Strange Fruits on Southern Trees

On the morning of Monday, August 12 1918, the people of Colquitt, Georgia, would have come across an unusual sight: a man’s hat placed on top of a guide post at the intersection of Main and First streets with a sign that read: “Ike Radney, at rest.” At rest, Ike Radney laid some 12 miles away, on the road to Albany, swinging from “a large oak limb”, his body riddled with bullets. In the words of Lewis Allen popularized by Billie Holiday’s voice:

Southern trees bare strange fruit,

Blood on the leaves and blood at the root,

Black bodies swinging in the southern breeze.

Pastoral scene of the gallant south,
The bulging eyes and the twisted mouth,
Scent of magnolias, sweet and fresh,
Then the sudden smell of burning flesh.
Here is fruit for the crows to pluck,
For the rain to gather, for the wind to suck,
For the sun to rot, for the trees to drop,
Here is a strange and bitter crop.

Unusual sight, perhaps, Ike Radney’s hat. But neither unexpected nor unfamiliar. In a small town of some 800 people, news travelled fast, particularly news of a “criminal assault” of a Negro on a white woman. And the routine was all too familiar. Georgia held a lynching record in the American South second only to Mississippi (and only by a handful of cases). And Colquitt, in the South West of Georgia, held a record of its own within Georgia, with several recorded cases of lynching stretching back to at least 1877.

This chapter looks at lynchings in Georgia between 1875 and 1930 through the theoretical lenses of Analytical Sociology and the methodological lenses of Quantitative Narrative Analysis. It proposes Quantitative Narrative Analysis as a way to measure some of the core concepts of Analytical Sociology, notably actors, actions, and their relations and networks.

Analytical Sociology
In the introductory chapter to their The Oxford Handbook of Analytical Sociology, Hedström and Bearman define Analytical Sociology as an approach that “explains by detailing mechanisms through which social facts are brought about, and these mechanisms invariably refer to individuals’ actions and the relations that link actors to one another.” (2009:4; for a summary of Analytical Sociology’s historical development and critics, see Manzo 2010) Actions and
relations are the central cogs and wheels of social life and the key to any social explanation (Hedström and Bearman 2009:8-9). Also key to social explanation is the idea that society’s macro level can only be fully understood in terms of the micro level of individuals’ actions and relations. “In order to understand collective dynamics we must study the collectivity as a whole, but we must not study it as a collective entity. Only by taking into account the individual entities, and most critically the relations between them and their activities, can we understand the macro structure we observe. Predicting and explaining macro-level dynamics is one of the most central goals of analytical sociology…” (Hedström and Bearman 2009:13) And individual action is not just the result of rational choices, but perhaps rational choices governed by emotions and beliefs. As Elster argues: “Emotions and rationality are not necessarily opposed to each other. … Acting on beliefs that are shaped by emotion will, however, typically be irrational. … What I take to be the standard model of rational choice is defined in terms of the relation among four elements: action, beliefs, desires (or preferences), and information…” (Elster 2009:53) Elster goes on to show how specific beliefs (e.g., imposition of unjust harm by A on B or A is evil) trigger specific emotional reactions (e.g., anger or hatred) which in turn trigger specific actions (e.g., cause A to suffer or cease to exist) (Elster 2009:54, 59). Emotions and beliefs, in their turn, affect information gathering, a prerequisite of rational action. “The crucial mechanism [in emotional reactions] is that of urgency … [that] may prevent the agent from gathering the amount of information that would have been optimal from a rational point of view. … Because of the emotion induced urgency, he invests little in information-gathering of any kind.” (Elster 2009:68) These beliefs about the social world need not be true. As Rydgren concludes (2009:89): “People tend to rely on beliefs that work, beliefs that are subjectively deemed to be good enough … even if these beliefs are biased and flawed.”
We can sum up the core features of Analytical Sociology outlined above in the following points:

1. key to social explanation are individuals’ actions and the relations that link actors to one another;
2. the macro level can only be fully understood in terms of the micro level of individuals’ actions and relations;
3. there are four elements to rational choice: action, beliefs, desires, and information where:
   a. beliefs trigger emotional reactions
   b. emotions trigger action
   c. strong emotions trigger quick reactionary actions preventing careful information gathering.

But why should this matter for QNA? Ana what is QNA in the first place?

**Quantitative Narrative Analysis (QNA)**

QNA is a social science technique for the analysis of narrative texts (on QNA see for all Franzosi 2010). QNA attempts to go “from words to numbers” by exploiting invariant properties of narrative, “the ‘distinguishable regularities’ behind narrative, behind the ‘millions of narratives:’ namely, the sequential ordering of narrative clauses, the story versus plot distinction of this sequential ordering, the basic structure of narrative clauses as actors and their actions in time and space.” (Franzosi 2010:3) It is QNA’s emphasis on actors, actions, and relations that strikes a sympathetic chord with Analytical Sociology. QNA involves a series of steps:

It starts from the structural, invariant categories of narrative in terms of sequences of actors and their actions in time and space; then, it places these relational categories in a computer environment—more specifically, in a relational database management system
Let’s review each step to understand how QNA works and what it allows researchers to do.

