

COMMUNICATING LEGACY: MEDIA, MEMORY AND HARVEY MILK

A Dissertation
Submitted to
the Temple University Graduate Board

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by
Heidi A. Mau
May 2017

Examining Committee Members:

Dr. Carolyn Kitch, Advisory Chair, Department of Journalism, Temple University
Dr. Chris Cagle, Department of Film and Media Arts, Temple University
Dr. Andrew Mendelson, CUNY Graduate School of Journalism
Dr. Edward Alwood, External Member, Philip Merrill College of Journalism,
University of Maryland

©
Copyright
2017

by

Heidi A. Mau
All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACT

Communicating Legacy: Media, Memory, and Harvey Milk examines publicly available media, artifacts and events in service of remembering Harvey Milk, who in 1977 became the first openly gay man elected to public office in California. Although he addressed issues of a diverse constituency, Milk is often remembered for demanding gay rights, his co-authorship of the San Francisco's Human Rights Ordinance, and a successful campaign against the passage of Proposition 6 in 1978, a state proposition to prohibit gay men and lesbian women from working in public schools. His political career ended weeks later, when Milk was assassinated, along with San Francisco Mayor George Moscone, by former city supervisor and colleague Dan White.

Forms of public and popular media addressing the remembrance of Milk and communicating his legacy include: journalism, books, documentary and fiction film, public art, theatrical and musical performances, memorials, commemorations, public history exhibitions, as well as types of legacy-naming. I term this media material *media memoria* – material in service of remembering. Through a mix of textual methods (visual/narrative/discourse), fieldwork (participant observation, interviewing) and archival/historical research methods, I examine how Milk media memoria create representations and narratives of Harvey Milk. I focus on how these representations narratives are used over time in the construction, negotiation and maintenance of local, LGBTQIA+ and eventually a larger public memory of Harvey Milk.

This project is a mix of history, memory, and media analysis. It is written as an overlapping chronology, so the reader can experience the mediated communication of

Milk's legacy as it moves forward through time. It is situated within the study of media and communication but is interdisciplinary in that it finds inspiration from memory studies, film and media studies, museum and exhibition studies, and public history – all areas in which communication with a public, and mediated communication, play integral parts of collective memory narrative building.

Communicating Legacy: Media, Memory and Harvey Milk aspires to be a contribution toward a more comprehensive history of the memory of Milk. The project concludes with a summary of the core and layered Milk memory narratives, a look at the key memory keepers and institutional players in Milk memory maintenance, and a discussion of the future of Milk memory. Through a discussion of how media memoria communicate the legacy of Harvey Milk, the dissertation adds to scholarly knowledge about how collective memory of public figures is constructed in American culture. Additionally, the dissertation works toward resolving deficiencies in research addressing LGBTQIA+ collective memory studies.

For my Sayang.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation might never have reached its end without the guidance and support of superb and patient scholars, mentors, colleagues, and friends. I would like to first thank my dissertation chair, Dr. Carolyn Kitch, whose Media and Social Memory course inspired this project. Her consistent mentorship and uncannily-timed sage advice guided me from beginning to end. Her ability to coax the real story from piles of pages and graduate student babble seemed nothing short of magical. I remain in awe of her intellectual and mentoring talents. Dr. Andrew Mendelson stuck with me throughout my graduate career, first as my program advisor and then, as a member of my dissertation committee. He was someone I could depend on to be direct and ask unexpected questions. Dr. Chris Cagle willingly joined this committee knowing little about my work, and he provided thoughtful and insightful input throughout this process. Dr. Edward Alwood graciously stepped in as outside reader to share his knowledge.

I greatly appreciated the positive energy and support offered by the faculty of Temple University. Their willingness to share their talents and create community made this journey all the more meaningful. I would especially like to thank: Matthew Lombard, Fabienne Darling-Wolf, Jan Fernback, Donnalyn Pompper, Peter Jaroff, Nancy Morris, and Patrick Murphy. I was lucky to find a bodhisattva in Nicole McKenna, who helped me navigate the paperwork path to graduation.

I entered the program with a fantastic cohort and quickly found additional friends in the program who encouraged me to work hard, think deeply, and laugh heartily: Byron Lee, Alanna Miller, Kelly George, Sam Srauy, Michelle Amazeen, John Church, Stephanie Morrow, Chiaoning Su, Siobahn Stiles, Tina Peterson, Carrie Teresa, Katie

Beardsley, and Melissa Meade, to name just a few of the many peers I am thankful crossed my path during this time. As I made my way through the writing process, friends and colleagues came forward to cheer me on. Michele Ramsey was a constant cheerleader and provided a hefty snack basket that sustained me through many chapters of writing at my desk. Eric Lindsey and Vinh Liang checked in on me regularly and made sure I left the house from the time to time. Clemencia Rodriguez and Kristin Shamus provided me an important pep session as I neared the end.

I was offered and accepted a teaching position at Albright College as I was writing and was lucky to have the ongoing support and advice of faculty mentor Patty Turning and department colleagues Kate Lehman and Jon Bekken. I am especially grateful for my Fight Club cohort, who offer ongoing research inspiration and emotional support: Bridget Hearon, Carrie Skulley, Shreeyash Palshikar, and Samira Mehta.

