Harlan County obtained from the Kentucky State Police and local jail in hopes of creating a clear differentiation between the actuality of life in this rural community as opposed to the over-the-top narrative presented by popular media outlets.

The literature that currently exists surrounding life in rural America varies between the importance of different social institutions in every day life, how violence is structured and utilized, and the common criminal activities that exist in these areas. Rural America has long been a place of interest for journalists, entertainment media, and individuals who do not live in and are not familiar with these communities. The narratives that were created by journalists and the media were sensationalized versions of the reality of rural life. By studying the unique economic and social structures that existed in these areas, outsiders drew conclusions about how life is lived in Appalachia and, as a result of these conclusions, stereotypes, such as the "hillbilly", were created and

continue to persist to this day (Burton et al., 2013; Foster & Hummel, 1997; Otto, 1986; S. Scott, 1995; Thompson, 1993). Since Appalachia is viewed as a predominantly white region, this homogeneity was capitalized upon by media outlets, leading to the creation of many negative labels and stereotypes that exist in modern times (Pollard, 2004). The monikers ‘hillbilly’ and ‘white trash’ serve a deeper purpose than just creating a depiction of a certain group and class of individuals. Researchers, such as Beech (2004), Foster and Hummel (1997), Tunnel (2004), Harkins (2004), and Linnemann and Wall (2013), discuss the process of othering that occurs by assigning these labels to specific white populations. This is usually achieved through the designation of someone as a ‘hillbilly’ or ‘white trash’ due to upbringing, social class, appearance, or involvement with crime, specifically with illegal drugs. The role that these demoralizing labels play works to further the intra-racial divide between rich white people and the poor white folk. By creating a cultural acceptance for these terms, society is becoming further divided through the basis of the have and the have-nots. However, Harkins (2004) makes the argument that individuals who are frequently labeled “hillbilly” begin to internalize that label and morph it into a badge of honor more than a label of degradation and, in turn, showcases the strength and pride that “mountain folk” often possess. The idea of fatalism within this culture is another stereotype that is often linked to individuals living within Appalachia and the exploration of this behavior exposes many different and significant cultural attributes unique to this geographic region (Welch, 2011).

Crime in rural areas is unique in several aspects compared to the criminal activity most often witnessed in urban communities. Rural areas suffer from a lack of easily accessible social resources (hospitals, women's shelters, etc.) and this is a major factor in the nature of crime existing in these areas (Weisheit & Donnermeyer, 2000). The creation of spectacle surrounding illegal enterprise in rural America, especially Appalachia, has become commonplace in media and other entertainment outlets. The two most sensationalized industries are the illegal distilling and distribution of moonshine and the producing and/or trafficking of illegal drugs. The business of running moonshine exploded after Prohibition was enacted and it truly became a family business. Everyone within a given community knew who ran 'shine and how to purchase it without attracting attention from law enforcement. However, if moonshiners were caught by the police, they were often not punished because it was seen as a way to make a living during hard times as opposed to a criminal enterprise (Peine & Schafft, 2012). The role OxyContin, or 'Hillbilly Heroin', plays in rural communities is truly devastating. Abuse of this prescription drug gained momentum in the late-1990s and was used as an escape from the economic hardships that individuals within poor rural communities were experiencing. The drug was often used in such a way as to achieve the best high or was sold by average Americans who had fallen on hard times and were desperate for money (Tunnell, 2004). Another drug that is commonly used to depict life in rural America is methamphetamine. Meth is constantly seen in the media as the "white man's crack" and by linking this dangerous drug to the purity and simplicity of rural life, meth is considered to be one of

the main contributors to the declining quality of life found in rural areas throughout the United States (Linnemann, Hanson, & Williams, 2013).

The cultural acceptance of certain types of violence in the South is a theory that has long surrounded this area and the individuals that live within it. This “culture of violence” has been linked back to the original settlers of the American South; Scotch-Irish immigrants arrived in the mountains in droves due to the rich soil and abundance of farmland. The majority of these immigrants worked as herdsmen and, due to this, their livelihood depended on maintaining their flocks and protecting them from any would-be thief. This often led to increased violence among individuals in these areas and the necessity of defending one’s honor is a belief that has been passed down through generations ever since. People living in the South, especially in rural areas, have a very strong attachment to their property and if they feel as if they or their property is being disrespected, violence will oftentimes be the result of such an affront. Life is quite different now than it was in the early 1900s; the beliefs and values existing within a culture of honor still exist, but the enemy has changed. Individuals living within impoverished rural areas are extremely wary of state and federal government, seeing them as the enemies against which their livelihoods must be protected (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996; Lee, Bankston, Hayes, & Thomas, 2007; Lee & Ousey, 2011; Nisbett & Cohen, 1996; Ruddell, 2014). As time progressed, violent crimes, such as murder, became more rare and these events were often immortalized through folk songs. These songs were passed down through generations as historical and social lessons,



warning listeners of what might happen if they find themselves the violator of accepted social norms. Mountain dwellers are storytellers and bluegrass music is the vehicle through which some of the most violent crimes occurring in rural America are recounted (Tunnell, 1995).

This mixed methods study focuses on differentiating between the representative depictions of rural crime presented through FX's *Justified* and the reality of crime in Harlan County, Kentucky. In order to achieve this, all six seasons of *Justified* were watched and coded according to a coding sheet that included variables such as crime type, weapons used, drugs present, and alcohol type and consumption. A typology of the criminal most often depicted in this crime drama was created through analyzing the actions and beliefs of various criminals throughout the series and discussing the role of social institutions, such as family and religion, in their criminal life. Actual crime data from Harlan County was obtained through annual reports published by the Kentucky State Police and demographic information about those currently incarcerated in the Harlan County jail was compiled from an online database. This information helps paint a picture of the reality of crime within this mountain community as opposed to the sensationalized criminal landscape presented by the writers and producers of *Justified*.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **Societal Influence on Perceptions of Rurality**

Rural America has served as a source of whimsy and mystery for those living outside it. One of the most discussed rural areas in the country encompasses the communities tucked into the Appalachian Mountains. It has long been a belief of journalists that those living in Appalachia have been bypassed by progress and change and live their lives in a simple, almost barbaric, way. Among the areas in this mountain chain that garners a significant amount of attention is the region of Eastern Kentucky. When popular magazines in America run stories on towns or individuals in this area, they almost always focus upon issues of poverty, violence, lack of education, and lack of opportunity that are common attributes of rural life. One of the social issues that journalists flock to centers on coal companies and the culture that surrounds them in Eastern Kentucky (Thompson, 1993).

The coal industry exploded onto the scene in the mountains of Kentucky in the 1920s and flourished for decades. Coal companies brought jobs into these economically starving towns, offering citizens there a chance at earning a real wage for the first time in their lives. However, it soon became obvious that the interests of the coal companies did not include those of the miners and their families. Whenever a mine would open in an area, a company town would be established alongside it. The living conditions in some of these towns were deplorable—the houses were no more than tiny, wooden shacks and

families were often forced into debt with the company through credit at the company store and other random expenditures deducted from their weekly paychecks by the company. In these towns, the coal operator served as the employer, the landlord, the merchant, the government, and the law—giving them the power to own and operate schools to their liking. Oftentimes, this led to subpar education for the children, with the schools only educating them enough to produce a skilled workforce for the mines (S. Scott, 1995). An article entitled “Children of the Kentucky Coal Fields” detailed the poor living conditions that existed in Harlan County, Kentucky in the 1920s. The conditions that were covered included inadequate company housing, a high-infant death rate, inadequate schools, and limited working hours. As the years progressed, more stories focusing on the life of coal miners were published and the narrative remained static. The issues were always the same and the depiction of those living in rural Kentucky was beginning to become engrained into the social and cultural fabric of America. Even now, 100 years after magazine coverage began in the Bluegrass State, Kentucky is struggling to shed its image of poverty, illiteracy, lack of opportunity, etc. due to the influence of media and the narrative they have created surrounding life in the hills of Appalachia (Thompson, 1993).

The stereotypes that have been placed upon these rural communities continue to be fostered by economic and social events occurring in modern times. The individuals living in rural areas are not immune to the effects of the volatile economic and political structure that pervades American society. The ‘Great Recession’ that occurred between

2007 and 2009 had a significant effect on poverty levels within rural America where, as of 2013, the rural poor accounted for 7.9 million, or 17 percent, of the country's poor population (Burton et al., 2013). The increasing poverty level in these areas can be attributed to the globalization of industry, which has effectively pulled the majority of blue-collar manufacturing jobs from rural America and has relocated them in developing countries where production costs are significantly cheaper and labor and environmental laws are virtually non-existent. As a result of this economic practice, there has been a flight of these community's "best and brightest" to larger cities where quality education and gainful employment are more accessible. Due to this movement, rural communities are aging rapidly and, thereby, losing human capital for decades. Access to social services, quality education, and well-paying jobs is a rarity in these areas and these social conditions only work to recreate the detrimental economic life-course that has become characteristic of rural America (Burton et al., 2013).

Appalachia has been widely regarded as a predominantly white section of the United States since its colonization. However, it is important to note that there are populations of minority individuals that consider communities within this mountain range home. According to the census of 1860, blacks accounted for 10 percent of Appalachia's 5.4 million residents, but by 1990, the percentage of the minority population within this area shrunk to below its pre-Civil War levels. Of the 1.9 million minority members living in Appalachia in 1990, almost 1.6 million of them were non-Hispanic African Americans and Hispanics comprised only 1 percent (137,000) of all Appalachian residents. The

amount of minority individuals within this rural region increased 50 percent between 1990 and 2000, boosting the minorities' share of the population to 12 percent and contributing to nearly half of Appalachia's total population growth in the 90s. While this improvement in racial diversity is impressive, it is important to note that, as of the 2000 census, all of the counties in Kentucky considered part of the Appalachian region were less than 10 percent minority (Pollard, 2004). While the image of an overwhelmingly white culture within these regions is what is created and disseminated throughout society, the growth of the minority population has been significant and impactful, especially within the past few decades.

The development of the hillbilly archetype in popular print media began in Depression-era newspapers through characters in comic strips, such as Al Capp's "Li'l Abner" and Billy De Beck's Barney Google: The average American's perception of life in Appalachia was further solidified by these cultural caricatures: people of low socioeconomic status who had fallen into that social class by laziness alone, completely unaffected by structural conditions, such as complex demographic and economic circumstances, that often plague these regions (Otto, 1986). These 1930s comic strips, in addition to 1960s era television programs like *The Beverly Hillbillies*, work to perpetuate myths about Appalachia, which encourage others to label Appalachians as a separate status group who have low prestige and continue to disenfranchise them (Foster & Hummel, 1997). Though *The Beverly Hillbillies* was the last major mass media production to contain the word "hillbilly" in the title, the image certainly did not

disappear altogether. Interestingly, this label remained relevant on the American cultural stage throughout the last thirty years even after similar stereotypes for other racial and ethnic groups had become socially taboo (Harkins, 2004).

One of the most famous depictions of rural life burst onto the page in 1970 and was then adapted for the big screen in 1972. *Deliverance* is the story of four businessmen who take a canoe trip through north Georgia and end up in conflict with depraved, backwoods “hillbillies” who exhibit the worst stereotypes afforded to those living in rural areas (Otto, 1986). The social influence of *Deliverance* on perceptions of rural life is summed up by Anthony Harkins in his book, *Hillbilly: A Cultural History of an American Icon* (2004),

The film’s infamous scenes of sodomy at gunpoint and of a retarded albino boy lustily playing his banjo became such instantly recognizable shorthand for demeaning references to rural poor whites that comedians needed to say only “squeal like a pig” (the command of one of the rapists to his suburbanite victim) or hum the opening notes of the film’s guitar-banjo duet to gain an immediate visceral reaction from a studio audience (p. 206).

While the novel, written by James Dickey, was more forgiving to Appalachian culture, the production company for the motion picture decided to focus heavily upon the violent and barbaric aspects of the story, implying that rural dwellers were inherently violent individuals who acted in complete disregard of the common norms and values developed by society (Otto, 1986). The overall goal of the original novel was to suggest to readers

that the backwardness and social isolation of mountain folk allowed them to retain a sense of physical and mental toughness and to maintain a code of commitment to family and kin that was long ago lost in modern society due to the rush toward a commodified existence. Through his protagonist, Dickey praised the values passed down through generations and, despite the fact that these mountain dwellers are ignorant and full of bloodshed and liquor, he admires the men that the culture has created (Harkins, 2004).

