

“MOVE People are Used to This”:
The MOVE Organization, Media Representations, and Resistance

During pre-MOVE-Philadelphia Conflict Years

by

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ABSTRACT

Few studies focus on the MOVE Organization (MOVE), let alone its presences in popular media during the years prior to the MOVE-Philadelphia Conflict (1978-1985), or pre-Conflict. To date, most information about MOVE derives from Conflict research which utilizes archival materials from the Philadelphia Special Investigation Commission (MOVE Commission) hearings. Generations of dominant representations about MOVE and its members, consequently, are mainly constructed by popular media from the MOVE Commission hearings, including video broadcasts of the proceeding. Using a Conflict documentary, I highlight concerns scholars face when heavily using archival materials from MOVE Commission hearings: (a) Archival materials from MOVE Commission hearings lack active MOVE members' voices and (b) Archival materials from MOVE Commission hearings include limited pre-Conflict information about MOVE members. Influenced by Kimberly Sanders and Judson Jeffries' (2013) work about the 1985 bombing newspaper reports' favorability, this project explores pre-Conflict popular media representations of MOVE to understand how the collective first got represented to Philadelphians and the ways which MOVE used popular media to respond to these dominant portrayals.

This mix-methods project utilizes 67-piece dataset materials of various popular media texts by MOVE members and non-MOVE members. It focuses on 48 *Philadelphia Tribune* newspaper entries as its main text dataset, with an emphasis on the 1975 "On the MOVE" editorial column space. This investigation employs a combination of Black feminist and critical discourse analysis (CDA) methods, with Sanders and Jeffries' (2013)

favorability categorizations process, to explore the racialized, gendered, and classed aspects pre-Conflict representations of MOVE.

Quantitative findings suggest that MOVE got generally represented in favorable manners during the pre-Conflict years, with over 50 percent of pre-Conflict texts about MOVE portraying the collective in positive tones. Additionally, qualitative findings propose that MOVE members' authorship and presence in pre-Conflict texts within the *Philadelphia Tribune* functioned as a site of resistance against dominant portrayal of the collective. CDA findings propose that MOVE's racial attribute, beliefs, and culture, specifically related to self-determination, were central discussions within most pre-Conflict by MOVE members. Unlike Sanders and Jeffries (2013), this project concludes that overall pre-Conflict popular media depictions portrayed MOVE as a positive Philadelphia collective.

DEDICATION

For, my grandmothers, Mary Newsome and Gladis Ekeogu, in memoriam.

Mother to Son

Well, son, I'll tell you:

Life for me ain't been no crystal stair.

It's had tacks in it,

And splinters,

And boards torn up,

And places with no carpet on the floor—

Bare.

But all the time

I've been a-climbin' on,

And reachin' landin's,

And turnin' corners,

And sometimes goin' in the dark

Where there ain't been no light.

So boy, don't you turn back.

Don't you set down on the steps

'Cause you finds it's kinder hard.

Don't you fall now—

For I've still goin', honey,

I've still climbin',

And life for me ain't been no crystal stair.

-Langston Hughes

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CHAPTER 1

“MOVE PEOPLE ARE USED TO THIS”

MOVE members, specifically members during the 1970s and 1980s, primarily got represented and framed within U.S. popular media¹ using archival materials from the Philadelphia Special Investigation Commission (MOVE Commission) hearings. The MOVE Commission hearings, inquisitions ordered by the mayor in 1985 that investigated the bombing, functioned as the official state examination into the MOVE-Philadelphia Conflict (Conflict) (Philadelphia Special Investigation (MOVE) Commission, 1992). Even decades after the MOVE Commission hearings, its archival collection of MOVE-related materials remained as an important source of information about the events and circumstances of the Conflict in Philadelphia as well as the MOVE Organization (MOVE) for society.

Today, in the United States, MOVE members continue to be portrayed by perspectives, scopes, and frames that have been crystalized within and through the heavy usage of archival collections from the MOVE Commission hearings. To illustrate the point, most recently, *Let the Fire Burn*, a 2013 U.S. documentary, maps two tumultuous encounters between MOVE, a radical Philadelphia-based collective (Assefa & Wahrhaftig, 1988; Harry, 1987; James J., 1999, p. 89; James J., 2012; James L., 2013 Wells, 1990), and Philadelphia city officials. Jason Osder (2013), the director of *Let the*

¹ *Popular media* refers to a wide range of shared mediums utilized during communication, specifically mechanisms employed when corresponding to the public (Couldry, 2003; Jackson, 2006; Molloy, 2011). *Popular media* include, but are not limited to, common-place mediums such as books, newspapers, radio, and pamphlets. According to Deborah Hanan (2008), *popular media* also include more new, digital-age media such as blogs, web pages, and social networks.

Fire Burn and scholar of media and public affairs, uses video footage from televised MOVE Commission hearings to construct a chronological narrative about the Conflict, particularly the occurrences of the 1978 shoot-out and the 1985 bombing of MOVE members by Philadelphia city officials. For Osder (2013), as most social scholars interested in MOVE and the Conflict, it is the popular media texts of archival collections from MOVE Commission hearings which heavily influence the remembering of details about the collective as well as the two events.

Since the bombing and MOVE Commission hearings, in general, MOVE members have been subjected to a multitude of institutional oppressions in the United States, beginning with the convening of this investigation. MOVE members, in general, have been endangered by Philadelphia city officials, as representatives of the greater governmental institution (the state), utilizing archival materials from the MOVE Commission hearings to represent the efforts of the state as legitimized uses of militaristic strategies and tactics. For instance, during the hearings, MOVE members witnessed the state providing misinformation about MOVE at the MOVE Commission hearings. MOVE members observed the state as it supplied its fabrications about MOVE directly to Philadelphians through media outlets, including by the MOVE Commission hearings television and radio broadcasts. MOVE members, also, through news reports, in addition to the actual hearings, experienced the misrepresentation of the state about MOVE from the MOVE Commission hearings to Philadelphians, as well as national and international audiences. Consequently, MOVE members got represented in popular media to Philadelphians in biased and misinformed manners in several "...mass media

reports, editorials, and features” about MOVE (Wagner-Pacifici, 1994, p. 17), including those used as evidence and archival materials from the MOVE Commission hearings.

MOVE members’ popular media depictions, in archival materials from the MOVE Commission hearings, are distorted, thereby encouraging one-sided knowledge about and imaging of MOVE. By social scholars, such as Osder (2013), habits of employing archival materials from the MOVE Commission hearings, MOVE members have become limited in his and her abilities to make current collective contributions toward dominant MOVE representations. MOVE members also risk false depictions of MOVE permeating current and future U. S. society. Thereby, MOVE members’ perspectives remain, and may remain, ostracized in society due to biased representations about the collective produced in connection with the courses of two violent and publicized events of the Conflict, as well as scholarship about the Conflict.

In this introduction, I highlight *Let the Fire Burn* to explicate ways which excessive use of archival materials from the MOVE Commission hearings contributes to the continuation of misrepresentation of MOVE and its members. In the case of *Let the Fire Burn*, I emphasize limitations of using MOVE Commission hearings’ footages and local news segments. In doing so, I offer that Conflict projects, such as *Let the Fire Burn*, re-inscribes Conflict-centered misrepresentations about MOVE and regurgitate one-dimensional narratives about MOVE.

Utilizing archival materials from the MOVE Commission hearings about the 1978 shoot-out and 1985 bombing events, Osder (2013) perpetuated biased narratives that depict MOVE members as provocateurs who are deserving of unsubstantiated extreme violence that was met to MOVE by Philadelphia city officials. *Let the Fire Burn* illustrates typical representations of MOVE members in popular media as “urban threats” with the information supplied by archival materials from the MOVE Commission hearings. *Let the Fire Burn* is, also, representative of a larger set of negative stereotypes which frame popular media representations of MOVE. Furthermore, I feature *Let the Fire Burn* because it illustrates how archival materials from the MOVE Commission hearings are lacking of the complexity and multidimensionality of MOVE members’ voices and experiences, in general, and specifically, before the violence of the Conflict. I offer two demonstrative clips from the documentary as flash points that are memorable moments where excessive violence employed by the state institutions, like the police officers, became normalized through popular media depictions. In these exemplary clips, I suggest that as governmental violence became normalized, so did the outsider, or aberration, status of MOVE and its members, formulated within representations, which called for militaristic violence to control and contain the collective.

These *Let the Fire Burn* clips relate to the focus of this project in that it exhibits what society knows about MOVE and how society has gathered its information about the collective; in all, these clips from *Let the Fire Burn* hints at how MOVE got represented within popular media and what society knows about the collective before the 1978 shoot-out. Additionally, it underlines the inverse as well; specifically what little society knows

about MOVE before the large magnitude occurrences of state violence. These *Let the Fire Burn* clips, lastly, serve as quintessential examples of the role of popular media within the misrepresentation of MOVE.

Both clips are seen during the introduction of *Let the Fire Burn*, within the first 20 minutes of the film. The first clip contains images of two MOVE members (Black, athletic, adult-looking individuals, male and female, sparring outdoors) within a fenced area that has been trimmed with straw-like material at collective's Powelton Village location. As the image of the first clip play a journalist narrates the scene, stating that "[t]his is MOVE, the Philadelphia organization dedicated to being totally revolutionary. For the past four years, they have lived at the Powelton Village area of West Philadelphia often running into conflict with the police" (Osder, 2013, 10:00 mins). Here, Osder (2013) utilized this clip of MOVE member participating in aggressive behaviors as the formal introduction to MOVE for the audience of the documentary.

This clip, both visual and audio, provides a glimpse of the kinds of activities that took place at the MOVE's Powelton Village home and framed members' actions as preparatory. With the images of MOVE members boxing and the narration about MOVE members "running into conflict with the police," it suggests to viewers that MOVE members were the aggressors of the Conflict. It also implies that Philadelphia city officials were only managing the MOVE problem yet not actively participating in the manifesting the Conflict. This illustration of MOVE within the first clip as the aggressive antagonist exemplifies similar framings of the collective present within evidences from the MOVE Commission hearings.

The second *Let the Fire Burn* clip shows two MOVE members (Black young children, slender with bulging stomachs, dressed in minimal tattered clothing while sitting outdoors on the straw-covered ground as they tug a rope-like material and a leash-less dog lays its head on one child's leg) outside the same Powelton Village home. “[MOVE members’] personal appearance has brought stares and general disapproval within the community,” the journalist narrates, “but it is what they **do** is what counts and not how they look. Everything from their work habits to child raising, MOVE is revolutionary” (in Osder, 2013, 10:30 mins, emphasis in original). Here, Osder (2013) introduced the audience of the documentary to MOVE children and the conditions in which they live. *Let the Fire Burn* briefly shows viewers how MOVE members, specifically children, lived within the Powelton Village home and why neighbor onlooker disapproved of the lifestyle.

This second *Let the Fire Burn* clip of MOVE children and MOVE animals suggests reasons for why members lived this lifestyle and hinted reasons to viewers of why Powelton community members stared at and disapproved of the collective. Powelton community members complained to city officials about MOVE's “revolutionary” lifestyle. Many community members' complained about the living environment of MOVE. Michael Boyette (1989), author of *Let It Burn! The Philadelphia Tragedy*, stated that “[a] bigger problem was [John Africa's] refusal to spray his co-op apartment for roaches out of concern that it would poison the dogs and also, presumably, out of concern for the well-being of the cockroaches” (p. 42). Other community members' complained about the abundance of animals in the neighborhood due to MOVE members feeding the

stray dogs and cats (Anderson & Hevenor, 1987; Boyette, 1989; James L., 2013). The combination of both images and narrations from *Let the Fire Burn* suggest to viewers of the documentary, including viewers of the original news report segment, that MOVE's revolutionary beliefs and alternative lifestyle played a significant role in the materialization of violent events with Philadelphia officials.

In these popular media images, specifically news segments of the MOVE Commission hearings in *Let the Fire Burn*, imply that MOVE members' philosophies promote questionable behaviors, even physical violence and child malnourishment. In *Let the Fire Burn*, these images illustrate stereotypes used by popular media and the MOVE Commission hearings to characterize MOVE during (and after) the Conflict and reintroduce a more contemporary audience to biased representations of MOVE as urban dangers.

The release of *Let the Fire Burn*, specifically in the United States (U.S.), leads to a reemergence of conversations and representations of MOVE by multiple popular media outlets that include a diverse range of U.S.-based newspaper, websites, and radio stations that published or broadcasted segments about *Let the Fire Burn* since its release (Conti, 2014; Hoberman, 2014; Phillips, 2013). In doing so, popular media also resurrects unanswered questions from the MOVE Commission hearings about what took place during the Conflict. Through *Let the Fire Burn*, Osder (2013) represented MOVE to present U.S. populations.

Let the Fire Burn project hints at complex relationships between MOVE and Philadelphia officials, as well as with local news outlets, before, during, and after the Conflict. These complicated connections between MOVE members and these institutions signal to underexplored aspects of MOVE members' existence in Philadelphia during, after, and, most importantly, before the Conflict. Accordingly, MOVE members' assurance in the October 18, 1975 "On the MOVE"² column, years before the Conflict, reminded Philadelphian readers that MOVE members were constantly harassed by Philadelphia officials. A MOVE member states, in this column, that "MOVE people are used to this" kind of injustice (Africa L., 1975 r, p. 6, para.11). Although the pre-Conflict proclamation of Africa does not come as a shock, the fact that MOVE members were able to voice his and her perspectives in popular media does; it was (and still is) rare for radical collectives to have autonomous spaces within popular media.

I further illustrate the biased representations of MOVE presented *Let the Fire Burn*. Later in the documentary, a police officer testimonies that MOVE members' activities makes it a "terrorists" collective, this characterization of the collective justifies the use of violence against its members (Osder, 2013, 40:45 mins). This city official's testimony exemplifies another negative representation and stereotype about MOVE members during the Conflict. In all, the framing of MOVE in *Let the Fire Burn* demonstrates how popular media reproduce biased representations of the collective, and MOVE members, in the United States.

² The "On the MOVE" column was an editorial space in the *Philadelphia Tribune*, a Philadelphia newspaper dedicated to Black concerns. L. (Leaphart James) Africa authored most of the "On the MOVE" entries when it was featured during mid-1975 to early-1976.

This study utilizes *Let the Fire Burn* as a point of departure for this discussion about the role of pre-Conflict popular media and the lack of MOVE members' voices within dominant narratives of the Conflict, as a whole. By way of offering a corrective, I attempt to decenter misrepresentations of MOVE and center MOVE members' perspectives through focusing on pre-Conflict³ newspaper entries by MOVE and non-MOVE members as main texts. Specifically, I explore the intersection of MOVE and popular media, using a Black feminist framework, critical discourse analysis, and exploring the favorability of text popular media texts. In hopes of enhancing society's understandings of MOVE members before the Conflict, I encourage considering of a more MOVE-Inclusive archival collections and examining how MOVE members publicly resisted racist, sexist, and classist discourses within pre-Conflict U.S.-ian context.

As a corrective to what the state had done (and is doing) to MOVE members' voices about the Conflict, through archival materials from the MOVE Commission hearings (specifically the perpetuation of misrepresentations about MOVE from the state by utilizing archival materials from MOVE Commission hearings for information and the construction of dominant discourses that marginalizes and silences MOVE), I center MOVE members' voices in this project and go directly to these standpoints through MOVE columns and books by and interviews with MOVE members as a corrective to the militaristic silencing of MOVE. I argue that MOVE got favorably represented during pre-

³ *Pre-MOVE-Philadelphia Conflict* means the years of organizational activeness before the 1978 shoot-out. This project also refers to this time period as: pre-Conflict. Specifically, this project concerns itself with popular media texts from June 1975 to August 8, 1978.

Conflict years. Also, I propose that the presences of MOVE within popular media encouraged favorable representations of the collective during pre-Conflict years as well as functioned as resistance against dominant popular media depictions of the collective. By shifting the lens on to MOVE members, I employ a Black feminist framework, critical discourse analysis (CDA), and favorability categorizations as methods of this project. Before continuing on to the details of the employed conceptual framework, I provide more detailed synopses about the Conflict and offer elaborated critiques about the excessive use of archival materials from the MOVE Commission hearings.

The MOVE-Philadelphia Conflict

The Conflict refers to a short timeframe, approximately seven years, of unrest and violence events in Philadelphia between MOVE and Philadelphia city officials (Abu-Jamal, 2009; Assefa & Wahrhaftig, 1988; Bowser, 1989). Outlining the extent of these events, this section about the Conflict focuses on two major exchanges which end in a city-wide investigation: the 1978 shoot-out and the 1985 bombing. To be more accurate, the Conflict ended with the 1985 bombing of MOVE's residence, a home where MOVE members lived collectively, and the ordering of the MOVE Commission hearings to understand why and how the bombing occurred (Boyette, 1989; Philadelphia Special Investigation (MOVE) Commission, 1992; Wagner-Pacifici, 1994; Wells, 1990). The following segments provide details on the relationships between these three pivotal moments of the Conflict, namely, the two exchanges and the MOVE Commission hearings. This discussion about the Conflict begins with a section on the 1978 shoot-out.

The 1978 Shoot-Out. Prior to 1978, MOVE members mobilized against all injustices which hindered the promotion of life in the city (Abu-Jamal, 2009, p. 266). MOVE members protested the imprisonment of animals at local zoos, debated the poor quality education system at school board meetings, and rallied against police brutality in Black, Puerto Rican, and poor communities in Philadelphia (Anonymous, 1992, pp. 1-10). MOVE organized against issues which obstructed life in Philadelphia with an active, professed non-violent, oppositional stance. Although, MOVE members operated through non-violent means, Philadelphia city officials frequently responded to the collective using physical violence (Anonymous, 1992; Harry, 1987). After an assault on MOVE, where a MOVE baby died, MOVE members reconsidered his and her non-violent tactics on addressing Philadelphia city officials for more violent strategies the prior year to the shoot-out at the May 20th confrontation (Anonymous, 1992, pp. 18-23).

On Tuesday, August 8, 1978, armed Philadelphia city officials, police officers, surrounded MOVE's Powelton Village home with an eviction notice. MOVE and Philadelphia city officials, specifically the Philadelphia police officers, started a standoff. After many hours of waiting and flooding the home with water, Philadelphia police officers shot tens of thousands of rounds of ammunition into the MOVE residence (Assefa & Wahrhaftig, 1988; Wagner-Pacifici, 1994). Philadelphia city officials first covered MOVE's residence with bullet holes and then demolished it with a bulldozer.