The Mau and Nicholas families I belong to provided endless love and support throughout this process and were patient as I was absent for periods of time from family gatherings. I am fortunate to have Cheryl Nicholas as my life partner, a woman whose humor and intellect ensures there is never a dull moment in our household, and whose love and support is immeasurable.

Finally, this project would have been very different without the help of many people in San Francisco who offered their assistance and in some instances, allowed me into their lives. The archivists, expert informants, and general citizenry who welcomed my questions and opened up a new path for me to walk in the study of media and collective memory. This dissertation is just the start of that story.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. COLLECTIVE MEMORY LITERATURE REVIEW, MATERIALS, AND METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS.....	31
3. HARVEY MILK’S PUBLIC POLITICAL PRESENTATION OF SELF: MILK’S POLITICAL COLUMNS, 1974-1978	68
4. TRAGEDY STRIKES AND LEGACY BEGINS: THE START OF MILK MEMORY	89
5. GETTING THE STORY OUT AND MILK MEMORY ON THE GROUND.....	130
6. CINEMATIC ARTIFACTS AS MEMORY TEXTS: <i>THE TIMES OF HARVEY MILK AND MILK</i> , 1984-2011.....	168
7. <i>MILK</i> (2008) COMES TO TOWN AND HARVEY GOES TO WASHINGTON	203
8. COMMUNICATING LEGACY, THE MEMORY KEEPERS, AND THE FUTURE OF MILK MEMORY.....	237

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	256
APPENDIX: LIST OF FIELDWORK MATERIALS.....	308

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The origin story for this dissertation research project on media, memory and Harvey Milk is borne out of a convergence of instances rather than one main event. The first instance was a 2009 graduate course in media and social memory, a course that set me on a path I never anticipated and ended up defining a main trunk of my research trajectories. In that course, I worked on a paper in which I examined social memory and the two main cinematic artifacts on Harvey Milk: *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) and *Milk* (2008). The second instance of inspiration was attending the 2010 National Communication Association conference in San Francisco. It was during this visit that among friends and colleagues at *Harvey's* bar in the Castro, that I experienced public remembering of Harvey Milk through different eyes.

Many in our group at *Harvey's* that night identified as LGBTQIA+¹ or supportive as allies, and knew of Milk as a San Francisco name in the 1970s U.S. gay liberation/rights movement, one of the first out gay people elected to political office when he finally won a campaign to be on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Many of us knew about his assassination in City Hall by a former political colleague. We learned additional details and nuances from pamphlets and photographs in the restaurant. After

¹ My intent in using the initialism LGBTQIA+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual, + new identities) is an attempt to match terminology with the current larger queer community identity. Initialisms may switch in titles of organizations or quotations, based on initialisms used. In instances where scholars seem to preference a particular initialism, LGBTQIA+ might still be used for clarity of reading, but a footnote will be offered with their preferred initialism. Other terms or initialisms might be used in discussing work of various historical periods (use of term appropriate to context, such as “homosexual,” as used in early press reporting or “gay” in reference to the “gay liberation movement” and “gay rights movement” labels used prior to the switch to initialisms). It may be important to note that contemporary usage of LGBTQIA+ sometimes interprets the “A” to include “allies,” or cisgender people who support LGBTQIA+ equal civil rights.

dinner our group walked to 575 Castro Street, at that time a gift shop known as “Given.” As we looked up, a small mural of Milk looked down at us from its imagined second story window. Information about the significance of this address was posted on the door. It was the former site of Castro Camera, Milk’s camera store, the back room of which doubled as his campaign headquarters. A brass plaque cemented into the sidewalk provided a narrative of Milk and 575 Castro that noted the importance of the man, and this particular site:

Harvey Milk made history as the first openly-gay elected official in California, and one of the first in the nation, when he won election to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in November 1977. His camera store and campaign headquarters at 575 Castro Street and his apartment upstairs were centers of community activism for a wide range of human rights, environmental, labor and neighborhood issues. Harvey Milk’s hard work and accomplishments on behalf of all San Franciscans earned him widespread respect and support. His life is an inspiration to all people committed to equal opportunity and an end to bigotry. Harvey Milk, May 22, 1930-November 27, 1978. (“Harvey Milk, May,” 2010)

I began to wonder when each of these memory markings appeared, who was behind their installations, and how these memory markings – memory media – work to create social memory of Harvey Milk. A larger, more public memory of Milk seemed apparent after the release of the biopic *Milk* (2008), but much time had passed between Milk’s assassination in 1978 and the release of the biopic thirty years later. What other memory markings were there, and might they tell a story of how social memory of Harvey Milk was communicated and maintained over time?