### **The People of Appalachia**

In 1900, the *New York Journal* defined a ‘hill-billie’ as a “free and untrammelled white citizen of Appalachia who lives in the hills, has no means to speak, dresses as he can, talks as he pleases, drinks whiskey when he gets it, and fires off his revolver as the fancy takes him,” (Tunnell, 2004, p.139). Even though more than a century has passed, the picture drawn by the quotation above is exactly what society envisions when asked to think about those living in rural Appalachia. Hillbilly masculinity has been defined through the recurring imagery of a skinny country boy wearing loose fitting overalls, an emphasis on poor dental hygiene, dirty feet which may or may not have shoes on them, coarse, untamed facial hair, completed by placing this individual lazily next to a hunting dog or moonshine still. Women are often depicted in a highly sexualized manner with a banal naiveté toward the developing world around them. The tourist areas that exist within this region have capitalized upon the hillbilly aesthetic that has been created, building an entire tourism industry on the backs of these rural caricatures (Newman, 2014). By attaching the “hillbilly” moniker to otherwise negative phrases or depictions,

society and the media are working toward dehumanizing and reducing their subjects and, in turn, are effectively dismissing legitimate complaints about discrimination. This practice has the ability to deflect uncomfortable questions about where the majority of money and power is localized and why there is such a wide gap between the have and have-nots (Tunnell, 2004). When people of Appalachia are asked about their opinion on how they are portrayed in the media and popular culture, they very often express resentment and disgust. They are frustrated at being compared to Bo, Luke, and Daisy from *The Dukes of Hazard* and would like general society to realize that they do wear shoes and have access to education. However, in spite of all these negative perceptions, Appalachians are proud of their distinctness. A quote from an article by John Solomon Otto (2002) explains this belief,

...but in spite of the great change Appalachia has undergone, the “hillbilly” stereotype lives on in the “Snuffy Smith” comic strip, the syndicated Andy Griffith Show, and late-night showings of the movie Deliverance. Appalachian mountain folk, who range from commercial features to blue-collar workers to white-collar businessmen, share one common attribute: they resent being called ‘hillbillies’. They continue to regard themselves as just plain folks (p.5).

While the majority of depictions of hillbillies within the mass media are negative and stereotypical, Anthony Harkins (2004) makes the argument that the image portrayed by the term “hillbilly” is malleable. The derogatory labels that are connected with this word work to define certain cultural and physical markers of these individuals, such as a



diet rooted in the scarcity of resources, a physical appearance and clothing often connected with the working-class, an animal-like existence on the fringes of society, ignorance and racism, and general impoverishment. However, on the opposite side of the spectrum are positive images connected with this label that invoke pride within those who are considered hillbillies. As this term gained popularity, those living in southern mountain communities embraced the label and turned it into a badge of honor instead of allowing it to negatively influence their individual and cultural behavior. Hillbillies are often personified as characters similar to the nation's settlers and founders possessing behaviors, such as having a pioneer spirit, strong family and kin networks ruled by strong and kind patriarchs, a clear sense of gender roles, a closeness to nature and land, authenticity and purity, individualism and a strong sense of self, and the mentality of being just plain ol' folk. Since the term 'hillbilly' invokes both positive and negative images, it works in a dualistic way within society. It effectively allows the mainstream, or nonrural, middle-class white Americans to imagine a romanticized past, while also enabling that same group to recommit itself to modernity by creating a spectacle of the negative aspects of premodern, uncivilized society (Harkins, 2004).

Another important aspect of the hillbilly aesthetic is the ability to further ingrain cultural norms surrounding class-consciousness and structure. While there is an obvious racial divide within the United States, there also exists a divide within races, specifically between the upper and lower echelons of a given race. Redneck, hillbilly, and white trash are all terms used to describe poor, white individuals who live in rural areas by other

white individuals who wish to separate themselves as a higher class from the unkempt, unintelligent mountain folk. By using the aforementioned labels, the citizens of rural areas are seen as lacking power to define and shape cultural norms and, in turn, are often the victims of “othering” due to their unwillingness or inability to conform to mainstream cultural and social expectations. The powerlessness that those in rural areas experience can be explained through a “redneck” discourse that works to obscure economic restructuring processes that work toward creating class polarization in three ways: (1) rural, working class whites are broadly defined as undesirable, (2) class status is understood and defined as a lifestyle, and (3) white racism is structured as redneck racism (Beech, 2004). Due in part to these conditions, researchers have stated that hillbilly stereotypes often go unchallenged and remain more widely accepted than stereotypes attached to minorities; rednecks and hillbillies are the only groups not protected by the practice of political correctness that pervades American culture (Foster & Hummel, 1997; Tunnell, 2004). A writer from *The Kentucky Cycle* sums up the dichotomy that exists in the eyes of Appalachian dwellers between the white “hillbilly” and other racial stereotypes that exist within American culture by stating, “No one would stand for it for a minute if you took any other group—Native Americans, African Americans, Hispanics, women—and held it up as an example of everything that is low and brutal and mean. But somehow it’s O.K. to do that with hillbillies” (Smith, 2004, p.48).

One practice of “othering” rural individuals that is common today is through the demonization of methamphetamine and its effects on the individual and societal level. A

study by Linnemann and Wall (2013) focuses on the depiction of methamphetamine users presented to the public through time-lapsed mug shots as cautionary tales of the effects of becoming involved with this harmful drug. However, in doing so, this public service campaign is contributing to the divide between the white bourgeois class and those individuals considered to be white trash. The addicts that are pictured in the ‘Faces of Meth’ announcements all appear to be white, which works to reiterate the idea of meth as a white man’s crack and redneck coke. Since methamphetamine has long been seen as the drug of choice for poor rural whites, these images reinforce that narrative within the average American citizen. In addition to racializing and connecting this drug to these rural populations, the Faces of Meth campaign also works to attach criminality to those perceived as white trash. By presenting decaying white flesh as the “face” of methamphetamine to masses of penal spectators, photographic evidence of criminality within the average American community is being provided. Similar to the moral panic that erupted after the linkage of black faces to the perceived crack-cocaine epidemic, this public service campaign has given middle and upper class whites the opportunity to objectify and stigmatize the ‘white trash’ individuals living in poverty as criminals—effectively creating a racial and classed hierarchy between the two populations (Linnemann & Wall, 2013).

A popular theory that exists surrounding the culture of the mountains is the idea that individuals within these communities possess fatalistic attitudes in regards to life and their ability to grow beyond their current circumstances. Fatalism is the belief that all

events are predetermined and therefore inevitable. Terms, such as learned helplessness, mountain stubbornness, or hardiness, are often used as synonyms when referring to fatalism within Appalachia. This type of attitude has several different aspects, which include faith-based fatalism, pride covering poverty, and apathy or unwillingness to change. Fatalism and faith are closely linked, embodying the belief that a divine being will be involved in the determination of major life decisions or actions. The statement, it's in God's hands, is one often heard throughout Appalachian communities when life-altering events occur. This comment negates a sense of free will and attributes all decisions, no matter the magnitude or severity, to a divine being instead of individual choice (Welch, 2011). The aspect of pride covering poverty is a significant one in Appalachian communities, often manifesting itself within the healthcare system. It is a common occurrence that a poor person in a rural area decides to forego necessary medical treatment due to their inability to pay for the services. Often, these risky decisions that suggest a lack of concern for personal health lead to healthcare professionals labeling these patients as fatalistic—someone who is letting fate run its course. The final aspect being discussed is the apathy and/or unwillingness toward change. Genuine apathy is characterized by individuals showing no change to behavior, or motivation to follow up, when substantial behavioral change is necessary to ensure survival. One of the most telling signs of this behavior is the saying don't be risin' above your raisin', which is often told to Appalachian natives who are attempting to achieve something believed to be out of reach for someone of their upbringing, such as attending

college or moving to a large city to start anew. The key to combating these feelings of learned helplessness lie in the family structure: if a person has family members that are supportive of them and their decisions, they are less likely to experience signs of apathy and unwillingness toward change (Welch, 2011).

### **Perceived Criminal Activity of the Mountains**

A vast majority of research that has focused on crime rates is often focused on urban areas due to the sensationalized view of crime that exists in those areas. Although crime rates are lower in rural areas than in urban areas for certain crimes, there are offenses where the gap between the two populations is not as pronounced. Offenses involving alcohol, illicit drugs, and domestic violence are criminal issues that pervade American society, both urban and rural. Driving under the influence (DUI) is more common in rural areas with the arrest rate for cities under 10,000 being more than double that of cities consisting of 250,000 citizens or more (Weisheit & Donnermeyer, 2000). This abuse of alcohol is not limited to adults either. Nonmetropolitan youth were more likely to report getting drunk and, even if the rates for urban and rural youth were similar, the rural setting may create more cause for concern due to the increased amount of time spent on the roads. Since these communities are more spread out and public transportation is limited, youth must travel longer distances to spend time with friends and attend social activities.

Another type of crime that exists in these areas centers around the production and trafficking of illicit drugs. Moonshine and marijuana are two illegal substances that have

long had a connection with rural areas, but other drugs, such as crack cocaine and methamphetamine, are also prevalent in these communities. Rural areas are ideal for the production of illegal drugs, like methamphetamine and marijuana, due to their isolated nature. Trafficking has also become easier with the improvement of the highway systems and the increase in the number of isolated airstrips used for corporate farms and crop dusters (Weisheit & Donnermeyer, 2000).

Domestic violence is an issue that occurs all over the country, but it has unique characteristics when observed in rural populations. Abuse in these areas is facilitated by physical isolation, a patriarchal ideology, and isolation from potentially supportive institutions, such as childcare, health care, and education. It was reported that 68 percent of rural police agencies report having no shelter for battered women in their jurisdiction, and for these communities that are lacking this support, the closest shelter is an average of 36 miles away (Weisheit & Donnermeyer, 2000). Another unique rural phenomenon surrounding this crime is the reluctance of police and prosecutors to move forward with abuse cases due to the social ties that often exist between the law enforcers and the lawbreakers. These relationships often lead to battered women not reporting their abuse because they assume that reporting will cause more trouble than keeping quiet. While there have been several important policy changes nationwide in regards to domestic violence arrests, the cultural and geographic barriers experienced within rural communities are still very much relevant (Weisheit & Donnermeyer, 2000).

In addition to the types of crime that are unique to rural areas, there are certain characteristics of rural life that lead to variations in the criminal landscape between rural and urban areas. One of these characteristics is geography. Rural communities are more spread out than urban ones, making transportation to and from important services more difficult. Injured victims may have to wait longer for ambulances to arrive, police response to domestic violence calls may take significantly longer than in more densely populated areas, and these geographic limitations are not easily overcome by policy improvements or technological advancements. The physical distance between citizens in these areas also hinders the implementation of community watch programs, which can place more stress onto local law enforcement officials (Weisheit & Donnermeyer, 2000).

Another important aspect of rural crime is culture. Within culture, it is important to understand the role that informal social controls play. The practice of social bonding has been shown to be significantly more effective in deterring crime in rural areas than in urban ones. Instead of reporting minor crimes, such as shoplifting or simple theft, citizens prefer to handle the issue themselves. Rural communities often experience a higher density of acquaintanceship, meaning that the majority of people within the community know one another in a substantial manner. This density of acquaintanceship influences crime in multitudinous ways, such as increasing the watchfulness of citizens and the ability to monitor and correct early delinquency (Weisheit & Donnermeyer, 2000).

The economies of rural areas have always been fragile and the poverty rates in these communities are typically some of the highest in the country. These high rates of

poverty can lead individuals to engaging in illegal activities, such as moonshining and the production and trafficking of illegal drugs. Because of this, whenever nationwide news is broadcast from “the holler”, the topic is often centered on illicit activities, chiefly among those, drugs.

The picture that has been painted of the rural South is one of lawlessness fueled by anti-government sentiments that have existed in the hills since they were originally colonized. One of the most well known illegalities to thrive in the Appalachian Mountains is the distilling and distribution of moonshine. Making moonshine was crucial to farmers in these rugged, rural areas where many homesteads were isolated, making transporting corn to the markets extremely expensive. The business of moonshine was not gendered; both men and women had the opportunity to play a significant role. Men, referred to as producers and/or runners, worked alongside the women (bootleggers) in their family to run a moonshine business that had the ability to support their dependents. Although many involved in this enterprise relied on the profits as their main source of income, it was still an illegal practice. The dependence upon and attitude toward illicit economic activity is a by-product of the cultural marginalization and social exclusion experienced by community members in these areas. These feelings often uniquely affect the duties of law enforcement within these communities as well. Law enforcement officers were typically more reluctant to pursue moonshiners due to the feeling that they were not violent criminals causing harm to those around them; they were just honest people trying to make a living (Peine & Schafft, 2012).



Another rural business practice that is depicted as being popular is participation in the illegal drug trade. While no narcotic is excluded from these stories, the drugs that are given the most attention are prescription drugs, specifically OxyContin, and methamphetamine. OxyContin, a synthetic opioid that works as a significant pain reliever, gained popularity among prescription drug abusers in the late 1990s. By 2000, the ten states with the highest OxyContin prescription rates and areas with problems of abuse included mostly states in the Northeast and South, but two states stood out as having a sustained history of prescription drug abuse: West Virginia and Kentucky. The prevalence of this drug in these rural areas led to it being referred to as “Hillbilly Heroin” by the media and by those affluent members of society, censuring this behavior and way of life (Tunnell, 2004). Another illegal drug that is very often linked to rural areas is methamphetamine, or meth. Meth is a drug that can be produced relatively cheap and easy by individuals with little to no educational background. The popularity of this destructive drug has been likened to that of crack cocaine in poor, predominantly black areas existing in major urban centers. Whenever the media covers use and abuse of methamphetamine within the United States, the stories are almost exclusively set in rural, small town America. By connecting this extremely dangerous drug to the simplistic and idealistic existence of the American ‘heartland’ and ‘traditional’ family, media outlets are creating a detrimental narrative for those white citizens living in poor, rural areas (Linnemann et al., 2013).

