Community Organizing and Leadership
Community Internship
UEP 310/311
Fall 2017
Professors Peter Dreier and Martha Matsuoka
TR 10:05 - 11:30am
Johnson 203

OFFICE HOURS
Dreier: TR 3:30-5:00 pm and by appointment
Matsuoka: TR 1:30 – 3:00 pm and by appointment

“An individual has not started living until he can rise above the narrow confines of his individualistic concerns to the broader concerns of all humanity”
-- Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

What This Course is About
"Organizing," writes author Si Kahn, "is people working together to get things done." This course focuses primarily on community organizing efforts by people working together to improve their neighborhoods, communities, workplaces, and cities. Community organizing can focus on a wide variety of issues - housing, the environment, public safety, public health and health care, child care, jobs, poverty, discrimination, and many others. We will also focus on union organizing as a complement to community organizing.

The purpose of the course is to help prepare you to be effective leaders. Some of you may want to become professional organizers, but all of you are (and will continue to be) citizens in some community. If you want to be an effective, active citizen who can make a difference in your community, you will need to use the tools of leadership and organization-building.

The course examines the history of community organizing in the United States. It explores the different theories and approaches to effective grassroots organizing. It emphasizes the skills and techniques used to empower people so they can win victories and improve their communities.

The course is intended to be a small, participatory seminar. Active student participation is critical to its success. The course involves five ways of learning:

1. An intensive 12-hour/week internship with an organization engaged in direct organizing and coalition building.
2. We will read several books and a number of articles about organizing, including several case studies, and discuss them in class.
3. We will watch several films (including documentaries) and discuss them in class.
4. We will talk with several guest speakers who have experience as effective organizers and activists.
5. We will participate in several hands-on exercises.
Course Requirements

- **Internship.**
  You should already have picked one of these groups to work with during the entire term. *You are expected to begin your internship the week of August 28 and work at least 10 hours/week through Tuesday, December 5, the last day of class.* You will attend meetings and public events, work in the office, meet the staff and members, and undertake research that will help the organization achieve its goals. You will spend at least 12 hours a week working with a community organization in the L.A. area.

- **Guest Speakers and Evening Films**
  We’ve invited several prominent activists, policymakers, and organizers to meet and talk with students for lunchtime discussions. On these days, the class discussion session will end at 11:00. Guest speakers will join us from 11-12:30. This is an important part and required part of the class. There will be five evening film screenings. These evening sessions will be held from 6:30 – 8:30; Johnson Hall 104. A summary of guest speakers and evening meetings is listed at the end of the syllabus. Please plan your work and internship schedules accordingly.

- **Written Assignments** (a summary of the written assignments is included at the end of the syllabus)

  1. **Keep a journal.** As part of this course, you should keep a journal. Your journal should record your internship activities. You should take notes on your observations, impressions, and questions about the people, the organization, the community, and issues you are dealing with. You should record your own activities -- including the highlights and challenges you observed or experienced. Your journals should be handwritten but depending on your handwriting, you may have to type up your notes. You will turn in your journals with your Final Paper (on December 12).

  2. **Complete an Organizational Profile of your internship organization.** (Due Tuesday, November 7) Completing this assignment will require you to research and find out information about your organization. This information will be used for your final paper. Draw on newspaper articles and reports about your organization. You may have to ask your supervisor for information. Since some of the information may be sensitive organizational information, you may want to let your supervisor know that the information will be used only for classroom discussion and the professors will be the only ones reading your profiles. Your profile

     ● Provide a one-page summary of the organization’s history, including the date of its founding, its evolution over time, any significant changes in its mission or structure.
     ● If you organization has a Board of Directors, list the names of the people on the Board of the organization.
• Profile the Board of Directors in terms of the following categories: (1) community residents, (2) staff, (3) funders and/or business, (4) allies, (5) attorneys, (6) other.
• Annual budget of the organization for each of the past three years. In cases where you might be interning with a union local of a chapter/local office of a statewide organization, you may have to determine local and higher level budgets.
• % of budget devoted to community organizing.
• Number of full-time and part-time staff persons with responsibility for community organizing and advocacy. Number of full-time and part-time staff persons in the whole organization.
• Sources of funding for the organization for each of the past three years, including dues, foundations, fundraisers, other. List the foundations.
• List the issues that the community organizing staff have worked on in the past three years.
• Describe the group’s key organizing campaigns over the past three years, using a narrative version of the Midwest Academy’s strategy chart. Who are their key constituencies, targets, allies? What are their strategies and tactics? List the outcomes of their community organizing campaigns -- victories, defeats, stalemates.

3. **Final Paper** (due Tuesday, December 12 by 5:00 p.m.; no late papers accepted)
Each student in this course is required to write a short paper (15-20 pages) describing and analyzing your internship and the organization you worked with. The paper should draw on the class materials (readings, films, speakers, exercises) as well as your experiences and your journal and research done for your Organizational Profile. The paper should explain what you learned about community organizing, especially, the key elements of effective community organizing, and how well the organization met the criteria of effective organizing.

Your final paper should aim to be objective and analytical. That means you should view the organization from a variety of angles and perspectives -- not simply the perspective of your supervisor. You should look organization from the perspective of the staff, the board, constituents, allies, targets, and others. Then you can come to your own conclusion based on having an "outsider's" view of the organization.

In order to write this paper, in other words, you will need to talk to people besides your internship supervisor. Your analysis of the organization's strengths and weaknesses should be based on the criteria we have discussed and read about in class. To help you think about these issues, we will put on the course website a chapter called “Getting to Know the Placement Site” from the book *The Successful Internship: Transformation and Empowerment in Experiential Learning* by H. Frederick Sweitzer and Mary A. King (third edition, Thompson-Brooks/Cole Publishers, 2009). Please read this chapter **before** you begin your internship.

The final paper should include an evaluation of the organization and of your internship. Topics should include (but aren't limited to) the following:
● The history of the organization. How it was started and by whom? Why was it started? What are the organization's missions and goals? How and why it has changed since its beginning?

● How is the organization organized? Discuss its budget, staff, board, and sources of funds. Who runs the organization? How does the way it is organized reflect its missions and goals? How does the way it is funded influence what it does and its ability to advance its mission and/or achieve its organizing goals.