The shoot-out ended with one officer dead and nine MOVE members imprisoned for 30 to 100 years for this crime.⁴ In the wake of the bombing, free MOVE members prioritized the release of incarcerated members as one of the main goals for the organization. MOVE and Philadelphia city officials met again, seven years later, during another violent exchange.

The 1985 Bombing. After the shoot-out, MOVE relocated to Osage Avenue in Philadelphia. Continuing to live according to the teaching of John Africa, neighbors of MOVE made several complaints to city officials about MOVE's living conditions (Anderson & Hevenor, 1987; Boyette, 1989). Finally, on Monday, May 13, 1985, Philadelphia police officials targeted MOVE's home with a bundle of C-4 explosives (Assefa & Wahrhaftig, 1988; Bowser, 1989; Boyette, 1989; Floyd- Thomas, 2002; Sanders & Jeffries, 2013; Wagner-Pacifici, 1994; Walker, 1988). Philadelphia city officials, including the mayor, justified the use of bombs as a method for destroying the bunker that had been built on the top of the Osage Avenue residence (Anderson & Hevenor, 1987; Assefa & Wahrhaftig, 1988; Bowser, 1989; Osder, 2013; Wagner-Pacifici, 1994).

Nevertheless, after the explosives destroyed the bunker, city officials permitted the fire, resulting from the explosives, to incinerate the entire block of homes. In 1990, damages totals exceeded \$1 million; this includes 62 home that were destroyed by the fire of the explosives (Tribune Staff Report, 1990, para.14-16; Philadelphia Special

⁴ After the 1978 shoot-out, nine MOVE members, or the MOVE 9, were simultaneously convicted of the death of Officer Ramp, the Philadelphia police officer who was shot during the gunfire exchange on August 8th. MOVE members of the MOVE 9 were sentenced to 30 to 100 years. MOVE members of the MOVE 9 are currently serving this sentence and several MOVE members work towards freeing the MOVE 9.

Investigation (MOVE) Commission, 1992). More recent reports state that redevelopment costs, after the bombing, have surpassed \$43 million (CBS News, 2010, para. 4). This second exchange between MOVE and Philadelphia city officials ended with 11 MOVE members dead and one member incarcerated, Ramona Africa. At the end of the Conflict in 1985, the mayor appointed board members to the MOVE Commission hearings to investigate the occurrences of the May 13th bombing (Anderson & Hevenor, 1987; Boyette, 1989; Harry, 1987; Wagner-Pacifici, 1994; Wells, 1990).

The Philadelphia Special Investigation Commission. Less than one month after the bombing, the MOVE Commission hearings convened to examine the Conflict in 1985. During several weeks of MOVE Commission hearings, MOVE Commission members along with Philadelphians through television and radio, examined 92-live testimonies from Philadelphia city officials and less informed MOVE members (Osder, 2013; Philadelphia Special Investigation (MOVE) Commission, 1992; Wagner-Pacifici, 1994).

Philadelphia Special Investigation Commission Critiques: The State and Media

The MOVE Commission hearings included no testimonies from active, as in informed and up-to-date, MOVE adult members (Harry, 1987; Philadelphia Special Investigation (MOVE) Commission, 1992; Wagner-Pacifici, 1994). I view the MOVE Commission hearings as an epicenter for excluding MOVE member's voices from dominant narratives about the collective and experiences of occurrences during the Conflict. Before I continue on to the significance in noting the lack of informed MOVE participation in the hearings, I, first, quickly review the capacity of MOVE members'

involvement in the MOVE Commission hearings. Documenting MOVE members' participation in the MOVE Commission hearings is important to the latter usage of *less informed MOVE members* as well as critical to the rationale of this investigation.

The archival materials from MOVE Commission hearings, nor the online MOVE Commission archival materials, mention any additional initiatives to incorporate testimonies from more informed MOVE members (Anderson & Hevenor, 1987; Assefa & Wahrhaftig, 1988; Bowser, 1989; Boyette, 1989; Dickson, 2002; Harry, 1987; Osder, 2013; Philadelphia Special Investigation (MOVE) Commission, 1992; Wells, 1990). After the bombing, Ramona Africa, the lone surviving adult MOVE member of the 1985 bombing, who was quickly apprehended and charged with conspiracy, refused to testify at the MOVE Commission hearings (Osder, 2013; Philadelphia Special Investigation (MOVE) Commission, 1992). Therefore, the televised testimonies about the bombing and its surrounding events included 92-perspectives, most from Philadelphia city officials, on what occurred that day in May, with the exception of informed MOVE members' perspectives (Philadelphia Special Investigation (MOVE) Commission, 1992). Less informed adult MOVE members, at that time, were called to the MOVE Commission hearings to provide the perspectives of MOVE. Although it was unlikely for additional MOVE member to participate in the MOVE Commission hearings, I find it noteworthy to highlight that fact that board members of the MOVE Commission hearings had not made offers to additional MOVE members.

Since 1985, MOVE members, who participated in the MOVE Commission hearings, have shared details about his and her estranged relationship with MOVE during the bombing. Louise Leaphart James (and also referred to as “Louise Africa”) (2013), author of *John Africa...Childhood Untold Until Today*, disclosed that neither she, nor her sister Laverne Leaphart, had been active MOVE members during the time of the bombing of MOVE’s Osage Avenue residence yet still contributed testimonies to the MOVE Commission hearings (pp. 89-93).

L. James and Leaphart, due to her inactivity in MOVE, contributed mission-oriented information about the collective at the MOVE Commission hearings (James L., 2013; Osder, 2013). As an active MOVE member, L. James (2013) authored most of the “On the MOVE” column entries in the *Philadelphia Tribune*. MOVE members, through the editorial skills of L. James, utilized the “On the MOVE” column to emphasize that the teachings of John Africa promoted life and liveliness, not the suppression or harm to life forms of the city. The decision of board members of the MOVE Commission hearings to exclude more informed MOVE adults’ viewpoints suggests that board members concluded that the participation of MOVE members were not needed by, welcomed, or wanted for the examination of the May 13th bombing.

The Conflict (the shoot-out, the bombing, and the MOVE Commission trials) in Philadelphia presented several opportunities for MOVE to be represented to Philadelphians through the popular media. Thus, I contend that MOVE-inclusive archival collections are more appropriate primary sources for information about MOVE than archival materials from MOVE Commission hearings because members provide more

detailed accounts of founding organizational beliefs, of early efforts in the Philadelphia communities, and of earlier exchanges with Philadelphia city officials.

Project Objectives

Through utilizing a combination of critical dialectical frameworks, this project aims to unearth information about how MOVE got represented during pre-Conflict year. Next, this investigation intends to gather information on pre-Conflict MOVE and its member, specifically from the perspectives of MOVE members. Lastly, this study plans to gather information about the presence of MOVE in popular media within the pre-Conflict context. All goals of this project aim to challenge U.S. society by rethinking popular sources for MOVE information, such as archival materials from the MOVE Commission hearings, and the influences of crystalized stereotypes about MOVE within popular media representations and archival collections.

Project Parameters and Contributions

This thesis highlights pre-Conflict knowledge about MOVE to unearth details about the collective and conditions of MOVE from its members before 1978. I examine the ways which pre-Conflict media representations, specifically those by the MOVE members, portray, or frame, the racial, gender, and class attributes of the collective in the United States. As the parameters are defined, the intellectual contributions of this project are limited to popular media representations of MOVE during pre-Conflict and Conflict contexts.

The exploration of the 1978 shoot-out and 1985 bombing exchanges of the Conflict and its aftermaths lie beyond the scope of this project. Nevertheless, this thesis, at one level, covers a wide range of popular media texts, although focused on pre-Conflict *Philadelphia Tribune* texts, to present more in-depth information about MOVE. It, also, on another level, presents pre-Conflict popular media materials about the collective to highlight the kinds of information about MOVE that was available to society during this early time period. Lastly, this project offers information about MOVE centered on MOVE members' perspectives about MOVE.

The parameters and contributions represent the significant and unique qualities of this project, it attempts at presenting MOVE members' viewpoints before his and her disappearances into incarceration systems and physically harmed by police brutality and militaristic strategies. This thesis, more importantly, strives to (re)focus discussions about the Conflict on the people lost during this violent event to provide an in-depth understanding of what had been removed from U.S. society. In all, it aims to challenge society, particularly individuals interested in MOVE, to employ archival materials that include input of MOVE members, past and present.

Rationale of Project

Aside from popular media representations from the Conflict, U.S. society knows little about MOVE. While popular media framings of MOVE center this study, it is important to mention the ways which scholarship, within assistance from media, interacts and at times perpetuates unfavorable dominant media representations. Traditional research practices, such as utilizing data from state archival sources, marginalize MOVE

members' views about the Conflict and mislead society about MOVE due to the involvement of popular media texts about collective. Therefore, these research practices have resulted in the confinement of the collective's dominant representations to the Conflict and have restricted MOVE to the stereotypes of the archival materials from the MOVE Commission hearings.

As previously stated, society utilizes materials of the MOVE Commission hearings, which includes popular media texts such as newspaper articles and news segments, to formulate knowledge about MOVE. With the input of MOVE members' standpoints absent from popular media, as well as archival materials of the MOVE Commission hearings, it has left the perspectives of MOVE members disregarded and, at worst, "hidden or suppressed" within realms of information, particularly popular media, which also has consequences for realms of knowledge.⁵ The marginalization of informed MOVE members' viewpoints within the MOVE Commission hearings and its archive has left room for much to be explored about the organization, specifically from the perspectives of MOVE members.

To highlight the importance of capturing this time period where MOVE members were most active, this study centers discourses from popular media representations of the pre-Conflict MOVE. MOVE began organizational activities during the mid-1970's (James L. , 2013; The MOVE Organization, 2013). During these early years of the collective, organizational records contain insight on MOVE's practices and customs

⁵ The phrasing "hidden or suppressed" alludes to Edward W. Said (1987) discussion on the ways which history, including those captured within archival materials, displaces and marginalizes the narratives of the non-elite and non-hegemonic groups within a society while mystifying the interests as stake (Said, 1987, p. vi).

related to social justice campaigns (James L. , 2013; Osder, 2013; The MOVE Organization, 2012). Likewise, pre-Conflict years stand as a time period where MOVE members were very active and highly visible within the city of Philadelphia. It also marks the organization's first feature in popular media. Lastly, and most importantly, pre-Conflict years stand as a time period where MOVE maintained a bi-weekly *Philadelphia Tribune* column where the collective was granted space to directly communicate organizational efforts and activities to the communities of Philadelphia (James L., 2013). To sum, pre-Conflict popular media texts, particularly those of the *Philadelphia Tribune*, provide a rare moment where both MOVE and non-MOVE member's writings about MOVE and early Conflict tensions appear within a single publication. In the next section, I articulate the conceptual framework employed to develop the alternative archive used in this project.

Conceptual Framework: MOVE-Inclusive Archive

This section proposes that at intersections of Black Feminist framework, CDA, and favorability categorizations of pre-Conflict MOVE representations lay insights for identifying texts for MOVE-inclusive archival collections. These frameworks, a composition of theories and perspectives from a range of disciplinary fields, offer a critical lens which explicates the necessities, intricacies, and complexities of pre-Conflict texts by MOVE, both its representations and viewpoints. I begin this conceptual framework explanation of a Black Feminist frame.

Collins: Black Feminist Framework. Patricia Hill Collins (1986, 1989, 1999, 2000), a Black Feminist scholar, presented a Black feminist framework, a didactical critical lens which centers on standpoints and voices of U.S. Black women to better understand overlapping effects of systems of oppression. Collins (2000) viewed Black Feminist frame as an avenue to “regain marginalized voices” from the silence of intersectional oppression (p. vi). Focusing on Black women, Collins (1986, 1989, 1999, 2000) explicated Black feminist frame as a standpoint which connects experiences of oppression, a self-defined viewpoint based on Black women’s experiences, and a resistance to those experiences for Black women.

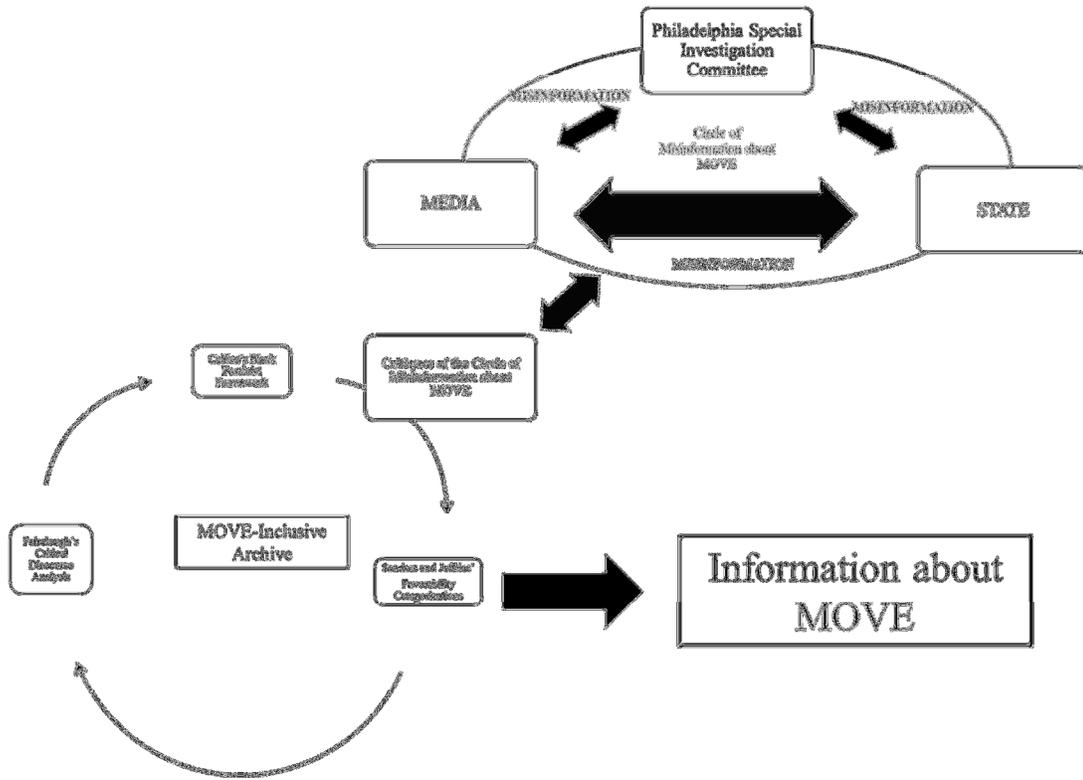
Collins’s (1986, 1989,1999, 2000) Black feminist frame, as the first component of this conceptual framework, in Figure 1, presented a fluid framework which stays in alignment with commitments centered Black women’s perspectives as an oppressed group. Nevertheless, Collins (2000) envisioned social justice contributions of this Black feminist frame to exceed U.S. territories. Collins (2000) stated that:

U.S. Black feminism participates in a large context of struggling for social justice ... [and it] should see commonalities that join women of African descent as well as differences ... I recognize that the struggle for justice is larger than any one group, individual, or social movement. (p. xi-xiii)

Collins (2000) acknowledged that the struggle of international social justice exists within the collaboration of many identities, including U.S. Black women. For Collins (1986, 1989, 2000), Black feminist frame remained a critical departure point for understanding U.S. marginality and transformative resistance which occurs within everyday spaces. In this theory, Collins (2000) utilized several concepts which define the space of the

outsider within. Collins (1986, 1989, 1999, 2000) named self-definition and empowerment as concepts which assist in forging the space of the *outsider within*.

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework: MOVE-Inclusive Archive



Black feminist frame proposed that the power and politics of self-definition and empowerment as being central to the ways which Black women resist oppressions in the United States. Collins (2000) employed self-definition as a form of resistance present within Black women's experience of a variety of settings. Highlighting the usage of silence by Black women as a self-defined resistance, Collins (2000) stated that:

Behind the behavioral conformity imposed on African-American women, acts of resistance, both organizational and anonymous, have long existed...as a self-defined Black woman's consciousness...[N]ot only does a self-defiant, group-derived Black women's standpoint exist, but that its presence has been essential to U.S. Black women's survival. (pp. 97-98)

Collins (2000) discussed the significance of self-definition for Black women's existence in the United States. Black feminist frame noted that contemporary Black women's perception of reality in the United States derived from a position that must appear to be conforming yet resist these conformities at the same time (Collins, 1986; Collins, 1989; Collins, 2000).

Collins (2000) proposed that the standpoint of Black women contributes two major insights to a politics of empowerment: a) a paradigm of intersectional oppressions of race, class, gender, sexuality, and nation, and Black women's individual and collective agency and b) Black feminist thought access ongoing epistemological debates concerning power dynamics that underlie what counts as knowledge (p. 273). "By stressing how African-American women must become self-defined and self-determining within intersecting oppression," Collins (2000) stated, "Black feminist thought emphasizes the importance of knowledge for empowerment" (p. 273). Self-definition and empowerment

of Black feminist frames forges new ground for further understanding the *outsider within* positions of marginalized individual and communities such as Black women.

Collins (1999) developed this *outsider within* concept to discuss transitional “social locations or border spaces occupied by groups of an unequal power” self-defined and empowered by Black women (p.86). *Outsider within* statuses exists as “situational identities that are attached to specific [known and less known] histories of social justice- they are not a decontextualized identity category divorced from historical social inequalities that can be assumed by anyone at will” (Collins,1999, p. 86). *Outsider within* also exists as special standpoints on self, family and society (Collins, 1986, p. S14).

This project adopted Collins’s (1986, 1989, 1999, 2000) frame to highlight the voices of MOVE members about his or her own collective. Black feminist frame allows MOVE members’ perspectives about 1978 shooting and 1985 bombing of MOVE as “silencing” efforts similar to those endured by Black women in the U.S. Moreover, focusing on the experiences and perspectives of MOVE members, it creates opportunities for unearthing different, or even new, archives and reference points about MOVE. Black feminist frame, although intended to highlight U.S. Black women’s experiences at the intersections of oppressions, provides interesting considerations and prospects for a collective which centers on the promotion of life, including that of U.S. Black women. This frame, shaping the conceptual framework and methodology, offers this project an avenue to stay committed to highlighting MOVE members’ standpoints about MOVE.