As I revised and prepared a presentation of the initial cinematic artifacts paper for the 2011 Joint Journalism and Communication History Conference, I returned to update attention to Milk after the release of the biopic *Milk* (2008), and found that attention to

Milk had risen after this film release and continued to rise. In 2009, Milk was posthumously awarded a Medal of Freedom by President Obama (whitehouse.gov). This award was followed by the founding of the Harvey Milk Foundation by Milk's nephew Stuart Milk and Milk's former campaign manager, Anne Kronenberg (milkfoundation.org/about). That same year, Milk was inducted into the California Hall of Fame (Californiamuseum.org). After refusing to do so the previous year, in 2009 Governor Schwarzenegger signed "Harvey Milk Day" into California law, its first celebration occurring in 2010 on May 22, Milk's birthday (CNN.com, Leff, 2010). In 2011, a California law was passed requiring public schools to include GLBT (Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender) contributions as part of social studies/history curricula, Milk being one of the people discussed for inclusion (Bingham, 2011; Lin, 2011). Also in 2011, a high-definition remastering of the documentary *The Times of Harvey Milk* (2011) was released as part of the Criterion Collection, complete with new commentary on what Milk means for our times (Criterion.com; Galloway, 2011).

Harvey, Harvey, Harvey. He just would not go away; indeed, these media and memory events increasingly communicated Milk as someone whose legacy was important to remember within multiple memory communities: local/state, LGBTQIA, and it seemed increasingly, national public memory. As I moved into deciding on a dissertation project, I could not help but think these multiple instances of public remembering of Milk as a communication and memory studies phenomenon. I set about formulating research questions and researching possible directions for a dissertation project on media, memory and Harvey Milk. During this time, Milk memory continued

its trajectory to what seemed a national, public memory. *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) was named to the National Film Registry by the Library of Congress, to “become part of the nation’s permanent visual record (Hornaday, 2012). The White House “Champions of Change” program honored ten “Harvey Milk Champions of Change” on Harvey Milk Day, 2013 (Gautam, 2013). In 2014, The United States Postal Service issued a Harvey Milk postage stamp on Harvey Milk Day. The first-day-of-issue dedication took place not in San Francisco, but in the White House (Hudson, 2014).

Research Questions

This dissertation project went through a few iterations in finding its shape and focus. It started as an analysis of the various Milk media available to the public. It grew to encompass a wide definition of media – not just newspapers, books, and films, but also public sculpture, plays, musical events, heritage sites, memorial gatherings, and public history exhibitions. I came to think of these events and material as *media memoria* – media in service of remembering.

A pre-dissertation research trip to San Francisco included time for an initial overview of possible archives and local media memoria. This trip also provided unexpected interview opportunities. Two more research trips followed. Soon I was developing a history of Milk memory mixed with analyses of Milk media memoria, which I outlined to be my dissertation; or so I thought. It was here that I ran into what Jordanova (2000) describes in her discussion of historical knowledge as “the chimera of comprehensiveness,” particularly when it becomes a “crippling ideal (pp. 102-103).” That illusion of comprehensiveness had to be chipped away at until I could reach a more

realistic goal, which is the dissertation you are now reading, *Communicating Legacy: Media, Memory and Harvey Milk*. This work aspires to be a contribution toward a more comprehensive history of the memory of Milk. The following research questions guided this dissertation research:

- 1) How is Harvey Milk remembered?
- 2) Who are the individual and institutional players involved in constructing, negotiating, and maintaining collective memory of Milk?
- 3) How has Milk memory changed over time?
- 4) How is the examination of Milk memory useful to scholarly research in media and memory? Memory and history? Media and communication?

This dissertation is situated within the study of media and communication but is interdisciplinary in that it finds inspiration from memory studies, film and media studies, museum and exhibition studies, and public history – all areas in which communication with a public, and mediated communication, play integral roles in collective memory narrative building. This dissertation additionally contributes to the interdisciplinary area of memory studies as it seeks to encompass a range of memory media as opposed to a focus on one specific artifact such as a single film, book, or memorial.

Project Justification and Contribution

Communicating Legacy: Media, Memory and Harvey Milk adds to our knowledge about how collective memory of public figures is constructed in American culture. Collective and public memory production arises in the present when there is something the memory can provide to a culture. The timing of this project occurs during a

resurgence of production of Milk memory in American culture, and provides insight into the ongoing construction and potential meanings of the public memory of Milk in the 21st century.

In discussing the rise of academic activity in memory studies, Doss (2010) notes an area of expansion in exploring “how acts of remembering are key to the formation and reformation of social identity (p. 48).” She mentions Jay Winter’s comments on a growth in memory studies “directly related to today’s identity politics: to diverse social and political groups claiming voice and vying for representation in the public sphere (Winter as cited by Doss, 2010, p. 48). The proposed research falls into this recent expansion of memory studies, as collective memory of Milk is linked to LGBTQIA+ identity and social issues, local/regional political identity, and civil rights national memory. By examining Milk media memoria over time, one might gain insight on how LGBTQIA+ collective memory in the United States has shifted over time, and its relationships to public memory, and national memory.

Researchers and scholars have made some inroads into critical scholarly work on hegemonic narratives with mention of, or in relation to, underrepresented public memory. Bodnar (1992) examines the construction of public memory through a negotiation between national memory and what he terms “vernacular” memory – the collective memory of everyday people. Dicks’s (2000) extensive study of Rhondda Heritage Park in South Wales, follows the evolution of the heritage site as it addresses the community and local memory of working-class miners. Archibald (2004) examines the importance of museums and artifacts in calling forth stories from local memory that assist in bridging

racial and economic differences, and building healthy and sustainable small town and urban communities. Corrin (2004) examines how museums have attempted to depart from detached exhibition design, one in which the object reigns supreme over its history and identity. She devotes considerable time to artist Fred Wilson's exhibition in the Maryland Historical Society, in which he curates items from their archive for an exhibition of African-American memory that lays bare a different view of what an exhibition of historical objects might offer to an understanding of present-day America. While these scholars contribute greatly to an examination of underrepresented public memory, research in LGBTQIA+ representation within academic work on collective memory is sparse.