## **Violence in the Rural South**

The American South has had a reputation for violence since the first settlers arrived in the early 1800s. The immigrants that were settling in these areas were typically herdsmen from Scotland and Ireland who were known to be capable of great violence, which derived from the need to protect the resources that served as their primary source of income. The homicide rate in the plateau region of the Cumberland Mountains between 1865 and 1915 was 130 per 100,000—more than ten times today’s national homicide rate and twice as high as those of America’s most violent cities (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Violence between men in this culture was often linked to a concern for reputation or status; if a man’s personal honor was questioned or violated, he would lash out against the offender violently to reinforce his masculine status. This behavior has led researchers to apply the anthropological phenomenon of a “culture of honor” to those groups living in rural Appalachia. In order for a culture of honor to exist, two things must be true: (1) the individual must be at economic risk from his fellow man and (2) the State is weak or nonexistent and cannot prevent or punish theft of property (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). Individuals living in these rural areas are quick to take up arms to defend themselves and their interests due to the dependence on resources for income and because law enforcement may not be able to arrive in a timely manner to a potentially violent and/or dangerous situation (Cohen et al., 1996; Lee & Ousey, 2011; Ruddell, 2014).

Another explanation of the maintenance of the culture of honor into modern times is connected to the disenfranchisement of those living in rural areas by the government

and the affluent. Federal and state governments have a long history of exploiting citizens of poor, rural America and, due to this history, people living in these areas are wary of any governmental interference that may try to permeate their daily life. According to Cohen et al. (1996), “whenever the authority of law is questioned or ignored, the code of honor reemerges to allocate the right to precedence and dictate the principles of conduct” (p. 946).

Since those living in the rural South do not depend on law enforcement to address all the criminal issues that arise, the perception of citizens living in these communities is often one rife with violence and conflict. Rural areas, especially in the American South, have been depicted as picturesque landscapes overflowing with outlaws who take retribution into their own hands, often resulting in fatalities. However, in order to understand the culture in which this “lawlessness” exists, the circumstances surrounding homicides need to be understood. The norms that have been created through the acceptance of a culture of honor are reflected in the laws existing in the South, such as looser gun control laws, less restrictive self-defense statutes, and more aggressive voting by federal legislators on foreign policies (Cohen et al., 1996). One study found that argument-based homicides between white individuals is significantly higher where there is a larger percentage of the white population in residence that was born in the South, which further reinforces the importance that is placed on defending oneself against insult and a potential damage of status. This finding is not confined to rural Southern regions: the percentage of the white population that was born in the South has a positive

and statistically significant relationship with the white argument-based homicide rate outside of the Southern region (Lee et al., 2007). Those individuals born and raised in the South are purported to have a different set of social and cultural norms that, to a degree, legitimize violence to protect themselves and their families against insult and social harm.

Violence within a culture is often presented through various media outlets and through a variety of individuals. One of the most significant parts of Appalachian culture lies in the music that is produced in these areas. Bluegrass music emerged from a meshing of Anglo-American and African-American cultures and it is through this medium that folk legends and relevant social issues of the mountains are told. While a vast majority of bluegrass music addresses topics, such as family, religion, love, and a longing for the past, there are those songs that have a more ominous story. Amongst the songs that have a criminal backstory, the predominant narrative consists of a man killing a woman. Since these types of crimes were so rare and so shocking, these stories were often passed down through song as part of the history of the area (Tunnell, 1995). However, the message presented in the song was not just a narrative about a violent domestic situation, but rather a cultural depiction of how individuals living in these areas view and respond to this type of criminal activity. One song, “Omie Wise”, is about a man who killed his pregnant lover in order to conceal their illegitimate child. The man is locked up after committing this crime and due to his incarceration his family and friends were unwilling to bail him out of jail. The shame and embarrassment felt by the

murderers' family is what led to their decision and it would not be strange to witness this occur in real-life Appalachian communities as well. In these rural areas, families are often disappointed and ashamed of some of their kin who have committed acts that tarnish the family name. Oftentimes, due to this one "bad apple", the entire family receives a bad reputation, which has the potential to affect them both socially and economically (Tunnell, 1995).

In addition to using violent narratives as a way to pass on historical events throughout generations, the messages within bluegrass music also provide an explanation of the role these stories play within society and help to explain the views and beliefs of crime within these areas. When these songs were initially written, Americans would often make folk heroes out of criminals—a practice that still exists today. Social theorists have posited that societies need crime to be curious about, to be shocked about, to reinforce social norms and values, and to create an "other" from which they can separate themselves. Even today, as stories of violent criminals pervade newspapers and television programs, average Americans are able to separate themselves from the violent and dangerous criminals that inflict harm upon society. This separation created by stories and songs work to further reinforce conduct norms within a healthy society and this is a prime example of the impact of media on the control of social normative behavior (Tunnell, 1995). Another role that these songs play is to provide a sense of warning to others within society. In a majority of these songs, the violent offender is brought to justice through either execution or imprisonment, both at the hands of the state. This alone provides

insight on the importance of punishment and the role of the state as perceived by those living in rural communities. By executing these violent offenders through official channels, the family of the victim is receiving social vengeance and retribution without having to dirty their own hands. Since a good portion of these murder ballads are sung from the perspective of the offender, the presentation of this particular narrative works to serve as a deterrent for future potential offenders. By connecting emotion to the violent crime and subsequent punishment that this individual experienced, it sends a warning to those listening and, in turn, reinforces the importance of the conduct norms that were violated by this violent felon (Tunnell, 1995).

## CHAPTER 3

### TYPOLOGY OF CRIMINALS REPRESENTED IN *JUSTIFIED*

As *Justified* focuses upon the travails of US Marshal Raylan Givens, the supporting storylines and characters present Harlan County, Kentucky as a backwood, rural community where redneck crime syndicates rule the social order and no one is exempt from their influence--not even law enforcement. These criminals are presented in a stereotypical way, intended to pique the interest of the voyeuristic American middle class who are not typically exposed to the inner workings of rural America let alone the illicit businesses that are purported to exist in those areas. The image created and broadcast by *Justified* (and other similar programs) is an exaggerated version of the citizens and culture that exist in these areas. To begin to elaborate upon these assertions, the following section will explore different tenets of rural demographics and culture and how they are presented through FX's program.

#### **Race**

Though *Justified* was filmed completely in California, the producers purport to have done their best to create an accurate representation of Harlan County and its citizenry. The characters imagined by the series seem to walk right out of the hills of Eastern Kentucky and, in order to do so, careful attention seems to have been paid to the actual demographics of the region. Chiefly among these was the issue of race. According to the 2014 US Census, white citizens make up 95.8 percent of Harlan County's total

population while non-whites only comprise 2.3 percent (US Census Bureau, 2015). The statistical racial divide that is seen in *Justified* does not vary much from the reality painted by the U.S. Census Bureau statistics. After obtaining a list of the 164 recurring characters to appear throughout all six seasons of FX's drama from the Internet Movie Database, it was found that 84.15 percent of the characters are white, 9.75 percent of them are black, and 6.10 percent are of another race, primarily Latino and Asian. If the sample is limited to the 81 characters that resided in Harlan County exclusively, 91.36 percent of them were white and 7.41 percent of them were black. Tables explaining the racial distribution of these characters can be found in Appendix C. In order to calculate these statistics, the researcher obtained a list of all characters to appear throughout the series and, based on the headshot associated with their name on the character list, divided them into two groups, white and black, based on the visual race representation of the character they portrayed in the series ("Justified: Full cast and crew," n.d.).

In order to accurately describe the majority of characters regularly appearing on *Justified*, the term whiteness must be understood and utilized. White, as a race, is often brushed over and not seen as an explanatory characteristic for an individual outside of demographic purposes. But, just as Black individuals have physical and cultural characteristics unique to their race, White individuals do as well. However, when whiteness is addressed in popular culture, it often is taken to the extremes of the spectrum: poor, uneducated rednecks or yuppie Northerners wasting time on their yachts. Joshua Newman (2014) describes the creation of the "hillbilly" stereotype through mass



media to be both divergent from other types of whiteness and obviously signifying a distinct working-class aesthetic that has come to be expected of mountain culture. The characters showcased in *Justified*, especially the criminals, are a perfect illustration of the far end of the whiteness spectrum that media relies so heavily upon.

The well-known feminist and critical race theorist, bell hooks, also discusses class stereotypes that exist to illustrate Southern culture to the rest of the world. In her book, *Where We Stand: Class Matters* (2000), hooks states that in the South “class stereotypes claimed that poor whites were supposedly easily spotted by skin ailments, bad dental hygiene, and hair texture” (p.111). Of all the colorful characters viewers are introduced to throughout the six seasons of *Justified*, Dewey Crowe is the most representative of hooks’ description of those living in the rural south. Crowe is a short statured man with a greasy mullet haircut, numerous white supremacist tattoos, and decaying teeth who speaks incorrect English in a thick Southern accent. His clothing further reinforces the idea of “white trash”: stained “wife beater” style tank top, camouflage cargo pants, and worn out work boots. He lacks any type of legitimate employment, instead opting to act as a drug runner or lackey for some of the established crime syndicates based out of Harlan County. By portraying such a radicalized version of citizens of rural America, the media is effectively partitioning off those mountain folk from mainstream ideals of white identity (Newman, 2014).

In direct opposition with the portrayal of whiteness in *Justified* is the perception of what being black in these rural areas means. In the second episode of the third season,

*Cut Ties*, viewers are introduced to the first significant minority antagonist. Ellstin Limehouse is a man with an impactful presence, standing tall and broad while asserting dominance over those in his presence. He runs a pork slaughterhouse in Nobles Holler, where the majority of African-American Harlan County citizens reside (Cavell, 2012). During a conversation between Raylan and fellow US Deputy Marshal, Rachel Brooks, the history of some of the black citizens of Harlan County is revealed. It also provides insight into the relationship between white and black citizens in this community, specifically the tendency of these black individuals to have a deeper distrust of white people (Raylan) than they do for outsiders (Deputy Brooks).

Deputy Brooks: “Anyways, you were explaining where we’re going?”

Raylan: “Nobles Holler. Nice community. Carved out for emancipated slaves after the Civil War. Good white folks of the county been trying to dig ‘em out going on 150 years now.”

Deputy Brooks: “Hasn’t happened yet?”

Raylan: “They’re still working on it.”

Deputy Brooks: “You’re all up on your race relations.”

Raylan: “I pay attention during Black History Month.”

Deputy Brooks: “Oh, and you’re bringing me along as the ambassador of African-America. Help smooth your passage,” (Parisot, 2012).

Limehouse is known throughout Harlan County as a man who has his hand in a little bit of everything and he is also known for running a tight ship when it comes to who crosses

into his holler. Due to the importance Limehouse places on security in this area, troubled white women throughout the county seek refuge in the holler, often trying to escape their abusive husbands. The people living in Nobles Holler act as protectors to those truly in trouble, but are extremely wary of any other individual within the community. These actions are a significant illustration of the importance of helping those who need it the most that is often seen throughout southern rural areas. However, Limehouse and his Nobles Holler family also exhibit the behaviors of extreme territoriality and distrust of white people that often result in bouts of violence, especially between members of separate racial groups (Yost, 2010).

### **Social Class**

A significant cultural dichotomy that exists in rural areas is the conflict between those with and those without. In every community, there is a socioeconomic structure that defines the social and cultural aspects of an area. Within the imagined terrains of *Justified*, exists the familiar antagonisms of the Marxian class war. Marx famously suggested that, in order for a capitalistic society to survive and thrive, there had to be two primary classes: the elites and the working class. The elites, or the bourgeoisie, were the owners of the capital within society. They owned the means of production and reaped benefits, such as money and power, from this ownership. In order to maintain their standard of living, the elites must possess a mode of production that works to create their product. The individuals working within these modes of production were referred to by Marx as the proletariat or, more commonly, the working class. Individuals existing in the

lower social classes are often exploited by their employers, made to work long hours for measly sums. Without the exploitation of these workers, the elites would struggle to maintain the power and control over their communities and the defined social structure would fragment. This phenomenon led Marx to the conclusion that, without the poor, the bourgeoisie could not survive; a class system was necessary to the maintenance of a healthy capitalistic society (Marx & Engels, 1964). In the imagined world of *Justified*, gangs of poor, uneducated, socially excluded criminals—Crowes, Limehouses, etc.—compete for control of an illegitimate economy. Meanwhile, the state represented by Givens, does its best to arrest and imprison these outlaws, thereby reaffirming the conventional economic and social order.

In season four, there is a storyline that weaves in and out of every episode concerning Boyd Crowder's dealings with the "well to do" of Harlan County. In episode seven, *Money Trap*, Boyd and his fiancé Ava procure an invitation to a swinger's party hosted by Tillman Napier, a powerful member of Harlan society. Upon arrival, Boyd is pulled aside by Lee Paxton and Gerald Johns, two more members of Harlan's upper echelon. During this meeting, Paxton and Johns explain to Boyd a plan they have devised: to have him kill Frank (another wealthy local) due to his unwillingness to defraud the federal government along with Paxton and Johns. It is at this point that Boyd becomes uneasy about the direction of their plan and, upon hesitation, Lee Paxton explains to him why he will play along through five simple words, "Crowders do what we say." This statement helps Boyd begin to understand his situation and position within

Harlan County society. The Crowder family has been allowed to live the illicit lifestyle they have because the wealthy members of Harlan have decided to look the other way so long as the Crowder's are willing to do the dirty work of the county's elite (Kurt, 2013). As long as the moneyed city folk have access to the uneducated, poor surplus population to produce for them, poor individuals are allowed to live their lives how they please. However, if a disturbance in the force is detected by the powerful elites, those lower class citizens are the first to suffer the consequences.