Collins (1986, 1989, 1999, 2000) offers this study a perspective which is sensitive to understanding Black women's role in social justice efforts forwarded by MOVE, as well as international connections of those activities in Philadelphia. Black feminist frame emphasis on a fluid framework encourages an analysis based on discussions between MOVE and Philadelphians. This quality of the project relates to popular media MOVE representations due to the collective being a marginalized U.S. group, the experiences and voices of its members. Also, this feature of this study remain significant to MOVE due to that which inspires the collective had been suppressed, similar to that of U.S. Black women, within the history of the United States. Black feminist framework allows for a viewing of MOVE's struggle among those of Black women and the *outsiders within*.

Collins's (1986, 1989, 1999, 2000) *outsider within* allows for the imaging of MOVE in this transitional space among U.S. populations. Although MOVE include more identity more than Black women members, the Black feminist frame allows MOVE to be conceptualized as *attached to specific histories of social justice* no matter how obscure at times. Black feminist frame ensures that the perspectives of MOVE members are grounded in various logics and that these voice are "both individuals and collective, personal and political" and are not without a genealogy (Collins, 2000, p. vi).

Fairclough: Critical Discourse Analysis. Norman Fairclough (1992, 1995 a, 1995 b), a leading critical linguist, developed CDA from specific linguistic social and cultural understandings of language rooted in post-structuralism. Foremost, CDA assumed that discursive events contain an ideological component which indicates that practices are never impartial (Fairclough,1992, p. 2). CDA suggested that a “discursive practice...is a facet of hegemonic struggle [which] contributes to reproduction of transformation not only through the existing order of discourse...but through that of existing social and power relations” (Fairclough,1992, p. 93). CDA proposed that discourses exist within a dialectical relationship with the social structures, meaning influencing structures and being influenced by structures. CDA, therefore, assumed that discourse is a genre of social practice that establishes, while being established by, the social world and other social practices.

CDA, similar to Black feminist frame, functioned as both a didactical framework of interpretation and a methodology. CDA, dissimilar to Collins’s (1986, 1989, 1999, 2000) frame, investigated linguistic-discursive relationships of social, cultural, and political events. In general, CDA existed as an interdisciplinary approach constructed by linguistic, language, social and political studies considerations (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough, 1995 a; Fairclough, 1995 b). It aimed to systematically examine of discursive connections between texts, sociocultural practices and institutional structures (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 225- 241).

As the second component of this conceptual framework in Figure 1 (see page 22), CDA stresses the role of language within events of change, such as the years before the Conflict. Fairclough (1992, 1995 a, 1995 b) identifies CDA “critical” due to its goal to unearth unseen ideological assumptions and power relations which underlie a discursive event. CDA, also, functions as a methodology for analyzing different kinds of texts, specifically speech acts and written—including media, for understanding the links between social and political events and discourse (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough, 1995 b).

In this study, CDA methodology accesses the complexities that occur in relation to the production, distribution, and consumption of a text, including newspaper texts (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough, 1995 b). CDA pays close attention to cues of shifting power relations, as well as the role of language and context within positive social change at its foundation (Fairclough, 1992, p. 2). In sum, CDA framework highlights the discourses and representations interplay of texts, discursive practices, and social practices.

For CDA, Fairclough (1992, 1995 a, 1995 b) understood discourse as a reflection of social relations, as well as a contributor to relations and historical transformation within this multi-dimensional paradigm. “This concept of discourse and discourse analysis,” Fairclough (1992) argued, “is three-dimensional. Any discursive ‘event’ (i.e. any instance of discourse) is seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practices” (p. 4). The CDA methodology, therefore, attended to the formal features- including the grammar, syntax, and vocabulary- as well as the broad transdisciplinary features of a text (in Jackson, 2005, p.

25). Also, this project employed CDA, in addition to Black feminist frame, to expose the structural powers at work in the texts, specifically the popular media texts, which influence the production of newspaper representations of MOVE as well as the power relationships between marginalized collective and dominant culture proposed in Black feminist frame.

Therefore, CDA framework makes it possible to linguistically examine the discursive representations of MOVE in popular media to determine ways membership status frames are depicted differently in addition to Black feminist insights. This thesis employs CDA to popular media representations of MOVE members in manners which are keen to the pre-Conflict influences of power relations within the *Philadelphia Tribune*. Utilizing CDA, lastly, grants this study access to a wide range of meta-meanings of discourses present in pre-Conflict texts written about and by MOVE members.

Sanders and Jeffries: Favorability Categorizations. As the third component of this conceptual framework in Figure 1(see page 22), Sanders and Jeffries (2013) developed definitions of unfavorable, neutral, and unfavorable representations based on the prominence of highlighted positive or negative MOVE attributes. These scholars defined *favorable* as “Any story that points only to positive attributes of the MOVE” and *unfavorable* as “Any story that points out only negative attributes of MOVE” (Sanders & Jeffries, 2013, pp. 584-585). Sanders and Jeffries (2013) described *neutral* as absent of preconception judgment of any kind.

Sanders and Jeffries (2013) explored the 1985 bombing's local newspaper coverage in an effort to better understand the lack of public outcry regarding the deaths of fellow Philadelphians resulting from Philadelphia police officers' actions. Utilizing favorability classifications based on the highlighted attributes of MOVE, these scholars contended that over half of post-bombing local newspaper reports depicted the collective in unfavorable, or negative, manners (p. 574). Sanders and Jeffries (2013) asserted that the unfavorable media portrayals in local newspapers convinced Philadelphians that "MOVE got what it deserved" (p. 581). Representatives of institutions, including journalists, utilizing biased framings of MOVE did not only take place within textual realms of media, through accessing archival materials from MOVE Commission hearings, but scholars also perpetuate similar representations of MOVE.

News reports highlighting negative attributes about MOVE within evidence materials from MOVE Commission hearings also signals to Sanders and Jeffries (2013) that prejudicial discursive practices are at work (pp. 574-580). Within these representations of the collective during the Conflict, most reports depicted MOVE in negative manners. Scholars, such as Sanders and Jeffries (2013), asserted that textual discursive practices which focus on (or even include) MOVE aimed to justify the destructive efforts of Philadelphia authorities (Harry, 1987; Sanders & Jeffries, 2013; Wagner-Pacifici, 1994). This assumption inspired explorations into the discursive practices employed during the Conflict (Wagner-Pacifici, 1994; Wells, 1990), yet few investigations focused on media representations about MOVE (Sanders & Jeffries, 2013).

Even fewer, if any, projects focus on the years prior to the Conflict, let alone popular media representations produced, or authored, by MOVE members.

Inspired by the work of Sanders and Jeffries (2013), I view favorability categorizations as an opportunity to rate newspaper depictions authored during the years before the Conflict. Favorability categorizations, in rating representations' tonality, offer insights on how MOVE got represented, specifically by MOVE members, to Philadelphians before the Conflict (Sanders & Jeffries, 2013, pp. 572-573). In turn, I contend that the favorability (the positive, neutral, or negative attributes) of representations written by MOVE members in the *Philadelphia Tribune* newspaper during pre-Conflict years renders more informed information about MOVE. Thus, this conceptual framework proposes that the combination of Black feminist frame, CDA, and favorability categorizations decentralizes the state archival sources, such as the MOVE Commission archival materials, which promoted the marginalization of MOVE members' perspectives. The combination of a Black feminist frame, CDA, and favorability categorizations applied to archival materials from MOVE Commission hearings also stresses the interplay between marginalized groups, media representations, and the framing tools employed within these representations.

Attempts at Understanding the MOVE Organization

Projects which included conceptualizations of MOVE during the Conflict attempts to confine the circumstances surrounding, as well as leading up to, the 1985 bombing of MOVE members (Anderson & Hevenor, 1987; Assefa & Wahrhaftig, 1988; Bowser, 1989; Smith J., 1988). For example, Hizkias Assefa and Paul Wahrhaftig (1988), authors of *Extremist Groups And Conflict Resolution: The MOVE Crisis in Philadelphia*, utilized archival materials from MOVE Commission hearings to understand where mediation and negotiation efforts could have been implemented to prevent the violent outcome of the 1985 bombing of MOVE. Assefa and Wahrhaftig (1988) perceived MOVE's presence in the city of Philadelphia to be a crisis situation. Thus, Assefa and Wahrhaftig (1988) identified MOVE members, through materials of MOVE Commission hearings, as the aggressor and threat in the situation of the Conflict. Scholars, such as Assefa and Wahrhaftig (1988), conceptualized MOVE during the Conflict underestimates the social and legal significances of MOVE members' participation in the Conflict, thereby excluding the perspectives of MOVE members in understanding negotiation efforts used before and during the Conflict.

Other works which included conceptualizations of MOVE also examined the collective within social or theoretical contexts (Dickson, 2002; Floyd-Thomas, 2002; Harry, 1987; Smith J., 1988; Wagner-Pacifici, 1994; Wells, 1990). For instance, Margot Harry (1987), a journalist and author of *Attention, MOVE! This is America!*, used the 1985 bombing as a case of domestic "counterinsurgency tactics and techniques" (p. 163).

Employing MOVE Commission archival materials, Harry (1987) traced patterns of militaristic strategies during the Conflict. Harry (1987) concluded that:

[U]nderstanding, and remembering, what happened in Philadelphia on May 13, 1985, must be stressed...[that eleven] Black radicals lost their lives in the war...[and that] MOVE has made it clear in its speeches, literature, and actions that it is not preparing to overthrow the existing social order by force of arms. (p. 173)

Harry (1987) pressed for the remembering of MOVE and the deadly bombing. The framing of the Conflict by Harry (1987) began to unearth connection between the occurrences of the bombing with national. Also, by Harry (1987) began to build connection between international, campaigns of counterinsurgency.

Though Harry (1987) pressed for the recalling of massacred MOVE members and the conflict of May 13th, interviews with MOVE members were included within this study. In this examination, the archival materials from MOVE Commission hearings were at the center of the research on the bombing. Harry (1987), in doing so, highlighted a narrative about the Conflict which examines reasons for collectively forgetting of this domestic “war.” Harry (1987) substituted the voices of MOVE members with the MOVE Commission archival representation, leaving the words of those members overshadowed. This section provided a literature review on MOVE, paying special attention to how scholars frame the event, which exchanges are emphasized, the methods used for the project, and the impact of the latter areas on the research conclusions.

MOVE during the MOVE-Philadelphia Conflict. Much of the literature which includes MOVE focuses on the 1985 bombing. This collection of work looks to better understand what took place between MOVE and Philadelphia officials. Boyette (1989) presented accounts about the activities surrounding the Conflict, from the 1978 event to the ending of the MOVE Commission. Including MOVE Commission materials as a major data source, Boyette's (1989) *Let It Burn! The Philadelphia Tragedy* utilizes "only those facts that have become available from public sources." Boyette (1989), added that the "most important of these sources are files of the MOVE Commissions" (p. x). Two of 13 chapters in *Let It Burn! The Philadelphia Tragedy* solely focused on presenting MOVE and its members. In these chapters, Boyette (1989) presented the collective as "counterpunchers" to the lifestyle of present world (Boyette, 1989, p. 47). Although attempting to provide an unbiased account of the Conflict, the manner which Boyette (1989) utilized a presentation of MOVE members which influences his framing of the collective and the Conflict.

Boyette used MOVE writings, featured within the MOVE Commission hearings, to frame MOVE during the Conflict. MOVE members authored:

MOVE is an organization if people dedicated to the principles of life, truth, as written in THE BOOK, a publication about to be released manuscript of John Vincent Africa... THE BOOK is THE TRUTH, and it *is* to be used against the lie, this life style of perversion, distortion, schizophrenia, indecisiveness and misdirection. The book *completely* undercuts, disapproves and substantiates that nothing in man's life style is working... (in Boyette, 1989, p.39, emphasis in original text)

MOVE members' passage, featured in Boyette, constructed the actions of MOVE as threatening. Boyette (1989) cited MOVE writings on the beginnings of the collective, stating that "what set MOVE apart from the other revolutionaries and aesthetics of the neighborhood was that MOVE members practiced what they preached...[the] only problem was that they preached the destruction of civilization" (p. 41). Boyette (1989) depicted MOVE members as dangerous due to his and her organizational philosophies and practices based on the materials found in archival materials from MOVE Commission hearings.

John Anderson and Hilary Hevenor (1987), scholars who wrote of *Burning down the House: MOVE and the Tragedy of Philadelphia*, also employed archival materials from MOVE Commission hearings, including police records, eyewitness accounts, and interviews. Anderson and Hevenor (1987) focused on the 1985 bombing in an effort to provide readers with a comprehensive record of the events, however they offer little analysis. These scholars presented MOVE in the first chapter of the text. In this chapter, with the lack of analysis of the event, Anderson and Hevenor (1987) depicted MOVE

members as people with “problems with drugs...homeless or alone...after sexual pleasure” during the early pre-Conflict (p. 9).

Anderson and Hevenor (1987) aimed to understand MOVE solely within the context of the Conflict leaves room for a wide range of interpretations. In addition, focusing on just the Conflict for information about MOVE, Anderson and Hevenor (1987) attempted to capture and confine MOVE members to one event in time. These scholars understood MOVE solely during the Conflict presented a monolithic presentation of the collective despite the diversity presented within its teachings and activism. Many authors, such as J.M. Floyd-Thomas (2002), a scholar of religion, looked to widen the areas of consideration by hypothesizing the significances of the Conflict within greater contexts.

Thus, MOVE and the Conflict began to be framed in larger sociocultural contexts. As publication about MOVE started to vary in focus, these literatures about the Conflict continued to access unfavorable representations of MOVE from the MOVE Commission hearings. Still, each literature presented MOVE from a different standpoint within the Conflict yet characterized MOVE similarly.

MOVE within Larger Contexts. More recent works on the MOVE-Philadelphia Conflict take on the event within a larger context, while decentering the Conflict (Floyd-Thomas, 2002; Siegel, 1997; Wagner-Pacifici, 1994). Floyd-Thomas (2002), who examined the event within a national context, located MOVE’s beliefs among African-American-centered struggles and traditions within the U.S. While, Robin Wagner-Pacifici (1994), a scholar of discourse analysis, examined MOVE situate the collective, and the

Conflict, within a number of theoretical frameworks. These scholarly framings of the collective and the Conflict, thereby, gave new lenses to understand MOVE and the visions of John Africa. Nevertheless, both Conflict-specific and sociocultural-specific authorship encouraged relating MOVE and the Conflict to broader understandings of oppression in U.S.-ian context.

U.S. Constitutional legal scholars, typically examining questions of justice and punishment distribution among participating organizations of the Conflict, grappled with the influence of MOVE's philosophies on the outcome of the event. Citing *Africa v. Commonwealth of Pa*⁶, 662 F.2d 1025 (3dCir. 1981), Matthew Siegel (1997) and Linn Washington (1989), for instance, highlighted the precedence ruling against MOVE members' allegations about Philadelphia officials violating his and her First and Fourth U.S. Constitutional Rights (Siegel, 1997; Washington, 1989). Both scholars quoted Judge C.J. Jones dissenting opinion on the ruling about MOVE's religion and the teachings of John Africa. Judge Jones, as quoted by Washington (1989), stated that:

[Because] MOVE does not claim to be theistic: indeed it recognizes no Supreme Being and refers to no transcendental or all-controlling force. Additionally, unlike other recognized religions, with which it is compared for first amendment purposes...MOVE does not appear to take a position with respect to matters of personal morality, human morality, or the meaning and purpose of life. . . .[T]he MOVE philosophy is not sufficiently analogous to more 'traditional' theologies." (p. 73)

Here, Judges Jones perceived MOVE's beliefs as worthy of religious protections under the law. The ruling of *Africa v. Commonwealth of Pa.* highlighted that not all religions

⁶ *Africa v. Commonwealth of Pa* stood as a legal case where MOVE presses charges against the Philadelphia city officials in an effort to get the religion of MOVE, life, recognized under the U.S. religion constitutional protections.

and theologies are legally recognized and protected under the First Amendment.⁷

Although Siegel (1987) and Washington (1989) formulated works to show how MOVE may have been unfairly treated under the law, each scholar utilized the archival materials from MOVE Commission hearings to justify arguments about MOVE members and recast dominant representations about MOVE as threats.

Siegel (1987) and Floyd-Thomas (2002) presented a basic understanding of the collective within a national context, other works look locate MOVE in theoretical significance. The varying disciplinary interested in the Conflict complicated the ways which MOVE members got represented and presented within academia, as well as popular media. Nevertheless, particular stories about MOVE constantly got retold within most literature on the Conflict.

Wagner-Pacifici (1994), for example, interpreted the MOVE-Philadelphia Conflict as articulations of horror and violence. Wagner-Pacifici (1994), using MOVE Commission archival materials, characterized MOVE members as a “back-to-nature” group, stating that MOVE members “washed cars, walked dogs, and chopped wood...wear their hair in dreadlocks...babies did not wear diapers and defecated in the year...” (Assefa & Wahrhaftig, 1988, pp.13-14). MOVE members also were equated with “terrorist” within mainstream media (Assefa & Wahrhaftig, 1988, p. 149; Floyd-Thomas, 2002; Sanders & Jeffries, 2013).

⁷ Moreover, this ruling specifically neglects MOVE members' rights which could protect members from other unreasonable violent outcomes stemming from the extraordinariness of their organizational philosophies.

The framing of MOVE as terrorists impacted the ways in which city officials and the public viewed the collective. For example, the decision-making process of the 1978 shoot-out differed from the process of the 1985 bombing. The usage of “terrorist” influenced the intensity and kinds of tactics utilized in Philadelphia official’s Conflict decision-making. Thus, the framing of MOVE members as terrorists left negotiation and mediation methods excluded as a possibility (Assefa & Wahrhaftig, 1988, pp. 141-151).

The organization’s beliefs are similar to other marginalized belief systems in the United States. Comparing similarities with Rastafarian traditions and Black Power style politics, Floyd-Thomas (2002) argued that the beliefs of MOVE “represented an expression of a revolutionary form of African-centered humanism that had its antecedents in Black Power style politics,” forwarding that MOVE’s belief is “a contemporary effort to resist dominant American hegemony by advocating the liberation of all people through cultural agency and racial consciousness” (p. 12).

Floyd-Thomas (2002) understood MOVE’s beliefs as a contemporary expression of minority resistance of traditions of the Western hemisphere. Floyd-Thomas (2002) placed MOVE’s belief and the significance of the presence of the organization at the center of his analysis of the 1985 bombing. Floyd-Thomas (2002) located that belief system as focal point of much discrimination, stating that “the MOVE family’s racial composition, counter-cultural lifestyle, radical politics, and unorthodox religiosity made them fair game to receive the full brunt of white repression” (Floyd-Thomas, 2002, p. 16). Floyd-Thomas (2002) argued MOVE’s beliefs were under attack by Philadelphia officials, specifically police officers.