● How does the organization decide what issues to get involved with? What is the group's overall strategy? How does it decide on strategy and tactics?

● What is the organization's constituency? How does it determine what its constituency is?

● How does the organization deal with such matters as leadership, recruiting and maintaining members, maintaining morale, fundraising, research, and the media?

● What impact does involvement in the organization have on the people -- staff, leaders, members?

● Discuss how your internship fits into the organization's overall activities. Discuss the specific role(s) you play(ed) in the organization. Evaluate the pros and cons of your internship.

● Discuss the overall strengths and weaknesses of the organization. Be sure to clarify what criteria you are using.

**Grades**

For UEP 310, your grade will be based on three areas of work:

1. Participation in class (including lunch and dinner sessions) (33%). Students are expected to do the reading before class and actively participate in classroom discussions.

2. Class Exercises (33%). The course includes a series of exercises and assignments throughout the course that you are expected to participate in and, in the case of written exercises, turn in for credit. Completion of these will contribute to your participation in class. They are also key elements of your final paper (see below).

3. Internship Analysis (33%). This includes three assignments: 1) completion of your journal; 2) organizational profile of your internship organization; and, 3) final paper. See details above.
For UEP 311, your grade will be based on your Internship Analysis (see above) as well as an evaluation by your supervisor and our discussions with you about your internship.

**Required Readings**
Much of the course reading will be found in the books listed below. In addition, all readings with an asterisk (*) will be found on the Moodle site this course. I may occasionally add or switch readings if we think it is appropriate.

Students should also regularly bring to class articles from newspapers or magazines that relate to the topics discussed in the course.

You should purchase the following paperback books. They are for sale at the Oxy Bookstore.

- Mary Beth Rogers, *Cold Anger: A Story of Faith and Power Politics*
- Gabriel Thompson, *Calling All Radicals*

**Plagiarism Policy**

Plagiarism consists of any form of passing off, or attempting to pass off, the knowledge or work of others as your own. It is a form of cheating. Examples of plagiarism include: unattributed quotations from a book, magazine or article; copying from the notes or essays of others; the submission of work actually written or dictated by others; and unattributed use of other peoples’ ideas. Remember, plagiarism includes information from books, newspapers, journals and the Internet.

Plagiarism is grounds for failing the course and possible expulsion from the college. Students should consult occidental’s student handbook for information on academic misconduct policy at the college: http://www.oxy.edu/student-handbook/academic-ethics/academic-misconduct.

**Laptops and Cellphones**

- Cell phones and all other electronic devices are to be turned off or put on silent. Additionally, they are to be put away to avoid distraction.
- Laptops are allowed to be used only for taking notes and for related classroom assignments.

**Recommended Readings**
The following paperback books are recommended for basic reference:

Jonathan Smucker, *Hegemony How-To: A Roadmap for Radicals*

Sarah Jaffe, *Necessary Trouble: Americans in Revolt*
Becky Bond and Zack Exley, Rules for Revolutionaries: How Big Organizing Can Change Everything


Greg Jobin-Leeds, When We Fight We Win! – 21st Century Social Movements and the Activists That Are Transforming Our World

Kristin Szakos and Joe Szakos, We Make Change: Community Organizers Talk About What They Do And Why. You will enjoy this book, which has lots of great profiles of and stories about effective organizers working in different parts of the country, in different kinds of organizations, on different issues.

Robert Fisher, Let the People Decide: Neighborhood Organizing in America (2nd edition). This is the best overview of the history of community organizing. It describes various efforts and strategies to organize communities and neighborhoods in this century.

Saul Alinsky, Rules for Radicals and Reveille for Radicals. Alinsky was the "father" of community organizing, starting in the 1940s. These two books are the "bibles" of organizing -- the lessons he learned from his decades as an organizer. They are both in paperback, easy to read, and full of great insights, most of which have stood the test of time.

MoveOn.Org, 50 Ways to Love Your Country. This is MoveOn’s guide to political activism and the many ways Americans can be effective citizens

Charlotte Ryan, Prime Time Activism. This book is a handbook for grassroots activists about dealing with the media.

Mark Warren, Dry Bones Rattling. This is case study of effective community organizing around a variety of issues in Texas. It is also an analysis of how community organizing relates to the persistent crisis of American democracy -- inequalities of power, participation, and policymaking.

Rinku Sen, Stir it Up: Lessons in Community Organizing and Advocacy and Makani Themba, Making Policy, Making Change: How Communities are Taking Law into Their Own Hands. These two books document grassroots organizing campaigns that focus on media and policy advocacy; the Themba book focuses on public health issues. She includes a chapter case study on the Community Coalition’s organizing campaign to shut down liquor stores in South Los Angeles.

Joan Minieri and Paul Getsos, Tools for Radical Democracy. How to Organize for Power in your Community. This how-to manual includes: 1) In-depth analysis of how to launch and win a campaign; 2) Tools, worksheets and guidelines for training people to lead their own campaigns and organizations; 3) Insights for using technology effectively, building more powerful alliances, and engaging in the social justice movement.
Web Sites
You can use the internet to connect to the larger worlds of public policy, advocacy, and organizing. There are thousands of web sites that deal with social issues and thousands of advocacy organizations and political networks that have their own web sites. Here are several key sites with which you should be familiar. I encourage you to bookmark them so you can find them easily.

Community Organizing and Development ([http://comm-org.wisc.edu](http://comm-org.wisc.edu)) -- This site is a link with hundreds of groups involved in urban community development. If you want to find out what groups are working on different urban issues, this is the site. It also has many articles and reports on urban community development and community organizing.

Organizing Upgrade ([www.organizingupgrade.com](http://www.organizingupgrade.com)) is a website developed by former organizers to facilitate strategic thinking on how to link community organizing to broader social justice movements rooted in communities.

The Center for Neighborhood Technology ([http://www.cnt.org](http://www.cnt.org)), the National Housing Institute (www.nhi.org), Planners Network ([http://www.plannersnetwork.org](http://www.plannersnetwork.org)), and Next City ([https://nextcity.org](https://nextcity.org)) focus on innovative research and programs that strengthen urban neighborhoods and metropolitan areas. Each site has links to many other resources.