Throughout the entire series, *Justified* paints a stark difference between the wealthy and the poor. This is achieved through dress, with the wealthy city folk wearing suits to act in direct contrast with the ill fitting, dirty, worn-out clothes worn by those poor individuals living up in the mountains and hollers of Harlan County. Another vehicle through which the writers and producers differentiate members of class is through language. Outsiders, such as law enforcement, mafia members, and visitors to the mountains, speak clearly with rich vocabularies. The mountain folk that are portrayed, with the exception of Boyd Crowder, often sound borderline illiterate, failing to understand words and phrases that are common to the educated viewership of this show. This deficiency is pointed out several times throughout the series, mostly from outsiders observing this unknown "hillbilly" culture. Raylan Givens' fellow US Marshals are guilty of this by lovingly referring to him as the "hillbilly whisperer" (Watkins, 2011), when needing him to decode country colloquialisms during interrogations and by yelling "Do

these dumbass peckerwoods understand English? Get on the ground, hillbillies, now,” (Dinner, 2011) during a shootout at the Bennett compound.

The last major differentiation between social classes to be addressed is the role of alcohol. There are three major types of alcohol that are seen consistently throughout all six seasons: bourbon, beer, and moonshine. All three of these spirits play a significant role in Kentucky culture, but the way in which they are employed within *Justified* are interesting. Whenever alcohol was present among the wealthy characters, such as members of the mafia or wealthy Harlan residents, it was usually top shelf bourbon, specifically Pappy Van Winkle. Pappy Van Winkle is known throughout Kentucky as one of the most elite bourbons to be produced. Not only do the bottles range from 80 to 250 dollars each, but they are extremely hard to come by. *Justified* uses this bourbon to create a divide between the elites who drink this expensive liquor like water and the poor people who will probably never have even a sip of Pappy in their lifetime. When bourbon was present among the poor characters in the show, it was almost exclusively Wild Turkey, which ranges from 25 to 30 dollars a bottle. Local poor characters are often seen partaking of moonshine, while poor characters who are not from Harlan County are more likely to be seen drinking beer (Yost, 2010).

### **Family and Kinship Networks**

The ties between family members that exists in Appalachia is a defining characteristic of the cultural structure that exists in these areas. Since citizens of these communities often live far away from one another, kinship is seen as the only basis for

social relationships among these rural dwellers. The Appalachian concept of family diverges from the typical American concept by including the nuclear family (spouse and children), the family of orientation (parents and brothers and sisters), and generally brothers' and sisters' spouses and children. The bonds that are created among individuals in a family group can be linked to geographic proximity, with most Appalachian families living according to historical settlement patterns in a holler or on land owned by their families for decades. One of the most significant aspects of family life in Appalachia is the strong emotional ties that exist between family members. These ties are important to the formation and maintenance of a strong identity, a feeling of "roots", and pride in one's heritage. While the outcomes of strong family connections seem positive on the surface, this allegiance to family can often become a source of stress for an individual. Elder family members may expect younger members to behave a certain way or adhere to a value system that is divergent from established normative values, causing stress within the individual and/or conflict within the family group (Keefe, 1988). The practice of appealing to one's "roots" can be seen in practice within the multiple familial feuds that have occurred in Eastern Kentucky in the past.

The familial feuds that occurred during the nineteenth century in Appalachia have gained national recognition for their violence and their unique narrative. Keith Otterbein (2000) connects the anthropological idea of feuding with the familial conflicts occurring in Eastern Kentucky communities. The factors that were common in initiating feuds within these rural areas differ from other feuding societies and include altercations arising

out of stealing, drunken brawls, control of the illegal whiskey business, the killing of witnesses to illegal activities, and the intimidation of those working to advance commercial interests or those trying to prevent commercial business from coming into the area. These familial groups, referred to as clans, are often comprised of several descent lines where all members see themselves as cousins. These groups were headed by a powerful man within the unit who worked as a figurehead of the clan, acting as a negotiator and/or mediator between his family and another conflicting party. After studying five prominent family feuds that occurred in different Eastern Kentucky communities, Otterbein was able to formulate a general explanation for why these feuds happened. While a certain amount of motivation for the feud derived from loyalty to family, a larger portion was driven by money, politics, and financial rivalry. The conflicts that were studied all occurred in a market economy where economic and political power is made to seem more important than honor. In order for one clan to possess the power of a given area, it is necessary that competitors be eliminated. The means by which this was achieved included not only homicide, but also power through the control of political/judicial offices within the county. If one group managed to obtain such power, that kin group became the “law” under which the rival family could be punished through imprisonment or execution (Otterbein, 2000).

One of the most notorious families to be introduced to viewers in *Justified* is the Bennett clan. The Bennetts are ruled by their matriarch, Mags, with her sons, Doyle, Dickie, and Coover often acting as her lackeys. This family is known throughout Harlan



County as the producers and sellers of the best moonshine and marijuana that Eastern Kentucky has to offer. Residing in a town named for their family, these small town entrepreneurs are the crux of the storyline that permeates season two of FX's crime drama. When viewers are first introduced to Mags, she comes across as a simple country woman who has taken to running her late husband's convenience store and who just happens to keep a jar of her famous apple pie (moonshine, that is) beneath the counter. Her oldest son, Doyle, is the chief of the Bennett police, while her two other sons are portrayed as stereotypical "white trash" who are unable to hold down licit employment, leading them to operate the most well-known marijuana business in the county. However, it is not long until viewers find out that the engine behind the Bennett's criminal enterprise is Mags herself (Arkin, 2011). While maintaining the well being of her family is at the forefront of the majority of her actions, she often sacrifices her younger two sons in order to ensure success and stability for Doyle's family and herself. In season two, episode five, Dickie and Coover Bennett bungle the illegal cashing of a benefit check belonging to a man they had killed weeks prior, which led US Marshal Givens straight to Coover's doorstep. When Mags finds out about the Marshal's suspicions, she and Doyle pay Dickie and Coover a visit in which she proceeds to break Coover's hand with a hammer as punishment for implicating them to "the federals" (Watkins, 2011). In episode ten, *Debts and Accounts*, Dickie Bennett is financially cut off for "going against the family" by revealing Coover's location to the Marshals, which ultimately led to the death of the youngest Bennett son (Coles, 2011). These storylines are a clear depiction of the

belief that the safety and security of the family unit should be placed above concern for one's own well being; a person is not much of a person without a family name to fall back on.

Another family group that exists within the imaginary confines of *Justified*'s storyline is the Crowe family. The extended family of Dewey Crowe, comprised of Darryl Jr., Danny, Wendy, and Kendal, come to live in Harlan County from Florida after hearing that Dewey has come into some money. Upon arrival, Darryl immediately begins appealing to family loyalties to fool Dewey into thinking that they are there to help him financially, while their main goal is to steal his money and his business. By creating conflict between Dewey and Boyd Crowder (who has been skimming money from Dewey's profits), Darryl is able to position himself as Dewey's business manager and take over the local "whorehouse" for himself (Johnson, 2014). During a conversation between Dewey and Darryl, the power of family loyalty comes to light for the viewers. Dewey is complaining to Darryl about all of the things he has made him do since arriving in Harlan County, including killing a man in cold blood.

Dewey: "...all that shit you made me do, dragging Messer into the woods to kill him...why'd you make me do that, huh? Why?"

Darryl: "Hey! Hey! You about done with your little hissy fit? Huh? Can we talk?"

Dewey: "Why'd you make me do that?"

Darryl: "I'll tell you why. So I know you're a damn Crowe. You're one of us."

Dewey: "I ain't one of you."

Darryl: "...you get out in the world and take to running your mouth about your kin and all the bad shit we done...just remember which one of us pulled that trigger on Messer...or you can take the plunge, stay with family. Be a part of what the Crowes are building here. Reap the benefits of that good loyalty."

Dewey: "Sounds like you're selling me tires."

Darryl: "Nah...I'm selling you a life, Dewey Crowe. You just got to make a choice," (Horder-Payton, 2014).

Acting as the patriarch of the family, Darryl often manipulates his kin into doing his dirty work for him by preaching about the importance of family name and, though the other members of the Crowe clan know that what he is asking is wrong, they obey him because, in their eyes, he is always acting in the best interest of the family unit.

## **Religion**

The role of religion in rural Appalachia is almost as prominent as the role of family. Interestingly, in the mid-1700s when Appalachian communities were first being established, the family unit was responsible for keeping religion alive since there were no organized churches or clergy to guide the people within these communities. Several immigrant families from within a community would gather together for Bible studies, where religion was taught through folk traditions brought over from their homelands and, once churches were founded, it was upon these families that the foundation was established. As time progressed, a heavy importance was placed on evangelical practices, such as revivals, gospel songs, emotional religious settings, and regular worship services.

Since the theology of mountain churches tends to lean heavily on conservative Calvinism, it is believed that everyone is a sinner and can, only through the mercy of God, reach salvation and forgiveness. Members of traditional Appalachian churches adhere strictly to what the Bible states, regardless of whether or not the practice is accepted in modern social environments. Some of these religious doctrines include taking care of the poor, the sick, the hungry, the orphaned, and the widowed, to visit those in prison, and to welcome the stranger. The Bible also advises believers to settle their problems outside of the courts, which has led to the infamous feuds and violence that Appalachian Mountain communities are known for (Humphrey, 1988).

In almost every episode of *Justified*, there is a reference to religion, which comes as no surprise considering the role it plays in Appalachian culture. While most of the Harlan County-based characters appeal to religion to justify their actions, there is one man who makes a practice of it: Boyd Crowder. Boyd is introduced to the viewers in the first episode of the series as an acquaintance of US Marshal Raylan Givens; the two men attended high school together and worked beside one another in the coal mine upon graduation. During their first conversation in the episode, Boyd reveals to Raylan his justification for the white supremacy group he runs. He recruits skinheads to join by telling them that anti-Semitism is their moral obligation because it is laid out as God's word in the Bible.

Boyd: “Who’s side you think the government’s always been on, Raylan? Us or the people with money? And who do you think controls that money? Who do you think wants to mongrelize the world?”

Raylan: “Who?”

Boyd: “The Jews.”

Raylan: “Boyd, you know any Jews?”

Boyd: “See, I recruit skins. They don’t know no more than you do. And I have to teach them that we have a moral obligation to get rid of the Jews. See, it was in the Bible.”

Raylan: “Where?”

Boyd: “In the beginning. It’s part of creation. See, in the beginning, right, you had your mud people. They were also referred to as beasts because they had no souls, see? They were soulless. And then Cain...you remember Cain, now...well, Cain, he laid down with the mud people, and out of these fornications came the Edomites. Now, do you know who the Edomites are?”

Raylan: “Who?”

Boyd: “They’re the Jews, Raylan...read your Bible as interpreted by experts.”

Raylan: “Oh! You know, Boyd, I think you just use the Bible to do whatever the hell you like,” (Dinner, 2010).

At the end of the first episode of season one, Boyd is arrested and taken to prison (Dinner, 2010). In episode six, *The Collection*, Raylan visits Boyd in jail and finds that

Crowder has established a ministry within the prison walls, preaching the gospel (or his version of it) to inmates desperately seeking salvation (Holcomb, 2010). Upon his release from prison in episode ten, Boyd establishes a ministry deep in the woods of Harlan County. He claims that the mission of his congregation is to rid Harlan County of all the sin surrounding methamphetamine by “curing” people of their addictions and destroying the labs where this illegal drug is manufactured. Boyd and his followers stumble upon a meth lab in a remote trailer and Boyd, supposedly working as a vehicle for God and his gospel, tells the men making this drug, “...if I come back here again and you’re still cooking up that poison...I hear these things blow up all the time,” (Goldwyn, 2010). While Boyd’s followers believe he is doing the Lord’s work by destroying this meth lab, he is actually working on behalf of his family to eliminate all other meth producers so that the Crowder family can corner the methamphetamine market within Harlan County.

Another utilization of this specific social institution in the series is the use of religion to condemn those who commit criminal actions or choose to live within a criminal subculture. At the beginning of season four, a traveling preacher and his sister find themselves in Harlan County and establish an evangelical church in a tent in a rural part of the county. Billy St. Cyr and his sister, Cassie, are offering true salvation to those that need it most, which is why they travel to impoverished areas. A common practice within evangelical churches that is illustrated in *Justified* is for the pastor of the church to handle poisonous snakes while delivering the sermon to prove to the congregation that, if you are a true follower and believer of Christ, then he will protect you from all danger.

The Last Chance Holiness Church is focused on “saving” individuals who might have strayed from the path that was set forth for them by God, often targeting their ministries toward ex-convicts, drug addicts and dealers, and individuals who are living an illicit lifestyle. According to an ex-drug addict named Hiram in a conversation with Boyd Crowder, “people are gettin’ off drugs, and gettin’ hooked on Jesus,” (Dinner, 2013). One of the prostitutes, Ellen May, that works for Boyd and Ava Crowder finds herself sitting in the congregation at this church one night, watching the preacher deliver the Holy Word while dancing around handling a poisonous snake. She is seeking to save her soul from the sinful path she has journeyed down and is hoping that, by attending services at this church, she will be able to adopt a Christian lifestyle that will help her “get right with the Lord.” A conversation between Ellen May and Cassie St. Cyr sums up Ellen May’s journey perfectly:

Ellen May: “Ever since this all started, I’ve been prayin’ and prayin’, “Jesus, please help me find a way out of this.” I swore up and down I’d change my ways and I’d do anything he wanted. Even knowing I wasn’t worthy, I still prayed, ‘cause you told me he listened.”

Cassie: “And he does, Ellen May.”