MOVE's beliefs are often presented as a monolithic presentation, despite the diversity present within the teachings and activism stemming from member's beliefs. This understanding of MOVE's beliefs present limitations including categorizing the collective as a collective who only wants to engage in conflict and as an aggressive collective. These limitations created by stereotypes enables, or even create obstacles for, better understanding what those beliefs are and how these beliefs are significant. These misconceptions of MOVE's beliefs attempt to capture and confine MOVE to restricted understanding of itself.

Thesis Overview

In this introductory chapter, I included a summary of the Conflict. This chapter presented the aim, scope, and rationale for investigating popular media representations written by MOVE members during pre-Conflict years. The first chapter ended with presenting the influence of Collins's (1986, 1989, 1999, 2000) Black feminist framework, Fairclough's (1992, 1995a, 1995b) CDA, and Sanders and Jeffries' (2013) favorability categorizations on the development of accessing a MOVE-inclusive archive about MOVE.

The four chapters which follow this introduction provide an in-depth examination of how popular media texts, particularly newspaper texts written by MOVE members resisted oppressive, many times racist, sexist, and classist, representations of MOVE during pre-Conflict years. Three of the four chapters construct the body of this manuscript. Chapter 2 details the Black feminist frame and CDA-influenced methods, which resembles a mix-methods approach, and data materials employed within this

thesis, including particulars about main and complementary texts by MOVE and non-MOVE members. I, also, provide more specifics about the favorability categorization employed within this study in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 presents the favorability findings, the quantitative findings of the study, while Chapter 4 focuses on data analysis findings, the qualitative findings, focusing on main texts by MOVE members, based on outcome of the previous chapters. All findings and discussions of these chapters prepare groundwork for the ending of this manuscript.

Chapter 5 serves as the final chapter of this manuscript. It presents a discussion of the findings and concluding reflections, including recommendations for future research, for this manuscript. In the upcoming chapter, I detail the methods employed in this study.

CHAPTER 2

METHODS:

DATA, FAVORABILITY CLASSIFICATIONS, AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE

ANALYSIS QUESTIONS

Chapter 2 provides detailed explanations of the dataset and methods used within this study. It, first, presents the 67-piece dataset, main and complementary texts, used within this investigation; the main texts are the focus of this project, while complementary texts contributes nuanced information on popular media representation of MOVE found within the main texts. Chapter 2, also, provides clarification on the usage of a computer-based research tool used to code and preform content analysis processes to render the findings of the study. This chapter ends with a series of CDA guiding questions.

Data

This thesis utilized data from several MOVE-inclusive sources, including popular media, such as newspaper texts. I categorized the dataset texts into two groups: (a) the main texts and (b) the complementary texts. The main texts, the *Philadelphia Tribune* texts, derived from local newspaper sources, while complementary texts stems from interviews and written materials about, as well as by, MOVE members. Within these groups of dataset texts, I further categorized the texts by authorship and affiliations as related to the first major exchange of the Conflict, the August 8th shoot-out of 1978. I distributed the dataset texts into two sub-groups: (a) the materials by MOVE members and (b) the materials by non-MOVE members.

In each dataset sub-grouping, *Philadelphia Tribune* texts functioned as the main texts for this investigation. *Philadelphia Tribune* texts served as examples of popular media MOVE depictions produced during pre-Conflict years, as well as popular media representations by MOVE members. This project utilized 48 *Philadelphia Tribune* texts authored by both MOVE and non-MOVE members as the main texts. Similarly, this study employed 19 complementary texts produced years after the Conflict, yet discusses pre-Conflict MOVE; this list included a blog, a book, and MOVE interviews. The project's dataset totaled 67- items, including newspaper texts and images of main and complementary texts created and authored by MOVE members and non-MOVE members.

Materials by MOVE Members. The Materials by MOVE Members (MMM) sub-group contained texts created and authored by MOVE members, specifically texts by those who were active within MOVE during the years before August 8, 1978. In general, dataset texts of the MMM sub-group ranged from newspaper texts by MOVE members to sections of a book about and by a MOVE member.

This discussion about MMM sub-group dataset texts began with pre-Conflict *Philadelphia Tribune* texts as the key focus of this sub-group. These main texts derived from and served as archival materials which included MOVE members' perspectives about MOVE. The interviews, blog, and book of the MMM sub-group served as complementary texts for this collection of texts.⁸

⁸ Each material by MOVE members contributes unique perspectives of the collective during the years before the Conflict.

Philadelphia Tribune Texts, "On the MOVE" Columns. This study utilized 41 *Philadelphia Tribune* texts written by MOVE members. Main texts stemmed from the "On the MOVE" column. John Africa, Louise (Leaphart James) Africa, and Robert Africa authored the column entries included within the MMM sub-group. These columns spanned a 10-months period, from June 1975 to April 1976.⁹

MOVE Interviews, P. Africa and A. Africa. In general, this investigation included two interviews with four MOVE members. These interviews stemmed from an earlier rendition of this project where it focused on individual life stories of MOVE members and experiences leading him or her to be a part of MOVE.¹⁰ I posed three questions about which life events and experience influenced them to social justice activism, generally, and to MOVE, specifically. (For interview questions, see Appendix A.)¹¹ Each interview lasted roughly two hours.¹² Together, these interviews with MOVE

⁹ I accessed each *Philadelphia Tribune* texts by MOVE members through the Arizona State University Libraries' search page. I inputted the keywords "MOVE" "Philadelphia" "John Africa" to locate these texts. I accessed Philadelphia Tribune texts by non-MOVE members, also part of the main data of the project, in a similar manner.

¹⁰ I abandoned this idea for the project to the limited time to gather data on MOVE members. Although the objective of the project changed, these interviews remained insightful on how MOVE members interpret popular media portrayal of MOVE before the shoot-out as well as the community members, fellow Philadelphians, understandings of the collective, and the tensions at the early stages of the Conflict.

¹¹ Also, for Institutional Review Board (IRB) Exemption Approval on this project, see Appendix C.

¹² I conducted the MOVE interviews in March and August of 2013. I performed the first interview was conducted over the telephone and the second interview in Philadelphia, in-person. Although the members are grouped differently, all MOVE members, including P. Africa and A. Africa, participated in the same interviewing process. The MOVE members themselves selected the locations and time for the meetings. I conducted the first interview with R. Africa in March 2013, using cellular phones in a secluded and private place, with one current MOVE member. This interview convened on a weekend day at noon. For the purposes of audio recording, this interview happened on "speakerphone," a phone setting which allows for the receiving messages to be played back on a built-in loud speaker. Five months later, I carried out the second interview in August of 2013, in person, with all four members. The first interviewee, R. Africa, contacted the other MOVE participant for this interview. This interview convened at a local community center familiar to the members. This meeting took place around noon on a weekday. I used an Android

members supplied information about how MOVE members perceived popular media portrayal of MOVE during pre-Conflict years.

This study categorized the interview responses of two MOVE members with complementary texts by, or with, MOVE members. P. Africa and A. Africa stated that his and her involvement in MOVE began before the 1978 shoot-out. Meanwhile, the other two MOVE members, R. Africa and T. Africa, mentioned taking on her activities as MOVE members after the 1978 shoot-out; R. Africa and T. Africa interviews are discussed as community members during pre-Conflict years in the next segment of dataset texts by, or with, non-MOVE members. Nevertheless, P. Africa and A. Africa, both, share her participation in MOVE during less publicized exchanges between MOVE and Philadelphia officials during the years before the 1978 shoot-out.

MOVE Blog. This project utilized the *On the MOVE: Website of the MOVE Organization* because it provides the official, updated information about MOVE and its members. *On the MOVE* is hosted by WordPress and has a copyright of 2014. This investigation utilized three specific webpages within the website; I included “About MOVE,” “MOVE 9,” and “John Africa” as texts within the complementary texts. For dataset text calculation and Nvivo10 integration purposes, I converted these three MOVE webpages into 11 pictures, or screenshots, that can be added and coded in Nvivo 10.

tablet to record the audio of this interview. I code each interview by its audio playback; none of the interviews are transcribed.

MOVE Book. L. James (2013) focused on the life and legacy of John Africa in *John Africa...Childhood Untold Until Today*. This thesis utilized pages v -78 of the book because it maps the childhood of John Africa to his adulthood, as well as the materials of his teachings and formation of MOVE to understand the fundamental teachings of MOVE. These pages from *John Africa...Childhood Untold Until Today*, as complementary texts, informed this investigation about the pre-Conflict MOVE and the development of MOVE and its members.

Collectively, the *Philadelphia Tribune* texts, the interviews, the blog and the book by MOVE members supplied information about pre-Conflict MOVE from the perspectives of MOVE members. Each MMM sub-grouped text provided a different perspective of MOVE members' perception of MOVE, while all pre-Conflict sources, by MOVE members, supplemented the information of the main texts.

Materials by Non-MOVE Members. The Materials by non-MOVE Members (MNM) sub-group of the dataset contains media materials by non-MOVE members, specifically those who were not MOVE members during pre-Conflict years. This section offers details about two media sources, including newspaper texts written by non-MOVE and interviews with MOVE members about his and her perspectives as community members during the years pre-Conflict. The MOVE interviews serve as the complementary texts for MNM sub-group of materials.

Philadelphia Tribune Texts, Articles. This study utilized seven *Philadelphia Tribune* articles written by non-MOVE members. Pamela Smith and Karen Datko, both staff personnel of the *Philadelphia Tribune*, authored all of the newspaper texts written by non-MOVE members in this dataset. The article texts, dated between January 1978 and August 1978, represented approximately seven- months leading up to the 1978 shoot-out.

Non-MOVE interviews, R. Africa and T. Africa. I categorized the responses of two members as materials by, or with, non-MOVE members, due to their lack of participation in MOVE during the years before the 1978 shoot-out. These MOVE members took on their activities as MOVE members after the August 8th exchange between MOVE and Philadelphia officials. R. Africa and T. Africa recalled their involvement in MOVE beginning with the airing and reporting of the 1978 shoot-out reports.

R. Africa and T. Africa, each, shared their viewpoints of MOVE as community members in Philadelphia during pre-Conflict years. These MOVE members expressed similar understandings of MOVE during pre-Conflict years. Each member stated that their perspectives were influenced by family members, friends, and popular media. In sum, the *Philadelphia Tribune* texts and MOVE interviews with non-MOVE members contributed information regarding pre-Conflict MOVE from community members' perspectives. Each MNM sub-grouped materials added different perspectives, while the interviews from pre-Conflict by non- MOVE members complemented the information of the main texts, the *Philadelphia Tribune* texts.

Ultimately, the main texts served as the highlight of this this thesis and derived from popular media sources, while complementary texts stemmed from other writings and MOVE interviews from and with MOVE and non-MOVE members. In this section of Chapter 2, I detailed the procedure used to mark representation patterns within the two major data sub-groups of this project. The next segment provides details on the coding and content analysis processes used in this investigation on MOVE members' representations in popular media during pre-Conflict years.

Coding and Content Analysis

This project utilized Nvivo 10, a qualitative and quantitative computer research tool, to process the coding and data analysis. I coded 48 *Philadelphia Tribune* texts, materials from two MOVE interviews, materials from a blog, and materials from a book using Nvivo 10 for content and data analysis. Coding and content analysis processes guided this investigation toward its goal of understanding how MOVE's attributes were represented during pre-Conflict years.

In addition to understanding how MOVE members got depicted in popular media before the 1978 shoot-out, this project draws attention on how MOVE's racial, gender, and class attributes got portrayed in media to Philadelphians. Both coding and content analysis occurred in a two-step process. The following section includes descriptions of the internal processes for coding and data analysis in this study.

Coding. Coding dataset texts in this project occurred in two stages. First, after gathering the dataset materials, I conducted preliminary coding on the texts to unearth patterns and trends within texts as related to the research question. Also, I coded for the favorability, or tone, of each text. I, next, coded the dataset for the specific data analysis guiding questions. Here, at the second step of the coding process, final coding took place.

Preliminary Coding. I preliminarily coded the dataset, main and complementary texts, to scan and highlight emerging themes and patterns, specifically within the content of each newspaper text material. Using the entire text and the title of each dataset texts, main and complementary texts, were relocated to categories of representation favorability, a mutually exclusive and exhaustive process of coding. The categories of favorability include *favorable*, *neutral*, and *unfavorable* depictions of MOVE.

This process of preliminary coding established a working collection of codes or node (in Nvivo10), which assisted in visualizing coding schemes for the final coding of this project, which was then employed for the discourse analysis.¹³ This preliminary coding process rendered 58 favorable coded materials, 3 neutral coded materials, 6 unfavorable coded materials in response to how MOVE got portrayed in popular media during pre-Conflict years (or a total of 67-coded materials). I utilized all preliminary codes, in the form of an internal process of coding called “final codes”, to perform the data analysis.

¹³ Nvivo 10 uses *node* to discuss theme which are presenting in the one data material. Social scientists, typically, utilize *code* in the same manner. In this study, I interchangeably make use of *node* and *code*.

Final Coding. I employed the final coding process to unearth major themes, patterns, and relationships within the content and discourse of the dataset as it relates to how MOVE race, gender, and class attributes are presented and discussed in relation to MOVE in the pre-Conflict context. Although this distribution process is not exhaustive due to all materials not mentioning race, gender, or class, the final coding process further arranged the preliminary coded texts within the categories of favorability. I reorganized preliminary coded texts within exclusive sub-categories titled *race*, *gender*, and *class*. Each material with a sub-code symbolizes the presence of MOVE's race, gender, and class references within the text. Discourse analysis of dataset texts began at this process of the methods for this project.

CDA Guiding Questions. Based on the conceptual framework, I developed four questions to guide the discourse analysis of this investigation. I intended for each question aims to interrogate specific aspects of discursive interplay in the textual representation of pre-Conflict MOVE racial, gender, and class attributes within all categories of favorability. The guiding research questions of this project are:

1. What are the findings of main texts by MOVE members expressing about racial, gender, and class attributes of MOVE?
2. What MMM and MNM sub-group of texts stating about the [racial, gender, and class] attributes of MOVE? What discourses are present within texts? Also, in what ways are the discourses framing attributes of MOVE for Philadelphia readers?

3. What information about MOVE appears in texts by MOVE members and does not appear within texts by non-MOVE members? How do MNM sub-group texts use discourses and the framing of MOVE to limit the possibility for MMM sub-group information to be shared with Philadelphian readers?
4. Based on the framing tools at work within MNM sub-group each text, what gaps do MMM sub-group texts fill for Philadelphian readers?

The above questions directed the data analysis process for the findings and discussion chapters of this thesis. Either a combination of, or the entirety, of the listed questions led the direction of the data analysis in Chapter 3 through Chapter 5. The methods developed from conceptual framework ensured a systematic and transdisciplinary reading of the dataset texts, emphasizing on main texts, in each forthcoming chapter.

To sum, Chapter 2 detailed the dataset texts and methods employed within this project. This chapter explicated the 67- piece materials used to conduct the study. Using the conceptual framework and Nvivo 10, I detailed the coding processes employed within this thesis. Also, I illustrated the processes used to conduct the analysis in this study. Chapter 2 closed with the guiding questions used to structure the data analysis within the findings chapters. In the next chapter, I present favorability and thematic findings that resulted from these methods.

CHAPTER 3

MOVE AND MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS:

FAVORABILITY AND THEMATIC FINDINGS

Chapter 3 presents an overview of texts favorability outcomes and thematic findings, with an emphasis on main texts results. Although complementary findings are featured within this chapter, the tables and figures for complementary findings are located within the Appendix B section of this manuscript. Chapter 3 findings serve as part of the content and data analysis as found with favorability coding and sub-coding on how MOVE got represented in the *Philadelphia Tribune* during pre-Conflict years. An overview of prominent MOVE favorable, neutral and unfavorable popular media portrayals in main texts follows in this chapter.

Chapter 3 includes two sections of findings: a) favorability findings and b) thematic findings. I describe the favorability findings of this study, emphasizing main texts findings with four tables, to illustrate the outcomes of the employed methods process.¹⁴ The favorability findings sub-sections, specifically, center on the results related to the favorability categorizations of dataset texts by MOVE and non-MOVE members. While, the thematic findings sub-sections of Chapter 3 primarily highlight the numerical outcomes of the race, gender, and class sub-categorical methods processes. Both findings sections offer in-depth quantitative insight on how MOVE got represented during pre-

¹⁴ All figures presented in the tables are rounded to the nearest tenth percent. As for the calculation of the presented figures, I similarly calculated rest of the figure included within Chapter 3. I calculated the reference and node, or code, quantities by adding the sums of each text featured within the specific sub-groups. For example, in Table 1, on page 55, favorable representations were found in 58 texts. I accessed the 58 texts to record the number of favorability references and nodes coded of each favorable representation. I, also, computed the number of nodes per sub-theme in a similar method. In Table 1, the favorable sources included 570 coded references codes and 449 coded nodes.

Conflict years, as well as how MOVE members understood and portrayed MOVE's attributes during this time period.

Favorability Findings

The favorability categorization of main and complementary texts serve as part of the content analysis in this study, while the theme frequency information prepares the groundwork for the thematic and discourse findings presented later within this chapter. I divide the presentations of this sub-section into three segments of favorability: a) main and complementary texts favorability b) main texts favorability, and c) complementary texts favorability. I begin the report of the favorability findings with a segment dedicated to the total outcome of main and complementary texts.

Favorability of Main and Complementary Texts. This section presents quantified dataset findings, including figures for main and complementary texts, both, authored by MOVE and non-MOVE members. I include tables and figures to demonstrate the favorability findings of main and complementary texts. The following tables and segments present more comprehensive figures based on the different classifications utilized in the study.

Favorability of Main and Complementary Texts. As most of the main and complementary texts were produced between 1975 and 2014 (see Figure 2 on page 54), Table 1, on page 55, presented mostly favorability findings for the 67 main and complementary texts used within this project. Of the 67 texts of Table 1, more than 50 percent of these main and complementary texts and references, exactly 58 texts and 570 references, included positive representations of MOVE and its members. Several of the favorable texts of Table 1 included discussions about the racial attribute of the collective; these 12 favorable race-allusive texts, represented approximately 17 percent of the favorable classification and 20 percent of the sub-classification coded materials. In total, approximately one-fourth of main and complementary texts favorable references were found within these 12 favorable race-allusive texts. Stated differently, about one-fourth of the total number of favorable references belonged to less than 20 main and complementary texts.