Campus Activism ([http://www.campusactivism.org](http://www.campusactivism.org)) is a good source of information about organizing efforts on college campuses around different issues. Generation Progress ([http://genprogress.org](http://genprogress.org)) is one of the most effective progressive student groups, with lots of resources and information on its website. The Workers’ Rights Consortium ([http://www.workersrights.org](http://www.workersrights.org)) is a human rights group that monitors sweatshop conditions around the world and works with United Students Against Sweatshops ([http://usas.org](http://usas.org)) to help student groups that seek a “sweatshop-free” campus.

American Prospect ([http://www.prospect.org](http://www.prospect.org)), The Nation ([http://www.thenation.com](http://www.thenation.com)), and Yes! ([http://www.yesmagazine.org](http://www.yesmagazine.org)) These are three of the most important magazines analyzing American politics from a progressive, grassroots perspective

READINGS, FILMS, SPEAKERS, AND DISCUSSION TOPICS

The course will cover the following topics. Students should have reading (and viewing) assignments completed before the class discussion on the topic. We may make changes to the reading assignments in order to incorporate relevant and timely readings; please refer to the readings posted on the Moodle site. (Note: NYT=New York Times; LAT=Los Angeles Times)

In the early weeks of your internship you should read:


Part I. FRAMING THE COURSE - POWER

Thursday, August 31 – Introduction
Milltown Role Play exercise

Tuesday, September 5 – Power: Class, Race, Gender, Sexuality, and Nationality
Watch before class: “How We Live” (7 minutes) http://vimeo.com/94603192
*C. Wright Mills quote (from Mills, The Power Elite)
*Rev. William Barber, “A Dying Mule Always Kicks the Hardest” (BillMoyers.Com, November 17, 2016)
[This is not required, but if you did not see Rev. Barber’s inspiring talk at Oxy last February, it is available on YouTube. You can skip the introductions and the honorary degree ceremony and start with his talk, which begins at 33:26 into the video. His talk is an hour long and ends at 1:40:00. You can skip the Q-and-A after the talk. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iYLmURACkz0]
*Garza. “A HerStory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement” (BlackLivesMatter.com)
*Walsh, “Did Race or Class Doom Hillary Clinton? It Was Both” (The Nation, November 26, 2016)
*Reich, “And Now the Richest .01 Percent” (Huffington Post, November 18, 2014)
*Bivens, “Inequality, Exhibit A: Walmart and the Wealth of American Families” (Economic Policy Institute, July 17, 2012)
*Swartzman, “How the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Keeps Working People Poor and Destroys the Environment” (In These Times, August 19, 2015)
*Pimpare, “Why Big Business Loves Desperate Workers” (Common Dreams, July 17, 2014)
*Dreier, “This Economy is a Real Killer” (Huffington Post, March 10, 2009)
*Lopez, “Another Employee’s Butchered Benefits” (LAT, June 27, 2007)
*Tobar, “Los Angeles Helps the Wealthy but Not the Little Guy” (LAT, August 12, 2011)
*Arcenault, “In a City Fraught with Racial Past a Day of Protest Against Hatred and Bigotry” (Boston Globe, August 19, 2017)

**Thursday, September 7 – Organizing for Power**

Before class, watch this video before coming to class: “Interview with Liliana Guandique” (6 minutes) [https://vimeo.com/63744322](https://vimeo.com/63744322)

Before class, watch this video of remarks by Susan Bro, the mother of Heather Heyer, the woman who was killed by neo-Nazis in Charlottesville, Virginia on August 12 (7 minutes) [https://twitter.com/ShaunKing/status/897863243254726656](https://twitter.com/ShaunKing/status/897863243254726656)

*Steinbeck, The Grapes of Wrath (1939) – Chapter 5
*Bacon, “Braceros Strike After One Worker Dies” (American Prospect, August 9, 2017)
*Dreier, “Steve Mnuchin Meet Rose Gudiel” (Huffington Post, October 10, 2011)
*Bhargava, “Organizing Principles” (NYT, September 13, 2008)
*Ayala, “How Organizing for a Union Changed My Life” (Frying Pan News, April 12, 2013)
*Greenhouse, “Thousands of Home Aides Strike, Seeking $3 Hourly Raise” (NYT, June 8, 2004)
*Dreier, “Huntington Hospital Values Profits Over People” (Huffington Post, June 20, 2016)
*Alexander, “Following Horrific Violence, Something More is Required of Us” (BillMovers.Com, July 9, 2016)
*Tobar, “Can Latinos Swing Arizona?” (New Yorker, August 1, 2016)

**Thursday, September 7, 7:30 p.m. (Optional): Maria Elena Durazo** - longtime progressive labor organizer, immigrant rights activist, and current vice chair of the Democratic National Committee – will be speaking at the Pasadena Jewish Temple and Center at 7:30 pm. She’ll be talking about how California is resisting Trump’s agenda and what people can do to move forward. She’s also running for the state Senate from a district that includes Oxy. The public is invited. It is free. The temple is about a 15-minute drive from campus at 1434 N Altadena Drive, Pasadena, California 91107
Tuesday, September 12 – What is Bottom-Up Power? Individuals, Relationships, Resources, Institutions
Pass out Member/Leader Interview assignment (due Thursday, October 26)
Pass out Organizational Profile assignment (due Tuesday, November 7)
Watch before class: Obama and Project Vote (6 minutes) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Px1Ut433xPU
Read: Mary Beth Rogers, Cold Anger: A Story of Faith and Power Politics (entire book)

Tuesday, September 12 – Movie: “Heather Booth: Changing the World” (6:30 pm)