Ellen May: “Then I was up at Nobles, stuck in that room, waiting to die again, praying “God, get me out of this.” And then, just like that, Mr. Limehouse let me go. And I knew...I knew...I knew God had worked a miracle in his heart and that, even after everything I had done, I was still worthy of his love...I think God let

me out of that room for me to come and tell you this thing so I could be washed in his blood,” (Horder-Payton, 2013).

The role of religion in Eastern Kentucky culture is a cornerstone upon which communities are built and this sentiment is reflected in the storylines presented by the writers of this series. Whether it is a criminal justifying his/her actions through an appeal to the Bible, a wayward individual trying to set themselves straight with the Lord, or someone receiving a lesson from the scripture to censure a behavior that is considered “un-Christian like”, the characters inhabiting *Justified*'s Harlan County embrace religion and utilize its practices whenever they find themselves in trouble.

### **Distinctly Rural Criminality**

For centuries, researchers from various disciplines have attempted to define what causes crime within a society. Many of them focus their attention on the motivations of the offending individual and the theories that developed range from economic oppression to biological determinism. Robert Merton (1938) pioneered the idea of anomie/strain with the belief that deviant behavior was a symptom of a specific sort of social disorganization. Deviance arises from one's inability to fit between culturally prescribed aspirations and social structured paths for achieving them (Beirne & Messerschmidt, 2011). After this initial justification for deviance, several more theorists turned their attention toward strain and what may cause an individual to experience it. One such theorist, Robert Agnew, created his general strain theory, which states that strain may result from failure to achieve conventional goals and/or escaping from painful



relationships. Agnew outlines three major sources of strain: failure to achieve positively valued goals, the removal of positively valued stimuli from the individual, and the presentation of negative stimuli. If an individual experiences any of the aforementioned sources of strain, the likelihood of them engaging in delinquent behavior is significant (Agnew, 1992). The following analysis will illustrate each of these sources of strain through application to a specific character or situation in *Justified*.

The first source outlined by Agnew states that an individual who experiences failure toward achieving positively valued goals will turn to alternative enterprises to achieve these goals (Agnew, 1992). During season 5, Boyd was the Harlan County contact for the Dixie Mafia in their attempt to run Mexican heroin into this Eastern Kentucky community. With the money that he was set to make from this job, he and Ava planned to settle down and raise a family that could be proud of the Crowder name. However, the plan was foiled at multiple points, resulting in no monetary gain for Boyd or any of his associates. At the conclusion of the season, Boyd was brought in to have a discussion with Katherine Hale, the widow of one of the most powerful members of the Dixie Mafia.

Katherine: “So, what are you gonna do now, Boyd?”

Boyd: “Well, John F. Kennedy said “Effort and courage don’t mean anything without purpose and direction.” I don’t have either, so I’ll probably be laying low for a little while...I don’t need a weatherman to tell me which direction this wind is blowing. I’m done with heroin.”

Katherine: “Well, there are other ways to make money.”

Boyd: “The way my luck’s been running lately, ma’am, I’m most likely not the man you’re looking for.”

Katherine: “...you were lousy at running heroin, Boyd Crowder. But from what I’m told, you are really good at robbing banks,” (Arkin, 2014).

Once Katherine offers Boyd a position within her ranks as the mastermind of multiple bank robberies, he begins looking at he and Ava’s future in a more optimistic light. Boyd’s personal goal for these illegal plots was to steal the money for himself that Katherine wanted him to steal for her in order to run away with Ava and start a life in a foreign country where no one knew who they were. After living his entire life as a member of a criminal family, Boyd craved normality and wanted to raise his children in a place where they would not be judged by their last name. However, Boyd never reached his goal--he was arrested by Raylan Givens after successfully stealing the money and was imprisoned in Kentucky.

In the second source, Agnew (1992) explains that the removal of a positively valued stimuli may lead to delinquency “as the individual tries to prevent the loss of the positive stimuli, retrieve the lost stimuli or obtain substitute stimuli, seek revenge against those responsible for the loss, or manage the negative effect caused by the loss by taking illicit drugs,” (Beirne & Messerschmidt, 2011, p.119). A major economic issue that plagues Harlan County in *Justified* as well as in reality is the loss of the coal industry and its effect on the quality of life in this rural community. Once the coal companies began

moving out of the mountains, individuals within these communities lost their jobs and the economic environment began to crumble. In *Justified*, unemployed citizens of Harlan County are more likely to turn to involvement in illicit activities than they are to seek additional education or training for a new, legal profession. Boyd Crowder, who was born into a life of crime, began working in the coalmines immediately upon his graduation from high school instead of joining the “family business”. However, once the mines shut down, Boyd saw an opportunity to make more money as a small town crime boss than he did seeking out a low-wage, entry-level job. He became the main supplier of heroin and OxyContin to Harlan County as well as the owner to the only house of ill repute in the county; in short, Boyd became the crux upon which Harlan County’s illegal subculture thrived in order to replace the stimuli he lost with the disintegration of the coal companies. While Boyd became involved in the sale of illegal goods, a significant number of characters within the show became the buyers of these goods (Yost, 2010). In order to fully understand the illegal drug subculture that permeates the storylines of this television show, all 78 episodes in the series were viewed and coded according to a coding schema that can be found as Appendix A. One of the major coding elements included accounting for the total amount of illegal drug use through all six seasons of the show. The results showed that marijuana was the most commonly used illegal drug (31.3%), followed by prescription drugs (25%) and heroin (23.4%). Meth was referenced only six times throughout the series and other drugs, such as cocaine and LSD, accounted for 10.9 percent of illegal drug presence.

Illegal drug use and abuse is the practice that encourages the emergence of the last source of strain identified in this theory: the presentation of negative stimuli to an individual or community. Due to its weak economic environment, Harlan County is vulnerable to exploitation by the government or corporations that own a significant amount of capital. The negative stimulus that works to exploit the community in *Justified* is the mafia. The local group based out of Frankfort, KY is referred to as the Dixie Mafia and is first introduced to viewers in the third episode of the second season. A school bus full of individuals trafficking OxyContin into Harlan was found robbed and abandoned on an old country road out in the county. A conversation between a Kentucky State Police officer and US Marshal Raylan Givens suggests that they suspect members of the Dixie Mafia were responsible for transporting the pills into the county (Werner, 2011). In season three, the role of the Dixie Mafia becomes much more significant with the arrival of Robert Quarles. Quarles is the right-hand man to Theo Tonin, the mob boss based out of Detroit that is responsible for the oversight of the Dixie Mafia. During a conversation between Wynn Duffy, an original member of the Kentucky-based branch of the organized crime group, and Robert Quarles, the fate of Harlan County in the hands of the mafia is explained.

Quarles: “You see for years, the focus of the Oxy business has been the Florida pill mills. That pipeline is drying up and we are gonna fill that void.”

Duffy: “They weren’t tracking users in Florida. That’s what made it so easy to get pills. Kentucky, they do.”

Quarles: “That’s why I came down here, Wynn. I pitched an idea to the Detroit colleagues and they are backing me. We are gonna take all this furniture and move it out. We’re gonna load it up with computers and printers, make IDs, MRIs, X-rays, medical records, and then we are going to Harlan. We’ll set up mobile trailers, rotate doctors in and out. If it gets hot, we move. The deal we make with the addicts is simple. We fill their prescriptions at the regular price. They get half the pills. We ship the other half to Detroit where we charge ten times the price. You see, Wynn? That is why it’s called “organized crime”,” (Kurt, 2012).

In addition to the illegal distribution of prescription pain medication, the mafia is also responsible for the corruption of the Harlan County Sheriff’s election, trafficking heroin into the community, and the illegal purchasing of land to use for the growth and harvesting of marijuana (Yost, 2010).

## CHAPTER 4

### CRIME IN HARLAN COUNTY, KENTUCKY

Harlan County is a small community nestled in the Appalachian Mountains of Eastern Kentucky. This area was officially founded in 1819 when the state legislature portioned off sections of Knox and Floyd counties to create Harlan County. Until the 1920s, this community was primarily made up of extended kin networks that owned and/or worked on farms. However, due to debt, estate conflicts, unclear titles, failure to pay taxes, lawsuits, and pressure from land speculators and corporations, many families were forced off their farms and, sometimes, out of Harlan County. From 1910 to 1930, the number of farms in Harlan County decreased from around 16,000 to 786 and, by 1985, farming only provided 0.6 percent of the personal earnings for Harlan residents (S. Scott, 1995). Coal production began replacing the family farm as the main source of income in 1910, accounting for 31.4 percent of the residents' personal earnings by 1985. The explosion of the coal industry in this area caused a massive rise in population over a short period of time. Harlan County's 1910 population of 10,000 tripled in only 10 years, reaching 64,000 people by 1930 (S. Scott, 1995). However, with the expansion of industry and the strengthening of the financial environment, also came an unintended rise in social disorganization. This disorganization was aided by the ready availability of guns and alcohol along with the difficulties of adjusting to a new social order between the coal company executives and the miners. As a result, there were increased tensions between classes, which led to the increase of homicides within Harlan County (Estep, 2011).

The moniker “Bloody Harlan” developed from the violence that occurred during the multiple coal wars that happened in this area during the 1930s and 1970s. The first Harlan Coal War started in February of 1931 when a group of miners began to strike due to the semi-starvation that their families and themselves were experiencing. The miners came out of the mines in droves to strike against the coal companies and their unwillingness to allow them to unionize. Those working for the companies were forced to live in company housing, shop from the company store, and pay most of their wages back into the company in the form of rent, fees, groceries, etc. The first killing of this ongoing tension occurred on April 17, 1931 near the town of Evarts. On April 27<sup>th</sup>, the Black Mountain Coal Company locked out all of its employees and evicted their families in order to make room for “strike breakers”. The Evarts Battle erupted on May 5<sup>th</sup> and Harlan County became a veritable war zone. Gun fire was exchanged between coal company deputies and strikers, resulting in four deaths (American Civil Liberties Union, 1932). The second Harlan Coal War occurred in 1973 and also derived from the unwillingness of the coal companies to allow miners to unionize the way that they desired. Coal workers wanted to create a union with the United Mine Workers Association, a progressive union rallying for better benefits for the miners and their families. After the coal companies refused to sign a contract with them, the workers went on a 13 month long strike. During this time, coal officials hired prisoners to work as “safety officers” around the mines where the picket lines were. This often led to physical altercations between the picketers and the safety officers, resulting in numerous arrests

for the striking mine workers. Finally, on August 29, 1974, after extensive picket lines nationwide and prolific media coverage, the coal companies signed an agreement with the UMWA (Kopple, 1976).

In order to effectively evaluate the criminal environment existing in Harlan County today, crime statistics were gathered from Kentucky State Police and the Harlan County Detention Center. The figures from Kentucky State Police were retrieved from the annual Crime in Kentucky report that is published annually on the State Police's website. This report gathers data on a variety of crimes committed within the state in a year timespan and proceeds to break down these numbers from state to county level data. Crime statistics have been gathered from 2010 to 2014 to reflect the state of crime in Harlan County during the run of *Justified* on FX. The figures below will compare Harlan County crime rates to the crime rates of Kentucky per 100,000 individuals. In order to calculate these rates, the data used includes the number of offenses that resulted in a conviction, or those cases that were cleared, as opposed to the number of arrests made connected to a specific offense. The offenses that will be discussed in the following analysis are the felonies that are listed as Part I offenses in the Uniform Crime Report: murder, rape, arson, auto theft, robbery, larceny-theft, aggravated assault, and burglary. The official FBI definitions of these crimes can be found in Appendix B.



**Table 1. 2010 Harlan County and Kentucky Crime Rates per 100,000**

	Harlan County	Kentucky
Population	29,240	4.346 million
Murder	0	2.76
Rape	51.30	18.31
Arson	10.26	3.70
Auto Theft	64.98	24.0
Robbery	20.52	26.78
Larceny-Theft	889.19	417.05
Aggravated Assault	112.86	81.39
Burglary	629.27	100.28

Source: Kentucky State Police. (2010). *Crime in Kentucky 2010*. Frankfort, KY.

According to Table 1, Harlan County comprises less than one percent of Kentucky's total population, but holds crime rates that are at or above the state average. In 2010, Harlan County had crime rates for rape (51.30), larceny/theft (889.19), and burglary (629.27) that were significantly larger than those calculated for the entire commonwealth. The margin of difference between the rates for arson, auto theft, and aggravated assault were smaller than the aforementioned offenses, but Harlan County still surpassed the rates of Kentucky as a whole. Only in murder (2.76) and robbery (20.52) was the state crime rate larger than Harlan County's (Kentucky State Police, 2010).

**Table 2. 2011 Harlan County and Kentucky Crime Rates per 100,000**

	Harlan County	Kentucky
Population	29,278	4.37 million
Murder	3.42	3.41
Rape	40.99	52.93
Arson	0	1.99
Auto Theft	13.66	21.99
Robbery	27.32	12.22
Larceny-Theft	276.66	308.88
Burglary	109.30	69.89

Source: Kentucky State Police. (2011). *Crime in Kentucky 2011*. Frankfort, KY.

Table 2, containing the Harlan County and Kentucky crime rates for 2011, shows change from the statistics reported in 2010. The population of Harlan County increased by 38 people while the population of the state increased by 24,000. As in 2010, Harlan County reported a larger crime rate than Kentucky in aggravated assault (529.41) and burglary (109.30), but also surpassed the state in the amount of robberies (27.32) per 100,000. Harlan County also experienced an increase in the rate of murders (3.42). This rural community saw a decline in the rate of rape (40.99), arson (0), auto theft (13.66), and larceny/theft (276.66) from the previous year (Kentucky State Police, 2011).

