



THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT OF GAY COMMUNITY IN GUS VAN SANT FILM ENTITLED *THE TIME OF HARVEY MILK*

A THESIS

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PRONOUNCEMENT

The writer stated truthfully that this thesis is compiled by her without taking the results from other research in any University, both in S-1 degree and in diploma. In addition the writer ascertains that she does not take the material from other publications or someone's work except for the references mentioned in bibliography.

Semarang, February 2010

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MOTTO AND DEDICATION

MOTTO

Mistake is a way to learn and to be better (anonym)

Cogito Ergo Sum (Rene Descartes)

Cara terbaik untuk mewujudkan impian kita adalah segera bangun, dan bekerja keras (Mario Teguh)

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to

God Almighty

Beloved parents and brothers

Beloved husband, daughter and son

All best friends

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The writer

CONTENTS

PRONOUNCEMENT.....	i
APPROVAL.....	ii
ACCEPTANCE.....	iii
MOTTO AND DEDICATION.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	v
CONTENT.....	viii
ABSTRACT.....	x
CHAPTER I	INTRODUCTION.....1
	A. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY.....1
	B. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY.....3
	C. SCOPE OF WRITING.....4
	D. METHODS OF THE WRITING.....4
	1. Method of Research.....4
	2. Method of Approach.....5
	E. ORGANIZATION OF THE WRITING.....6
CHAPTER II	THE TIME OF HARVEY MILK.....7
CHAPTER III	LITERARY REVIEW.....13
	A. INTRINSICT ASPECT.....13
	1. Exponential Aspects.....13
	a. Setting.....13
	b. Plot14
	c. Character.....15
	2. Cinematic Elaments.....16
	a. Shot Angle.....16
	b. Shot Size.....17

c. Camera Movement.....	19
d. Types of Edit.....	20

	B. EXTRINSICT ASPECT.....	21
	1. Social Movement.....	21
	2. History of Gay Community in San Francisco.....	25
	3. Gay Right Movement.....	29
CHAPTER IV	DISCUSSION.....	32
	A. EXPONENTIAL ASPECTS.....	32
	1. Setting.....	32
	a. Setting of Time.....	32
	b. Setting of Place.....	40
	c. Setting of Social Environment.....	43
	2. Plot.....	46
	3. Character.....	47
	a. Harvey Milk.....	47
	b. Scott Smith.....	50
	c. Jim Rivaldo.....	51
	d. Dick Pabich.....	52
	e. Anne Kronenberg.....	53
	f. Cleve Jones.....	55
	g. Danny Niccoletta.....	56
	h. Anita Bryant.....	57
	i. Dan White.....	58
	j. Jack Lira.....	60
	B. THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT OF GAY COMMUNITY.....	62
	1. The Causes to The Raising of Social Movement.....	62
	2. Type of The Social Movement.....	65

3. Characteristics of The Movement.....67
4. Factors that Support The Winning of The Movement.....69
5. The effects of The Movement.....74

CHAPTER V **CONCLUSION.....77**
BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABSTRAK

Amerika adalah negara yang menjunjung tinggi filosofi negaranya yaitu persamaan hak asasi manusia. Film *The Time Of Harvey Milk* adalah sebuah film yang sarat akan nilai-nilai perjuangan kaum minoritas di Amerika untuk mendapatkan persamaan haknya sebagai warga negara. Kaum homoseksual sebagai kaum minoritas banyak mendapatkan berbagai macam perlakuan diskriminatif dari pemerintah maupun masyarakat sekitar San Francisco. Melalui sebuah pergerakan sosial rumit yang diprakarsai oleh Harvey Milk akhirnya kaum homoseksual di San Francisco, California mendapatkan haknya sebagai warga negara Amerika.

Penulis menggunakan teori sinematografi dan sosiologi dalam mengkaji nilai-nilai pergerakan sosial yang dilakukan oleh Harvey Milk dan komunitasnya di dalam film. Selain itu penulis juga menggunakan teori-teori tersebut untuk melihat dampak pergerakan dan kesesuaian dengan kejadian sebenarnya.

Setelah segenap analisa yang dilakukan penulis pada bab IV, akhirnya dapat disimpulkan bahwa apa yang terjadi di film merupakan refleksi nyata dengan apa yang pernah terjadi di San Francisco. Efek dari pergerakan tersebut adalah peningkatan kualitas hidup kaum homoseksual melalui hak warga negara yang telah mereka dapatkan dan berkembangnya kota San Francisco sebagai kota para homoseksual di Amerika.