Morris's (2004) examination of negative reactions from Lincoln historians and memory communities to Larry Kramer's rhetorical attempt to bring Abraham Lincoln into queer memory points to the difficulty of excavating LGBTQIA+ memory from already established national and public narratives. Castiglia and Reed (2012) note time itself as a main factor in why there is not much LGBTQIA+ representation – the larger, more public gay rights movement just coming of age in the 1970s and the need for time itself to pass enough for memory to form (p. 31). Their rumination on gay memory in particular needs this window of time with its focus on resurrecting the formation of gay memory post-AIDS. Another reason LGBTQIA+ representation may be lacking is due to the insular arguments that tend to occur within the queer community itself concerning

whether or not there such a thing as a queer or LGBTQIA+ community, and whether it can or should exist at all.²

“Troubling” LGBTQIA+ Identity, Community and Memory

Establishing the history and memory of United States LGBTQIA+ culture is itself is a young enterprise. LGBTQIA+ identity is still untangling its own tensions. Can a diverse LGBTQIA+ constituency, one based on multiple identities and difference, achieve collective memory? I argue that any group that organizes as a community starts to form a collective memory as part of its survival and growth – it is this memory formation that weaves the wrap of community, the sense of belonging to the group. Collective memory is malleable. Much like the LGBTQIA+ initialism itself, LGBTQIA+ memory can adapt as the community itself changes. This is not to say that LGBTQIA+ identity, community, and memory are without their own internal contestations.

Epstein’s (1999) discussion of gay and lesbian movements in the United States begins with a discussion of how the various identities within LGBTQIA+ culture “carry with them no single or obvious political agenda.... the notion of a shared and fully articulated politics is a convenient fiction” (p. 30). Epstein in fact argues against any single movement, instead citing competing beliefs and groups that ebb and flow at various points in history. While on the outside the lesbian and gay movement may appear

² Castiglia and Reed (2012) themselves argue for an “expansive exclusiveness” when they attempt their definition of a queer community (p. 36). Their work points to the need and the difficulty of LGBTQIA+ identity, community and memory. In the end, Castiglia and Reed’s solution is to argue for identification and ideality over identity, a space in which remembering and collective memory serve possibility to make something in the present without forgetting, without amnesia of the AIDS epidemic and its impact on queer culture in the U.S.

as a group identity, within are continual discussions about “sexuality, identity and difference, and the relation between public and private (p. 43).”

In their discussion of Queer Nation and imagining a post-AIDS queer identity, Berlant and Freeman (1992) argue toward a collective queer identity as a counternationality, working in opposition to mainstream national (United States) identity while simultaneously using methods employed by the mainstream. Warner (2002) explores how a queer counterpublic is formed as “a framework for collective world making and political action” and how this process works with and against heteronormative culture. These scholars, and queer theory of the 1990s and following decade in general, speak to queer identity as providing an opportunity to work outside of hegemonic systems.

Counter to this thinking, and perhaps part of its influence, was the professionalization of LGBTQIA+ rights organizations such as the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) and the Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD), which began to work more toward mainstreaming LGBTQIA+ identity and assimilation within the culture-at-large (Castiglia & Reed, 2012). Warner (2002) laments the success of the LGBT movement in the 1990s as a success paid for by caving in to normalizing identity politics.³ This discussion ebbs and flows almost as much as the initialism of LGBTQIA+ itself, most recently arising as this community discusses how gay marriage rights arrived in the United States before work protection rights. The importance of forming community and some sort of public is an important thread throughout each of these discussions. I

³ “LGBT” was a popular initialism used in the 1990s, and the initialism used by Warner in his work.

argue that LGBTQIA+ identity and definitions of community are formed and reformed. We co-constitute a reality of what it means to be “LGBTQIA+,” and out of this reality is formed a group collective memory, inclusive of all of its collective and divisive troubling.

Harvey Milk, Media and Memory – to History?

Establishing LGBTQIA+ history while still establishing LGBTQIA+ identity and community is tricky business. The goal within this work is to mark how the memory of Milk serves different memory communities at different times and how his memory moves through various memory communities – local, LGBTQIA+, and eventually into public memory and toward United States/American history.

Like many vernacular memory communities, there is simply no single LGBTQIA+ mouthpiece in the United States where one checks in to get the prevalent opinion and stories of this community referred to as “LGBTQIA+.” The HRC, GLAAD, and similar organizations often step in to fulfill these roles when the media query. Media themselves, in the forms of films, books, journalism, and ever-evolving new media, create and communicate memory narratives.

As previously mentioned, recollection of Milk in the public realm has risen steadily from a local/state level to a national level. Internationally, the story and image of Milk is appearing as an icon of the LGBTQIA+ movement in the United States, largely credited to the success of the feature film *Milk* (2008) and the work of the Harvey Milk Foundation. This dissertation is envisioned as a contribution to a currently evolving story of memory to history. An examination of Milk memory, over time, might tell the story of

how pieces of history are shaped and maintained through collective memory groups until they can have a place in more official histories.