**Table 3. 2012 Harlan County and Kentucky Crime Rates per 100,000**

	Harlan County	Kentucky
Population	28,543	4.383 million
Murder	24.52	4.36
Rape	45.55	63.75
Arson	0	2.40
Auto Theft	10.51	23.80
Robbery	28.03	15.54
Larceny-Theft	416.91	384.96
Aggravated Assault	623.62	361.72
Burglary	105.10	74.79

Source: Kentucky State Police. (2012). *Crime in Kentucky 2012*. Frankfort, KY.

The 2012 table shows a negative fluctuation in population for Harlan County (-735), but a positive growth for the state population (+13,000). The Crime in Kentucky 2012 report shows that Harlan County had greater rates of murder (24.52), robbery (28.03), larceny/theft (416.91), aggravated assault (623.62), and burglary (105.10) than was calculated for Kentucky. Arson rates remained stable from the previous year at 0 per 100,000. Kentucky possessed higher crime rates for rape (63.75), auto theft (23.80) and arson (2.40) than Harlan County. All of these offenses, with the exception of arson, auto theft, and burglary, experienced increases in rate from the statistics reported in 2011 (Kentucky State Police, 2012).

**Table 4. 2013 Harlan County and Kentucky Crime Rates per 100,000**

	Harlan County	Kentucky
Population	28,499	4.4 million
Murder	21.05	3.48
Rape	63.16	51.77
Arson	3.51	2.11
Auto Theft	24.56	20.32
Robbery	28.07	14.64
Larceny-Theft	301.76	375.86
Aggravated Assault	505.28	368.43
Burglary	154.39	63.64

Source: Kentucky State Police. (2013). *Crime in Kentucky 2013*. Frankfort, KY.

Table 4 reports the population recorded and crime rates calculated for Harlan County and Kentucky for 2013. Population continued to decrease in Harlan County (-44), while the Kentucky experienced a growth of 17,000 citizens. As can be seen in previous tables and years, Harlan County has higher crime rates for offenses, such as murder (21.05), rape (63.16), robbery (28.07), aggravated assault (505.28), and burglary (154.39), than those reported statewide. The arson rate in Harlan County increased while the rate for Kentucky decreased from the year prior. The rate of motor vehicle thefts in Harlan County surpassed those recorded statewide, while the county level larceny/theft rate fell below that of the state's (Kentucky State Police, 2013).

**Table 5. 2014 Harlan County and Kentucky Crime Rates per 100,000**

	Harlan County	Kentucky
Population	28,163	4.413 million
Murder	3.55	4.08
Rape	110.07	46.84
Arson	7.10	2.15
Auto Theft	28.41	22.18
Robbery	10.65	14.68
Larceny-Theft	358.63	405.48
Aggravated Assault	436.74	360.61
Burglary	81.67	61.34

Source: Kentucky State Police. (2014). *Crime in Kentucky 2014*. Frankfort, KY.

The crime data collected and manipulated for Harlan County and Kentucky in 2014 can be found in Table 5. For the third consecutive year, the population in Harlan County decreased while the population statewide experienced positive growth. There are also significant changes in crime rates between the two data sources. The murder rate lowered significantly from 2013, dropping from 21.05 murders per 100,000 to a rate of only 3.55 murders in 2014. The crime rates for robbery (10.65), aggravated assault (436.74), and burglary (81.67) also decreased from the year prior. Following the data trend of 2013, the rate for forcible rape in Harlan County (110.07) exceeds the rate reported for the whole state (46.84). The rates for arson, larceny-theft, and motor vehicle theft also experienced an increase from 2013 (Kentucky State Police, 2014).

## Harlan County Detention Center Demographics

Statistics were gathered from the local jail in Harlan County to continue painting a picture of what the reality of crime in this community looks like. By exploring the most commonly jailed offenses in real Harlan County, further distinctions between reality and the crime types and prevalence in *Justified*'s Harlan County can be explored. In the following tables, demographic information from the Harlan County Detention Center includes gender, race, age, and location of inmates. This information was obtained from the current inmate database maintained on the detention center's website. The demographics reported were obtained directly from each inmate's intake information and these statistics are current as of March 8, 2016. The first table displays the dispersion between gender, race, and age in the jail population whereas the second table focuses on whether or not the inmates are local to Harlan County.

**Table 6. Harlan County Detention Center Demographics**

Harlan County Detention Center Demographics		
	Total Number	Percentage
<b>GENDER</b>		
Male	218	80.74%
Female	52	19.26%
<b>RACE</b>		
White	246	91.11%
Black	24	8.89%
<b>AGE</b>		
18-30	118	43.70%
31-40	94	34.81%

**Table 6. Harlan County Detention Center Demographics (continued)**

	Total Number	Percentage
41-50	44	16.30%
51-60	9	3.33%
61+	5	1.85%
<b>Total Number of Inmates</b>		
	270	

Source: Harlan County Detention Center. (2016). *Harlan County detention center inmate roster*. Evarts, KY.

Table 6 shows the demographic differentiation existing within the population of the Harlan County Detention Center. As of March 8, 2016, this local jail housed 270 inmates with males comprising 80.74 percent of the inmate population and females accounting for 19.26 percent (Harlan County Detention Center, 2016). When these statistics are compared to the statistics reported for Kentucky state correctional facilities for 2014, it is clear that Harlan County has a more narrow gap between genders than is seen throughout the state incarceration system. The rates of male and female inmates currently incarcerated in Harlan County are 8074.07 per 10,000 and 1925.93 per 10,000, respectively. In state-run facilities, the rate for male inmates is 8811.93 and the rate for females sits at 1188.07 per 10,000 (Carson, 2015). The only two races that were recorded within the current inmate database were white and black. White individuals accounted for 91.11 percent of the jail population and black inmates made up 8.89 percent (Harlan County Detention Center, 2016). After calculating the rates for each race in the Harlan

County jail and comparing them to the rates calculated from 2013 Kentucky local jail data collected by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, it is seen that the Harlan County Detention Center holds significantly more white inmates (9111.11 per 10,000) than black (888.89). While the rate for white inmates statewide (7208.33 per 10,000) is also higher than for black (2364.58), the margin is much smaller than what is seen from Harlan's local jail (Minton, Ginder, Brumbaugh, Smiley-McDonald, & Rohloff, 2015). As seen by the table, the majority of offenders incarcerated in Harlan County are between the ages of 18 and 40 with those two age brackets comprising almost 80 percent of the total inmate population (Harlan County Detention Center, 2016).

**Table 7. Harlan County Detention Center Inmate Locations**

Harlan County Detention Center Inmate Locations		
Harlan County Natives		
	Total Number	Percentage
<b>GENDER</b>		
Male	114	44.71%
Female	33	12.94%
<b>RACE</b>		
White	135	52.94%
Black	12	4.71%
Non-Harlan County Natives		
<b>GENDER</b>		
Male	95	37.25%
Female	13	5.10%
<b>RACE</b>		
White	98	38.43%
Black	10	3.92%



Harlan County Detention Center Inmate Locations	
<b>Total Number of Inmates Recorded</b>	255

Source: Harlan County Detention Center. (2016). *Harlan County detention center inmate roster*. Evarts, KY.

After recording basic demographic information, the inmates were separated based on the city where they resided. This was determined by the city that was listed on their driver's licenses that were then recorded into their inmate files and published onto the Harlan County Detention Center's current inmate database. This was done to see if there was a significant difference in gender and race between those who were arrested in Harlan County versus those who belonged to another jurisdiction, but were being housed in this particular facility. The reason for the discrepancy between the total number of inmates in this table (255) and the demographics table (270) is due to the lack of recorded city of origins for 15 inmates in the system. The gender and racial gaps between inmate populations revealed that the only significant difference that exists between the native and non-native populations is that Harlan County natives have a higher percentage of white inmates than the non-native inmates. This could be attributed to the racial landscape of Harlan County where, as of the 2014 Census, 95.8 percent of the population was white and 2.3 percent of the population was black (US Census Bureau, 2015). The cities that the non-native inmates originated from were also recorded and it was found

that half of the black non-native inmate population was from major metropolitan areas, both in and out of state. These cities included Louisville, KY, Lexington, KY, and Orlando, FL where the percentage of black individuals within the population is much higher (Harlan County Detention Center, 2016).

## CHAPTER 5

### COMPARING THE REPRESENTED AND REAL HARLAN COUNTY

The Harlan County, Kentucky that is depicted throughout the six seasons of *Justified* is one rife with vigilante justice stemming from family feuds, involvement in illegal enterprises, and violations of the honor code that exists within rural Southern communities. The real Harlan County, Kentucky is a small, tight-knit community nestled in a valley amongst the Appalachian Mountains. Crime does occur, but the justice system plays a more active role in stopping these illegal activities than can be seen in *Justified*. People living in this very real community hold strong family ties and are proud to have been raised with the values of the mountains—similar to the Harlan County natives portrayed on the small screen. While *Justified* excelled at representing certain aspects of rural, mountain life, there are others that were very sensationalized and acted upon the established stereotypes applied to these areas by outsiders and various media outlets. This section will focus on the differences and similarities between the represented Harlan County in *Justified* and the real Harlan County presented through literature, observation, and official data.

#### **Criminal Activity**

In *Justified*, Harlan County is presented as an extremely violent community where criminals carry out vigilante justice to defend their personal property and well being against anyone who might infringe upon it. In order to understand the type of criminal environment being presented by the writers and producers of this show, all 78 episodes

were watched and all UCR Part I Offenses that occurred were coded into a database. The results, which can be found in Appendix B, showed that, of the 191 UCR Part I Offenses that occurred, 64.2 percent of them were murders. The next most common offense was aggravated assault, accounting for 13.5 percent of total recorded offenses. Interestingly, the violent crimes included in the Part I Offenses account for 83.4 percent of the crimes recorded whereas the nonviolent crimes only account for 15.6 percent. The most common nonviolent crime seen in *Justified* is motor vehicle theft, representing 6.2 percent of the total. In order to compare the percentages that derived from the television program to the reality of these crimes in Harlan County, the total number of each cleared Part I offense from the 2010-2014 Crime in Kentucky reports were added up and divided by the total amount of Part I offenses that were cleared during that timeframe. From 2010-2014, the most common offenses of this type to occur were nonviolent offenses. These types of crimes comprised 56.87 percent of the total and included offenses, such as larceny/theft (36.3%), burglary (17.6%), motor vehicle theft (2.3%), and arson (0.67%). The percentage of murders occurring in this community during this time stands in direct contrast to the picture that is painted by *Justified*. According to official crime data in the state of Kentucky, murder only comprised 0.84 percent of all Part I offenses to occur between 2010 and 2014. The most common type of violent crime is aggravated assault, accounting for 35.5 percent of the total (Kentucky State Police, 2014). This discrepancy between the represented and real crime percentages is not surprising; violent crimes in a television show are more attractive and elicit more viewers than nonviolent crimes. The

violence of Harlan County was sensationalized for dramatic effect thereby increasing viewership and maintaining primetime popularity.

According to the information concerning offenses that are currently represented in the Harlan County Detention Center, the only Part I crimes that have a significant number of counts represented are burglary and larceny/theft with 23 and 27 counts, respectively. The violent offense with the largest amount of counts represented is assault (12). These statistics support the aforementioned crime percentages addressing the most prevalent violent and nonviolent Part I offenses in Harlan County. After tallying up the charges from each inmate incarcerated in the local jail as of March 8, 2016, the most common felonies include Trafficking in Controlled Substances 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Degree (46 counts), Wanton Endangerment 1<sup>st</sup> Degree (32 counts), Manufacturing Meth (18 counts), Unlawful Possession of Meth Precursor (14 counts), Criminal Abuse 1st Degree (14 counts), and Criminal Mischief 1<sup>st</sup> Degree (11 counts) (Harlan County Detention Center, 2016). While there are certainly other crimes that occur during the six seasons of *Justified*, the only crimes from the group above that are represented significantly are the drug related offenses. Some of the other crimes that are shown in the series that are not represented through these official data sources are organized crime activities, financial crimes/blackmail, and corruption of law enforcement and political offices.

### **Illegal Drug Trade**

One of the major criminal enterprises that exists in both the represented and real Harlan County involves the trafficking and/or possession of illegal drugs. The presence

of different kinds of drugs within the show were recorded when they were visibly witnessed or when they played a significant part in a storyline. According to the statistics gathered from *Justified*, marijuana was the illegal drug seen most often on screen, accounting for 31.3 percent of all illicit drug references. Marijuana is closely followed by prescription drugs and heroin, comprising 25 and 23.4 percent, respectively. The major storylines that involve drugs throughout the six seasons include the Bennett's being known for producing the highest quality marijuana, the Crowder's cornering the market on methamphetamine production, and the trafficking of OxyContin and heroin into the mountains by the mafia and Boyd Crowder. Throughout the series, very few arrests and/or convictions are made concerning the selling or purchasing of illegal drugs. However, when considering the drug arrests in Harlan County in 2012, the reality seems to paint a completely different story. In 2012, there were 3082.51 (per 100,000) drug law arrests made in this rural community of about 28,000 people. Compare this to other counties within the state that are similar in geography, demographics, and population and it is clear that Harlan County makes significantly more drug arrests than other communities within the area. Counties, such as Carter County (464.30 per 100,000), Perry County (2075.45 per 100,000), and Bell County (1754.39 per 100,000), paled in comparison to the drug arrest activity that was occurring in Harlan (Kentucky Statistical Analysis Center, 2012).