Thursday, September 14 -- Organizing and Power in the Trump Era
Watch this 30-minute video: John Oliver on Normalizing Donald Trump: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-rSDUsMwakI
*Remnick,”Obama Reckons with a Trump Presidency” (New Yorker, November 28, 2016)
*Roberts, “Everything Mattered: Lessons From 2016's Bizarre Presidential Election” (Vox, November 30, 2016)
*Leonhardt, “The Democrats’ Real Turnout Problem” (NYT, November 17, 2016)
*Tomlinson, “Reverend Resistance” (Esquire, April 25, 2017)
*Dreier, “The Anti-Trump Resistance and Beyond” (Mobilizing Ideas, July 24, 2017)
*”Indivisible: A Practical Guide for Resisting the Trump Agenda”
*Atlas and Dreier, “Trump’s War on Voters Has a Long History” (Salon, August 8, 2017)
*Scher, “How Democrats Won the Health Care War – And How They Could Lose the Next One (Politico, July 20, 2017)
*Chait, “Trump’s Fledgling Presidency Has Already Collapsed” (New York, August 4, 2017)
*Mai-Duc, “Jimmy Gomez on Winning the 34th District: 'Was That a Dream?'” (LAT, June 8, 2017)
*Kuttner, “Cheer Up, Democrats” (American Prospect, June 27, 2017)
*Walsh, “Democrats Have a Problem: Can These Women Fix It?” (The Nation, August 28, 2017)
*Tomasky “Sorry, Liberals: There Is No Majority Without Moderates” (Daily Beast, July 25, 2017)
*Booth, “Getting Serious About 2018” (American Prospect, July 5, 2017)

Thursday, September 14 -- Film: “Bread and Roses” (6:30 pm)

“Dolores: The Movie” -- A new documentary about activist and organizer Dolores Huerta (doloresthemovie.com) will be screening at the Laemmle Playhouse 7 in Pasadena from September 15-21. Dolores Huerta co-founded the United Farmworkers union with Cesar Chavez and at age 87 continues her activism with groups such as California Calls. We will arrange for tickets and provide more information about the exact screening dates/times.
Tuesday, September 19 — What’s the Difference Between Organizing, Advocacy, and Service?
Bobo, OSC, Ch. 2 (Fundamentals of Direct Action Organizing)
Thompson, Calling All Radicals, Chapter 1 (“Please Remove Your Hat Before We Evict You”) and Chapter 2 (“A Word of Enthusiasm”)
*The Hungry Person Exercise
*Rourke, “Her Calling: To Help Others Find a Voice” (LAT, August 12, 2002)
*Medina, “At an Upscale Beverly Hills Restaurant, Claims of Underpaying Workers” (NYT, July 20, 2013)
*Slater, “Public Corporations Shall Take Us Seriously” (NYT Magazine, August 12, 2007)
*McKnight, "Services are Bad for People: You’re Either a Citizen or a Client (Organizing, Spring/Summer 1991).
*Piven, “Why We Need ACORN” (LAT, April 22, 2010)
*Axel-Lute, “Direct Action for Housing” (Shelterforce, July/August 2002)
*Renwick, "Fed-Up Tenants Take Over" (LAT, Aug. 15, 1994)
*Lydersen, “Making Food Deserts Bloom” (Shelterforce, Summer 2008)
*Sheth, Hardin, and Bhagwat, “SLAC Claims Victory as Hunger Strike Comes to a Close” (Stanford Daily, April 23, 2007)

Tuesday, September 19 - Speakers
Oxy alums Lydia Avila (California Calls) and Lanita Morris (Groundswell)

Thursday, September 21 -- Power and Privilege
Pass out Power Analysis assignment (due December 7)
*Graphic: “Equality, Equity, Reality, Liberation”
*Collins, “Introduction: Time to Come Home” (from Born on Third Base, 2016)
*Dreier and Collins, “Traitors to Their Class” (New Labor Forum, Winter 2012)
*Coates, “The Case for Reparations” (Atlantic, June 2014)
*Gay, “Hate That Doesn’t Hide” (NYT, August 18, 2017)
*Rutten, “Treating People Like Garbage” (LAT, August 28, 2010)
*Greenhouse, “Hotel Rooms Get Plusher, Adding to Maids’ Injuries” (NYT, April 21, 2006)
*Eidelson, “Celeb-loving organic bread company charged with abuse” (Salon, Nov. 25, 2013)
*Lovell “A Tale of Two Schools” (NYT, May 4, 2014)
*Irving, “White Privilege Explained In 3 Easy (ish) Steps”
*Hanauer, “The Pitchforks Are Coming for Us Plutocrats” (Politico, July/August 2014)

Thursday, September 21 - Speaker
Amy Schur, ACCE
Part II. THE FOUNDATIONS OF ORGANIZING

**Tuesday, September 26 – The Long Arc of Justice: Movements in U.S. History**
*Martin Luther King, “Our God Is Marching On,” March 25, 1965 (read and watch this speech delivered on the steps of the State Capitol in Montgomery, Alabama, after the successful completion of the Selma to Montgomery March)*

Text: [http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/documentsentry/doc_address_at_the_conclusion_of_selma_march](http://kingencyclopedia.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/documentsentry/doc_address_at_the_conclusion_of_selma_march)

Video (excerpt): [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TAYITODNvlM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TAYITODNvlM)

**Pass out 20th Century Timeline**
*Thompson, Calling All Radicals (Chapter 7, “Why Organizers Should Study Dead People”)*
*Dreier, “The History of Hope” (The Nation, March 3, 2008)*
*Hirshman, “What Stonewall Got Right, and Occupy Got Wrong” (New Yorker, June 21, 2012)*
*Blake, “How Ferguson Could Become a Movement: Four Lessons from History” (CNN, August 30, 2014)*

**Tuesday, September 26 – Film – “The Organizer” (6:30 pm)**
*Background notes about “The Organizer”*

**Thursday, September 28 – Saul Alinsky and Organizing Since the 1960s**
Watch this film on line before coming to class: “The Democratic Promise: Saul Alinsky and His Legacy” The video is an hour minutes long. There is a DVD in the college library. It is also available online via YouTube in six parts. Please watch all six parts. Here’s a link to all six parts:
[https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLnd5IDceeYHmJcjTvl5hx7NY_hiulKfAa](https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLnd5IDceeYHmJcjTvl5hx7NY_hiulKfAa)
*Remnick, “Black Metropolis” (from The Bridge: The Life and Rise of Barack Obama, 2010, pages 125-143 and 162-181)*
*Ross, “Axioms for Organizers” (1989)*
*Dreier, “Hillary Haters’ Fixation on Saul Alinsky” (American Prospect, July 26, 2016)*