Who is Harvey Milk? Biography and Literature Review

It is somewhat of a conundrum to provide a brief biography and background of a man within a work in which the collective memory of the man is the topic of examination. Each source is a potential artifact of study. In response I choose to corroborate the following streamlined summary of Milk's life from three main sources: Shilts's (1982) biography of Milk, the Harvey Milk Archives – Scott Smith Collection (Wilson, 2003) and “The Official Harvey Milk Biography” from the Harvey Milk Foundation (milkfoundation.org). I follow the trajectory of Milk's life and the main summary from his official biography. Here we learn that Milk, born in 1930, grew up in Woodmere, New York as part of a middle-class Jewish family of four. His parents, both of Lithuanian heritage (his father an immigrant, his mother not), served in the United States Navy and in their civilian life opened a family department store. Milk is described as knowing he was gay before he entered high school. He had an early interest in opera and also played high school football. Milk was a student at New York State College for Teachers. After graduation he joined the United States Navy and was based in San Diego, performing his military duties as a diving instructor. He was discharged in 1955.

Milk became a public school teacher on Long Island, and later became stock analyst in New York City. He also worked with the Broadway musicals *Jesus Christ Superstar* and *Hair*. It was during this time that he became more politically active and, in 1972, moved to San Francisco. Shortly thereafter he opened his Castro Street camera

store, and in 1973 he conducted his first run for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Milk ran unsuccessfully for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1973 and 1975, ran for California State Assembly in 1976, and then in 1977, successfully won his third bid for a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Milk was inaugurated with the other newly elected city district supervisors on January 9, 1978.

Milk's official city supervisorial activity is well summarized in the appendix of Emery's (2012) curated collection of interviews given by Milk. One of Milk's more prominent actions was his work toward the eventual passage of San Francisco's Human Rights Ordinance, which prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation. It may be a testament to the range of Milk's political work or simply an indication of a thread of Milk memory that engages Milk's theatrical side, that another often-referenced political success is his shepherding through an ordinance that penalized dog owners for not picking up after their dogs. Milk's work as a city supervisor was wide-ranging, serving a diverse constituency beyond his home district. This is evidenced in Emery's (2012) documentation of Milk's supervisorial activities as well as through various Milk memory mini-narratives that arise throughout this dissertation.

While in office Milk publicly debated California State Senator John Briggs and fought against Briggs' proposed Proposition 6, an initiative to ban homosexuals from teaching and holding other positions within California public schools. Milk's participation toward fighting against Proposition 6 is often recognized in biographical narratives of Milk. Proposition 6 was voted down by California voters on November 7, 1978. Milk was assassinated later that same month, on November 27, 1978.

Milk Within LGBTQIA+ Studies and Movement History

Within United States LGBTQIA+ studies, an area with a focus on maintaining histories related to LGBTQIA+ culture, Milk is remembered as working toward gay and lesbian rights, and as part of promoting a more public gay identity with a particular emphasis on gays and lesbians individually “coming out” of the proverbial closet of hiding their sexual identity and instead, being public about it. He is most strongly situated within histories of gay rights and gay identity on the West Coast, anchored within the context of San Francisco as a gay mecca within the decade of the 1970s.

D’Emilio (1989) discusses Milk within the context of a gay San Francisco that was both coming of age and being hit by adversity (p. 469). Milk’s time is one in which San Francisco experiences a progressive political shift while the nation experiences the uprising of “the New Right,” with Milk’s work on the anti-Proposition 6 (also known as the Briggs Initiative) campaign being a marker of these social and politically turbulent times (pp. 468-469). Eaklor (2008) introduces Milk as a sign “of hope” that rises amidst the overturning of multiple gay rights ordinances across the country. More often Milk’s story is one of victory followed by tragedy, a narrative in which Milk wins public debates against Briggs and Proposition 6 is defeated, followed by the tragedy of Milk’s assassination later that same month (Adam, 1995, p. 113). A mention of Milk rarely passes without mention of his tragic death. Miller (1995) goes as far as to state: “No contemporary American gay leader has yet to achieve in life the stature Milk found in death” (p. 408).

Not everyone sees Milk as a unanimous hero and martyr of his times. Aldrich (2012) includes reference to Milk's tendency to "ruffle the feathers of more conservative gays and lesbians" and being "regarded as a major enemy – indeed, as little less than evil – by those on right" (p. 252). Loughery (1998) asserts that most gays and lesbians would have preferred quieter work toward equality than what was proposed by Milk, but the anti-gay backlash of the 1970s combined with the upcoming HIV/AIDS epidemic would not allow for this option (p. 387). It is most common that within LGBTQIA+ studies, Milk's assassination is seen as a sort of milestone moment; a climax between the fight for gay rights in the U.S. and a rising conservative backlash (Adam, 1995; Button et al, 1997; Clendinent & Nagourney, 1999) as well as transitional moment between this backlash and the oncoming spectre of AIDS (Bronski, 2011; Hirshman, 2012; Loughery, 1998; Eisenbach, 2006; Vaid, 1995).