**Step 1: Story grammars**

A story tells us something about human events (where someone does something or something happens to someone). Linguistically, a story is characterized by a sequence of narrative units that, for simplicity, we can equate to the basic canonical form Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) (for a review of definitions, see Franzosi 2010:17-18). In historical narratives, both Subject and Object of an event are typically *social actors*, be they individual, collective or organizational/institutional actors; the Verb refers to *social actions* characteristically indicating acts of doing or saying something (Greimas 1971: 800). Each of the three SVO elements can have a number of modifiers (i.e., the characteristics of actors and the circumstances of actions; for the history of this terminology, see Franzosi 2012). Thus, Subject and Object may have the following modifiers: the name and last name of an actor, the race, sex, occupation, religious or political affiliation, etc. The modifiers of a Verb include time and space – when and where an action occurred – but also the reason, outcome, or instrument of that action. The SVO structure with its modifiers (a “semantic triplet”) functions as a “story grammar,” i.e., as a grammar that captures the fundamental properties of narrative. We can formally express the above as follows:

\[
\text{<semantic triplet>} \rightarrow \{\text{<subject>}\} \{\text{<verb>}\} [\{\text{<object>}\}]
\]

where the symbols:
1. → denotes a rewrite rule (or production) and indicates how an element to the left of the symbol can be rewritten in terms of the elements on its right;

2. <> denote elements that can be further rewritten (“terminal elements,” i.e., the words or linguistic expressions found in the text, have no <>);

3. {} denote elements that can occur more than one time;

4. [] denote optional elements.

A semantic triplet can thus be rewritten in terms of one or more subjects, one or more verbs, and one or more objects, which, however, are optional. It is the nature of the verb, transitive or intransitive, that determines whether the object is present or not (e.g., “negro flees” has no object, since the verb is intransitive; “mob captures negro” has an object, since the verb is transitive). The <subject> can then be further rewritten as:

<subject> → <actor> [{ <actor characteristics> }]

<actor> → mob | negro | sheriff | …

<actor characteristics> → [{ <gender> }] [{ <race> }] [{ <organization> }]

<gender> → male | female |

<race> → black | white | …

<organization> → police | federal authorities | …

The verb and its attributes (or, more precisely, its circumstances) can be rewritten as follows:

<verb> → <verbal phrase> [{<circumstances>}]

<verbal phrase> → bring | burn | shoot | kill | hang | …

<circumstances> → [{<time>}][{<space>}][{<reason>}][{<instrument>}]

[<outcome>] …

…
A story grammar has two important properties:

1. the coding categories are based on invariant structural properties of narrative, rather than the ad-hoc, abstract, and theoretically defined categories of content analysis, the typical quantitative social science approach to text;

2. the coding categories are tightly interlinked and interrelated through a set of rewrite rules (e.g., actors are linked to actions, and both actors and actions are linked to their attributes); in content analysis, coding categories are organized seriatim lists, thus making it impossible to find out who did what, for instance.

To illustrate the power of a story grammar as a complex coding scheme for narrative texts, let’s take the newspaper story of Ike Radney’s lynching, as reported on the first page of the *Miller County Liberal* of August 14, 1918:

**IKE RADNEY PAYS THE PENALTY**

He Was Taken from Sheriff Kimbrel 12 Miles from Colquitt on the Albany Road by a Mob and Lynched.

Ike Moore, better known as “Ike Radney,” paid the penalty of rape at the hands of a mob Sunday night about 9 o’clock, 12 miles from Colquitt on the Albany road, near J. E. Tabb’s plantation at Cypress bridge. Saturday night about 12 o’clock Ike Moore forced an entrance into the residence of Mr. ---, who is a section hand on the G. F. & A. Railway, and committed a criminal assault on Mrs. ---, Mr. --- being absent at the time the crime was committed. The negro was arrested Sunday morning about 11 o’clock by Sheriff Kimbrel and lodged in the county jail. Mrs. --- was carried to the jail and identified Moore as the assailant; Moore afterward confessing the crime.
Sheriff Kimbrel, late Sunday afternoon got an inkling that Moore --- fall a victim to mob law. Consequently, he slipped him from the jail hoping to evade the mob, and started for a place of safety with his prisoner. He had just reached Cypress bridge when a mob appeared as if by magic, and demanded the prisoner. The sheriff was overpowered and disarmed and the negro was taken a short distance and hanged to a large oak limb. His hat adorned the guide post at the intersection of Main and First streets Monday morning with a card attached bearing this inscription: “Ike Radney, at Rest.”

So ends the story of a black brute, who has gone the route of all his class. A violent death at the hands of an angry mob. A warning to others.