Though marijuana and methamphetamine play an important role in some of the most impactful storylines in *Justified*, the drug that elicits the most attention and the most

violence are prescription drugs, specifically OxyContin. The show depicted individuals living in Harlan County as hopelessly addicted to this powerful opiate, creating the impression that almost every unemployed, down-on-their-luck citizen within the community was scrounging up money to obtain these pills through whatever means necessary. According to the Kentucky Statistical Analysis Center (2012), 9,159 scripts were written for oxycodone, the primary ingredient in OxyContin. This accounts for 726,604 total units of the drug moved into patient's hands in 2012. While Carter and Bell Counties experienced fewer scripts written and fewer total units passed, Perry County surpassed Harlan with a total of 16,299 scripts written and 1,466,004 units passed. These statistics do indicate that Harlan County has increased usage of oxycodone, but not to the extent suggested through the storylines presented in *Justified*.

### **Cultural Norms and Commentary**

While there are obvious discrepancies between the criminal landscape of the represented and real Harlan Counties, the writers and producers of *Justified* were adept at including cultural comments that would resonate with individuals local to the area being portrayed on the screen. These comments included the incorporation of colloquialisms, current political and economic events unique to the area, food and drink often connected with Eastern Kentucky life, etc. Some of the more general references that were intended to connect the characters to the state of Kentucky included their in-depth knowledge of bourbon, love of University of Kentucky sports, native pronunciation of Louisville and Versailles, and references to the grandeur of horse farm culture. All of these things are

unique to the culture of the Bluegrass State and so, to create characters and communities on the small screen intended to mirror the characters and communities off-screen, it is important that these small details are remembered.

Beyond connecting the characters to the state, it is vital that the characters become connected to Harlan County culture as well. One of the major economic and political issues occurring in Eastern Kentucky today is the process of mountaintop removal. While mountaintop removal seems less dangerous than traditional coal mining, the environmental harm it causes the surrounding area is extreme. Due to the deception of the coal executives when presenting this safer mining option, distrust of the affluent and the government only intensified with citizens of these Eastern Kentucky communities. This toxic relationship was often referenced in *Justified* storylines, especially in the third season when Mags Bennett and Boyd Crowder took on Black Pike Coal for polluting their ponds and deceiving locals about the reality of their overall mission in Harlan County. Another cultural comment about the economic struggles of this area is the inclusion of crimes, such as stealing copper wire from abandoned buildings to sell and siphoning gas from an unattended vehicle. While these crimes are insignificant to the overall storyline, they serve as a testament to the real-life struggles faced by many individuals within this geographic region.

An important aspect of culture is language and this is definitely reflected in the mountainous communities of Eastern Kentucky. There are certain words and phrases used in these areas that, to outsiders, seem ridiculous or nonsensical. Some of the



common colloquialisms heard in Appalachian regions that were used throughout the show include “ridden hard and put away wet” (Werner, 2010), “...need to chew the fat” (Dahl, 2011), “jumping out of the frying pan and into the fire” (Parisot, 2012), “you want clear water, you go to the head of the stream” (Dinner, 2014), and “you’re a little touched, ain’t you child,” (Pressman, 2014). While these comments may have been completely missed by the average *Justified* viewer, their inclusion was significant to those who call Harlan County and the surrounding area home. These statements are part of their everyday vernacular and are a major contributor to the creation of the culture that exists in these places. By researching and taking the time to understand mountain culture, the writers and producers of this crime drama were embracing the true culture of Harlan County as opposed to creating one based on stereotypes and preconceived notions. Due to this care and attention to detail, locals of these mountain communities are proud to share their hometown with *Justified* instead of being ashamed of their roots as so many were after the broadcast of shows, such as *The Beverly Hillbillies*.

### **Social Construction and Its Role in Media Representation**

Social construction is a theoretical perspective that is applied to many different situations in a variety of social science disciplines. Social construction is the process of defining reality through the learning and constructing of meanings and definitions of situations through vehicles, such as language, symbols, and interactions with other people (Kraska & Brent, 2011). Essentially, what individuals know to be true is born from historically and culturally situated social processes with which they have interacted

(Lewis-Beck, Bryman, & Futing, 2011). Some of the goals of social construction are to investigate myths surrounding certain cultures, study the formation and maintenance of cultural markers, scrutinize how certain behaviors and situations come to be connected with a specific population, and dissect the way through which cultural stereotypes are produced and presented (Kraska & Brent, 2011). This process works to reify cultural practices and norms that have been created and passed down through generations and, as such, has a significant effect on every individual within a society.

One of the major avenues through which social construction is utilized is the media. Since media outlets are so widespread, the individuals that are served are not limited by class, race, or location. Due to the diverse population that various media sources reach, socially constructed messages are easily broadcast and, in turn, work to influence the thoughts and opinions of the masses. The cultural stereotypes that exist within American society are all products of social construction and are most often presented by news outlets, entertainment television, music, etc. This construction of thought is easily seen through the presentation of southern rural Americans in the various storylines of *Justified*. The stereotypes and narratives that pervade modern society concerning this unique population are reified in this television crime drama through cultural mechanisms, such as race relations, language, class tensions, religiosity, and types of criminal activity.

While *Justified* attempts to create an accurate representation of life in the Appalachian Mountains, certain aspects of the culture are sensationalized in order to

develop and maintain a strong viewership. In order to create dynamic characters and storylines that appeal to the majority, existing stereotypes are utilized and built upon. Some of these include the language that is typically associated with low-income, minimally educated populations, physical appearance that is often connected with the “redneck” image, and crimes that are stereotypically linked to “white trash” individuals. One of the main goals of using clichéd language in the production and presentation of “redneck” characters is to further reinforce the class distinctions between the “othered” poor folk of Appalachia and the average, norm-embracing American. By dressing the characters from Harlan County in dirty and ill-fitting clothing, such as “wife-beater” style tank tops, combat boots, worn out army fatigue pants, and cleavage-revealing sun dresses, the writers and producers of the show are working to further the ideas of isolation from mainstream social and cultural fads and are using these articles of clothing to paint a detailed picture of the impoverished lifestyle that is often connected to rural communities. The criminal activity that is depicted in the storylines is not representative of the crimes that actually plague Harlan County, but instead present an image of a violent populace focused on retribution and revenge over anything else. The crime and violence that occurs within the six seasons reinforces the moniker of “Bloody Harlan” and this is the perception that is adopted by the vast majority of *Justified* viewers.

The idea of fatalism within Appalachian culture is a theory that has been researched and explored heavily by social scientists. This behavior is one of the most popular socially constructed myths that surround mountain culture. While certain aspects

of culture within these regions suggest a sense of pre-determination (importance of religion, perceived lack of desire for formal education, etc.), it has been found that fatalistic attitudes are not internalized by a substantial portion of individuals in these areas (Welch, 2011). However, several of the characters in *Justified* possess seemingly fatalistic behaviors toward their lives and their ability to move beyond their current circumstances. Ellen May turns to God in order to overcome her drug addiction and her persistent unemployment because God heals all things. Boyd Crowder dreams of leaving Harlan County, but upon a few financial struggles, ultimately decides that he is not cut out for a life outside this mountain community. *Justified* reinforces the idea of the socially constructed myth of fatalism within Appalachia through its creation of characters who feel like they cannot escape Harlan County, regardless of how hard they try, because that is just the way it is for people like them. Boyd Crowder sums it up best in one of his final lines of the series, “Hell, sometimes I think the only way to get out of our town alive is to have never been born there,” (Arkin, 2015).

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

The presentation of Appalachian life through various media outlets has been a cultural phenomenon for decades. The unique social and economic ways these individuals live their lives has fascinated those who live outside of mountain culture and this fascination has led to the creation and acceptance of a “hillbilly” stereotype that has come to define these areas and the people that reside there. While documentarians and photojournalists have attempted to portray Appalachia in its true light, the images that usually derive from their projects only work to support the preconceived notions of the area: impoverished, isolated, left behind by mainstream life. In order for television shows to capitalize upon the “hillbilly” stereotype, it is important that one specific part of Appalachian culture is focused upon and used for entertainment value. *The Beverly Hillbillies* uses their lack of education as a source of comedy whereas *Justified* focuses on the violence that ensues from the lack of opportunity afforded to individuals living within these rural communities. While entertainment ventures, such as television shows, have their merit, it is important to realize the potential detriment they possess as well. By taking the messages and images that television shows present at face value, people are at risk of internalizing a distorted version of the reality surrounding them.

#### **Goal of Study**

The goal of this study was to draw a clear distinction between the fantasy of Harlan County culture and crime presented by *Justified* and the true nature of life in this

rural community. The process to achieve this goal included critically viewing all six seasons of *Justified* and coding each episode according to a pre-defined list of variables. After each episode had been carefully coded, the data was run through statistical software and the findings were cross-referenced with the official crime and jail data of Harlan County collected from state and local offices. This data was compared to show where the similarities and differences lie between the criminal tendencies on the show and the crimes that are most common in this area. In addition to the crime data, a typology of the typical criminal presented within *Justified*'s storylines was outlined as well. Exploring different social variables, such as race, social class, religion, family and kinship networks, and rural criminal activity, within the typology helped to explain the culture and crime presented in this television show and allowed the researcher to create a critical understanding of the stereotypes being exacerbated by this program and connected these behaviors to theoretically grounded understandings of human and social nature.

### **Importance of Study**

While there is a significant amount of literature focused on analyzing the various rural stereotypes presented through mass media outlets, there are few studies that seek to connect the real with the represented representations to see exactly where the creation of spectacle is focused. This is especially true of Appalachian communities in Eastern Kentucky. They are covered in different entertainment genres, but the picture that is presented almost always rests upon the preconceived ideals of the area as created by previous media and entertainment coverage. By analyzing the images set forth in

*Justified* through a critical lens, this research points out the areas of culture, which are sensationalized by this television show and works to give context concerning the reality of culture in these communities. Harlan County, Kentucky has long been scrutinized by mass media with very little empirical research being done to discredit the existing stereotypes of overt violence, political and economic apathy, propensity for criminal behavior, and unwillingness to accept predefined American cultural norms. This study seeks to fill the research gap existing between the fantastical representation put forth by the media and the reality that is represented by those living and breathing in the mountains of Eastern Kentucky.

### **Empirical Findings**

The results from this study present a more comprehensive understanding of the culture of crime presented in *Justified* through the creation of a criminal typology. The criminals that were represented in this television crime drama all exhibited racially stereotypical behaviors specific to the geographic location from which they originated. There also existed notable class tensions between the have and the have-nots, often resulting in violence between members of the two groups. This class distinction can be witnessed through the utilization of different drinking habits between classes to the language used by the educated elites to demoralize and ostracize the “white trash” of Harlan County. The importance of family and kinship networks are explored and the affect that they have on an individual’s propensity to offend is addressed. Religion was also found to be a significant characteristic to the majority of characters in *Justified*

whether it served as a mechanism for justifying their crimes or served as a means to escape their criminal pasts. The last portion of the criminal typology involved the distinct types of rural criminality often seen throughout the series and connected the ideas set forth in strain theory to help explain the behaviors of various criminals within the show.

The second portion of research included in this study addresses the discrepancy between the amount and types of crime that occur in Harlan County. After analyzing the data collected from the Kentucky State Police and the Harlan County Detention Center, it is clear that there is a significant difference between the criminal landscape presented in *Justified* and the one that actually exists. The show depicts Harlan as an extremely violent community with an abnormally high amount of violent crimes, including murder and aggravated assault whereas the official data suggests that drug offenses and non-violent crimes are the more likely offenses to occur. The crime statistics and the jail demographics help paint a picture of what crime really looks like in this Appalachian town and it presents a clear differentiation from what is broadcast across the nation on the small screen. The amount of violent crime seen throughout the series differs significantly from the amount of violent crime in Harlan County and this differentiation can be attributed to the need to recruit and maintain viewership for the television series' success.

### **Limitations of the Study**

While completing this study, there were two limitations that occurred that could potentially affect the analysis of the acquired data and the conclusions that were drawn from this information. One limitation was the researcher's inability to obtain longitudinal



data from the Harlan County Detention Center. By acquiring the demographic information from this local jail from 2010-current day, the inmate data that was presented in this study would have consisted of more subjects and would have had a larger variant in race, gender, and offenses committed. While the data that was obtained and analyzed presented an accurate and sufficient depiction of crime in Harlan County, this longitudinal data would have allowed the researcher to make broader connections between real criminals in Harlan County and those fictional characters presented in *Justified*. Another limitation existing in this study is the possibility of cultural bias. Since the researcher has grown up in Kentucky and has been exposed to Eastern Kentucky culture her entire life, instances of cultural bias could affect how the data was ultimately analyzed and presented. While the study was performed under strict objectivity to avoid any skewing of the data, the potential for cultural bias does exist and needs to be acknowledged.