Other LGBTQIA+ studies scholars place greater emphasis on Milk's contribution toward a more public LGBTQIA+ identity, such as Milk's push for gay people to come out and publicly identify as gay. Marcus's (1992) interview with author Randy Shits speaks to how Milk was an "idealist" and a "visionary," and how the "new way of being gay was to be open, not to hide, of being powerful and asserting your power (p. 234)." Part of Milk's legacy, according to Dreier (2012), is being "the most visible gay public figure in America" during his time in office (p. 367).

Milk's ability to run and win political office in the 1970s, and his role within LGBTQIA+ history and LGBTQIA+ identity studies is nuanced within work more firmly situated within a West Coast or San Franciscan context. Milk plays a much larger role

given the more tightly reigned geophysical context of Stryker & Van Buskirk's (1996) book, which focuses on Bay Area queer culture and history. This work provides a much deeper historical context in which readers watch Milk's rise to political office starting as early as Milk's position in the early 1970s on the San Francisco's Family Services Administration with his later Briggs debate-partner, Sally Gearhart and eventual political opponent, Rick Stokes (p. 64).

Armstrong's (2002) work on sexuality and political organizing in San Francisco credits San Francisco's rise as a national gay mecca and the "consolidation of the gay identity movement in San Francisco" as creating prime conditions for Milk's ability to enter politics as an "out" gay man (p. 131). Alternately, scholars such as Bailey (1999) credit Milk's link to identity groups as part of the progressive political push of the times. Bailey sees the introduction of identity politics (GLBT, Asian, Latino, neighborhood development) by Moscone and other progressives as laying the groundwork for someone like Milk to gain access to city politics and thrive within this context (pp. 291-292). Epstein's (1999) context for Milk's time includes how the 1970s, particularly in San Francisco, was a time when lesbian and gay people were more publicly visible and created gay neighborhoods or enclaves, in which it was easier to gather and organize around a forming gay and lesbian group identity. This day-to-day visibility, however, was largely through gay and lesbian-owned business and organizations that largely represented a white, middle-class gay and lesbian culture. Many of these localized narratives of Milk being "in the right place at the right time," inclusive of the changing social class of certain gays and lesbians in San Francisco, and the rise of the Castro

alongside progressive politics in the 1970s, are also found in mainstream popular writing about San Francisco in the 1970s such as FitzGerald's (1986) focus on the Castro neighborhood in her book *Cities on A Hill*, on through Talbot's (2012) more recent *Season of the Witch*.

It is important to note that within the context of the larger LGBTQIA+ history and studies writing, Harvey Milk is but a drop in the proverbial ocean of names and events vying for their place of importance in this still-changing narrative. Being inserted in a grand history is one method of documentation, of ensuring one is a character within the overall historical narrative. To be a focus of a longer work and receive greater attention can help a historical character find a larger role within that grander narrative, over time.

Biographies can serve to provide a deeper focus on a historical character. Short-format independent and trade biographies have been published on Milk, one of which is out of print (Hinckle, 1979) and the remainder of which are intended for children and young-adult audiences (Athena, 2010; Krakow, 2001; Luna, 2011). The later biographies are discussed in Chapter 7 in conjunction with the move to incorporate LGBTQIA+ historical figures within California public school social studies curricula. Randy Shilts's (1982) long-format trade biography titled *The Mayor of Castro Street: The Life & Times of Harvey Milk* is easily the most cited work in many of the summaries of Milk within the larger narratives of the U.S. LGBTQIA+ movement and histories.

Long-format Popular and Scholarly Discussion of Milk

Shilts's (1982) biography, although historical, is viewed as mainstream biography/popular media, and is addressed in the dissertation as one of the initial media

memoria narratives of Milk, along with its ongoing influence on subsequent memory narratives. Another initial Milk narrative that came out shortly thereafter is the characterization of Milk within Weiss's (1984) mainstream true crime book titled *Double Play*. This narrative is subject to brief discussions in later chapters, as it is another text that falls into a period of early mass media memory narratives of Milk. Like Shilts's biography of Milk, Weiss's (1984) true crime book is an oft-cited reference in discussions of Milk in other writing although its focus is largely on the trial of Dan White. Weiss's (2010) updated version of the book will be referenced as part of how Milk memory continues to evolve in the new millennium.

Weiss's publisher, Vince Emery, released his own book in 2012 titled *The Harvey Milk Interviews: In His Own Words, a Collection of Interviews*. This text does well to compile many of Milk's smaller, local media interviews and assembles a timeline of his political activities. This book works as compendium of sorts for readers curious to know more about Milk through his own words or who wish to track his work as a city supervisor, but Emery provides little original material of his own within the volume.

Long-format scholarly written works that focus solely on Milk are limited. Black and Morris's (2013) edited collection of Milk's speeches and some of his writings are the closest to long-format scholarly discussion of Milk beyond single journal articles. This book curates a collection of speeches and writings available through the Harvey Milk Archives – Scott Smith Collection of the James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center at the San Francisco Public Library. Each selection within the book is prefaced with historical context and the book's introduction places the work within Milk collective memory and

toward LGBTQIA+ history.⁴ Morris acknowledges that despite some contestation over whether Milk deserves great attention within the larger LGBTQIA+ social history, it is local stories like Milk's that make up the fabric of a larger, national LGBTQIA+ history (5-7). Building off of Morris' comments on Milk memory, it is this localization that may very well become an important part of the collective memory process – when an individual or event has such an impact on a local community, even if momentarily, it creates storied places that can hold court to the collective memory process over time (Glassberg, 2001).