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Study

America is known as the land of hope for its citizens. Based on its essence of founding documents, each of people who came in has the right to pursue their own happiness, goal and freedom. The spirit is well-known as the American Dream, that everyone has the equal right and opportunity to reach their dream in the land of America. In fact, the American society is made from collective groups of individual who should

experience both freedom and social constraints. According to the existing of social differentiation inside anyone, several people who have one or more similarities in any aspect of their lives (e.g. race, culture, hobby, class, sex, etc.) then create their own social group or community to find their identity. On the other side, there is not always harmony between one community and others or a community to the society among the community. Every society has sets of norms and rules that structure people's behavior. Ironically, these norms and rules could not be fair for everyone. There are always one or more social groups that are discriminated by the rules and norms. Some social differentiations are likely to cause the discrimination toward a certain community. This sometime pursues the social movement of the depressed community. The social movement could happen when a group of people feel they do not get what they deserve. In America, the nation of human right spirit, there were some social movements that ever happened. One of them was Gay Right Movement. It is also called LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) movement or Queer Movement.

The Time of Harvey Milk film by Gus Van Sant is a 'based on true story' film of Gay movement in the Castro, Eureka Valley, San Francisco. Eureka valley is a former of Irish Catholic neighborhood that lately becomes gay cultural center and cultural community. Several oppressions and routine harassments toward gay people often happen as a form of rejection to this community. They almost lost their human right until the movement inspired by a gay man named Harvey Milk happened. Harvey Milk is the first openly gay man politician elected in America. Harvey's succeed on leading the movement has changed the city's culture, social structure and also its citizen. Some supports, obstructions and countermovement have also been coloring the movement.

De Bonald in Warren and Wellek's book, *Theory of Literature*, says that "Literature is an expression of society" (Warren and Wellek, 1989: 95). As it is developing from the conventional form into the more modern form, now literature expression can be in the form of electronic and non electronic form. Film is an example of electronic form of literature. That is why analyzing a film is a part of cultural studies.

"Film dipelajari dari segi potensinya sebagai seni, sejarahnya yang dituturkan sebagai momen-momen tradisi yang hebat, film-film, bintang, dan sutradara paling berarti; film dikutuk sebagai industri budaya; dan film didiskusikan sebagai situs penting bagi produksi subjektivitas individu dan identitas nasional." (Rahmawati, 2007; 68)

As stated above, Laily Rahmawati (2007) introduces several things that can be analyzed from a film as the object of cultural studies. Her further explanation states that

" Objek kajian dalam cultural studies bukanlah budaya yang diartikan dalam penengertian sempit, yaitu sebagai objek keadiluhungan estetis ('seni tinggi'); juga buka budaya yang diartikan sama-sama sempit, yaitu sebagai sebuah proses perkembangan estetik, intelek dan spiritual; melainkan budaya yang dipahami sebagai teks dan praktik hidup sehari-hari." (Rahmawati, 2007; 2)

Cultural studies is also interested in observing the agent of socio-cultural construct and institutional. As a form of art media, film also has the ability in recording and

documenting the real event in the society. The existence of Gay community so far creates special color for American society and culture. The gay right movement means a lot for the spirit of freedom and human right as stated in the United State Declaration of Independence. Therefore the writer makes this thesis with the title **The social movement of Gay Community in Gus Van Sant Film entitled *The Time of Harvey Milk*** as a project of cultural studies.

B. Purpose of the Study

In arranging this thesis, the writer has some purposes. They are:

1. To give an overview about Gay community in San Francisco
2. To elaborate social movement process of Gay community in San Francisco shown in the film.
3. To reveal how the movement affects the society.

C. Scope of Writing

Making a scope of writing is important during the process of making a thesis. The aim is to make the analysis more focus and easier to understand. It can also sharpen the analysis.

The object of the analysis that is used by the writer is film *The Time of Harvey Milk* directed by Gus Van Sant. In this writing, the writer only discusses about the process and effect of social movement by Gay Community in San Francisco based on the film. Cultural background that will be explained also those which have correlation with the film.

D. Methods of the Writing

1. Method of Research

Based on what was said by Semi (1993: 7), method of research is a method that is used to find out, develop and test the truth of knowledge empirically based on the fact and the data. Method of research that is used by the writer to analyze the object of research is The Library Research. Library research is analyzing the object inside the researcher's work room. The sources are any library materials that correlated with the subject analyzed. There are two kinds of data here

a) Main Data : Film entitled *The Time of Harvey Milk* directed by Gus Van Sant.

b) Supporting Data : the supporting data are collected from the books and articles from the internet that related to the film and theory needed by the writer.