Figure 2 Main and Complementary Texts, by Publication Year
(N = 67)

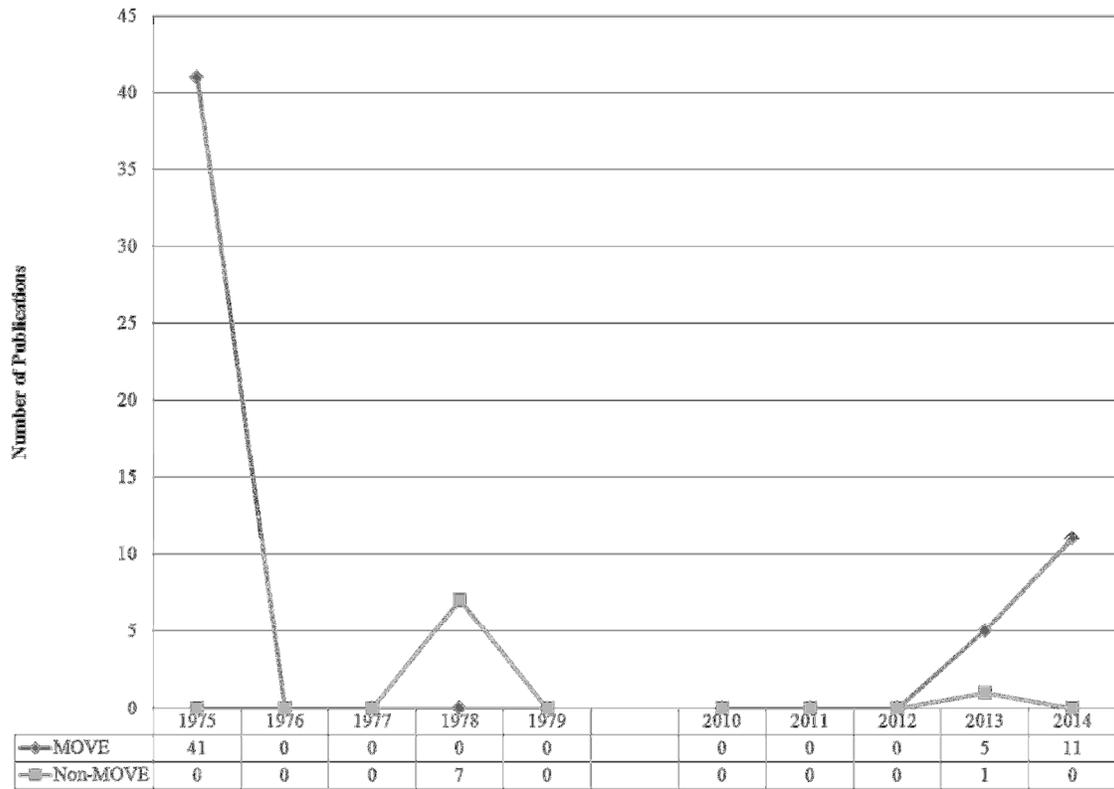


Table 1
Favorability of Main and Complementary Texts and Major Sub-category (N = 67)

Classifications	No. of Sources in Class. N=67	No. of References in Class. N=648	No. of Nodos, per Class. N=498
Favorable	58 (86.57 %)	570 (87.96%)	449 (90.16%)
Race	12 (17.91%, class.) (20.69%, sub-class.)	106 (16.36%,class.) (18.60%, sub-class.)	96 (19.28%, class.) (21.38%, sub-class.)
Neutral	3 (4.48 %)	50 (7.72%)	27 (5.42%)
Race	3 (4.48 %, class.) (100.00 %, sub-class.)	50 (7.72%, class.) (100.00%, sub-class.)	27 (5.42 %, class.) (100.00 %, sub-class.)
Unfavorable	6 (8.96 %)	28 (4.32%)	22 (4.42%)
Race	3 (4.48 %, class.) (50.00 %, sub-class.)	18 (2.78%, class.) (46.29 %, sub-class.)	12 (2.41 %, class.) (54.54%, sub-class.)

The favorable classification outcomes of Table 1 included examples of textual allusions to racial attribute of MOVE and its members. For instance, many texts coded as favorable MOVE portrayals involved members' comments on youth violence culture in Philadelphia and MOVE's relations to systemic oppression (Africa L., 1975 z; Africa L., 1975 aa; Africa L., 1975 ab). On November 22, L. Africa (1975 aa) addressed the young adults and youths of Philadelphia on the topic of gang warfare, speaking out against the killing between young marginalized communities. L. Africa (1975 aa) stated that:

...[MOVE has] been taught by our Founder JOHN AFRICA to think in total, and the totality of our thinking manifests itself-- on only in our verbal expression... We of MOVE are taught -- where there is no purpose, there can only be waste. There has not now nor will there ever be any purpose in killing [and oppression].... ANY teenager who takes a [weapon] and interrupts the life of his brother, he has wasted his brother's life. Hold on now brother—maintain ya' cool,-- we know—obviously if you blew the dude away—you did not see him as your brother—right?—EXACTLY RIGHT—you didn't SEE him as your brother—but he **was** your brother all the same. (p. 7, para. 2-5)

Within this passage, L. Africa (1975 aa) expressed the connection between waste and gang warfare as understood by the teachings of John Africa. L. Africa (1975 aa), also, highlighted the inter-human connection between the “brother” doing the killing and the “brother” being killed. L. Africa (1975 aa) used “brother” in centering the inter-human relationship between the killer and the killed. L. Africa (1975 aa) suggested that gang warfare was a concern among marginalized (perhaps, even, Black) young males in Philadelphia. MOVE and its members were portrayed as being a collective of critical reasoning for young marginalized communities in Philadelphia, especially those populations who struggle with violence.

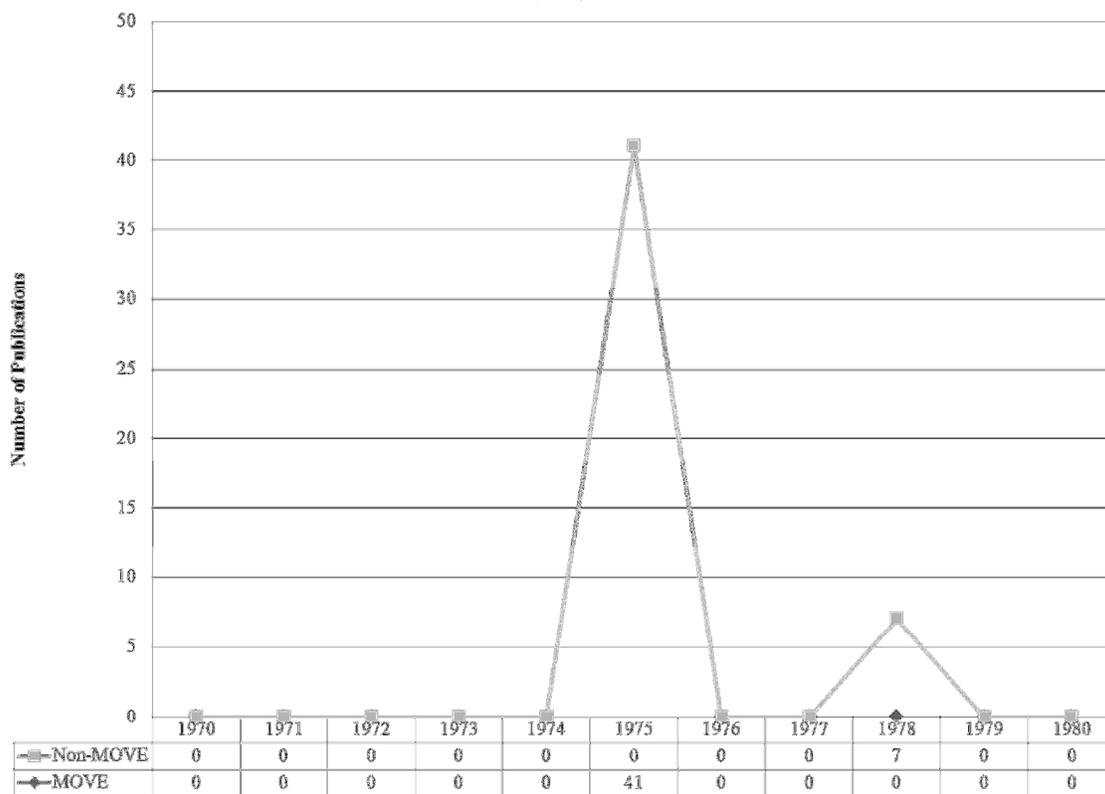
As an example of the kinds of favorable statements made about MOVE and comments on the racial attribute of the collective, this excerpt illustrated the kinds findings highlighted within main and complementary texts. More importantly, this excerpt hinted at the kinds of media representations that MOVE members created for MOVE during pre-Conflict years. Main texts findings illuminated more popular media information about MOVE pre-Conflict representations in the *Philadelphia Tribune*.

Favorability of Main Texts. As it is depicted in Table 2, on the next page, only charged representations of MOVE, from the 1970s, populated the main texts of this project (see Figure 3). Most main texts of pre-Conflict MOVE presented the collective in favorable manners. In Table 2, more than 50 percent of the total number of *Philadelphia Tribune* texts, or 42 of 48, included positive representations of MOVE and its members. In the 42 favorable main texts, 376 references were coded; yet, in the case of the racial attribute sub-classification, more than one-third of the total classification references belonged to less than 30 percent of the total classification source texts. In all, Table 2 suggests that several main texts representations of MOVE authored by MOVE and non-MOVE members positively center of discussion about MOVE's racial attribute.

Table 2
 Favorability of Main Texts (*Philadelphia Tribune* texts) And Major Sub-category (N = 48)

Classifications	No. of Sources in Class. N=48	No. of References in Class. N=404	No. of Nodes, per Class. N=316
Favorable	42 (87.50%)	376 (91.14%)	288 (96.41%)
Race	13 (27.08%, class.) (30.95%, sub-class.)	134 (33.17%, class.) (35.64%, sub-class.)	108 (34.84%, class.) (37.50%, sub-class.)
Neutral	---	---	---
N/A	---	---	---
Unfavorable	6 (12.50%)	28 (8.86%)	22 (5.64%)
Race	3 (6.25 %, class.) (50.00 %, sub-class.)	18 (5.46%, class.) (64.29%, sub-class.)	12 (3.87%, class.) (54.55%, sub-class.)

Figure 3 Main texts, by Publication Years
(N=48)



“On the MOVE” and “MOVE Thanks Public for Support During Confrontation” (Smith P., 1978 b) texts, as examples, comment on MOVE having positive racial attribute. Table 2, on page 58, reported that main texts, *Philadelphia Tribune* texts, positively portrayed MOVE during pre-Conflict years. Within the favorable classification of Table 2, more than one-fourth of the source texts included comments about the racial attribute of MOVE. L. Africa (1975 k) wrote, on September 16, that:

A together young man you knew can out of college, and he was rappin’ about the things he was gonna do when he got out. A “Gung Ho System Fixer.”... Well- we got him, and you can see “him” comin’ out of one of those big office buildings downtown at day’s end in his “double knit” suit... “Somebody” convinced him that it was far more profitable to join the system than to fight it-- and so he started makin’ at money and he soon forgot about the systematic racism that is continually heaped on those less fortunate than he....and forgot about the muggings and beatings going on in Black neighborhoods. He didn’t live there anymore. (p.7, para. 1-3)

L. Africa (1975 k), in this excerpt, expressed a possible trajectory for young adults, specifically within social transformation campaigns for Black communities, committed to social justice and who view the *System* as a workable medium for his or her goals. L. Africa (1975 k) imagined the “*Gung Ho System Fixer*” and betrayer of Black communities as a male, perhaps Black, college graduate. These remarks by L. Africa (1975 k) implied that this trajectory for young adults flaws lie in utilization of the *System* to meet the need of the marginalized communities. L. Africa (1975 k), later on in this texts, introduced MOVE as the solution to “*Gung Ho System Fixer*” concerns and marginalized communities to the *System* (para. 17-19). L. Africa (1975 k) exemplified the kinds of favorable comments about pre-Conflict MOVE related to its racial attribute

featured in main texts. Additionally, L. Africa (1975 k) contributed to the kinds of media representations that MOVE members created for MOVE during this pre-Conflict context.

Favorability of Main Texts. This section offers quantified data findings for main texts by MOVE members and by non-MOVE members. Tables and figures illustrate the findings presented in this section. The presentation of finding on the favorability of main texts begins with the examination of main texts by MOVE members.

Favorability of Main Texts by MOVE Members. In the effort of centering MOVE members' voices, main texts by MOVE members represented the largest group of dataset texts in this study. More than 50 percent, 41 out of 67, of the focus texts included pre-Conflict *Philadelphia Tribune* texts by MOVE members, each one specifically from the "On the MOVE" columns (see Figure 4). Table 3, on the next page, illustrated the distribution of the 41 main texts by MOVE members within favorability categorizations. Within the favorable category of texts by MOVE members, more than 30 percent of the data materials, or 13 of 41, of coded favorable texts included comments about the racial attribute of MOVE, as illustrated in Table 3.

Examples of favorable main texts by MOVE members involved comments about the reproduction of oppression for marginalized groups (Africa L., 1975 g; Africa, L., 1975 m; Africa, L., 1975 n; Africa, L., 1975 o; Africa, L., 1975 p; Africa, L., 1975 q; Africa, L., 1975 r; Africa, L., 1975 s). On July 19, J. Africa (1975 g) stated that:

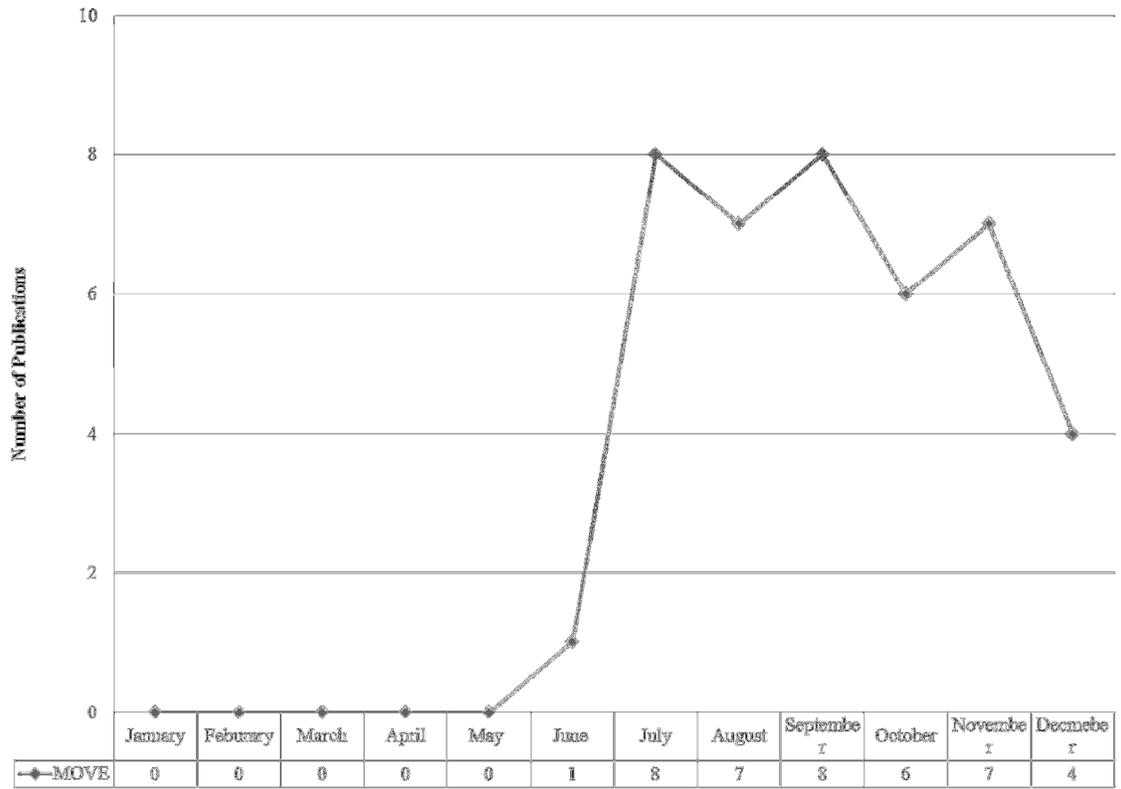
The tragic paradox of divisional confusion [which does not exist in MOVE] is the treacherous UNDOING of unity in people, the menacing veil of OBSURE disloyalty that TALKS Black, ACTS liberal, thinks WHITE, and displaces TRUE identity...Any Black person demanding a part of the exploitative polities that are exploiting Africa is asking to be exploited, SUPPORTING deprivation, ENDORSING slavery. (p. 12, para.1)

J. Africa (1975 g) highlighted the interconnectedness of oppression for marginalized groups, specifically Black communities. J. Africa (1975 g) implied that the ignoring the connectedness of oppression “is the treacherous UNDOING of unity in people,” that it allowed for communities to forget the struggles of past generations. These remarks by J. Africa (1975 g) signaled the kinds of community commitments that he had indoctrinated within MOVE and hinted at the issues which the collective aimed to address.

Table 3
 Favorability of Main Texts (*Philadelphia Tribune* texts), by MOVE Members and Major Sub-theme (N = 41)

Classifications	No. of Sources in Class. N=41	No. of References in Class. N=376	No. of Nodes, per Class. N=285
Favorable	41 (100.00%)	376 (100.00%)	285 (100.00%)
Race	13 (31.71%, class.) (31.71%, sub-class.)	134 (35.64%, class.) (35.64%, sub-class.)	108 (37.89%, class.) (37.89%, sub-class.)
Neutral	---	---	---
N/A	---	---	---
Unfavorable	---	---	---
N/A	---	---	---

Figure 4 Main texts by MOVE members, by Publication Months
(N=41)



Favorability of Main Texts by Non-MOVE Members. Table 4, on page 68, illustrated the findings for seven main texts by non-MOVE members during the eight-months leading up to the August 8th shoot-out (see Figure 5). These main texts by non-MOVE members included favorable and unfavorable representations of MOVE and its members. Over 80 percent of main texts by non-MOVE members, or 6 of 7, represented MOVE in unfavorable manners. Within the unfavorable category of coded texts by non-MOVE members, 50 percent of the data materials or 3 of 6, in this favorable category included allusion to racial attribute of MOVE.