This study is geared toward addressing the gap in the literature that exists concerning the comparison of the sensationalized representation of rural culture by the media to the reality of life in these communities through the use of official data and observation. One topic of future research that may be derived from this information includes the impact and differentiation of gender roles within mainstream and Appalachian societies. Within *Justified*, gender roles and norms play a major part in the storylines and, by comparing those roles and norms to those that exist within Eastern Kentucky, the potential for an interesting study and narrative exist. Appalachian culture

has long been of interest to many individuals within the United States and this curiosity is only intensified through the narrative presented by the media, specifically entertainment television. While these television shows shine a light on an otherwise overlooked region, it is done in such a way as to reinforce the existing stereotypes of these individuals and their culture. It is important for television viewers to understand that cultural representations depicted on their favorite shows are not accurate, but rather a fantastical idea geared toward, not education, but recruitment and maintenance of an intrigued and loyal fan base.

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APPENDIX A:  
JUSTIFIED EPISODE CODING BOOK

Name of Episode	(3) Meth
Date of Air	(4) Heroin
Crime Type (UCR)	(5) Other
(0) No Response	Gender Conflict
(1) Murder	(0) No Response
(2) Rape	(1) Abuse
(3) Arson	(2) Reinforcing Gender Roles
(4) Motor Vehicle Theft	(3) Sexuality
(5) Robbery	(4) Violation of Gender Roles
(6) Larceny/Theft	Arrests/Convictions
(7) Aggravated Assault	Number per episode
(8) Burglary	Presence of Religion
Type of Weapon Used	(0) No Response
(0) No Response	(1) General reference
(1) Firearm	(2) Justification of crime
(2) Knife	Presence of Alcohol
(3) Assault Weapon	(0) No Response
(4) Other	(1) Bourbon
Drugs Present in Episode	(2) Beer
(0) No Response	(3) Moonshine
(1) Marijuana	(4) Tequila
(2) Prescription Drugs	(5) Other

Alcohol Consumed in Excess?

(0) No Response

(1) Yes

(2) No

Family

(0) No Response

(1) Family Conflict

(2) Allegiance to Family

(3) General References

APPENDIX B:  
UCR PART I OFFENSES DEFINITIONS

## Uniform Crime Report Part I Offenses

“**Murder** is the unlawful killing of a human being with malice afterthought. Suicides, accidental deaths, manslaughters, assaults to murder, traffic fatalities, and attempted murders are not included,” (Kentucky State Police, 2010, p.7).

“**Rape** is defined as the carnal knowledge of a person, forcibly or otherwise, against the person’s will. Forcible rapes are included, together with assaults for the purpose of rape, and attempted forcible rapes. Excluded are rapes where the victim is under the age of consent and no force is used,” (Kentucky State Police, 2010, p.10).

“**Robbery** is the felonious taking of the property of another by force, the threat of force, violence, and/or by putting the victim in fear. All attempted robberies are included. Robberies are reported in two general categories: armed (any weapon of threatening object is used) and strong-arm (to include muggings and similar offenses where no weapon is used but strong-arm tactics are employed,” (Kentucky State Police, 2010, p.12).

“**Aggravated Assault** is the unlawful attack by one person upon another for purpose of inflicting severe or aggravated bodily injury. It is not necessary that injury result from an aggravated assault when a gun, knife, or other weapon is used which could, and probably would, result in serious personal injury.

Therefore, all assault attempts where serious injury would have been likely to occur are included. Excluded from Part I crimes of aggravated assaults are all

assaults which do not include the use of a dangerous weapon and where there was no serious or aggravated injury. These simple assaults are counted as Part II crimes,” (Kentucky State Police, 2010, p.14).

“**Burglary** is the unlawful entering or remaining in a building with the intent to commit a crime. This includes entries where force of any kind is used to gain entrance, entries where no force was used (an unlocked door or by concealment), and attempts to enter forcibly (even though entry was not gained),” (Kentucky State Police, 2010, p.16).

“**Larceny**, or larceny-theft, is the unlawful taking of property or articles of values without the use of violence, or fraudulent conversion. Included are such offenses as pocket picking, purse snatching (where little or no force is used), shoplifting, thefts from autos, thefts of auto parts and accessories, bicycle thefts, and thefts from buildings when the perpetrator entered legally. Con games, forgeries and bad checks, embezzlement, and obtaining money under false pretenses are not included under the category of larceny,” (Kentucky State Police, 2010, p.18).

“**Auto Theft** includes all thefts and attempted thefts of motor vehicles,” (Kentucky State Police, 2010, p.21).

“**Arson** includes any willful or malicious burning or attempt to burn (with or without intent to defraud) a residence, public building, motor vehicle or aircraft, personal property of another, etc. Only fires determined to have been willfully or maliciously set are classified as arson,” (Kentucky State Police, 2010, p.23).

APPENDIX C:  
SPSS OUTPUT FOR CODED JUSTIFIED EPISODES

## Frequencies

### Crime Type (UCR)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Murder	124	64.2	64.9	64.9
Rape	2	1.0	1.0	66.0
Arson	5	2.6	2.6	68.6
Motor Vehicle Theft	12	6.2	6.3	74.9
Robbery	9	4.7	4.7	79.6
Larceny/Theft	10	5.2	5.2	84.8
Aggravated Assault	26	13.5	13.6	98.4
Burglary	3	1.6	1.6	100.0
Total	191	99.0	100.0	
Missing System	2	1.0		
Total	193	100.0		

### Type of Weapon

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Firearm	77	39.9	52.0	52.0



Knife	11	5.7	7.4	59.5
Assault Weapon	9	4.7	6.1	65.5
Other	51	26.4	34.5	100.0
Total	148	76.7	100.0	
Missing System	45	23.3		
Total	193	100.0		

### Drugs Present

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Marijuana	20	10.4	31.3	31.3
Prescription Drugs	16	8.3	25.0	56.3
Valid Meth	6	3.1	9.4	65.6
Heroin	15	7.8	23.4	89.1
Other	7	3.6	10.9	100.0
Total	64	33.2	100.0	
Missing System	129	66.8		
Total	193	100.0		

### Type of Alcohol

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Bourbon	54	28.0	54.5	54.5
Beer	27	14.0	27.3	81.8
Moonshine	7	3.6	7.1	88.9
Tequila	4	2.1	4.0	92.9
Other	7	3.6	7.1	100.0
Total	99	51.3	100.0	
Missing System	94	48.7		
Total	193	100.0		

### Alcohol in Excess

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid No	64	33.2	82.1	82.1
Yes	14	7.3	17.9	100.0
Total	78	40.4	100.0	
Missing System	115	59.6		
Total	193	100.0		

### Gender Conflict

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Abuse	10	5.2	9.7	9.7
Reinforcing Gender Roles	21	10.9	20.4	30.1
Valid Sexuality	33	17.1	32.0	62.1
Violation of Gender Roles	39	20.2	37.9	100.0
Total	103	53.4	100.0	
Missing System	90	46.6		
Total	193	100.0		

### Arrests/Convictions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	23	11.9	57.5	57.5
2	11	5.7	27.5	85.0
Valid 3	2	1.0	5.0	90.0
4	2	1.0	5.0	95.0
7	2	1.0	5.0	100.0

Total	40	20.7	100.0
Missing System	153	79.3	
Total	193	100.0	

### Presence of Religion

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid General Reference	25	13.0	73.5	73.5
Valid Justification of crime/criminal behavior	9	4.7	26.5	100.0
Total	34	17.6	100.0	
Missing System	159	82.4		
Total	193	100.0		

### Family Dynamics

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Family Conflict	19	9.8	24.7	24.7
Valid Allegiance to Family	37	19.2	48.1	72.7
Valid General Reference	21	10.9	27.3	100.0
Total	77	39.9	100.0	

Missing System	116	60.1		
Total	193	100.0		

APPENDIX D:  
JUSTIFIED CHARACTER LIST BY RACE REPRESENTATION

**Table 8**

Recurring Justified Characters By Race Representation		
White	Black	Other
Agent Frankel	Ali	Aguilar
Agent Keaton	Bernard	Alberto Ruiz
Al Sura	Ed Kirkland	David Vasquez
Albert Fekus	Ellstin Limehouse	Ernesto
Alison Brander	Errol Butler	Gio Reyes
Arlo Givens	Gloria	Manolo
Arnold Pinter	Israel Fandi	Manuel
Art Mullen	Jay	Mara Paxton
Ash Murphy	Jean Baptiste	Pilar
Ava Crowder	Jody Adair	Yoon
Avery Markham	Knight	
Benny	Officer Barbour	
Billy Geist	Rachel Brooks	
Billy St. Cyr	Reggie	
Birch	Roscoe	
Bob Sweeney	Rowena	
Bobby Joe Packer		
Boon		
Boyd Crowder		
Boyd's Man 1		
Boyd's Man 2		
Brady Hughes		
Cal		
Caleb		
Calhoun Schrier		
Caprice		
Carl Lennon		
Carol Johnson		
Cassie St. Cyr		
Charles Monroe		
Charlie Weaver		

**Table 8  
(continued)**

Recurring Justified Characters By Race Representation		
White	Black	Other
Choo-Choo		
Colt Rhodes		
Crackpot		
Crosley		
Cyrus Boone		
Dan Grant		
Danny Crowe		
Daryl Crowe Jr.		
Delroy Baker		
Deputy Stiles		
Derek Waters		
Detective Constanza		
Devil		
Dewey Crowe		
Dickie Bennett		
Doc Stern		
Donovan		
Doyle Bennett		
Earl Lennon		
Ellen May		
Emmitt Arnett		
Ethan Picker		
Eve Munro		
Frank Browning		
Gary Hawkins		
Gerald Johns		
Grandma Berwind		
Greg Sutter		
Gretchen Swift		
Hagan		
Harvey Jones		
Helen Givens		
Hestler Jones		



**Table 8  
(continued)**

Recurring Justified Characters By Race Representation		
White	Black	Other
Hobart Curtis		
Hot Rod Dunham		
Hunter Moseley		
J.J. Corliss		
Jed Berwind		
Jerry Barkley		
Jimmy Tolan		
Joe Hoppus		
Johnny Crowder		
Josiah Cairn		
Joyce Kipling		
Judith		
Katherine Hale		
Kendal Crowe		
Kent Chilobeck		
KSP Officer		
Kyle Easterly		
Lance		
Lapiccola		
Lee Paxton		
Lemuel Becket		
Leslie Mullen		
Lindsey Salazar		
Loretta McCready		
Mags Bennett		
Mark		
Marsha Keyhoe		
Mickey		
Mike Cosmatopolis		
Mike Jackson		
Mike Reardon		
Mina		
Minerva		

**Table 8  
(continued)**

Recurring Justified Characters By Race Representation		
White	Black	Other
Natalie		
Nelson Dunlop		
Nick Augustine		
Nick Mooney		
Nicky Cush		
Nikki		
Officer LaPlante		
Pruitt		
Puller		
Randall Kusik		
Raylan Givens		
Rip Bell		
Robert Quarles		
Roz		
Sally		
Sally Peener		
Sam Keener		
Sammy Tonin		
Sammy's Goon		
Seabass		
Sharon Edmunds		
Shelby Parlow		
Sonya Gable		
Susan Crane		
Susan Heller		
Tanner Dodd		
Teena		
Teri		
The Pig		
Theo Tonin		
Tillman Napier		
Tim Gutterson		
Tom Bergen		

**Table 8  
(continued)**

Recurring Justified Characters By Race Representation			
	White	Black	Other
	Ty Walker		
	Wade Messer		
	Wendy Crowe		
	Willa Givens		
	Winona Hawkins		
	Wynn Duffy		
	Yvette		
	Zachariah Randolph		
Total	138	16	10
Percentage	84.15%	9.75%	6.10%

APPENDIX E:  
HARLAN BASED JUSTIFIED CHARACTERS BY RACE

**Table 9**

Harlan Based Justified Characters by Race		
White	Black	Other
Albert Fekus	Ali	Mara Paxton
Arlo Givens	Bernard	
Ava Crowder	Ellstin Limehouse	
Benny	Errol Butler	
Billy Geist	Jay	
Birch	Reggie	
Bob Sweeney		
Bobby Joe Packer		
Boyd Crowder		
Boyd's Man 1		
Boyd's Man 2		
Cal		
Caleb		
Calhoun Schrier		
Caprice		
Carl Lennon		
Crackpot		
Crosley		
Cyrus Boone		
Delroy Baker		
Deputy Stiles		
Devil		
Dewey Crowe		
Dickie Bennett		
Doc Stern		
Doyle Bennett		
Earl Lennon		
Ellen May		
Frank Browning		
Gerald Johns		
Grandma Berwind		

**Table 9  
(continued)**

Harlan Based Justified Characters by Race		
White	Black	Other
Gretchen Swift		
Hagan		
Harvey Jones		
Helen Givens		
Hestler Jones		
Hobart Curtis		
Hunter Moseley		
J.J. Corliss		
Jed Berwind		
Johnny Crowder		
Josiah Cairn		
Joyce Kipling		
Kyle Easterly		
Lee Paxton		
Lemuel Becket		
Lipiccola		
Loretta McCready		
Mags Bennett		
Mickey		
Mike Jackson		
Mike Reardon		
Mina		
Minerva		
Natalie		
Nicky Cush		
Pruitt		
Puller		
Raylan Givens		
Rip Bell		
Roz		
Sally Peener		
Sam Keener		
Shelby Parlow		

**Table 9  
(continued)**

Harlan Based Justified Characters by Race			
	White	Black	Other
	Sonya Gable		
	Susan Crane		
	Tanner Dodd		
	Teena		
	Teri		
	The Pig		
	Tillman Napier		
	Tom Bergen		
	Wade Messer		
	Zachariah Randolph		
Total	74	6	1
Percentage	91.36%	7.41%	1.23%