2. Method of Approach

Method of approach is a kind of surgeon knife that is applied to operate on the object to find the facts needed inside. The writer uses exponential and sociological approach in this thesis. Exponential approach focuses on intrinsic aspects of the film which consist of narrative elements (setting, plot and character) and cinematography elements. Meanwhile, the sociological approach is applied to describe the social movement process and the life of Gay in San Francisco, America.

E. Organization of the Writing

1. Chapter I consists of the background of the study, purpose of the study, scope of writing, method of writing and the organization of writing.
2. Chapter II focuses on synopsis of the film.
3. Chapter III includes all the literary reviews used by the writer. The literary reviews consist of theories that deal with the definition of setting, plot, character, social movement and Gay Movement. Besides, the writer also addresses the cinematography aspects that used to analyze the film.
4. Chapter IV addresses the Analysis part of the thesis. It becomes the main part of the thesis since it reveals the discussion of the theoretical reviews connected with the topic discussion. The discussion covers the analysis of intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of the film.
5. Chapter V contains the conclusion of the analysis done in the chapter above.

CHAPTER II

The Time of Harvey Milk

The film was opened by the scene of Harvey Milk who is making a tape recorded of his story on Friday, 18th November 1978. Harvey Milk is the first openly gay man elected in America. Harvey is telling about his journey in creating the gay movement in San Francisco. The story begins with a documenter scene announcement of the assassination of Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk by former Supervisor Dan White.

The film then moves to 1970, a night before Harvey's 40th birthday, when Harvey first met Scott Smith in the New York subway platform. Began with a short conversation, they continue involved in the deep relationship. In this moment Harvey realized that until 40 year old he has not made anything to be proud of. Before he meets Scott, Harvey was a discreet gay man who works in a Great US Insurance Company. At the time anyone who recognized to be homosexual will lost his/her job. Harvey almost has a straight life until Scott inspires him to have a change in his life.

This couple finally moves to Eureka Valley, San Francisco, California in 1972. At the time San Francisco is being a popular destination for hippies and gay man. There are six blocks square called The Castro in the Market Street that popular to be the refugee for Gay man. This place was a former of little Irish Catholic Neighborhood. In this place they start their new life. They start open their business; a small camera shop. The opening of their camera shop faces a warning from the Eureka Valley Merchant Association people named Mc Connelly. For the business purpose, Harvey thinks of revitalizing the neighborhood for Gay Community. He focuses on Gay business; business that benefits gay customers. What he does finally could invite gays from all over the country to come to the Castro. Though Castro is popular as Gay Refugee, there are still a lot of oppressions from the police, citizen also government toward gay community. The Police often attack and beat a gay man to clean the street almost everyday. There is also social discrimination faced by gay community such as difficulties in finding a job. They almost have to face mental and physical violence from the police and citizens everyday. That is why, every gay should bring a whistle anywhere they go to look for help if they feel insecure. Watching this kind of discrimination Harvey changes his mind from business orientation to movement orientation for gay's better life.

Time goes by, and Harvey camera shop becomes more popular. There come not only customers into the store but also activists and young men who look for a sanctuary. This community then becomes stronger than ever. They feel the first taste of their power when a straight man, the Teamster Leader Allan Baird, asks for help in boycott the Coors beer. As the boycott runs successfully, The Teamster hires more gay drivers for the first time. By this moment Harvey realizes the power of these people to change their condition and it is about the time for him to be Mayor of The Castro. Then he thinks of being a part of the government to enable the gay better life by fighting for their right.

Harvey starts his effort with a campaign oration according to his involvement to the election of San Francisco Board of Supervisor in 1973. He makes a team to support his campaign but he can not get the media endorsement. The owner of The Advocate Magazine which is also a gay refuses to support his movement. He has a great team consist of Danny Nicoletta, Jim Rivaldo, and Dick Pabick. He ends up with fails for the first election. But he still takes part in the second election in 1975 with some adjustments in his appearance.

Unfortunately he fails again in the second election. And he just can not give up. He follows the next election in 1976 for California State Assembly's seat and fails again. After the third failure Harvey is still insist to be part of gay movement by joining the next San Francisco Board of Supervisor election in 1977.