One example from unfavorable category distribution of *Philadelphia Tribune* texts by non-MOVE members included comments about MOVE members sharing his and her beliefs with Philadelphians. On April 4, Datko (1978 e) opened with a quote from MOVE members:

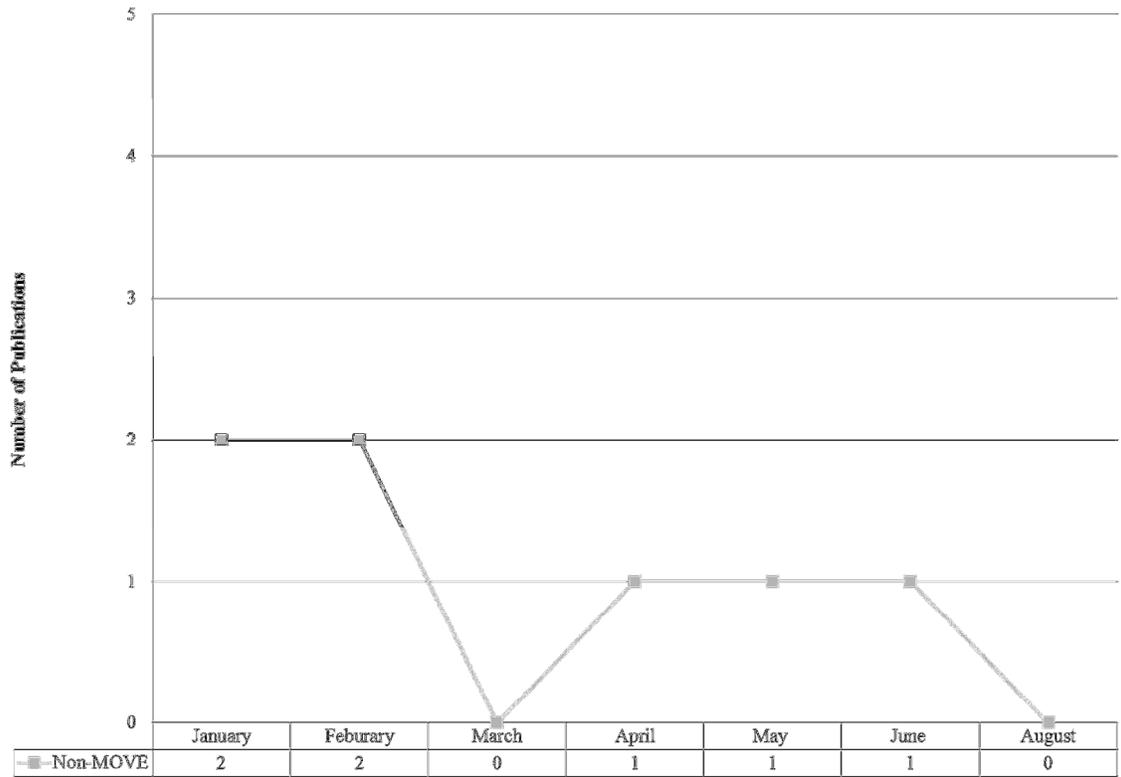
The MOVE-city confrontation is a “continuation of the strategy of John Africa,” a strategy that demands and lives off a constant bombardment of a society that MOVE abhors, said Sue Africa....Sue Africa would not say what that strategy is or how it will end. (p. 6, para.1)

Datko (1978 e) reported updates on the tensions between MOVE and Philadelphia officials. In this text, Datko (1978 e) used the words of Sue Africa to portray the collective as confrontational and as the aggressors of the thick tensions in the city. Additionally, Datko’s (1978 e) selection of this quote by Sue Africa implied that there was more *constant bombardment of a society* to come. Here, this excerpt by Datko (1978 e) exemplified the kinds of data materials included within unfavorable representations of MOVE.

Table 4
 Favorability of Main Texts (*Philadelphia Tribune* texts), by Non-MOVE Members and Major Sub-theme (N = 7)

Classifications	No. of Sources in Class. N=7	No. Of References in Class. N=35	No. of Nodes, per Class. N=25
Favorable	1 (14.86%)	4 (11.43%)	3 (12.00%)
N/A	---	---	---
Neutral	3 (15.79%)	50 (20.49%)	27 (14.36%)
N/A	---	---	---
Unfavorable	6 (85.71%)	31 (88.57%)	22 (88.00%)
Race	3 (42.86%, class.) (50.00 %, sub-class.)	18 (51.43%, class.) (58.06%, sub-class.)	12 (48.00%, class.) (54. 55%, sub-class.)

Figure 5 Main texts by non-MOVE members, Publication Months
(N=7)



Tables 3 and 4 each presented different perspectives of the main texts materials used in this study. I concluded from these findings that most of the main text materials include positive representations of MOVE. Tables 3 and 4 findings also suggested that most of the pre-Conflict representations in the *Philadelphia Tribune* were authored by MOVE members. Appendices B1, B2, and B3 further broke down the *complementary* texts findings for favorability categorization by MOVE and non-MOVE authorship.

Favorability of Complementary Texts. In Appendix B1, favorable and neutral representations of MOVE formulated the complementary texts of this project. Complementary texts represented a small portion of the total dataset materials, exactly less than 30 percent of the total texts. Appendix B1 illustrated that more than half of complementary texts included favorable representations of MOVE members. Yet, none of these favorable sources included mention of race, gender, or class attributes of MOVE. Therefore, while these complementary texts of Appendix B1 included favorable representations of MOVE, each material lacked mention of race, gender, or class attributions and a highest ranking sub-category. This outcome hinted that these texts focused on topics where mentioning about race, gender or class attributes were not needed, such as the culture and philosophical ideals of MOVE (as further explained in the thematic findings).

As an example of the kinds of texts included within the favorable classification of Appendix B1, The MOVE Organization (2013 a) expressed, on the “About MOVE” webpage of the *On the MOVE: Website of the MOVE Organization*, that:

The MOVE Organization is a family of strong, serious, deeply committed revolutionaries found by a wise, perceptive, strategically minded Black man named JOHN AFRICA....JOHN AFRICA taught us that Life is the priority....We believe in Natural Law, the government of self. The fact that something is legal under the system’s laws, doesn’t make it right....JOHN AFRICA taught use that what is right applies equally, across the board. (para. 1-5)

The MOVE Organization (2013 a) presented organizational information about the collective. The MOVE Organization (2013 a), specifically, aimed to present the beliefs, purpose, and rationale of the teachings of John Africa. The MOVE Organization (2013 a), also, in this excerpt, exemplified the kinds of favorable comments about pre-Conflict MOVE related to racial attribute made in main texts. Additionally, this excerpt contributed to the kinds of media representations that MOVE members created for MOVE.

Combined, tables, figures, and appendices, each presented different perspectives of the results of main and complementary texts. I concluded, from these findings, that most of the main texts involved positive representations of MOVE. These findings also suggested that positive representations of MOVE were significantly represented in the complementary texts. Appendix B2 and B3, on the next section, further broke down the main texts, or *Philadelphia Tribune* texts, findings for favorability categorization by MOVE and non-MOVE authorship.

Favorability of Complementary Texts. This sub-section presents the major findings for complementary texts by MOVE members and by non-MOVE members. Appendices B2 and B3 illustrate the data findings presented in this section. This demonstration of complementary texts favorability findings begins with the examination of texts by MOVE members.

Favorability of Complementary Texts by MOVE Members. Appendix B2, on the page 136, illustrated the findings of 16 complementary texts by MOVE members. These complementary texts by MOVE members contained favorable and neutral representations of MOVE. Over 80 percent of complementary texts by MOVE members, or 13 of 16, represented MOVE in favorable manners. Within the neutral category of texts by MOVE members, more than 15 percent of the data materials, or 3 of 16, contained comments about the racial attribute of MOVE.

One example of favorable distribution of *Philadelphia Tribune* texts by MOVE members contained comments about the development of MOVE and its beliefs. In 2013 in “Dealing with the Myth about Donald Glassey” of *John Africa...Childhood Untold Until Today*, L. James (2013) stated:

I was going through a batch of papers one day, and ran across a picture of Don. Under his picture were the following words: “MOVE founder John Africa”...Donald Glassey is a white Sociology Professor. John Africa is a black man who, more often than not, is described as “having gone to the third grade.” To make Don the co-founder of MOVE, is to credit him the contributing to the Principle. Be still my hart! Fact is, Donald Glassey is not more a co-founder of MOVE than I am. Anybody saying otherwise is a liar! Like those of us who wrote with Vine, he simply took down what was said. (p. 54)

L. James (2013) addressed popular misconceptions about who developed MOVE. Also, L. James (2013) tackled MOVE’s founding beliefs by drawing attention to the

educational levels and race of each person. This excerpt by L. James (2013) exemplified the kinds of complementary data materials included within neutral representations of MOVE.

Favorability of Complementary Texts by Non-MOVE Members. Appendix B3, on page 134, illustrated the findings for three complementary texts by non-MOVE members. These complementary texts by non-MOVE members contained favorable representations of MOVE. Over 80 percent of complementary texts by non-MOVE members, or 6 of 7, represented MOVE in an unfavorable manner. These complementary texts outcomes suggested that most non-MOVE members received attributes of MOVE as positive during the pre-Conflict years. Within the favorable category of texts by non-MOVE members, 100 percent of the data texts, or 3 of 3, included favorable representations of MOVE and its members.

An example from favorable distribution of complementary materials by non-MOVE members contained comments about how MOVE members viewed MOVE during the pre-Conflict, in an interview. R. Africa (2013 a), a Philadelphia community member during the time before 1978 shoot-out, recalled meeting MOVE, stated that:

[O]ne particular day [a MOVE member] called me, at work, and asked me I wanted to go to a meeting about planning a demonstration in support of MOVE. And this was like in March or early April of 1979...And I said: 'Yeah. I had read about MOVE; I had heard about MOVE but I would really like to find out more.' Find out, first hand, about MOVE...My sister Pam, who was an upfront MOVE supporter, at that time. She knew that I was getting ready to go to law school: that I was graduating from Temple and that I was getting ready to go to law school: that was my aim. And she told me that I should start going over to the MOVE trials when I could and see what was going on...I did. Just from me going over there to see what was going on, it completely turned me around... none of the nonsense in those textbooks that those Temple University professors were teaching me about how courtrooms operate was going on within this courtroom.

None of it was happening, none of it. Another thing, I saw the MOVE 9 representing themselves and not being intimidate...I was impressed. (12:00-14:35mins)

R. Africa (2013 a) shared her experience of first meeting MOVE members and becoming a MOVE supporter, highlighting the ways which interacting with MOVE influenced her perception of the System, specifically the workings of legal situation in the United States. This excerpt from an interview with R. Africa (2013 a) exemplified the kinds of data materials included within favorable, complementary texts by MOVE members. In all, tables 6 and 7 each presented different perspectives of the complementary texts materials by authorship used in this study. I concluded, from these findings, that most of the complementary texts consisted of positive representations of MOVE and its members as well as most of these favorable representations were authored by MOVE members.

To sum, favorable, neutral, and unfavorable representations of MOVE characterized the 67 main and complementary texts of this project, as illustrated in Table 1. Of these texts, nearly 95 percent of the sources portrayed MOVE in a favorable manners. Most of these favorable representations of MOVE were by MOVE members, while less than a fourth of the total texts represented neutral and unfavorable representations of the collective. All of the highest sub-categories favorably commented on MOVE and its racial attribute. During pre-Conflict years, these main and complementary texts findings suggested that MOVE members got represented as positive, mostly racial, figures within the *Philadelphia Tribune*. More important, the results of Tables 1 through 4 proposed that MOVE members' voices were more included within dominant discussion about the organization.

This section, finally, presented favorability findings for the 67- data materials utilized for this study. These data findings, ultimately, suggested that most of the texts about pre-Conflict MOVE represented the collective in favorable manners. From these findings, I concluded that much of the main data texts by MOVE members included favorable representations of the collective. Lastly, I inferred that, during pre-Conflict years, several discussions mentioned race attributes of MOVE. The favorability categorical findings of Chapter 3 on main and complementary texts served as the groundwork for the thematic findings of the upcoming sub-section.

Thematic Findings

In this section of Chapter 3, I present thematic categorical findings of main and complementary texts this section of the chapter, while the theme outcomes prepare the underpinning for the discourse analysis of the next chapter. I divide the information of this section into two sections with Tables 5 and 6. The first segment focuses on the findings for the top four thematic groups, while the latter section looks at sub-theme findings within the top theme.

Overall, four themes were featured in more than half of the total texts of this investigation. The 24 texts contained 49 references to the beliefs of MOVE: the references per source ranged from 1 to 2. In the next section, I present the findings on the top four themes within the 67- main and complementary texts.

Table 5. Most Frequently Discussed Major Themes in Pre-Conflict Main And Complementary Texts (N=51)		
Themes	Number of Sources N=51	Number of References N =81
Beliefs of the MOVE Organization	24 (47.06%)	49 (60.49%)
Due Process & Constitutional Rights	11 (21.57%)	17 (20.99%)
MOVE members' relationship to the System	7 (13.73%)	9 (11.11%)
Incarceration of MOVE Members	9 (17.65%)	9 (11.11%)

Most Frequently Discussed Major Themes in Main and Complementary texts. Table 5 illustrated, on the previous page, that more than half of major themes spoke to crucial values within the United States and, equally important, values within the MOVE community. Major emerging themes included: the beliefs of MOVE, due process and constitutional rights, MOVE members' relationship to the System, and incarceration of MOVE Members. These preeminent themes were, of course, intertwined, but each addressed specific aspects of the interactions and the subsequent media representation of the collective.

The beliefs of MOVE, due process and constitutional rights, MOVE member's relationship to the system, and incarceration of MOVE members represented the top four themes of the main and complementary texts. Of the 67 main and complementary texts, more than 75 percent, or 54 of 67, sources included these four themes. More than 40 percent of sources examined the culture and beliefs of MOVE. Examples of specific content within this theme included specific cases of professed self-determination, detailed engagements with Philadelphia communities, and explicated what MOVE members acknowledge as important work.

This collection of sources about MOVE's culture was associated with more than 50 percent of references for the major four themes. In other words, this one code included more than half of the references of the major four themes and less than half of the major four themes sources. The findings of the beliefs of MOVE theme was explored more in the next sub-section.

Table 6. Most Frequently Discussed Sub-Major Themes In Beliefs of the MOVE Organization (N=49)		
Themes	Number of Sources N=49	Number of References N = 73
Self-Determination	11 (22.45%)	18 (24.66%)
Working With (or for) the Community	7 (14.29%)	15 (20.55%)
Important Work	8 (16.33%)	13 (17.81%)
Promotion of Life	9 (18.37%)	11 (15.07%)
Animal Life	7 (14.29%)	9 (12.33%)
The System	7 (14.29%)	7 (9.59%)

Most Frequently Discussed Sub-Major Themes in Beliefs of the MOVE

Organization. The belief of MOVE theme included six major sub-themes, each associated with over 10 percent of the sources within this theme. The major sub-themes of belief of MOVE theme included ideas related to self-determination, working with (or for) the community, important work, promotion of life, animal life, and the system. Self-determination, the most frequent sub-major theme, stood for over 20 percent, or 11 of 53, of sources in the beliefs of MOVE. In the least ranking sub-theme, the system accounted for approximately 15 percent, or 8 of 53, sources coded within this theme.

In all, this section presented thematic findings for this study. These main and complementary texts findings of Chapter 3 suggested that most of the texts discussed the beliefs of MOVE and self-determination in addition to race, gender, and class attributes of the collective. The favorability categorical and thematic findings of Chapter 3 on main and complementary texts served as the foundation for the discursive findings of the upcoming chapter.

CHAPTER 4

MOVE AND MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS:

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Chapter 4, focusing on the main texts, offers discourse analyses on the key textual and thematic findings of the previous chapter through the lens of Collins's (1986, 1989, 1999, 2000) Black feminist framework and Fairclough's (1992, 1995 a, 1995 b) CDA framework in response to the four CDA guiding questions. Chapter 4 includes qualitative MOVE and non-MOVE findings about themes represented within the dataset texts and favorability classifications, specifically those pertaining to race, gender, and class attributes, of the last chapter. Chapter 4, lastly, ends with a section dedicated to highlighting MMM sub-group contributions to the dominant portrayal of pre-Conflict MOVE.

Popular Media Representations by MOVE Members: A Discourse Analysis

The findings of Main texts by MOVE members suggest that pre-Conflict, *Philadelphia Tribune* texts representations portrayed racial, gender, and class attributes of MOVE in favorable manners. Moreover, during this time frame, MOVE members depict MOVE's attributes as purposeful and contributive to Philadelphia communities. This segment overviews representations by MOVE members centering on the history of MOVE, the fundamental belief in Life for MOVE members, and how both related to representations of MOVE's attributes.

History of MOVE. According to L. James (2013), MOVE, first, formed during the early 1970's, with many of MOVE members being biological female relatives of John Africa (p. vii). In total, stemming from diverse racial backgrounds and socioeconomic statuses, MOVE members represented a spectrum of educational levels (Africa R., 1975; James , 2013, pp. 45-52). MOVE membership, moreover, consisted of young mothers and fathers, young single mothers, students, urban youths, ex- "gang banners," ex-substances abusers, toddlers, infants, stray local animals and ex-movement activists (Africa L. , 1975 ac, p. 7) and each one a MOVE leader.

As a leader, MOVE members imagined a different reality manifesting from a total revolution, a change of all activities and assumptions pertaining to living beings, including ideas of equality, peace, and freedom for all lives (James , 2013, pp. 47-78). As John Africa's *family of revolutionaries*, to quote Abu-Jamal, MOVE members served as forerunners for resistance against "the System" (in Hayden, 2006, p. 159), while marginalized women were the vanguards to John Africa's ideal existence (James L., 2013, pp. 61-63).

Stated more concisely, The MOVE Organization (2013 a) expressed that:

The MOVE Organization is a family of strong, serious, deeply committed revolutionaries found by a wise, perceptive, strategically minded Black man named JOHN AFRICA....JOHN AFRICA taught us that Life is the priority....We believe in Natural Law, the government of self. The fact that something is legal under the system's laws, doesn't make it right....JOHN AFRICA taught use that what is right applies equally, across the board. (para. 1-5)

The MOVE Organization (2013 a) provided information about the organizational beliefs.

The MOVE Organization (2013 a) specified qualities needed to be a follower of the

teachings of John Africa: members must be *strong, serious, deeply committed*

revolutionaries and understand the difference between legal sanctions and moral right.