Dissertation and Thesis Discussion of Milk

There are eight theses/dissertations that have as their focus, or as an element of their study, Harvey Milk or related Milk media memoria. Although none of these works have transitioned into post-dissertation scholarly publications, I acknowledge them here as works that have been created related to my area of inquiry, and may reference them in discussion of Milk media memoria later in this dissertation.

Three dissertations contain components that address Milk media memoria. McKelvey's (2004) Musical Arts dissertation addresses the Houston Grand Opera in the 1990s and includes a case study chapter on the production of the opera *Harvey Milk* (1995), co-commissioned and co-produced by the Houston Grand Opera. Dorsey's (2007) dissertation examines performance and queer violence, including a chapter on "gay martyrdom" that addresses how Milk is represented in the musical *The Harvey Milk Show* (1991) and the opera *Harvey Milk* (1995). Stoner's (2013) journalism dissertation is a

⁴ Black and Morris's preferred initialism is "GLBTQ."

biography of Shilts as a reporter, and examination of his reportage. The dissertation has a particular focus on Shilts's work related to AIDS, but it also includes primary source interviews related to Shilts's (1982) biography of Milk that is useful for chronicling and examining a history of Milk media memoria.

Two M.A. theses examine Milk's role in political history. Callis' (1991) American history M.A. thesis examines Milk's role in the 1970s politics of San Francisco, questioning Milk's status as "a selfless crusader for gay rights, offering instead a characterization of Milk as a 'political animal (abstract)." Khalil's (2012) history M.A. thesis details how "the LGBT movement scored two historic victories in California in the late 1970s" – the election of Milk and the defeat of Proposition 6 (p. iv).

Two of the dissertations have minor relationships to the proposed dissertation content. Hayes's (2009) English dissertation is not Milk-centric, but does discuss how LGBTQIA+ choruses work within the context of LGBTQIA+ rights activism.⁵ It narrates the origin of these choruses as arising from the ashes of the assassinations of Milk and Moscone (and indeed the origin lore of the San Francisco Gay Men's Chorus is that their first "out" performance was the day after the assassinations at the candlelight vigil held at city hall). Davis' (2007) writing MFA thesis is a memoir narrating her life in San Francisco during the 1970s, in which she provides a "first-hand account" of living through the history of that time, inclusive of the Milk/Moscone assassinations.

The last study is Sofen's (2001) undergraduate honors thesis in history and literature that is a critical examination of Shilt's (1982) biography of Milk, which the

⁵ Hayes preferences the initialism "GLBT" in references to these choruses in his work.

author asserts mythologizes Milk as a legend and martyr. Although attempts to attain this work were unsuccessful, it still merits mention in acknowledging a history of the academic attempts to study Milk and the narratives created to represent him.

Scholarly Articles Related to Milk

Karen A. Foss was one of the earliest scholars addressing the importance of remembering Milk. A Speech and Communication scholar at Humboldt State University in California at the time, Foss's (1988) initial article on Milk begins with marking him as a symbol for "the gay experience," a symbol that changed to martyrdom after his assassination (p. 75). The article is offered up in the 10th year anniversary of Milk's assassination and serves as a brief history and introduction to Harvey Milk the man, followed by a lengthier overview of his life and political campaigns, drawing largely from Shilts' (1982) biography and material culled from the Estate of Harvey Milk, which was managed at the time by Milk's former lover, Scott Smith. Files from that collection, now part of the Harvey Milk Archives – Scott Smith Collection, indicate Foss as one of an early group of people beyond Randy Shilts to request and receive permission from Smith to use material from the Estate of Harvey Milk for reprint (Foss, 1986).

While Milk was not a focus within her academic career as a rhetorician, Foss published two additional scholarly articles related to the gay politician. Her 1994 book chapter begins with a similar introduction to Milk as found in her initial article, but then turns to examine Milk's use of folly in the traditional sense of how folly was used by cultures in the past as a method of dealing with societal transition. Foss presents Milk as the court jester that assists in creating an atmosphere in which public dialogue could

occur. Milk also used this strategy of folly to bring together the diverse constituencies he wished to work with and represent (p. 12).

In 2007, Foss published a book chapter on Milk's contrasting rhetorical strategies, which she proposes as 1) *antithesis and synthesis*, and 2) *enactment and violation* (pp. 78-85). She asserts Milk's ability to break through the boundaries of San Francisco's political polarities was largely achieved through his ability to respond to the city's particular rhetorical situation and transform, or *queer* it. Foss views Milk's ability to shift his identities within his political life and maintain multiple framings of who he was as essential to the queering of his rhetoric, which affected the rhetorical situation of his particular place and time as a political candidate (p. 85). Foss concludes with ideals she proposes rise out of the essence of Milk's contradictory strategies: *a spirit of freedom*, *a spirit of identification*, and *a spirit of inclusion* (pp. 86-89). This writing is essentially a maturation of Foss's original thesis of contradictory rhetoric, but examined within a queer studies context.