In the third joining in San Francisco Board of Supervisor's election, Harvey makes many adjustments in his campaign. He takes a new manager, a lesbian, named Anne Kronenberg. Anne could make the campaign become more organized and get more media endorsements. By the help of Cleve Jones, Harvey also can gather more people to support his campaign. He can make a huge demonstration action in the city. In this moment, there are several obstructions and countermovement faced by Harvey and his community. Besides terror letter and the fact that Scott is leaving him, Harvey should confront countermovement from Anita Bryant and State Senator John Briggs who fight for taking out Gay civil right and make homosexuality become illegal. In this moment Harvey makes his phenomenal speech in the gay riot against Anita Bryant. He inspires gay community to come out of the closet, fighting against gay discrimination and pursue for their equality as American citizen. His speech can bring more power for gay community. During his fourth campaign, Harvey meets Jack Lira as his next boyfriend. All of Harvey's efforts finally take him to the chair of San Francisco Board of Supervisor. He becomes one of eleven Supervisors in the city at January 9th 1978. That gives him more chances to fight for the Gay Right.

Being a member of city supervisor is not easy, however he can take control. He fights for his mission, which is Gay Right Ordinance. He can get other member's sympathy. The City supervisor consists of 11 members, half is Liberal and the other is conservative. Due to Harvey's ability in convincing the other members of supervisor to be on his side according to Gay Right Ordinance, the law and policy that support Gay Right in San Francisco finally can be signed by Mayor George Moscone. San Francisco becomes first state that supports Gay Right in America. Gay Right Ordinance provides the civil right for gay citizen in San Francisco. Harvey gets an opponent in the Board of Supervisor named Dan White who is also his competitor in the election. He is one of Irish Catholic Conservative citizen. He can not agree to the Gay Right Ordinance as Harvey could not stand on Dan's side in the Psychiatric Center case in his district. That causes Dan's anger toward Harvey, he feels betrayed by Harvey.

After winning the Gay Right Ordinance, Harvey's next project is against the Proposition 6 promoted by Anita Bryant and State Senator John Briggs. Some states in America have already sign the Proposition 6. Proposition 6 is a referendum to repeal gay right protection. When the voting for proposition 6 almost comes to California, Harvey again makes a riot to protest the proposition. Not only that, he makes Gay Freedom Day Parade on June 25, 1978. Before his speech he gets another terror from someone who will shot his head if he still insists to give the speech, but he doesn't bother it. Harvey's efforts are not stop there, after the parade he challenges John Briggs to do debate about proposition 6. During this war, Harvey has to deals with Jack's suicide because of him. Although it gives him sorrow, Harvey does not have anytime to mourn. He should focus on Proposition 6 case. At some point in that process, Harvey has many times arguing with Dan White about some issues. Dan is still mad to Harvey; He doesn't want to help Harvey against this proposition. More over he becomes jealous to Harvey's success career. The voting day is coming. On November 7 1978 the California citizen must make up their mind about the right of gay community. By the end of the day, the voting results winning on Gay side. The Gay citizens in California get their civil

right; equal right in housing, employment and education.

Since the winning of Gay community, Dan White becomes more depressed to work as Supervisor. He feels that he fails to be responsible to his conservative community and family's trust that support him. He feels no longer comfortable to work with Harvey. His bad feelings then bring him to the resign decision from being Supervisor. Since then he becomes more stressed when he realizes that his payment can not support his family's life. To solve his problem, he asks Mayor Moscone to let him back to work again. Unfortunately by Harvey's persuasion, Mayor Moscone refuses Dan's plan to be back. This decision hurts him so badly; he becomes stressed and loses control. Along with his anger, he comes to the office by the City hall near window and shoots Mayor Moscone and Harvey Milk right away. They both die in Dan's hand. This assassination puts sorrow in everybody's heart in the city, especially The Gay community. Yet, it gives more power for the gay community to survive. Harvey's efforts and struggles to get Gay rights back remains inspiration and hope for the community to survive for their life.

CHAPTER III LITERARY REVIEW

A. INTRINSIC ASPECT

1. Exponential Elements

a. Setting

Setting is the background occurs in the story. Morner and Rousch states “setting refers to general locale, time in history or social milieu in which the action of literary work takes place” (1991: 20). Every story includes setting as the important aspect to refill its characters. Besides, good setting will impact on good sense of reading or watching. Setting can influence the course of events in a story by directly affecting the characters and by encouraging certain kinds of events while inhibiting others. There are three elements of setting based on Meyer:

1) Time

It is the time in which every action or event takes place. Time description may include specific timing like date, year and century or natural condition such as morning, night or the dawn. It also could be historical times.