**Tuesday, October 3 -- Workers Rights and the Labor Movement**
Watch before class: “What Have Unions Ever Done for us?” (Australian video, 2 minutes)
[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=184NTV2CE_e](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=184NTV2CE_e)
Watch before class: “What Have Unions Ever Done for Us?” (American video, 3 minutes)
[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iObqguaNDdA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iObqguaNDdA)
“Reporting Labor in the U.S. Media,” Al Jazeera, August 27, 2017
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iN03YHFTC6c](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iN03YHFTC6c)
*Bobo, OSC, Ch. 19 (Building Labor-Community Partnerships)*
*Fellner and Dubro, “The Soul of Labor History is the Story of Democracy” (from Working With Labor: A Primer, A History, pages 23-33)*
*Dreier and Cohen, “The Fire Last Time” (New Republic, March 12, 2011)*
*Tobar, “A Union Job Gave Her the Bootstraps She Needed” (LAT, June 14, 2012)
*“The Union Advantage: Facts and Figures” (SEIU, 2010)
*Gupta, “How to Write a New Organizing Playbook” (The Nation, July 7, 2014)
*Meyerson, “The Seeds of a New Labor Movement” (American Prospect, Fall 2014)
*Gandel, “Why Walmart Can Afford to Give Its Workers a 50% Raise” (Fortune, Nov. 12, 2013)
*Sherer, “Black Friday: Walmart employees stage protests to demand higher pay” (CBS Moneywatch, Nov. 29, 2013)
*DePillis, “Under Pressure, Walmart Upgrades Its policy for helping pregnant workers” (Washington Post, April 5, 2014)
*Corey, “How the ‘Schedules That Work’ Act Could Change the Lives of Millions of Workers” (In These Times, July 30, 2014)
*Picchi, “5 ways Walmart can get its mojo back” (CBS Moneywatch, August 14, 2014)
*Miller, “Nissan Union Loss Underscores Labor’s Big Dilemma” (American Prospect, August 8, 2017)

**Tuesday, October 3: Speaker**
Eddy Iny, Our Walmart campaign

**Tuesday, October 3 - Film:** “Norma Rae” (6:30 pm)
*Background notes on “Norma Rae”

**Thursday, October 5 – The Power of Relationships**
*Gladwell, “Six Degrees of Lois Weisberg” (New Yorker, January 11, 1999)
*Tufekci, “After the Protests” (NYT, March 20, 2014)
*Kretzman, "Building Communities From the Inside Out" (Shelterforce, Sept. /Oct. 1995)
*Zinn, "Young Ladies Who Can Picket" (from Zinn, You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train)
*Schreckinger, “How Bernie Sanders Makes his Mega-Rallies” (Politico, August 19, 2015)
*Lydon and Garcia, “How One Weekend in Dallas Sparked a Movement for Urban Change” (Next City, April 20, 2015)
*Silverman, “How the Bible Belt Lost God and Found Trump” (Financial Times, April 13, 2017)

**Extended Discussion: Thursday, October 5**
Discussion of family history and social ties

**Tuesday, October 10 – Fall Break**

**Thursday, October 12 – Organizing and Culture**
Pass Out Issues Assignment (Due Tuesday, October 17)
Watch this 9-minute video about Luis Valdez and Teatro Campesino.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=isPFm9A_xRM
Watch this 4 minute video of Luis Valdez and the United Farmworkers.  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XdeIwysKwJM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XdeIwysKwJM)


*Kuttner, “What is Cultural Organizing?” (CulturalOrganizing.org, 2015)

*Dreier and Flacks, “Music and Movements” (Huffington Post, July 24, 2014)

*Renz, “People Power: An Interview with David Solnit” (Mother Jones, March 22, 2005)

*Wick, “These Immigrant Rights Activists Brought A Literal Melting 'ICE' Sculpture To A Protest” (LAist.com, August 3, 2017)

*Leeds. ”Interview with Jose Jorge Diaz Ortiz” When We Fight, We Win: Twenty-First-Century Social Movements and the Activists That Are Transforming Our World. 2015, pages 48-49)

*Leeds, “Interview with Lily Paulina” (from When We Fight, We Win: Twenty-First-Century Social Movements and the Activists That Are Transforming Our World. 2015)

*Leeds, ”The Power of Stories: The Dreams and Immigrant Rights” (from When We Fight, We Win: Twenty-First-Century Social Movements and the Activists That Are Transforming Our World, 2015)

*Kukura, The Hell Raising History of the SF Mime Troupe” (SFist.com, July 1, 2016)


**Thursday, October 12: Lunch speaker**
Pablo Alvarado, National Day Laborers Organizing Network and Lizbeth Mateo (Pasadenans Organizing for Progress).

**Part III. THE FUNDAMENTALS OF ORGANIZING**

**Tuesday, October 17 -- What Makes a Good Issue?**

**Issues Assignment Due**

*Class Exercise: Picking an Issue

*Pass out Strategy Chart Exercise (Due Thursday, October 19)

*Bobo, OSC, Ch. 1 (Introduction) and Ch. 3 (Choosing an Issue)

*Moengo, "Residents Want Action After Fatal Accident on Figueroa" (LAT, Oct. 18, 1998)

*Reyes, “South LA Residents Resist Oil Firm's Plans to Burn Gas at Drilling Site” (LAT, Aug 16, 2015)

*Freedman, “Poor Selection” (Wall Street Journal, December 20, 1990)

*Lopez, "Fewer Fire Inspections Conducted in Inner City” (LAT, Oct. 8, 1993)


*Tobar, "Housing Laws No Cure for Slums' Ills" (LAT, July 20, 1997)


*Fuller and Beltran, “The Invisible Cyclists of Los Angeles” (Progressive Planning, Summer 2010)

*McGreery, “Question of Race Profiling Unanswered” (LAT, July 12, 2006)

*Greenhouse, “Among Janitors, Labor Violations Go with the Job” (NYT, July 13, 2005)
*Greenhouse, “Hotel Rooms Get Plusher, Adding to Maids’ Injuries” (NYT, April 21, 2006)

**Thursday, October 19 – Thinking Strategically: How Do We Organize Effective Campaigns?**

*Strategy Chart assignment due*

Bobo, OSC, Ch. 4 (Developing a Strategy), Ch. 5 (A Guide to Tactics), Ch. 7 (Meetings to Pressure Officials), Ch. 8 (Holding Accountability Sessions)

*They Said It Was Impossible: How to Win Progressive Change When the Odds Are Against Us* (LAANE pamphlet)