Within the categories of a complex story grammar\(^3\), the information provided by this newspaper article, would look like this when organized in sequential order (the text in black are the coding categories setup by the user as a specific instance of story grammar and the texts in grey are the information found in the newspaper):

**EXHIBIT 1 ABOUT HERE**

As the example shows, story grammar coding provides a way to mimic the complexity of natural language narratives, but with several advantages, in particular:

1. a grammar produces coded output that preserves much of the wording and of the narrative flavor of the original input text; coded output, then, must possess the same degree of *semantic coherence* of the original input;

2. the property of semantic coherence results in coded output with higher data reliability since output must make *prima facie* sense to any competent user of the language; even a quick reading of the coded material will reveal breakdowns in coherence or at least lead
to questioning the code (e.g., “Sheriff Kimbrel raped today Mrs. ___” given the low frequency of such events, at least as reported by newspapers).

**Step 2: PC-ACE (Program for Computer-Assisted Coding of Events)**

The brief example of coding of the *Miller County Liberal* article no doubt highlights the appealing features of QNA, when compared to content analysis. Yet, the very complexity of the coding scheme (the story grammar) may lead a reader to wonder: it seems easy enough to code one newspaper article in the categories of a complex story grammar; but what if you have one hundred or one thousand such articles? Indeed, as I write in *Quantitative Narrative Analysis*: “No software, no QNA!” For this reason, starting in the early 1980s, I developed a computer program that would make possible the practical implementation of QNA for large socio-historical projects: PC-ACE, Program for Computer-Assisted Coding of Events (available for free download at [www.pc-ace.com](http://www.pc-ace.com)). The current release of PC-ACE builds a Relational Database that allows the user:

1. to setup a story grammar with any number of objects and any degree of relations, both hierarchical (e.g., macro event, event, semantic triplet) and horizontal (e.g., SVO), between these objects;

2. to enter manually into the database, with the aid of a variety of data-entry forms, all the source documents (e.g., newspaper articles, but could also be police records or transcripts of in-depth interviews) and all the information taken from these documents into the categories of the grammar;

3. to verify the coded data either for semantic coherence (displaying the information in story-like form as shown in Exhibit 1) or input vs. output;

4. to check various types of data integrity automatically;
5. to query the database with a variety of data extraction tools (ultimately based on SQL, Structured Query Language);

6. to import and export data from/to Excel;

7. to prepare automatically the data for specific types of data analysis (e.g., computing the adjacency matrix upon which network models are based or the KML file ready for Google Earth or QGIS).

I used PC-ACE for two different socio-historical research projects: rise of Italian fascism (1919-22) and lynchings in Georgia (1875-1930). Both projects deal with issues of conflict and violence and are based on newspapers as sources of data (on newspapers as sources of data, see for all Franzosi 1987). The two projects have different scales. The Italian fascism project is based on 3 newspapers (the socialist papers Il Lavoro and Avanti! and the fascist paper Il Popolo d’Italia) and over 53,000 newspaper articles yielding over 3000,000 semantic triplets. The Georgia lynchings project is based on 215 newspapers, over 1,600 articles, and 7,071 semantic triplets. In this chapter, I focus on the Georgia lynching project as a way of illustration.

**Step 3: Data Analysis: Actor-Centered vs. Variable-Centered Tools of Analysis**

The end of the American Civil War in 1865 between northern Union states and southern Confederate states saw a steady increase in the number of lynchings, decade after decade and across all southern states. Lynchings refer to the unlawful killing of an individual at the hand of a mob for an alleged crime. We can exploit the relational properties of the grammar – where actors are related to actor characteristics, such as race, sex, and age, to find out who the lynched individuals were. In Georgia, lynch victims were overwhelmingly African American men (91%, 357 cases); 6% were white males (21) and the remaining 3% African American women (10). We do not always have information on the victims’ age, but for the cases we do, we know that
they were typically young (median age 20); in some cases, lynch victims were described as “young” (4 victims), “aged” (1), “elderly” (1), and “old” (2). For these reasons, lynchings have been seen as a form of control of African Americans in the South under the new conditions of political freedom, especially in counties and states where African Americans constituted the majority of the population.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

We can further exploit the relational properties of the grammar to find out who does what. Table 1 shows the most frequent types of actions carried out by different actors. Not surprisingly, the most active actors in lynching events are the mob, the lynched negro, the sheriff, the posse, the coroner, and the outraged woman. The highly disaggregated data of Table 1 reflect the very language used in newspapers. But with several hundred distinct actors and over a thousand distinct actions it is hard to show patterns in the data. We need to aggregate both actors and actions into a more manageable set of aggregate categories (about 50 for each). Table 2 shows the result of that process. The patterns of actions emerge more distinctly: lynching events involve a great deal of violence, movement (coming, going, pursuing, fleeing), and coercion.