Lastly, The MOVE Organization (2013a, 2013 b) explained that members must be

committed to egalitarian ideas, including concerns related to race, gender, and class. The

MOVE Organization (2013 a, 2013 b), not only advocated for a reality where marginality

no longer existed, but served as a space away from systems of oppression where

marginalized communities, including Black women, defined the existence of their

communities.

Many Black female MOVE members, as other Black women, served in leadership

roles for the collective. Collins (1989) forwarded that Black women's daily positionality

as a mechanism for understanding overlapping system of oppressions, stating that "Black

women's everyday acts of resistance challenge...approaches to studying the

consciousness of oppressed groups (p. 746). For Collins (1989, 2000), Black women's

daily lives were essential to unearthing the interplay and workings of racial, gender, class,

and sexual oppressions. Although MOVE lacked Black female head leadership, the collective included several Black women within other leadership roles.

Black female MOVE members were in charge of most of organizational tasks of MOVE (The MOVE Organization 2013 a, 2013 b). As the epicenter of MOVE's Black feminist standpoint on urban issues, Black female MOVE members provided the collective with countless intimate opportunities to educate minority communities about interlocking system of oppressions which usually went unacknowledged due to the general soci-political status of Black communities, women communities, and poor communities in U.S. society. All MOVE members, as a *family of revolutionaries*, influence and input of Black female-understandings embedded within the teachings of John Africa, functioned in a social sphere similar to Black women communities (Africa J. , 1975 a; Africa J. , 1975 b; Africa J. , 1975 c; Africa J. , 1975 d; Africa J. , 1975 e; Africa J. , 1975 f; Africa J. , 1975 g; Africa J. , 1975 h; Africa J. , 1975 i; Africa J. , 1975 j). Parallels between MOVE and Black women spaces were also highlighted through many of the legal situation between MOVE and Philadelphia officials.

With countless exchanges between MOVE members and Philadelphia officials, MOVE members began to have problems exercising rights to due process and other constitutional rights. MOVE members were subjected to unsubstantiated denial to rights, inside and outside, of the courtroom. On October 7, L. Africa (1975 o) wrote in related to a recent court date:

At Judge Simmons order [due to MOVE members being vocal and objecting court authorities] all MOVE members out of the courtroom, and proceeded to try these members in their ABSENCE, while they were outside in the hall. A short time later, the Public defender (they say one has to be present, whether we want them or not) came out into the hall where MOVE people were....She told us other verdicts had been reached, some were found guilty, others “thrown out.”... She admitted she had “never heard of anything like this before.” (p.5, para. 11)

L. Africa (1975 o) detailed the kinds of treatment MOVE members received at trial dates. Additionally, L. Africa (1975 o) identified very specific points where due process rights had been infringed, as well as how the appointed counsel had not acted in favor of MOVE members. The actors of the courtroom, as participants of interlocking oppressions, exhibited the kinds of struggles that faced MOVE members and individuals of marginalized communities.

MOVE members, as Black women, experienced right-infringement treatments within institutions of law. Collins (2000), arguing that the unique nature of Black women’s experience of interlocking systems of oppression, contended that the realities of Black families were set outside of the parameters of traditional family ideals due to histories of Black families and Black women in the United States (pp. 46-48). For Collins (1986, 1999, 2000), MOVE members, due to being anti-system and aligning the collective with marginalized communities, specifically minority women struggles such

those of Black women, resembled part of the histories of Black families and lie outside of traditional family visualizations, meaning that MOVE would have most likely experienced right-infringement treatments similar to that of Black women populations. In turn, MOVE provided more than organizational functions for members, it served as a space for familial ties for its followers.

Black MOVE women, as organizational leaders and family members, for Collins (2000), challenged patriarchy images. Although still “as an *outcome* of racial oppression and poverty...[stemming from] the political disenfranchisement and economic exploitation of African-Americans,” Black MOVE women were portrayed by MOVE members as protective community mothers (p.75). Black MOVE women, as other MOVE members, took on the responsibilities of all MOVE members, including nutrition, education, and general well-being (Africa L., 1975 e; Africa L., 1975 ad; Osder, 2013). MOVE members, specifically Black MOVE women, remained vocal on issues which effected members’ lives before and after joining MOVE.

MOVE members mostly stayed in the company of other MOVE members, though L. Africa (1975 aa, 1975 ab, 1975 ac, 1975af, 1976 a, 1976 b) constantly reminded Philadelphian readers that each member has a relationship to the System. L. Africa (1975 ab), on November 29, stated that MOVE members were once all apart of the System, explaining that “[m]any of the brutha’s and sista’s who make up Organization MOVE, were into the so-called ‘hap’nen’s,’ before coming into MOVE. They belonged to gangs, they are ‘runners’ – they drank, and they smoked ‘joint’” (p.24, para.7). L. Africa (1975

ab) shared details about MOVE members' lives before joining the collective and members' existence during the pre-Conflict years.

Similar to conditions of Black women communities, MOVE members' statuses in U.S. society provided "them with a different set of experiences that offers a distinctive material reality... [and] interpret[at]ions of] that reality different than a dominate group" (Collins, 2005, pp. 747-748). MOVE members constantly explained the lifestyle of the collective to Philadelphians, not only what the lifestyle was but also how they are empowered through living as they had (Africa L. , 1975 a; Africa L. ,1975 b; Africa L. ,1975 c; Africa L. ,1975 d; Africa L. 1975 e; Africa L. ,1975 f; Africa L., 1975 g; Africa L.,1975 h; Africa L., 1975 i; Africa L., 1975 j; Africa L., 1975 k; Africa L., 1975 l; MOVE Organization, 2013 a, The MOVE Organization 2013 b). It was through the in-depth interrogation of general U.S. society, or the System, that MOVE members located his and her collective power and purpose.

John Africa described the System- as MOVE called the institutional, most times governmental, portions of U.S. society-as the "government, the military, industry and big business... [those who] abused, raped and bartered life for the sake of money... [and] for diamonds, gold, or wads of money" (as cited in The MOVE Organization, 2013 a, para. 6). MOVE views of general U.S. society suggested that the collective understood it as a construct which promoted and perpetuated exploration within our society. For the MOVE members, the System was the antithesis of life.

The System, for MOVE, encompassed a wide range of oppressions and injustices within our society. MOVE members believed that the system encouraged specific behaviors which shorten, as well as suppress life. John Africa argued that behaviors and conditions such as “drugs [usage], alcohol [usage], cigarettes, crime, disease, perversion, suicidal tendencies, [and] manic depression” are effects of living within, as well as among, the System (as cited in The MOVE Organization, 2013, para. 11). MOVE members resisted the effects of the system by following the teachings and examples of John Africa and staying amongst other MOVE members.

In addition to contributing particularities about early MOVE and its members, several favorable pre-Conflict main texts representations of MOVE by MOVE members center on the beliefs of the organization. The next segment focuses on major sub-themes within the major theme of *Belief of the MOVE Organization* (see Table 6, page 78). This upcoming section highlights how MOVE members represented and communicated his and her organizational purpose by sharing the teachings of John Africa.

Teachings of John Africa. The *Philadelphia Tribune* was among the few local, or even national, news outlets that covered the confrontations between MOVE and Philadelphia officials from its beginnings. In addition to journalist reporting about MOVE, the collective got an autonomous column space within the *Philadelphia Tribune* approximately six-months (James L., 2013, p. viii). Several of the *Philadelphia Tribune* texts by MOVE members included comments about the development of MOVE as a collective and its beliefs (Africa J., 1975 a; Africa J., 1975 b; Africa J., 1975 c; Africa J., 1975 d; Africa J., 1975 e; Africa J., 1975 f; Africa J., 1975 g; Africa J., 1975 h; Africa J., 1975 i; Africa J., 1975 j). In 2013, in “Dealing with the Myth about Donald Glassey” of *John Africa...Childhood Untold Until Today*, L. James (2013) stated that:

I was going through a batch of papers one day, and ran across a picture of Don. Under his picture were the following words: “MOVE founder John Africa”...Donald Glassey is a white Sociology Professor. John Africa is a black man who, more often than not, is described as “having gone to the third grade.” To make Don the co-founder of MOVE, is to credit him the contributing to the Principle. Be still my hart! Fact is, Donald Glassey is not more a co-founder of MOVE than I am. Anybody saying otherwise is a liar! Like those of us who wrote with Vine, he simply took down what was said. (p. 54)

L. James (2013) addressed popular misconceptions about who developed MOVE and its founding beliefs. Additionally, L. James (2013) drew attention to social differences between John Africa and Don Glassey, specifically the educational levels and race of each person. This excerpt by L. James (2013) exemplified the kinds of neutral representations of MOVE included within complementary texts.

Fairclough (1995 b) argued that “*representations, identities, and relations ... [are]* any part of text will be simultaneously representing, setting up identities, and setting up relations” (p. 5). For Fairclough (1995 b), this excerpt exposed tensions between MOVE

and dominant representations, identities, and relations of MOVE members. The juxtapositioning of John Africa and Don Glassey exposed influences of systems of oppressions within popular media portrayals of MOVE members. L. James (2013) interpreted dominant representations of MOVE members, specifically John Africa, as members of marginalized groups with poor education due while Don Glassey got represented as intelligence due to being a *Sociology Professor*.

For Fairclough (1995 a, 1995b), L. James (2013) understood the identities of popular media portrayals with John Africa as a possible victim of the System and Don Glassey as an accomplishment of the System. At defining John Africa and Don Glassey relationships, L. James (2013) acknowledgment of John Africa as the leader of MOVE challenged the stereotypes of dominant depictions of U.S. leaders, as well as MOVE representations. For Fairclough (1995a, 1995 b), L. James (2013) unearthed unstable relationships between MOVE members' representations, as well as interpretation (Collins, 1989), and popular media depictions of MOVE.

In regards to organizational activities, MOVE participated in a range of activisms within the city of Philadelphia, and elsewhere, as acts of self-determination (James , 2013). Before 1978, MOVE members protested the encasement of animals, liberal movement agendas, and the use of excessive force by police officers (Africa L. , 1975 f; Africa L. , 1975 x). L. Africa (1975 d) shared a day for MOVE members, stating that:

The MOVE Organization is always working, meeting with people, putting out information. Though our day begins at 6 a.m., we never set a time to retire, because of the constant demands people make on us, and the imposition continually put on us by the cops...Our work is that of total revolution, and JOHN AFRICA has thoroughly equipped us to bring this about. People often become frightened when sighting the revolution, because they relate it to violence. You

need not be frightened by this term however, as the word revolution simply means to change from bad to good. In line with this we have the tremendous job of reaching all people, bringing to them the solutizing information given us by JOHN AFRICA. It is vital and it is vitally needed. (Africa, p. 9, para.15-17)

L. Africa (1975 d) highlighted the determination of the collective and its commitment to self- definition. According to L. James (2013), MOVE and the Philadelphia police department became acquainted with each other during these less publicized events. MOVE members were (and still is) relentless about eliminating the presence of brutality, racism, and other prejudices within institutions, including the local police departments, to begin the journey promoting life toward *total revolution*.

MOVE members' activities, similar to deeds of Black women communities, were to counter oppressive structures which circumscribed his and her existence in Philadelphia. Black women's activism, many times, served as survival mechanisms for shaping her subjectivity (Collins, 2000, pp. 201-202). Collins (1986) noted that "If Black women find themselves in settings where total conformity is expected, and where traditional forms of activism such... are impossible, then the individual women who in their consciousness choose to be self-defined and self-evaluating are, in fact, activists"(p. S24). For Collins (1986, 2000), Black women maintained control over defining her existence with various kinds of activism. MOVE members, too, embarked on activism to remain directors of his and her individual existences, collective realities, and images of a future life, the total revolution.

Contribution of Popular Media Representations by MOVE Members

Accordingly, this section presents representations of the collective specifically by MOVE members to highlight ways which each group support framings of race, gender, and class attributes for Philadelphia readers. This examination of popular media representations of MOVE and the framing of this collective begins with popular depictions during pre-Conflict but before continuing with the tasks of this chapter, a brief overview of previously presented discussions on MOVE, media representations, and resistance is needed. This section presents the discussions about the general findings of this investigation.

MOVE and the MOVE-System Dynamic. Exploring the history of MOVE and the MOVE-System dynamic offered interpretations of how MOVE members viewed his and her surroundings in pre-Conflict Philadelphia and possible reasoning for those conditions. Each previous discussion staged additional context for the writing in the *Philadelphia Tribune* running column. The combination of social, political, cultural, and class discourses highlighted a host of nuances within popular media representations of MOVE.

According to the findings, MOVE members published a significant number of favorable pre-Conflict newspaper entries about the collective. Much of what MOVE members discussed in these columns were about the beliefs and culture of the collective and members making a stance for self-determination in individuals' lives.

Representations by MOVE members spoke of racial attribute of the collective, implying

that it had played a significant role in how MOVE was treated within local criminal justice realms.

The significance of the racial attribute of MOVE has been mentioned by other scholars as an active force within the organization's relationships in Philadelphia's communities (Floyd-Thomas, 2002; Pomer & Mancini, 1980) , yet lacked the depth of details presented by MOVE members' popular media representations. On October 7th, L. Africa (1975 o) wrote:

Can there be any question in anyone's mind that the harassment of the MOVE Organization is blatant, when you have seen more than 300 arrests in less than a year on a people whose only "crime" is taking a complete and uncompromising stand in their speaking of the TRUTH- a people who recognizes no form of violence? (p. 5, para.3)

L. Africa (1975 o) pondered an injustice which consumes most of MOVE time: incarceration and imprisonment. L. Africa (1975 o) posed this question to Philadelphian readers to evaluate the treatment of fellow minority Philadelphians, particularly the uses of unwarranted violence by Philadelphia officials, specifically police officers. Representations by MOVE members carried with it thick discursive complexities to unpack.

At first glance, the question posed by L. Africa (1975 o) was quite simple for the reader: it sent readers appraise crimes that MOVE could have done to not only be arrested but, also, violently apprehended by Philadelphia officials. During pre-Conflict years, many of the *Philadelphia Tribune* articles about, or including, MOVE focused on trial dates and peacemaking yet lacked disclosure of those crimes the organization had

committed.¹⁵ For the *Philadelphia Tribune* readers, there were not easily accessible examples of MOVE's crimes or violation of the law. Thus, the question posed by L. Africa (1975 o) sent readers scuffling elsewhere for explanations to justify the arrests and abuse of MOVE members, which led to a next layer of meaning and significance of this excerpt.

The question posed by L. Africa (1975 o) had disrupted the logic of the legal/judicial discourse. To contextualize this excerpt, the question posed by L. Africa (1975 o) got *Philadelphia Tribune* readers, predominantly Blacks, to consider other attributes of MOVE members to explain the *more than 300 arrests in less than a year* and violent treatment by Philadelphia officials. The question posed by L. Africa (1975 o) got readers reflecting on the treatment of minority Philadelphians, specifically Blacks and Puerto Ricans, during those pre-Conflict years. During pre-Conflict years, alone, hundreds of articles had been published in the *Philadelphia Tribune* about police brutality.¹⁶ Many of these police brutality cases in the *Philadelphia Tribune* newspaper included little to no follow-up articles on cases. This treatment of MOVE, as well as other minority Philadelphians, provided more insight than where race and incarceration issues intersect for minority communities.

¹⁵ Many *Philadelphia Tribune* articles about, or including, the MOVE Organization were published during 1978- the year of the shoot-out as detailed in the introduction. A majority of these 1978 articles were featured in the *Philadelphia Tribune* months before the violent event took place.

¹⁶ Through the course of data collection, over 200 *Philadelphia Tribune* articles had been yielded with relation to police brutality during the 1970s.

Representations by the MOVE members about race implied there was a sense of lost, or separation, when its members were incarcerated. MOVE members explained that incarceration of its members impacted other members of MOVE, adults and children. On December 6th, L. Africa (1975 ad) shared:

Resulting from this closeness between father and child, when the father is “missing”- he is not only acutely missed by his wife- he is acutely missed by his children. It has been much stated that the number of our arrests are exorbitant. This means that fathers- many times father and mothers are snatched from their children... (p. 7, para.13)

L. Africa (1975 ad) highlighted the relationships between MOVE members are imparted by the connection between race and incarceration. Also in this passage, L. Africa (1975 ad) centered on the theme of incarceration and places it at the forefront of injustices which the organization faces. Most importantly, L. Africa (1975 ad) presented the humanity of the MOVE members in this excerpt.

Simply, within a first reading of this excerpt, readers gain insight on the “missing” fathers of MOVE. This telling of L. Africa (1975 ad) disrupted, or at least slowed, discourses pertaining to Black fatherhood. MOVE fathers, many of whom were Black, were assumed to be missing due to relationship between race and incarceration.

To contextualize the excerpt, L. Africa’s (1975 ad) expressions of lost and separation hinted at ideas of imaging imprisoned individuals as members of coherent family units. L. Africa (1975 ad) refuted criminal and racist discourses within dominant representations of MOVE by focusing on the humanity of MOVE members. That being so, much of what MOVE aimed to highlight through engaging with incarceration

discourses related to the intersection of race and issues of poverty within Philadelphia communities.

MOVE members' representations of race implied counter-productiveness of race as complicated by class, which presents tensions between class statuses within racial boundaries. MOVE members explained the reasons why class is also not in line with their beliefs therefore counter-productive; thus, anti-life. On October 25, L. Africa (1975 t) stated:

This is a system that is historically known for its two "camps"- the "haves" and the "have-nots" have not enough to get them from one check to another...Never enough money to pay their rent, not enough money to properly feed their families, rarely enough to provide adequate clothing, buying shoes for one, only to find another is in need. Being "sucked in" by the "dollar down-dollar a week" syndrome, as the only way to afford their families the few "extras."(p. 6, para.2-3)

L. Africa (1975 t) highlighted an idea of the working-poor within our society in this excerpt. L. Africa (1975 t) provided insight into issues centered on the lack of living wages. In general, this excerpt by L. Africa (1975 t) hinted a multitude of poverty issues within Philadelphia during pre-Conflict years.

This excerpt by L. Africa (1975 t) disrupted myths as well as discourses related to employment in the United States, specifically those which promised a better livelihood if employed. This excerpt is highly important due to the list of daily tasks which were complicated due to inadequate work wages and it got readers to think critically about the financial realms that he and she inhabit. With incarceration still in mind, much of the issues in the minority communities, detailed by L. Africa (1975 t), fall upon women. Minority women are socially designated due to "missing" fathers of heteronormative families to provide, this includes protecting, safe homes for their children. This

discussion on the interception of race, incarceration, and poverty has led to exploring gender roles within family units.