2) Place

Place explains about the location where the action occurs. The place can be a room, a road, a town or a country. Natural environment, such as a mountain, island, forest etc, can also be the setting of place. The actual geographical location including topography, scenery, even the details of room’s interior can describe the setting of place.

3) Social Environment

It covers not only the social class of certain society but also social environment of that society. It shows surrounding condition of the main character. It consists of governmental regulation, society custom, and religion, moral, intellectual and emotional. (1990: 107)

b. Plot

According to Meyer’s perception, “Plot is the way the author arrange the order of event in the story” (1990: 38). Plot makes the reader or audience aware of event not only merely as element in a temporal series but also as an intricate pattern of cause and effect. In every story, plot is needed to make the story more attracting and easier to understand. There are five structures of plot according to James L Potter (1967: 33- 36)

Climax

Raising action

Falling Action

Exposition

Conclusion

1) Exposition

Exposition consists of a situation in which a potential conflict can be perceived

2) Raising Action

The built up actions to the climax

3) Climax

A climax is a point in a narrative in which the conflict comes to a head, is strikingly intensified for a time.

4) Falling Action

Actions that follow the climax. It is when the conflict is let down.

5) Conclusion

Resolution of the conflict and the denouement (the outcome of the story)

c. Character

“A character, then, is presumably an imagined person who inhabits a story—although that simple definition may admit to a view exceptions.” (Kennedy and Gioia, 1993: 60). Those exceptions occur because in some work of art the main character could be a person or a thing.

Most people are more familiar with human being as the characters of story. As a human being, characters have various different personalities. There could be strong, aggressive, introvert, extrovert, friendly etc. On the other hand, there is several type of division to scrutinizing the character. Among them are classifications into a static and dynamic character. Morner and Rausch explain that

1) Static Character

Static character is the character that possesses consistent characteristics or little changes throughout a story.

2) Dynamic Character

Dynamic character is a character whose characteristic is changed by the action of other character in which he is involved (1991: 23). This character usually changes into different personality within the story as the effect of the conflict with other characters in the story. This transformation is usually a result of enlightenment, vigil, misery, adaptation or effect of events or conflicts he involved.

Besides classification based on the character's development along the story, there is another classification of character based on the role it has in the story. It can be divided into protagonist and antagonist. “The protagonist is always the focal point of the action of the story, the character that the story is almost obviously about” (Potter, 1967: 7). Meanwhile, “The antagonist is the main person or thing or force that opposes the protagonist” (Potter, 1967: 7)

1. Cinematic Elements

Cinematography is anything to do with the camera. There are several things about camera that must be understood in analyzing a Film. Here, the writer will explain about shot angle, shot size, camera movement and type of editing.

a. Shot Angle

Shot angle is the relationship between camera and the captured object. There are five kinds of shot angle in film making process:

1) The Bird' Eye View

This shot angle is created from above the head of object. Sometime it is taken from the helicopter or an airplane.

2) High Angle

The camera captures the object from above, the function is to make the object looks smaller and decrease the object's domination.

3) Eye Level

The camera is positioned at about the same height as people's eyes.

4) Low Angle

The object is seen from a low-level position (the camera is looking up).

5) Oblique/ Canted Angle

The camera is tilted sideways showing a tilted view of an object.

a. Shot Size

There are 9 kinds of shot size:

1) Extreme Long Shot (ELS)

This shot is used to capture a long, far and wide image. This shot is often used in opening sequences where recognition of the scene is become more important than recognition of person.

2) Very Long Shot (VLS)

It is smaller than ELS. The function is to capture a character in a landscape. In this shot human is distinguishable but remain dwarfed by the background.

3) Long Shot (LS)

The framing of this shot is a picture of a person from the head to toe.

4) Medium Long Shot (MLS)

The function of this shot is to enrich the beautiful side of the picture. It is used to establish a setting. Human in this shot is framed from the knees up.

5) Medium Shot (MS)

Medium shot is a view of the upper half of a person's body. It is showing his or her bodily stance. Human body is captured from waist up.

6) Middle Close Up (MCU)

Middle Close Up is deeper the picture by showing more object's profile. The aim is to show the gesture, emotion and profile of the object. It shows the human body from the chest up.

7) Close Up (CU)

It is typically a full view of human face. It is the most useful shot size. The director use this shot to show the object's emotion and reaction of something.

8) Big Close Up (BCU)

Big Close Up provides sharper view of emotion than Close Up.