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Which crimes did lynched individuals allegedly commit? Again, exploiting the relation between actors and their actions, as set up in the grammar, we can obtain a frequency distribution of their actions: 43.1% of coded cases (186) committed violence against people, 35.4% (153 cases) sexual assaults, 7.6% (33 cases) disrespect or defiance, and 7.2% (31 cases) the reason for lynching is unknown.
It is QNA’s ability to link actors to their actions that makes QNA a particularly appealing methodological tool for Analytical Sociology. After all, going back to Hedström and Bearman’s definition, Analytical Sociology is fundamentally concerned with “individuals’ actions and the relations that link actors to one another.” (2009:4) That concern is visually highlighted by network graphs.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

The graph of Figure 1 focuses on one specific sphere of action: violence against people. This sphere of action comprises verbs such as kill, wound, rape, strangle, knife, hang, riddle with bullets, beat up, punch, cut, skin alive, burn, … The graph leaves no doubt about the actors involved in lynching violence: The negro (in the language of the newspapers of the time) is the victim of a great deal of violence at the hands of the mob and various other whites (classified as groups and whites).

But the negro himself also allegedly committed violent actions against both white men and white women and girls. It is this last link – between sexual violence and lynching – that was at the heart of lynching. Rebecca Ann Latimer Felton, a Georgia writer who became the first woman to serve in the United States Senate, best expressed Southern attitudes toward lynching: “to protect women’s dearest possession from drunken, ravening human beasts [...] I say lynch a thousand a week if it becomes necessary” (in Grem 2006:41). That, indeed, was the belief: “that black men could think of little else but ‘ravishing’ white women” (Ellis 1992:26). And it is this link between belief and action that brings us back to Analytical Sociology, to another link between Analytical Sociology and QNA. After all, in the link between belief and action Hedström and Bearman identify a general explanatory mechanism of action. They write (2009:7):
\[ Bi \rightarrow Ai \rightarrow Bj \rightarrow Aj \rightarrow Bk \rightarrow Ak \rightarrow \ldots (1) \]

A represents a specific action, B a belief, and the subscripts identify different actors. That is to say, in (1) the beliefs of actor i are such that they make i perform a certain action; i’s action influences the beliefs of actor j in such a way that j also decides to act; and j’s action in turn influences the beliefs of k, and so on.

Beliefs, emotions, and actions no doubt go hand in hand. And so do Analytical Sociology, with its emphasis on beliefs and emotions, and Quantitative Narrative Analysis, at least in the substantive application illustrated in this chapter: lynchings in the state of Georgia between 1875 and 1930. Angry crowds and mobs, like the mob in Ike Radney’s lynching, appear over and over again in lynching events. And if yelling, shouting, and screaming crowds, demanding slow torture and great pain for the lynched, are a sign of emotions, of that too there is plenty of evidence in my database. Seen from the other side, from the side of the black community, fear and revenge mix in times of terror. James Cameron, in his account of the lynching of Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith in Marion, Indiana on August 7, 1930, left a terrified description of the crowd seen from his perspective, a noose already around his neck (Cameron 1970: 6–7, 96, 110, 103). Emmett Till’s cousin makes his emotions clear in the 2005 documentary *The Untold Story of Emmett Louis Till*: “My first reaction when I saw they [the jury] come in and said ‘not guilty’ was unbelief, anger, revenge.”

Not surprisingly, historian Ayers writes: “Every human emotion became entangled in Southern race relations.” (1992:132) Relations between men and women across the racial divide were particularly fraught with emotions. As Jacquelyn Dowd Hall writes in her *Revolt against Chivalry* (1993:145): “Of all aspects of racial etiquette, those governing sexual relations aroused the strongest emotions and carried with them the severest sanctions ... the proper conduct of
black men toward white women.” It is in light of these beliefs on proper gender and race relations that we can perhaps understand another action – indeed, a very unusual one, an outlier but a very significant one – carried out by a merciful hand, the hand that erased the names of the woman outraged by Ike Radney in Colquitt, Georgia, and of her husband in the now only extant copy of the *Miller County Liberal* of 8/14/1918 that reported the lynching (see Exhibit 2)?

**EXHIBIT 2 ABOUT HERE**

In the social context of honor of Southern culture (Wyatt-Brown 2007), where even a black man’s gaze on a white woman, let alone rape, is a motif for lynching, that act of mercy ultimately succeeds in keeping at bay the disgrace on a woman’s, husband’s, and family’s name, if not for the 2,000-people of Colquitt in 1918, at least for us modern readers of digitized newspapers.

And yet, was there any reality to the monster of the black rapist? Was the South, as Walter White put it, the “terrified victim of the fears of its own conjuring”? (in Ellis 1992:26) Querying the data in my database will reveal that 35% of lynched victims’ crimes can be classified as sexual assaults. This is in line with the results by other scholars (see the summary in Franzosi et al. 2012). But sexual assaults could mean a variety of things (Franzosi et al. 2012). In the newspaper language of the times, of the 153 cases involving women as victims, 10.5% are defined as rapes, 10.5% as outrages, 48.4% as assaults, 12.4% as attempted assaults/rapes, 2.6% as attacks, 7.8% as enter a woman’s bedroom, and 7.8% as other.