*Blake. “Why Some Movements Succeed and Others Wilt” (CNN, August 19, 2013) [Be sure to also look through the historic photos included in the site]*

*Swartzman, “We Need to Stop Being Nice” (In These Times, July 15, 2015)*

*Semuels, “The Little Union That Could” (The Atlantic, November 3, 2014)*


*Petronizio. “How Native American Youth Built and Sustained the #NoDAPL Movement” (Mashable.com December 6, 2016)*

*Liberty Hill Foundation, Clean Up Green UP campaign success.*


**Tuesday, October 24 – Case Study: Minimum Wage Campaign**

Watch this 3-minute video before class: “Time For All Workers to Stand Up” (Democracy Now, August 2, 2013) [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pzIlvy0gd5U](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pzIlvy0gd5U)

Watch this 5-minute video before class: “Terrence Wise introduces POTUS at White House Worker Voice Summit” (October 22, 2015) [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oXNPdh4Q6qc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oXNPdh4Q6qc)

*Greenhouse, “How to Get Low-Wage Workers Into the Middle Class” (The Atlantic, Aug. 19, 2015)*

*Dreier, “The Wage Wars Two Battlegrounds” (Huffington Post, May 20, 2015)*

*Murray, “The Other NRA: This Influential Restaurant Lobby Fights Pro-Worker Policies” (Huffington Post, July 3, 2015)*

*Thompson, “How the $15 Wage Deal Came Together in Seattle” (Seattle Times, May 3, 2014)*


*Thompson, “Restaurants Are the New Factories” (The Atlantic, August 9, 2017)*

*Hightower, “ALEC-owned governors reverse local votes supporting wage hikes” (Colorado Independent, August 9, 2017)*

*Miller, “No, A Fair Wage is Not a Free Lunch” (American Prospect, August 9, 2017)*


**Tuesday, October 24 – Speakers**

Jeremy Blasi and Rachel Torres, UNITE HERE
**Thursday, October 26 – What Do Effective Leaders Do?**

*Pass out Organizing Role-Play exercise (due Tuesday, October 31)*

*Member/Leader Interview due*

Bobo, OSC, Ch. 6 (Organizing Models) and Ch. 11 (Developing Leadership)

*"Exodus: Chapter 18" (Bible)*

*Jarrat, "The Forgotten Heroes of the Montgomery Bus Boycott" (Chicago Tribune, December 1975)*

*Dreier, “Rosa Parks: Angry, Not Tired” (Dissent, Winter 2006)*

*Ramsby, “Ella Taught Me: Shattering the Myth of the Leaderless Movement” (Colorlines, June 12, 2015)*


*Alinsky, "Native Leadership" (from Reveille for Radicals)*

*“Types of Leaders. Types of Volunteers” (from Obama 2008 campaign training manual)*

*Freeman, "The Tyranny of Structurelessness" (Berkeley Journal of Sociology, 1970)*

*White, "Fall From Grace" (City Limits, August/September 1994)*


**Tuesday, October 31 -- How Do Organizers Find and Develop Leaders**

*Organizing Role-Play Exercise*

Bobo, OSC, Ch. 10 (Recruiting)

Thompson, Calling All Radicals, Chapter 3 (“A Word of Caution”)

*Ballenger, “Why People Join” (Community Jobs, April 1981)*

*Sides, “Want to Create Activists? Here’s How” (Washington Post, October 26, 2014)*

*Graff, “Trump’s Victory Inspired Thousands of Women to Get Involved in Politics” (Mother Jones, July/August 2017)*

*Ganz, “Building Community Cultural Leadership” (August 5, 2013)*


**Thursday November 2 –How to Keep People Engaged?**

Film: “One Day Longer”

*Mosle, "How the Maids Fought Back" (New Yorker, Feb. 26 and March 4, 1996)*

*Barabak, “He Helps Give Labor the Edge” (LAT, July 12, 2007)*

*Narro, “The Need for a More Radical Solidarity in the Labor Movement” (Stansbury Forum, April 11, 2016)*

**Thursday, November 2 -- Film:** “Selma” (6:30 pm)

**Tuesday, November 7 -- Media**

*Organizational Profile Due*

Bobo, OSC, Ch. 14 (Using the Media)

*Ryan, “Framing the News” (from Ryan, Prime Time Activism)*

*Hazen, “The Right-Wing Express” (AlterNet, February 7, 2005)*

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*Sheppard. “The Koch Brothers’ Vast Right-Wing Media Conspiracy” (Mother Jones, Feb. 4, 2011)
*Federman, “Can Activists Win the PR Battle With the Fossil Fuel Industry?” (Truthout, August 11, 2013)
*Dreier and Gitlin, “Demonstrations at CEO Mansions? Ho Hum: Can the Media Cover a Movement That Plays Nice?” (Columbia Journalism Review, October 5, 2009)
*Dreier, “Caught on Camera: Police Racism” (American Prospect, July 11, 2016)
*Dreier, “Missing Movements?” (Huffington Post, October 7, 2013)
*Witt, “We Rarely See Those Who Labor” (Baltimore Sun, August 22, 1999)
*Cleeland, “Why I’m Leaving the Los Angeles Times” (Huffington Post, May 28, 2007)
*Akadjian, “15 Things Everyone Would Know If There Were a Liberal Media” (Daily Kos, August 7, 2013)
*”Model press advisory and model press release” (from Fighting Toxics)
*”Organizing a Media Event”
*Gellerman, “Community Organizing through Online Mobilization: #NoDAPL” (mediafiledc.com)

**Tuesday, November 7 -- Speakers:**
Greg Good (formerly LAANE/currently City of LA)

**Thursday, November 9 - Research and Power Analysis**
Pass out Coalition Role Play Assignment (due Thursday, November 16)
Bobo, OSC, Ch. 7 (Tactical Investigations)
Thompson, Calling All Radicals, Chapter 5 (“Got a Problem? Prove It!”)
*Dreier, "Rent-a-Politician Exposed" (Shelterforce, 1981)
*Seelye, "Lobbyists Are the Loudest in the Health Care Debate" (NYT, Aug. 16, 1994)
*Obstetler and Kazis, "Corporate Campaigns" (from Cohen and O'Connor, Fighting Toxics)
*Crowther, "How to Research Companies" (from College Placement Council)
*Reston “Voter data crucial to Romney's victory” (LAT, January 10, 2012)
*Dreier, “Cigna CEO Hanway: Obstacle to Health Insurance Reform” (Huffington Post, Nov. 23, 2009)