9) Extreme Close Up (ECU)

Extreme Close Up only focuses on a mere portion of a face like someone's eyes, nose or mouth. (Naratama, 2004: 71)

b. Camera movement

Camera is changing its position in a dynamic movement during the process of filming. According to Ami Villarejo in *Film Studies-The Basics*, here are some camera movements:

1) Panning

The camera surveys a scene by turning around its vertical axis. It usually used to scan a crowd or establish a vast space.

2) Tilting

The function is to establish a view from a lower to a higher perspective. Up and down movement.

3) Dollying

When camera rests on a dolly or some other form of wheel contraption, it is called dollying.

4) Tracking

When such a dolly travels on such actual tracks laid on the set for certain purposes. The camera is moving forward or backward.

5) Trucking

As the camera rides on a truck or other vehicle on the ground, it is called trucking. In this movement, camera follows the object which is in motion itself.

6) Craning

Craning is happen when camera leaves the ground; it is craning, frequently on an actual crane which lifts it on the ground to give aerial perspectives. (Villarejo, 2007: 49-50)

c. Types of Editing

Editing process is needed in the film making. The aim is to join shots together into larger string called sequences, just as words become sentences. There are five types of editing:

a) Cut

It is a kind of edits in which the first shot cleanly ends where the second begins; the shots are spliced together using a tape or cement.

b) Dissolve

Dissolve joins two shots together by blending them, so that the end of the first shot and the beginning of the second shot are superimposed upon the screen for a period of time specified by the film maker to the laboratory.

c) Fade in/ Fade out

A fade in lightens a shot from a black or otherwise colored screen, while a fade out darkens to black. Fade in or Fade out often open and close the films.

d) Wipe

A wipe involved a boundary line replacing the first shot with the second. It is a smooth continuous left – right or up – down replacement of the current shot by the next.

e) Irish

It is an opening or closing of the screen to a circle.

(Villarejo, 2007: 43)

B. EXTRINSICT ASPECT

1. Social Movement

“Gerakan sosial merupakan perilaku kolektif yang ditandai kepentingan bersama dan tujuan jangka panjang, yaitu untuk mengubah ataupun mempertahankan masyarakat atau institusi yang ada di dalamnya. Ciri lain gerakan sosial adalah penggunaan cara yang berada diluar institusi yang ada”. (Sunarto, 2004: 199)

As stated above, social movement is an on going goal directed effort to change social institution from the outside. It is often marked by an organized collective behavior of a group of people who acknowledge that they are members of the same group and share a common interest. Social movement is one of many social processes that occur in the society. There are several characteristics owned by social movement that make it distinct from others. The first one is well organized. Second, the process is extra ordinarily complex. A social movement may include sit-ins, demonstration, riots, meetings, fund raising, legislative lobbying and letter writing campaign. It could be a political process also.

Brinkerhoff, White and Ortega agree that there are three kinds of theories that could explain the circumstances in which social movement arises:

a. Relative-deprivation theory (Breakdown Theory)

Relative- deprivation theory suggest that social movement arise when we experience an intolerable gap between our rewards and what we believe we have a right to expect. What we believe we have a right to expect is usually determined by comparing ourselves to other group or other time. This theory is also popular as Breakdown Theory because it relies on disorganizing effects of social change.

b. Resource Mobility Theory (Solidarity Theory)

According to this theory, social movements develop when organized groups are competing for scarce resources. The group here is a group of people who have homogeneity and overlapping ties. This theory suggests that without support of human resources (e.g. leadership, organization and involvement) and other resources such as fund and tools, the social movement could not happen. Because

this social movement is built by organized group, not alienated individuals, so it also called by Solidarity theory.

c. Integration

Recent study suggests that social movement develop out of a strongly felt sense of grievance; shared sentiment leads previously unacquainted people to join together to address their concern. Some other social movements cause of the strength of previously existing social networks.

(1995: 3003 – 305)

Based on the theories above, social movement could arise with any different causes that leads one group struggles for a change. There are also many kinds of changes that become the purpose of social movement. There are four classifications of social movement according to David Aberle. Based on the criteria of changes that become its purpose, there are four classifications of Social Movement:

a. Alternative movement

It is called alternative movement when the movement is aimed to change only a part or specific of individual behavior. The example is a campaign to influence people to stop smoking.

b. Redemptive movement

This movement's purpose is to change the whole behavior of an individual.

c. Reformative movement

Reformative movement aimed to change some aspects or values in the society. The example is feminist movement

d. Transformative movement

It is a kind of movement that eager to change the whole aspect and values of the society. This is a kind of a big movement that could cause many victims. The example of this movement is transformative movement in Uni Soviet on 1930 to change the country become communist country. That was effecting the whole aspect of citizen life; economical, political also social. (Sunarto, 2004: 196)

While the cause of social movement exists, then type of changing is made, the next process of social movement is about how to make it success. Based on *Essentials of Sociology* book, there are several factors that associated with movement success:

- a. The movement must be able to develop an ideology capable sustaining enthusiasm and continue participation of current members
- b. The movement should provide motivation for new member to join.
- c. The movement must be able to convince that a particular grievance is serious and taking action is needed.