**Of Sequences**

The linear sequence of beliefs and actions points to another sequential feature of Analytical Sociology, as found in Gross’s definition of social mechanisms:
more or less general sequence or set of social events or processes analyzed at a lower order of complexity or aggregation by which – in certain circumstances – some cause X tends to bring about some effect Y in the realm of human social relations. (in Manzo 2010: 149; emphasis added)

Hedström puts it this way:

mechanisms can be said to consist of entities (with their properties) and the activities that these entities engage in, either by themselves or in concert with other entities. These activities bring about change, and the type of change brought about depends upon the properties of the entities and the way in which the entities are organized spatially and temporally. A social mechanism, as here defined, is a concept used to describe a constellation of entities and activities that are organized such that they regularly bring about a particular type of outcome. (in Manzo 2010: 150; emphasis added)

Taking cue from Gross and Hedström, Manzo introduces a distinction between mechanism and process, whereby “a process is the dynamic side of a mechanism; that is to say, the sequence of changes triggered by the activities (and interactions) of the entities contained in the mechanism.” (Manzo 2010: 150; emphasis added)

It was Propp’s fundamental contribution in his Morphology of the Folktale (1928, first translated into English in 1958) that stories consists of broad spheres of action (“functions”) where actors (“dramatis personae”) may change but the functions are “recurrent constants of the tale.” Furthermore, these functions follow a strict sequential order. And in this sequence, some actions are sequential (just one after the other) and some con-sequential (they trigger change). It is not just Propp’s Russian folktales that display such ritualistic sequences. Lynchings in Jim Crow South were also highly ritualized events that followed well-rehearsed scripts, made up of
prescribed sequential steps in which beliefs and actions followed each other in quick succession where emotions and passions ran high. Following Propp (1968:25-65), through the careful reading of newspaper stories of lynching, I have extracted the following sequence of steps some required (R), some optional (O). 7

1. The interdiction\textsuperscript{8} (O)

2. The violation\textsuperscript{9} (R)

3. The search (R)

4. The apprehension (R)

   a. The confinement to the jail (O)

   b. The storming of the jail (R)

5. The removal of the victim to the offence’s location\textsuperscript{10} (O)

6. The identification\textsuperscript{11} (O)

7. The confession (R)

8. The announcements\textsuperscript{12} (O)

9. The right of first refusal\textsuperscript{13} (O)

10. The friends\textsuperscript{14} (O)

11. The torture (O)

12. The execution (R)

13. The parade\textsuperscript{15} (O)

14. The display\textsuperscript{16} (R)

15. The gala party (O)

16. The visitors\textsuperscript{17} (O)

17. The inquest (R)
18. The verdict (O)

Thus, we know from my data that Step 11, Torture, is far more likely to occur when Step 2, Violation, concerns the outrage of a white woman. Step 13, Parade (or dragging of the body), seems to be linked to the killing of a white sheriff. Steps 5, 6, and 7 (the removal of the victim to the offence’s location, the identification, the confession) occupied a crucial role in lynchings events, where the mob, while taking the law into its hands, followed a judicial procedure of its own based on the identification of the alleged criminal by the victim, especially in cases of sexual assaults, and the extraction of a confession. It is the outcome of this process of information gathering aimed at insuring that the mob had the right individual in hand, that gave the mob the certainty of acting, if not within the law, at least within the moral code of the white community. Never mind that confession may have been extracted under torture or with a noose around the neck. We cannot expect members of the mob to have read Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* – the “500 poor pecks” who “rushed on the armed sheriffs” in Moultrie, Georgia, to snatch from their hands John Henry Williams who “was unsexed and made to eat a portion of his anatomy which had been cut away. … The Negro was chained to the stump … The pyre was lit and … the Negro burned.” as we read in the *Washington Eagle* of July 16, 1921 (see Franzosi 2010:134; emphasis added). Aristotle writes (Book I, Chapter 15):

Examination by torture is one form of evidence, to which great weight is often attached because it is in a sense compulsory. Here again it is not hard to point out the available grounds for magnifying its value, if it happens to tell in our favour, and arguing that it is the only form of evidence that is infallible; [1377a] or, on the other hand, for refuting it if it tells against us and for our opponent, when we may say what is true of torture of every kind alike, that people under its compulsion tell lies quite as often as they tell the truth,
sometimes persistently refusing to tell the truth, sometimes recklessly making a false charge in order to be let off sooner. We ought to be able to quote cases, familiar to the judges, in which this sort of thing has actually happened. [We must say that evidence under torture is not trustworthy, the fact being that many men whether thick-witted, tough-skinned, or stout of heart endure their ordeal nobly, while cowards and timid men are full of boldness till they see the ordeal of these others: so that no trust can be placed in evidence under torture.]