**Thursday, November 9 – Lunch Speakers**
Laura Muraida, SCOPE
Jon Zerolnick, Research Director, LAANE
Part IV: ORGANIZING AND THE BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY

Tuesday, November 14 -- Organizing, Elections, and Politics: The Inside/Outside Dilemma
Watch this 8-minute video from Bill Moyers’ show before this class session:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mFlXpoA-MQY
Watch Bill Moyers’ 25-minute interview with Richmond, CA Mayor Gayle McLaughlin before class: http://vimeo.com/111188023
*Dolan, "Environmental Activists Adapt to Insider Role" (LAT, March 23, 1993)
*Kaufman, “Disillusioned Environmentalists Turn on Obama as Compromiser” (NYT, July 11, 2009)
*Wines, “Environmental Groups Focus on Change by Strengthening Their Political Operations” (NYT, May 31, 2014)
*Wallsten, “President Obama bristles when he is the target of activist tactics he once used” (Washington Post, June 9, 2012)
*Hersch, “Direct Action Governing” (Shelterforce, Summer 2012)
*Piven, “Obama Needs a Protest Movement” (The Nation, November 13, 2008)
*Dreier and Clavel, “What Kind of Mayor was Bernie Sanders?” (The Nation, June 2, 2015)
*Kirsch, “What Progressives Did Right to Win Health Care” (The Nation, August 9, 2010)
*Mitchell, "The Genius of Cecile Richards" (The Nation, March 26, 2012)
Recommended film “Wellstone,” available on reserve in the library

Tuesday, November 14 Speaker
Joanne Kim, Deputy for LA City Council member Marqueece Harris-Dawson; former chief-of-staff, Community Coalition

Thursday, November 16 - What Are the Strengths and Weaknesses of Coalitions?
Coalition Role-Play Exercise due
Bobo, OSC, Ch. 9 (Building and Joining Coalitions), Ch. 20 (Working with Religious Organizations)
*Fine, "An Organizer's Checklist for Coalition Building" (from Brecher/Costello, Building Bridges)
*Uetricht, “ALEC Convention Met With Protests in Chicago” (The Nation, August 7, 2013)
*Cruickshank. “Why Aren’t Progressives as Good at Politics as Conservatives?” (Daily Kos)
*Matsuoka, “Clean and Safe Ports: One Region at a Time” (Race, Poverty & the Environment, Fall 2008)
*Dayen, “The Coalition Pushing for Single Payer in California is Fracturing” (The Intercept, July 12, 2017)

Tuesday, November 21 — Case Study: Fossil Fuel Organizing and Divestment
Browse [http://www.defunddapl.org](http://www.defunddapl.org) -- Read the pages for “Alternatives.”


*Dayen, "The Great Los Angeles Revolt Against Cars" (American Prospect, Summer 2017)

*Jaquette, “Divest Now: The Divestment Movement at Occidental College”

*Aronoff and Maxmin, “A Generation’s Call: Voices from the Student Fossil Fuel Divestment Movement” (Dissent, April 9, 2014)

*Gitlin, “Fossil Fuels Off Campus” (Dissent, Spring 2016)

*Schwartz, “Climate Change Activists Either Prod Exxon Mobil or Dump It” (NYT, May 25, 2016)


*“Pitzer College and Robert Redford Announce Breakthrough Fossil Fuel Divestment-Climate Action Model” (Business Wire, April 12, 2014)

*Morrison, “Why Pitzer College Decided to Quit Carbon” (LAT, October 21, 2014)

*Karamally, “UC Divests from Dakota Access Pipeline Companies” (The Triton, March 16, 2017)

*Tobias, “These Cities are Divesting from the Banks that Support the Dakota Access Pipeline” (The Nation March 20, 2017)

*Fossil Free: A Campus Guide to Divestment (booklet). Read Chapter 1 (“Introduction to Responsible Investing,” Chapter 2 (“Introduction to Endowments”), and Chapter 12 (“Research) (from Everything You Need to Know to Bring Responsible Investment to Your College or University, Responsible Investment Coalition, 2011)

**Thursday, November 23** – No class. Happy Thanksgiving!

**Tuesday, November 28** – Case Study -- Disinvestment and Reinvestment: Gentrification and Neighborhood Development

Watch this video before coming to class: “Wall Street Landlords” (Al Jazeera, Nov. 12, 2014) [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-biN1e_AEY](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-biN1e_AEY) (25 minutes)

See also Anti-Displacement Project; Eviction Map [https://www.antievictionmap.com/los-angeles-ellis-act-1/](https://www.antievictionmap.com/los-angeles-ellis-act-1/)

Medina, “Los Angeles Neighborhood Tries to Change, But Avoid the Pitfalls” (NYT, August 17, 2013) [Read the article and watch the 3-minute video)](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/18/us/los-angeles-neighborhood-tries-to-change-but-avoid-the-pitfalls.html?nl=todaysheadlines&emc=edit_th_20130818&_r=0

Watch this slide show, “50 Years of Gentrification: A Timeline” (The Next City): [http://nextcity.org/gentrificationtimeline#intro](http://nextcity.org/gentrificationtimeline#intro)

*“LA: Out of Reach in 2016” (SCANPH)

*“L.A. Has a Serious Housing Crisis and It's Time For City Officials To Do Something About It” (LAT, January 11, 2015)

*Gonzalez, “South Central Los Angeles Residents Fight to Save Their Beloved Community in the Face of USC Expansion Plans” (Progressive Planning, Summer 2012)