A successfull social movement should also get media involvement to spread out their vision and mission. The mass media will help the movement in reaching the public and creating the appearance that public opinion is on its side. Besides some factors explained above, there is another version of important variables for the success the social movement by Gary T Marx. There are:

- a. The demands of the movement are seen to be consistent with the broader values of society.
- b. The movement's demands are concrete, focused and could benefits other group as well.
- c. The movement is able to exert pressure directly on the responsible party

without harming other.

- d. The movement adopts technique which authorities have had little experience.
- e. Neutral third party who has interest in restoring harmony is present.
- f. The movement's demand is negotiable
- g. The movement's demand involved a request for acceptance of social diversity and equal treatment.
- h. The movement seeks to veto proposed policies rather than implement new ones.
- i. The movement is large enough to organize itself for conflict.

(Brinkerhoff, White and Ortega, 1995: 308-310)

An on progress social movement used to be followed by a countermovement. Countermovement is a category of social movement which seeks to reverse or resist changes advocated by a social movement. Counter movements are almost always right-wing in orientation. They seek to maintain traditional structure of status, power and values. When a social movement could be strong enough to encounter the countermovement, the possibility to change the condition would be raise right away.

2. History of Gay Community in San Francisco

The word “homosexual” first used by Karl Maria Kertbeny in 1869 and widely-spreaded by Richard Freiherr Von Kraft-Ebing in his book *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Homosexual refer to sexual attraction among members of the same-sex. As a sexual orientation, homosexuality leads to an individual identity based on that same-sex attraction. The male homosexual is called by Gay and the female one popular with the remark lesbian. Some others used the word “queen”, “butch” or “dyke” to define them. In the past, people accepted homosexual as the opposite of heterosexual. But in the recent studies, the word “Queer” is used alongside homosexual to describe any behavior, activity or attitude that reflect the resistance to what is called by heteronormativity. Heteronormativity is considered as the persistence of heterosexual dominance and privilege (Boyd, 2003: 6). Queer is one word to replace lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender. In many studies the term Queer also refers to sexual orientation, activity and social identity.

Queer community in America spreads in many cities with its own characteristics. Each community formed their own movement to get better living in the neighborhood they live. Now days, the most popular queer city in America is San Francisco. San Francisco in the past until now is widely-known as number one city destination for queer all over the world.

“San Francisco is a queer town not simply because it hosts disproportionately large gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender communities but because a queerness is sewn into the city’s social fabric.” (Boyd, 2003: 2)

The city provides various kinds of queer entertainment that perhaps that would be hard to find in any other city. The history of visible Queer culture and community has appeared in 1933 since the repeal of prohibition to the emergence of queer entertainment in the city. By the time of World War II many gay and lesbian military personnel came fill the city. It effected to the increase of queer night life in San Francisco. Bars proliferated in order to serve the vast influx of gay and lesbian military personnel.

“Queer communities took up residence in water front bar, in the theatre district, along Market Street, among labor activists and communists, in Chinatown, along the old Barbary Coast, among the city’s Beat artists and poets, in bohemian bars and taverns, and as part of a fledgling civil right movement called homophile movement” (Boyd, 2003: 5)

Beat Generation created by Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg helped the publicity of queer community in 1950s. Beat Generation or beatnik is a group of poets, novelist and artists who promote contrast values of white American mainstream. They were endorsing a life unbound by conservative convention and motivated by spontaneous creativity. Very quickly after that, San Francisco became known as a tolerant creative city (Sterling and Downs, 2004: 62). Queer community that existed in San Francisco during 1930s until 1960s did not form a cohesive whole. They even did not recognize each other. There were two social group of queer existed in the city; bar-based and homophile community. Homophile has the same meaning with homosexual. It was used to emphasize love over sex toward homosexuality. It worked in political-based activity to gain their goal. There were two popular homophile organizations that fight for their right; Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilities. As homophile activist began to articulate a new

social identity, they distanced themselves from working-class queer in queer Bar and tavern. Homophile movement lately disappeared and changed into Gay Liberation movement after the New Year Day's raid in 1965 that sponsored by the Council on Religion and the Homosexual in San Francisco's Hall. In that event, everyone in attendance was arrested by the police. Media then helped in publishing the police's behavior, as the result, city's perception changed toward its gay community. "In the late 1960s closets opened, gay and lesbian scholars presence the homosexual theme in literature works" (Stam, 2000: 263). By this year, queer communities had acquired the ability to work together as a coherent social group. The event demonstrated the growing coordination of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender in San Francisco.