And never mind that, when passions run high, time is of the essence. As sheriffs eager for a negative or positive identification of an alleged criminal would typically remind a woman, victim of crime, of the urgency of identification: “tomorrow it will be too late.” Elster is right when he writes that “both urgency and impatience tend to cause ‘short-termism’.” (Elster 2009:68) In one of a handful of cases of a white man lynched by the mob, Andrew J. Reneau on 10/8/1890, the *Macon Telegraph* of the next day titles: “THE SITUATION IN DODGE. A FEELING THAT THE POSSE ACTED WITH TOO MUCH HASTE.” Thus, QNA’s attention to narrative detail helps to tease out another point of contact between QNA and Analytical Sociology: the relationship between emotions, haste, and information gathering (point 3c of Analytical Sociology’s core features).

**Of Time and Space**

“Social relations do not simply exist as abstract entities. They need to be enacted in real time and space.” With these remarks, Winship opens and closes one of the chapters of *The Oxford Handbook of Analytical Sociology* (2009: 498, 516). With these remarks I close my chapter, time and space providing one final link between QNA and Analytical Sociology. After all, time and space are the fundamental categories of narrative (“Once upon a time in a far-away land…”).
The Google Earth maps of Figure 2 combine the time and space dimensions advocated by Winship. The three static time-space snapshots are a poor substitute of the dynamic effect of the Google Earth time bar (upper left-hand corner of each snapshot), moving from the first recorded lynching case recorded in my database (of Robert Williams, a 20-year old black man lynched in Augusta on 8/26/1876 for allegedly attempting to rape and murder a married white woman) through the end of 1930. The diffusion process of lynching events in time and space is not random (see Tolnay et al. 1996). It follows predictable routes along the cotton belt, social structures, rather than geographic terrain, providing the more or less malleable conduit for lynchings. That route is confirmed by the heat map\(^\text{18}\) of Figure 3 where the “hotter” lynching spots (from red, the “hottest”, to yellow, and blue, the “coldest”) are indeed along the “cotton belt” of the Piedmont and Upper Coastal Plain regions of Georgia. The heat map hints at the relation between different macro-level social structures – violence, forms of land tenure (plantation) and agricultural production (cotton), and population (the large black population of the cotton belt) – macro-level structures built-up from micro-level information on social action, as advocated by the second of Analytical Sociology’s core features.

Time and space do matter in social action (see also Franzosi 2010: 124-127). And when it comes to violence, space is of the essence. As Kalyvas stresses, in another chapter of the Handbook (2009: 593): “Violence in the context of civil war, more particularly, is frequently exercised among people who share everyday ties of social and spatial interaction, such as neighborhood or kinship. … there is a close connection between the intimate character of violence and the local setting within which it takes place.”
Conclusions

This chapter has shown how Quantitative Narrative Analysis (QNA) is a methodological approach that dovetails with Analytical Sociology’s conceptual apparatus. QNA is a quantitative approach to narrative that turns the words of a story into numbers by exploiting the invariant linguistic properties of narrative: namely, the sequential organizational structure of elementary narrative units based on actors, their actions and the characteristics of both, a structure also known as story grammar. It is QNA’s emphasis on actors, actions, interactions, and relations that establishes several points of contacts with Analytical Sociology.

First, Quantitative Narrative Analysis (QNA) shares with Analytical Sociology a fundamental concern with actors and actions, and their interactions. More generally, QNA shares with Analytical Sociology a relational view of social reality, both methodologically and theoretically (see also Touraine 1988: 16, 47; Emirbayer and Goodwin 1994; Tilly’s relational realism 2004:72). QNA’s ability to map social relations, to capture what actors do (as attested by the results of Tables 1 and 2 on who does what and by the network graph of Figure 1), squarely addresses the first of the three core features of Analytical Sociology: the relations that link actors.

Second, QNA delivers highly disaggregated data, at the level of actors, their actions in time and space, and their relations. Macro-level knowledge about structures is built upwards from this micro-level information, precisely as Analytical Sociology argues from a theoretical point of view (see the second of Analytical Sociology’s core features). The network graph of Figure 1 and the geographic maps of Figures 2 and 3 reveal macro-level patterns of behavior drawn from highly disaggregated, micro-level data. What Kalyvas writes about civil wars applies equally well to other forms of collective behavior and violence, such as lynchings:
“a new research program has emerged: the microdynamics of civil war. It calls for the systematic collection of data at the subnational level and its sophisticated analysis. Compared to the macro level, a subnational focus offers the possibility of improving data quality, testing microfoundations and causal mechanisms, maximizing the fit between concepts and data, and controlling for many variables that can be held constant.” (Kalyvas, 2008: 397-98)

QNA belongs and contributes to this new, broad research paradigm focused on the microfoundations of social action but with the aim of establishing macrorules.