*Right to the City Principles
*Jaffe, “Whose Homes?” (Dissent, August 24, 2016)
*Cagle, “Oakland Wants You to Stop Calling It the ‘Next Brooklyn’” (Next City, Dec. 15, 2014)
*Saillant, “Los Angeles Adopts 'Responsible Banking' Ordinance” (LAT, May 16, 2012)
*Holland, “Wells Fargo, Terrified to Face Victims of Its Foreclosure Fraud and Predatory Lending, Locks Shareholders Out of Annual Meeting” (Alternet, April 24, 2012)
*Dreier, “Putting Names and Faces to The 1 Percent: Wells Fargo's Tim Sloan” (Huffington Post, October 2, 2012)
*Stiglitz and Zandi, “The One Housing Solution Left: Mass Mortgage Refinancing” (NYT, August 12, 2012)
*Dreier, “To Rescue Local Economies, Cities Seize Underwater Mortgages Through Eminent Domain” (The Nation, July 12, 2013)

**Tuesday, November 28 – Speakers**
Paulina Gonzalez, California Reinvestment Coalition
Eric Ares, community organizer, LA Community Action Network

**Thursday, November 30 -- Case Study: Immigrant Rights**
(Documentary film about Dreamer movement. Recommended but not required)
Watch this four-minute video about David Cho, UCLA student:
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d30ZcGYVm98&list=PL5UYA1Fw51zNnyM5NuOO1BfNs_4XPCFRTu&index=2](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d30ZcGYVm98&list=PL5UYA1Fw51zNnyM5NuOO1BfNs_4XPCFRTu&index=2)
*Winerip, “Dream Act Advocate Turns Failure Into Hope” (NYT, February 20, 2011)
*Linthicum, “Labor Targets GOP on Immigration Overhaul” (LAT, August 12, 2013)
*Blitzer, “Republican States Want the Trump White House to Stop Protecting Dreamers” (New Yorker, July 15, 2017)
*“Resistance Organizes Against Trump Ordered Deportations”
*Johnson, “How a New Class of Activists is Changing Immigration Politics” (National Journal, June 14, 2014)
*O’Brien, “S.F. State student who shouted at Obama has history of gutsy protests” (San Jose Mercury News, November 26, 2014)
*Barghava, “Obama’s Immigration Decision is a Movement Victory” (The Nation, Nov. 25, 2014)
*Jimenez and Dreier, “How Undocumented Youth Moved the Immigrant Rights Movement” (Harvard Ash Center and Roosevelt Institute, November 2015)
*Public Health Awakened. “Guide for Public Health to Protect Immigrant Rights”
*Jaffe, “If They Are Not Coming for You Today: A Conversation with Murad Awawdeh” (The Baffler, May 11, 2017)
*Haberman, “Trump and the Battle Over Sanctuary in America” (NYT, March 5, 2017)
**”Despite Parents’ Fears, Young Immigrants Embrace Public Roles” (New America Media, August 7, 2017)

**Thursday, November 30 - Speaker**
Angelica Salas, Oxy ’93 (Executive Director, Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights in LA)

**Tuesday, December 5 – The Future: Organizing for a Society We Want to Live In**
Watch before class: “Standing Up for Democracy,” Bill Moyers interviews Ai-jen Poo, Sarita Gupta, and George Goehl, March 30, 2012 (one hour)
http://billmoyers.com/episode/full-show-standing-up-for-democracy
*Snyder, “20 Lessons from the 20th Century on How to Survive in Trump’s America” (In These Times, November 21, 2016)
*Wallace-Wells, “Bernie Sanders’s Campaign Isn’t Over” (New Yorker, August 7, 2017)
http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/03/14/where-is-black-lives-matter-headed
*Stuart, “Robert Reich’s 8-Point Plan for a New Democratic Party” (Rolling Stone, November 21, 2016)
*Myerson, “Five Economic Reforms Millennials Should Be Fighting For” (Rolling Stone, Jan. 3, 2014)
*Collins, “Reversing Inequality: Summary” (The Next System Project, August 2017)
*Alperovitz, “How to Democratize the American Economy” (The Nation, Oct. 28, 2013)

**Finals Week (date/time TBD) – Power Analysis Research Presentations**
Each group will have 15 minutes to make its presentation and then 5 minutes for questions. We’ll go in order: Group 1, 2, 3 and 4. Briefly explain what campaign the research is for and what the campaign’s strategy is. Show and explain your power map diagram. Explain what information is missing, if any, and why it is missing. Explain how you will use the research to help the campaign. Each group should hand in its memo and power map. List the names of each group member on the first page. We will provide more details about date/time when final exam dates are finalized.

**Tuesday, December 12 – Final papers due**
Final papers are due Tuesday, Dec. 12 by 5 pm (papers posted on Moodle and hard copies (along with your journal) in a box in Sylvia Chico’s office).
## SUMMARY OF ASSIGNMENTS/GUEST SPEAKERS AND FILM SESSIONS

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<td>Power Analysis Group Presentation</td>
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<td>Final paper</td>
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### Guest Speakers (11 am – 12:15 pm)
- **Tuesday, Sept. 19**  Lydia Avila (California Calls) and Lanita Morris (Groundswell Fund)
- **Thursday, Sept. 21** Amy Schur (ACCE)
- **Tuesday, Oct. 3**    Eddie Iny (Our Walmart)
- **Thursday, Oct. 5**   Discussion of family history and social ties
- **Thursday, Oct. 12**  Pablo Alvarado (National Day Laborers Organizing Network) and Lizbeth Mateo (Pasadenans Organizing for Progress)
- **Tuesday, Oct. 24**   Rachel Torres and Jeremy Blasi (UNITE HERE)
- **Tuesday, Nov. 7**    Greg Good (City of LA, formerly LAANE/Don’t Waste LA campaign)
- **Thursday, Nov. 9**   Laura Muraida (SCOPE) and Jon Zerolnick (LAANE)
- **Tuesday, Nov. 14**   Joanne Kim, Deputy for LA City Council member Marqueece Harris Dawson
- **Tuesday, Nov. 28**   Paulina Gonzalez (California Reinvestment Coalition) and Eric Ares, (LA Community Action Network)
- **Thursday, Nov. 30**  Angelica Salas (Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights in LA)

### Film Sessions (6:30 pm in Johnson Hall 104)
- **Tues., Sept. 12** “Heather Booth: Changing the World”
- **Thurs., Sept. 14** “Bread & Roses”
- **Sept. 15-21 (Date TBD)** “Dolores” (at the Laemmle Playhouse 7)
- **Tues., Sept. 26** “The Organizer”
- **Tues., Oct. 3** “Norma Rae”
- **Thurs., Nov. 2** “Selma”