Gay liberation spirit emerged after routine queer harassment by the police. The new form of cohesive queer community then started to make a street riot against police. Gay liberation was affected also by The Stonewall Riot in New York 1969. The event gave the new spirit of gay movement. Queer community began to come out and struggle for their liberation from social and politically discrimination. The characteristic of Gay Liberation Movement was more anarchists. One of important events that mark the movement is Gay Pride Parade that also being evidence to the new form of counterculture.

"The 1970s were the banner decade for the gay community notion wide, especially in San Francisco. Many gay brought property in the city, and spruced up Victorian mansions in neighborhoods such as the Castro. At the same time, however, a seamy gay sex trade was burgeoning south of Market St and along Polk St in the Tenderloin District. It seemed free love wasn't just hippie concept" (Sterling and Downs, 2004: 64)

From the anarchistic Gay Liberation Movement, the movement changed to be more reformists against the countermovement of Anita Bryant by holding the single issue of gay civil right. Gay Right Movement was started in 1970s. This new form of movement is more cohesive, organized and transparent. It contained the combination between bar-based and political activities. This movement also became the starting point of lesbian involvement in the movement. This movement was focus on gaining the equal civil right for queer in housing, employment and education. The mode that was used in this era was organized social movement that involves street marches, political activities, and mass media involvement.

"Finally, in the late 1970s, with Harvey Milk's successful bid for city supervisor and the political response to his assassination, the Castro district emerged as a center of gay life in the city. Through the 1980s and 1990s the Castro became a phenomenon, a city within a city where gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender residents gradually began to outnumber other residents" (Boyd, 2003: 238)

Resumed in the statement above, it becomes clear that the accomplishment of gay right movement in Castro District brought the new quality of living for its queer community and also the wide world knowing of The Castro as Queer city.

3. Gay Right Movement

In recent Western thought, homosexuality has been considered a sin or a sickness. As the result, it has often been furtive and concealed. In the late nineteenth century, American physicians diagnosed homosexuality as a form of illness (Foner and Garraty, 1991: 511). Homosexual acts are illegal in most states in United State of America. Homosexual have been

barred from service in the military, teaching in public school, custody of their children, and also employment in federal civil service. Then, a social movement exists to change the situation. The beginning of gay right movement came when sufficient numbers of prominent individuals were willing to step forward and define themselves as homosexuals.

Gay right movement or LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) movement or Queer Movement is a social movement by gay community to reach their gay identity as it is constructed as a sociological identity in the USA and being nationalized through right discourse. Based on sociologist Mary Benstein, Gay movement has two kinds of goals. First one is cultural goals that it challenges the dominant construction of masculinity, feminist, homophobia and the primary of gendered heterosexual nuclear family (heteronormativity). Second goal is political goals that the movement aimed to change the law and policies to gain new right, benefit and protection from harm. Besides, it pursues equal opportunity in joining the political mainstream on the same level as other society group.

Dennis Altman (1982: 122) states that gay movement seeks to do five things:

a. To define a gay community and a gay identity.

The movement seeks to help gay individuals realized they are not alone and their problems are not merely personal troubled but are shaped by social structure.

b. To establish the legitimacy of a gay identity.

The movement seeks to reduce the shame, to overcome the internalized self-hatred and doubt, of people who have been socialized to believe they were wick and sick.

c. To achieve civil right for homosexuals

The movement seeks to decriminalize homosexual acts and establishes antidiscrimination laws to protect homosexual.

d. To challenge the general ascription of gender roles in society

The movement challenge to give people the right to choose roles rather than being forced to act out a role thrust on them by reason of their sex.

e. To secure family right

The movement goal is to obtain for gay couples the same legal right as other couples enjoys, such as health insurance or survivor benefits for a partner.

The gay right movement has seen some notable successes. The American psychological Association voted in 1974 to declare that homosexuality is not a sickness; Wisconsin and Massachusetts have passed laws making discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation illegal; and acknowledged homosexual have been elected to public office, including that of U. S. Senator. (Brinkerhoff, White and Ortega, 1995: 312)