MOVE members representations of race implied there are racialized gendered, specifically female, experiences with the court which were often time overlooked.

MOVE female member experienced much violence from Philadelphia officials, this includes officers. On December 9th, L. Africa (1975 ad) wrote:

In still another instance, the babies of Delbert and Raphael Africa were wrestled from their mothers...banged brutally against steel bars, breaking the skin of the back of the child's head...carried UPSIDE DOWN- held by ON[E] ANKLE the entire length of the corridor...Added to this blatant atrocity was the fact that because the mothers fought for this babies- AFTER pulling the babies from them..[officers] went in the cells and beat not only the mothers, but the other MOVE women as well. (p. 12, para. 8)

L. Africa (1975 ad) highlighted a multitude of violence against the MOVE Organization.

In this excerpt, MOVE women are subjected to violence due to transgressing female gender roles. L. Africa (1975 ad) suggested that violence appear as a responds for protecting minority children. And, L. Africa (1975 ad) hinted that the violence appear as a responds for parenting Black children.

Representations by MOVE complicated race representations of the organization by intersecting the discourses on judicial, family, and gender. In each case, MOVE exhibited their humanity to Philadelphians. Much of the reports by the MOVE members aimed to challenge U.S. representations of the organization by presenting the organization as people living within and among the communities of Philadelphia.

MOVE members representations of gender implied that the organization recognize females as equal within the family unit. MOVE mothers were understood as being barriers of nourishment and strength, just as the MOVE fathers. L. Africa (1975 s) shared:

John Africa, Founder of the MOVE Organization, has endowed each MOVE member with the PRINCIPLE OF CARING- and the PRINCIPLE OF SHARING- which does away completely with the so-called “regulated roles.” In line with this, it is not strange to see a MOVE woman washing cars, or chopping wood, or working by her man’s side, engaging with him in whatever he might be doing, both exhibiting that STRONG, HEALTHY outlook so prevalent in MOVE man preparing dinner, washing dishes, or washing clothes- and the fathers in MOVE spend as much time with their children, as do the mothers. (p. 7, para. 10)

L. Africa (1975 s) highlighted the philosophies of the organization on sharing the responsibilities of child rearing. Within this excerpt on family roles, L. Africa (1975 s) exposed the uselessness of gender, family roles of that time for MOVE. This excerpt by L. Africa (1975 s) hinted at these practices of caring and sharing are fundamental to the establishment of MOVE.

On the surface, this excerpt negated the innate-ness of gender roles within the family unit. MOVE women were represented as strong and able-bodied when compared to MOVE counterparts. MOVE women were portrayed as equal contributor of MOVE. To setting this excerpt into context, L. Africa (1975 s) portrayed MOVE as an example of a place where more equal family dynamic exists and does work. L. Africa (1975 s) interrupted discourses of dominant representation of MOVE which characterizes the members as unsound. Many of the attributes of the organization extended passes

biological bonds, making the principles of caring and sharing applicable to all members within the MOVE community.

Representations by MOVE members of gender implied that the s of the organization recognize a diverse sense of membership which influences their understanding of gender. As stated previous, MOVE member and practice pertaining to gender were normalized by principles of caring and sharing. L. Africa (1975 ad) wrote:

Lamott Africa is here gazin[g] down at his sleeping child, his eyes reflecting all the love he feels for this child, knowing how precious is that life- and knowing the WORK we ALL must do to SECURE that life, and the lives of ALL OUR CHILDREN. (p. 7, para. 11)

L. Africa (1975 ad) centered communal living as normal practice within MOVE. L. Africa (1975 ad) noted that child rearing is work as well as equality. This excerpt by L. Africa (1975 ad) challenged discourses on fathering, redefining how father are to relate to children within a family unit.

Representations by MOVE complicated, and even disrupted, gender representations of the organization by intersecting the discourses on equality, communal child rearing. In each case, MOVE challenged dominant U.S. representations of the organization by presenting the organization as a family unit. Within media, MOVE conceptualized class a non-exploitive balance between willing individuals (The MOVE Organization, 2012). MOVE members' facilitated the organization as a context where many aspect of class are critically, interconnected unpacked. During the pre-Conflict, the interactions MOVE members transcended the class norms of that era and exemplified a stably lifestyle despite the lack of class engagement.

Representations by MOVE members on class implied that the philosophy of the organization is grounded in an understanding of balance and equality. As stated previous, MOVE members and practice pertaining to class were normalized by their principles of caring and sharing. Within the On the MOVE column, J. Africa (1975 j) shared:

SO LONG AS the people pushing this reformed world system continue to prostitute the meaning of economies, you can expect waste, anxiety, temporary jobs and more anxiety. The mismanaging problems of reformed economies didn't start, it ain't never stopped, you've had an unemployment problem ever since the employment of self-government was aborted, kidnapped, ransomed off by the illusionary government of political opposition. A deflationary system that is built on the heroics of conquest, claim, illegal passion, exploratory outlaws that will run the globe, intrude on the rights of others, overthrow their culture, boast of what they've found, ignoring what other have lost, get drunk in celebration, thrown up, spit up and demand their captives clean up after they've finished. (p. 2, para. 4-5)

L. Africa (1975 j) highlighted the links which connect world class and imperialism. In this excerpt, L. Africa (1975 j) detailed the methods which the United States employed to sustain a class advantage while juxtaposing with the atrocities occurring nationally related to class. L. Africa (1975 j) also presented many of the MOVE-disapproved class events within or involving the United States.

Contrary to dominant representations about MOVE, media depictions by MOVE members presented a more humane and civilized standpoint of the organization (Anonymous,1992; James L. , 2013). These representations by MOVE members highlighted a less aggressive and more community-engaged depiction of MOVE by involving several of the concerns and issues which faced their neighborhoods. Examples are provided to illustrate moments where representations by MOVE members disturb dominant discourses which framed Moves dangerous and aggressive.

MOVE members engaged with the community through everyday activities (Anderson & Hevenor, 1987, pp. 4-5; Anonymous, 1992, pp. 4-5; Boyette, 1989, pp. 36-37; James L., 2013). An example of this is that many of the MOVE members frequented and supported local businesses. On November 11 L. Africa (1975 x) stated that MOVE members and other Philadelphians created a morning tradition of meeting at a local restaurant for “The Zora Special” coffee and conversation on current news topics (Africa L., 1975 x). L. Africa (1975 x) also described the maltreatment of one of the members of the morning coffee collective within this text.

As stated within this column, Nellie- one of the mistreated members of the morning coffee collective- was attracted by a gas station’s dog attendant and had to seek medical services for her injury (Africa L., 1975 x; Africa L., 1975 y). L. Africa (1975 x) utilized weeks of column space to address the personal and common-place practices used within Philadelphia which oppressed minority communities in the city, as well as the animal population of Philadelphia. MOVE members also engaged with Philadelphia communities not only by highlighting individual stories of injustice but the collective also asked about communities’ concerns.

MOVE members solicited the worries and issues of their neighbors, human and non-human, young and old (Africa L. , 1975 u; Africa L. , 1975 aa; Africa L., 1975 ab). The centrality of life within the religion of MOVE encouraged an attitude of respect to all creatures on Earth (Anderson & Hevenor, 1987, pp. 1-19; Africa J. , 1975 I; Africa L. , 1975 y). J. Africa (1975 i) wrote on gangs in a few weeks' columns, stated that gangs had "poisoned the environment with violation, vaccinated Black folks with guilt, Puerto Ricans with remorse, pumped the inoculating needle of SELF- DESTRUCTION into the heads of ALL so-called inferior races" (p. 6, para. 1). MOVE viewed that the rampant spread of gangs within marginalized communities of Philadelphia is a tactic of killing off those populations within urban settings.

MOVE members also opened their personal space to community uses. The home of MOVE served as a hub of education on critical thinking and simple living within urban space for their community (Anonymous,1992, pp. 2-7). With serving as a center of information, MOVE members aimed to reach Black and Puerto Rican youths in the communities of Philadelphia. L. Africa shared memories of a time where a community members came to the headquarters to learn more about the collective, that "gentleman approached a MOVE member...to inquire if we were the MOVE Organization... a MOVE brother looked up from the car he was washing and yelled over to me—'Louise, take care of this man- he wants some information'" (Africa L. , 1975 ae). MOVE members constantly were involved with the politics of Philadelphia.

In all, there are differences, as well as overlaps, on how main and complementary texts by MOVE depicted the collective during pre-Conflict years. Popular media representations by MOVE members emphasized the manners which the organization was similar to Philadelphians, and other marginalized populations in the United States. This collection of representations by MOVE was significantly influential in the ways which each group framed information related to race, gender, and class.

This section highlighted findings suggested that the discourses in representations by MOVE members challenged the discourses of dominant representations of MOVE by interjecting conversations of how incarceration, poverty, and gender influence a racial subjectivity within Philadelphia during the pre-Conflict. The findings presented in Chapter 4 demonstrated the necessity for considering ways which representations of MOVE and by MOVE members depicted a more holistic portrayal of the organization's causes. Unlike dominant U.S. representations about MOVE, representations by MOVE members present different representations of the organization. These representations by MOVE members highlighted a less aggressive and more humane depiction of MOVE by engaging with U.S. incarceration, poverty, and gender discourses on race.

CHAPTER 5

MOVE, AN *OUTSIDER WITHIN*:

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Chapter 5 serves as the final chapter of this manuscript. This chapter presents the discussion of all findings and final thoughts about this project. Chapter 5 ends with highlighting the limitations of this study and offering future research directions.

MOVE, Media Representations, and Resistance: Discussion and Conclusion

This investigation embarks on an exploration of the popular media representation of MOVE and its members. Specifically, this thesis interests lie in pre- August 8, 1978 popular media representations of MOVE, this study employs Black feminist and CDA frameworks on newspaper texts, by MOVE and non-MOVE members, from the *Philadelphia Tribune*. Additionally, to understand MOVE member's usage of and role in pre-Conflict MOVE representations, I highlight several of the 1975 "On the MOVE" texts by MOVE members.

This thesis centers the perspectives of MOVE members about MOVE in an effort to interject his and her voices into current dominant conceptualization of the collective in the United States. Focusing on complicating popular media representations of MOVE, this project explores tensions between, and the varying favorability of, newspaper entries by MOVE and non-MOVE members. This project aims, in general, to unearth information about MOVE from the perspectives of MOVE members. It, also, aims to gather more information on MOVE and its member and gather more information about

the presences of MOVE in the *Philadelphia Tribune* during the years prior to the Conflict.

This project includes robust discussions on the sociocultural existence of MOVE through gathering an array of data from *Philadelphia Tribune* newspaper entries, a book, and interviews by MOVE and non-members covering information from the years before the MOVE-Philadelphia Conflict. This project excavates the ways in which discourses in popular media representations frame race, gender, and class attributions of MOVE. And this project includes a close, contextualized investigation on the discourse of MOVE to better understand the collective in amore holistic manner.

At one level, this thesis symbolizes years of MOVE members contemplating, imagining, and living a possibility for an alternative reality within the United States This manuscript about MOVE , at the next level, results from a range of struggle genealogies, nationally and internationally. Lastly, the research for this project resurfaces and centers a litany of stories and myths about MOVE members and organizational activities during and surrounding the Conflict. This thesis, more importantly, (re)focuses discussions about the Conflict on the people lost during this violent event for an in-depth understanding of what had been removed from society.

Also, pre-Conflict years stand as a time where MOVE members are very active and highly visible within the city of Philadelphia and the organization first features in popular media. Lastly, and most important, MOVE maintains a bi-weekly column with the *Philadelphia Tribune* for six-months where collective was able to directly communicate to the people within Philadelphia about organizational efforts and activities (James L. , 2013). Pre-Conflict popular media texts, specifically those of the *Philadelphia Tribune*, provide a rare opportunity of having both MOVE and non-MOVE members writing about MOVE and early tensions of the Conflict.

MOVE and its members have significant popular media coverage during pre-Conflict years. Unlike outcomes of Sanders and Jeffries' (2013) work, MOVE members get represented in favorable manners within popular media during 1970s. The favorability and thematic findings of this study, or Chapter 3, suggests that most main and complementary texts portrayed MOVE and its members in favorable, positive manners to Philadelphian readers, as well as the other *Philadelphia Tribune* readers in the United States. The favorability findings of *Philadelphia Tribune* texts implies that racial attributes of MOVE, particularly related to culture, and MOVE authorship contributes considerably toward the development of popular media representations of MOVE during pre-Conflict years.

Each table, figure, and appendix present different quantitative perspectives of results of the methods with main and compliment texts. Similarly, these findings propose that positive MOVE representations are significantly represented in the complementary texts as well. CDA findings of the 67-item main and complementary texts, or Chapter 4, uncover relationships within main texts between MOVE and its members, Black feminist framework, and soci-political structures within U.S. society.

MOVE and its members, as other marginal U.S. populations, as Black women populations, resist systematic oppression for similar reasons and through similar means. In the case of the presence of MOVE in popular media, MOVE members depicts the collective as a space heavily linked to minority populations' histories in the United States. Moreover, MOVE members' representations of the collective indicate that MOVE functions as a traditional Black family unit as well as medium to resist and live an existence in oppositional to system of oppression.

In all, this section presents a summary of results, interpretations, and implications of the results for this study. These data findings suggest that there is more to be explored pre-Conflict MOVE representations, as well as MOVE representations through Black feminist and CDA frameworks. This project functions as a begin into more MOVE-centered investigations and MOVE-Inclusive archival materials.

Limitations and Future Research

I find two limitations noteworthy due to their impact on the outcomes of this study. In general, the limitations of this study all relate to time. The first limitation of this study lies in the sample size of the *Philadelphia Tribune* newspaper entries. I include only seven newspaper texts by non-MOVE members. Although not the focus of the project, this study lacks a substantial sample size of texts by non-MOVE members. Additional newspaper texts by non-MOVE member are necessary to determine how the pervasiveness of the practice of highlighting negative attributes of MOVE was among non-MOVE members, particularly journalists.

The next limitation of this study, still dealing with time, relates to the limited number of MOVE member's voice represented within the study. This study does not include the voices of the MOVE 9 members and their experiences of pre-Conflict MOVE. Additional interviews with MOVE members are necessary construct a more holistic viewpoint of MOVE from the perspective about pre-Conflict MOVE members.

I offer two recommendations for future research. In an effort to continue on this path of MOVE member-center exploration on the Conflict, I propose additional examinations about the occurrence of the Conflict through the voices and narratives of MOVE members. Also, I propose mapping the genealogy of MOVE within resistance national and national struggles.

This project looks to refocus leading media representations of MOVE off of the violence during the Conflict and on the perspectives of its member. In other word, this investigation places the perspectives of MOVE members at its center. The unfavorable representations of MOVE members, implied by Sanders and Jefferies (2013), are only one set of relationships within the envisioned circuit of association that influences media representations of MOVE. In fact, within the process of producing scholarship about MOVE, specifically, many of these unfavorable, or even deviant, stereotypes were (and are) also perpetuated within academia. In all, it aims to challenge MOVE scholars to utilize archival data materials which include the voices of MOVE members. To end, this study is a beginning of better understanding MOVE as a collective of its own and not only as a participant of the Conflict, as well as understanding the collective within the U.S. society at large.

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APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Three interview questions were asked to the MOVE members. Each open-ended interview questions reflected three general areas of interest: background information, motivations and influences for activism, and the organization. These specific interview questions follow below:

Background Information

1. Tell me about yourself. When were you born? Where did you grow up?
What things did you in your leisure time when you were younger?

Motivations and Influences for Activism

2. What motivated, or influenced, you to become an activist?

The Organization

3. How did you come to joining this particular organization?

APPENDIX B

COMPLEMENTARY TEXTS FAVORIBALITY TABLES

APPENDIX B1

Appendix B1
Complementary Texts Favorability and Major Sub-category (N = 19)

Classifications	No. of Sources in Class. N=19	No. of References in Class. N=244	No. of Nodes, per Class. N=188
Favorable	16 (84.21%)	194 (79.51%)	161 (85.64%)
N/A	---	---	---
Neutral	3 (15.79%)	50 (20.49%)	27 (14.36%)
Race	3 (15.79 % , class.) (100.00 % , sub-class.)	50 (20.49% , class.) (100.00% , sub-class.)	27 (14.36% , class.) (100.00% , sub-class.)
Unfavorable	---	---	---
N/A	---	---	---

APPENDIX B2

Appendix B2
Complementary Texts Favorability by MOVE Members and Major Sub-theme (N=16)

Classifications	No. of Sources in Class. N=16	No. of References, per Class. N=139	No. of Nodes per Class. N=88
Favorable	13 (85.35%)	112 (83.83%)	38 (50.00%)
N/A	---	---	---
Neutral	3 (17.65%)	27 (16.17%)	50 (50.00%)
Race	3 (17.65%, class.) (100.00 %, sub-class.)	18 (18.00%, class.) (36.00%, sub-class.)	12 (7.90%, class.) (44.44%, sub-class.)
Unfavorable	---	---	---
N/A	---	---	---

APPENDIX B3

Appendix B3
Complementary Texts Favorability by Non-MOVE Members and Major Sub-theme (N=3)

Classifications	No. of Sources in Class N=3	No. of References in Class. N=50	No. of Nodes, per Class. N=140
Favorable	3 (100.00%)	50 (100.00%)	140 (100.00%)
N/A	---	---	---
Neutral	---	---	---
N/A	---	---	---
Unfavorable	---	---	---
Race	---	---	---

APPENDIX C

COPY OF INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD (IRB) EXEMPTION APPROVAL

COPY OF INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD (IRB) EXEMPTION APPROVAL



Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

To: Helen Quan
WILSN

From: Mark Roosa, Chair
Soc Beh IRB

Date: 07/22/2013

Committee Action: Exemption Granted

IRB Action Date: 07/22/2013

IRB Protocol #: 1306009358

Study Title: Inherited Circumstances: A Critical Discourse Analysis on Public Discourse and Repression in the City of Philadelphia-MOVE Conflict, 1960 to 2000

The above-referenced protocol is considered exempt after review by the Institutional Review Board pursuant to Federal regulations, 45 CFR Part 46.101(b)(2) .

This part of the federal regulations requires that the information be recorded by investigators in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects. It is necessary that the information obtained not be such that if disclosed outside the research, it could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability, or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You should retain a copy of this letter for your records.