Third, QNA’s concern with narrative translates into a concern with events. Narrative and events go hand in hand (on these points, see Franzosi 2010:12-13). And events go hand in hand with emotions and passions (which brings me to the third core feature of Analytical Sociology, to the link between beliefs, emotions, and actions). French historian Fernand Braudel, we know, was not fond of the event: “We must beware of that history which still simmers with the passions of the contemporaries who felt it, described it, lived it, to the rhythm of their brief lives, lives as brief as are our own. It has the dimensions of their anger, their dreams, and their illusions. …” (Braudel 1980: 4) Events, for Braudel, can only be understood in the longer time spans of several decades (conjunctures) and several centuries (structures). Those are the really significant temporalities for historical explanation and “the whole of history is to be rethought” in light of the relation of events “to these expanses of slow-moving history.” (Braudel 1980:33)

The painstaking, labor-intensive, time-consuming QNA can at best deal with Braudel’s conjunctures but not his structures; at least, not his “temporal” structures. And yet QNA successfully brings out other structures, social structures. QNA “unpacks” the event in terms of its narrative components and then reconstitutes these events cutting across individual
components (Griffin et al. 1997:28, 30; Franzosi at al. 2012). About events, Elster writes (1989: 3–4): “To explain an event is to give an account of why it happened. Usually . . . this takes the form of citing an earlier event as the cause of the event we want to explain. . . . [But] to cite the cause is not enough: the causal mechanism must also be provided, or at least suggested.” It is not enough to explain a lynching event in terms of a prior event, rape, murder, or arson. Typically, these same crimes did not lead to lynchings in Northern US states, but to imprisonment or to the death penalty. An emphasis on events and its components should not make us forget that not just narrative and events go hand in hand, but that text and context do as well. Stories can only be understood in their context. Going back to Braudel (1980: 67): “[A]n event… [occurs] within the context of a whole family of other events.”

Finally, QNA delivers quantitative data that can be used as variables in traditional, regression-based, statistical models. But the strength (and uniqueness) of QNA data is that they can be analyzed using statistical tools that keep true to the underlying narrative nature of the data (texts), namely, networks analysis, sequence analysis, GIS tools (on the data analytical strategies of QNA data see Franzosi 2010:107-142). Thus, network models provide graphical representations of the relationships between social actors taking advantage of the basic SVO structure (or actor-action-actor) of a story grammar. GIS tools map actors’ actions in space. Finally, sequence analysis can be used to highlight the temporal clustering of events (e.g., Stovel’s use of sequence analysis 2001) or the internal sequential structure of actions in specific event (a la Propp). QNA thus expands considerably the range of methodological tools typically used in Analytical Sociology to provide empirical evidence for its concepts (e.g., agent-based computational models, simulation models, laboratory experiments, network models).
Bibliography


**Further Readings**


Exhibits, Tables, and Figures

(Semantic Triplet (Participant-S: (Actor: *(Individual: (Name of individual actor: negro) (Personal characteristics: (First name and last name: (First name: Ike) (Last name: Moore)) (Alternative name: (First name: Ike) (Last name: Radney)) (Race: negro)))) (Process: (Simple process: (Verbal phrase: rapes) (Circumstances: (Time: (Date: (Indefinite date: (Time expression: (Day: Saturday)) (Reference yardstick: (Article date: 08/14/1918)))) (Time of day: (Approximate qualifier: about) (Exact Hour: (Hour and minute: 12:00:00 PM)))) (Space: (City: (City name: Colquitt)))))) (Participant-O: (Actor: (Individual: (Name of individual actor: woman) (Personal characteristics: (Gender: female) (Race: white) (Residence: (Space: (City: (City name: Colquitt)))))))))

(Semantic Triplet (Participant-S: (Actor: *(Individual: (Name of individual actor: sheriff) (Personal characteristics: (Last name: Kimbrell)))) (Process: (Simple process: (Verbal phrase: arrests) (Circumstances: (Time: (Date: (Indefinite date: (Time expression: (Day: Sunday)) (Reference yardstick: (Article date: 08/14/1918)))) (Time of day: (Approximate qualifier: about) (Exact Hour: (Hour and minute: 11:00:00 AM)))) (Space: (City: (City name: Colquitt)))))) (Participant-O: (Actor: *(Individual: (Name of individual actor: negro) (Personal characteristics: (First name and last name: (First name: Ike) (Last name: Moore)) (Alternative name: (First name: Ike) (Last name: Radney)) (Race: negro))))

(Semantic Triplet (Participant-S: (Actor: *(Individual: (Name of individual actor: sheriff) (Personal characteristics: (Last name: Kimbrell)))) (Process: (Simple process: (Verbal phrase: places in jail) (Circumstances: (Time: (Date: (Indefinite date: (Time expression: (Day: Sunday)) (Reference yardstick: (Article date: 08/14/1918)))) (Time of day: (Approximate qualifier: about) (Exact Hour: (Hour and minute: 11:00:00 AM)))) (Space: (City: (City name: Colquitt)))))) (Participant-O: (Actor: *(Individual: (Name of individual actor: negro) (Personal characteristics: (First name and last name: (First name: Ike) (Last name: Moore)) (Alternative name: (First name: Ike) (Last name: Radney)) (Race: negro))))

(Semantic Triplet (Participant-S: (Actor: *(Collective actor: (Name of collective actor: mob)))) (Process: (Simple process: (Verbal phrase: hanged) (Circumstances: (Time: (Date: (Indefinite date: (Time expression: (Day: Sunday)) (Reference yardstick: (Article date: 08/14/1918)))) (Time of day: (Approximate qualifier: about) (Exact Hour: (Hour and minute: 09:00:00 PM)))) (Space: (City: (City name: Colquitt)))))) (Participant-O: (Actor: *(Individual: (Name of individual actor: negro) (Personal characteristics: (First name and last name: (First name: Ike) (Last name: Moore)) (Alternative name: (First name: Ike) (Last name: Radney)) (Race: negro))))

Exhibit 1: PC-ACE Story-like Display of Coded Output

27
IKE RADNEY PAYS THE PENALTY

He Was Taken From Sheriff Kimbrel 12 Miles From Colquitt, on the Albany Road by a Mob and Lynched.

The Band Question

The band proposition is being discussed among the boys of Colquitt and many seem anxious to reorganize the old band and get down to business in a musical way.

Just simply talk never accomplishes anything.

Concert of action is what you lack boys, and until you get this firmly lodged in your bosom there is no use pulling and blowing about a band.

Ike Radney, better known as "Ike Radney," paid the penalty of spite at the hands of a mob Sunday night about 9 o'clock, 12 miles from Colquitt on the Albany road, near J. E. Tabb's plantation at Cypress bridge.

Saturday night about 12 o'clock Ike Moore forced an entrance into the residence of Mr. [Name], who is a section hand on the G. F. & W. railway, and committed a brutal assault on Mrs. [Name]. Mr. [Name] was being attended at the time the crime was committed.

Exhibit 2: Article from the Miller County Liberal of 8/14/1918 on the Lynching of Ike Radney
Figure 1: Network of Lynching Violence against People (Georgia, 1875-1930).

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<th>Actions</th>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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Table 2: Aggregated Actions by Actor in the Lynching Database (Frequency>20)
Figure 2: Dynamic Maps of Georgia Lynchings in Google Earth (1875-1930)
Figure 3: Heat Map of Georgia Lynchings (1875-1930)
Acknowledgements

The author is thankful to E. M. Beck for making his lynching data available and to the editor, Gianluca Manzo for his helpful comments on drafts of the chapter. May Yuan and Michael Page provided invaluable help in the preparation of the geographic maps. Coding of the lynching data in the detail of QNA was made possible by a grant from the University Research Committee of Emory University.
Endnotes

1 810 by the 1920 US census.

2 Technically, linguists have introduced a distinction between story and plot (on these issues, see Franzosi, 2010:12-13). The story refers to a skeleton description of the fundamental events in chronological order. The plot refers to the way events are presented by the author to the reader for best rhetorical effect, regardless of chronological order (e.g., Hitchcock’s starting a film with the murder scene and then reconstructing the story).

3 The grammar used in the Georgia lynchings project consists of some 70 complex objects (i.e., objects that can be rewritten) and 130 simplex (i.e. terminal objects that cannot be further rewritten).

4 Cases are computed as percentages of victims (388) and events (340) coded thus far in my database out of the total number of victims and events known for Georgia during the 1875-1930 period (462 victims for 392 lynching events; 36 events were multiple lynchings, yielding 106 victims).

55 How do we read the information displayed in a network graph? First, the thickness of the lines (technically known as edges or arcs if directed) are roughly proportional to the number of violent actions between any pair of two actors (or vertices); second, the arrows (and the numbers attached to each arrow) measure the number of violent actions committed against a specific actor (vertex).

6 Emmett Till, a 14-year old African-American boy from Chicago, was murdered in Money, Mississippi, on August 28, 1955, for whistling at a white woman.

7 Newspaper articles on lynchings provide most of these steps. See also McGovern’s detailed analysis of the lynching of Claude Neal (1982:73-81).

8 Get out of town! For troublemakers, political leaders, etc.

9 Violation of the moral code: murder, rape, larceny, arson, …

10 Victim brought back to where the crime was committed

11 Typically by the offended party (e.g., the raped woman)

12 By newspapers, by the mob (special trains, cars, etc.)

13 The offender has the first right to a shot, to lighting the pyre, etc.

14 All those who protect the victim

15 Through streets of African-American neighborhoods

16 Body left hanging in open visibility
People visiting the sight and taking a look

Map constructed directly from PC-ACE using Quantum GIS.