Milk's speeches receive attention in edited volumes addressing speeches in the gay rights movement (Williams & Retter, 2003; Daley, 2010) or within the context of civil rights (Gottheimer, 2003) preceded with a minor introduction to Milk and the context in which the particular speech was given. Black & Morris (2011) were the first scholars after Foss to return to a deeper analysis of Milk's speeches, examining Milk's "You've Got to Have Hope" as an address in which the authors propose Milk is able to bring his varied constituencies together through this call for hope. This article, written for the Voices of Democracy U.S. Oratory Project, foreshadows Black & Morris's (2013)

book on Milk's speeches curated from the Harvey Milk Archives, which would be released two years later. This body of scholars and their work well cover Milk's rhetorical strategies and the role of his speeches within the history of contemporary political rhetoric; something that will not be as closely addressed in this dissertation.

An article important to this dissertation research was Eyerman's (2012) article examining cultural trauma and the Milk/Moscone assassinations. Eyerman examines the Milk/Moscone assassinations and aftermath through theories of social drama and cultural trauma to determine how Milk, and not Moscone, became the larger figure in world-consciousness, post-incident (p. 401). Eyerman examines the stages of the assassination in sequential narrative form: the assassination event, the players in the event, Dan White's trial, and the subsequent reaction to White's verdict. He then examines mediated representations of this drama, memorialization events, and compares Milk and Moscone's "breadth of commemoration (p. 413)." Eyerman asserts that while "not every incident is a candidate for reconstructing collective memory," powerful events that have associated *carrier groups*, such as the LGBTQIA+ community in this instance, have a greater chance of long-term maintenance (pp. 413).⁶ He concludes by explaining how a social drama was constructed of the event, but it was cultural trauma activated by White's verdict that motivated and activated its remembrance as an iconic moment, and the choosing of Milk, over Moscone, to rise from its ashes.

As will be discussed in the dissertation, the role of an LGBTQIA+ carrier group and White's verdict do play a role in the construction and maintenance of Milk memory.

⁶ Eyerman's preferred initialism is "GLBT."

There are additional factors that catapult Milk over Moscone in broader public memory: how the cultural trauma impacted key memory keepers to “go the distance,” rising and veteran political figures who call upon the memory of Milk as part of their political platform, and the national culture wars enacted through the fight for marriage equality that provided visibility for LGBTQIA+ culture and an opportunity to remember and introduce figures such as Harvey Milk to a national public.

While Eyerman (2012) asserts that Milk’s local memory surpassed that of Moscone’s through the presence of cultural trauma and the LGBTQIA+ community as a carrier group, Liao’s (2011) book chapter examines how Milk “reemerges as an organizing symbolic force” for present day LGBTQIA+ community and political identity (p. 272).⁷ Liao asserts Milk is being reconstructed for mainstream appeal and silencing opportunity for alternative political forces within the LGBTQIA+ community. How Milk is currently remembered “defines acceptable, or (re)presentable, queer behavior and political activities while subsuming a diversity of queer experiences and lives (p. 173).” Liao contributes to the discussion held earlier in this dissertation examining contestation of memory within the LGBTQIA+ community and the *troubling* of a singular LGBTQIA+ identity for such a community.

Liao (2011) and Eyerman (2012) include discussion of their topics in relation to one or both of the two main cinematic artifacts of Milk: Epstein’s (1984) documentary *The Times of Harvey Milk*, and Van Sant’s (2008) biopic *Milk*.⁸ Liao (2011) references

⁷ Liao’s preferred initialism is “LGBTQ.”

Milk (2008) as part of her thesis of Milk's mainstream reconstruction. A portion of Eyerman's (2012) article examines how the assassinations work within the narrative of Milk in *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) and *Milk* (2008).

Academic response to the feature films *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) and *Milk* (2008) has been fairly recent. *Milk* (2008) itself is a fairly new film and *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) has been reactivated in academic discussion largely through the success of *Milk* (2008) and the interaction between the two films. An overview of the related academic discussion merits a brief overview here as Chapter 6 includes an in-depth analysis of the two films in relation to Milk memory over time.

Three of the first scholarly articles to address the films in some way include Villa's (2010) comparison review, Pullen's (2011) essay on tragedy and the gay hero in documentary and related biopics, and Charles's (2012) analysis of *Milk* (2008) in the context of contemporary queer academic and legal arguments over marriage equality. Pullen's (2011) essay mentions Milk as one of a few different figures examined within the tradition of the literary hero/tragedy genre, as applied to gay male film characters in documentary and biopics. His discussion veers more into how gay characters fit into these literary roles as a humanities/literary endeavor.

Charles's (2012) overall purpose is to speak about the gay marriage equality within a legal context. He creatively incorporates the cultural phenomenon of *Milk* (2008) into a discussion of the court battles related to California's Proposition 8, banning gay marriage. Charles's argues that the alignment in culture between the fight for gay

⁸ Films in the dissertation are often credited to the directors as authors, or the title of the film with its corresponding release year. This is standard for discussing films as cultural artifacts. References may direct readers to a more standard producer/director citation.

marriage equality and *Milk* (2008) is a false one. “This push for homo-assimilation represents a regression rather than a progression – a kind of betrayal of the Milk legacy rather than a citation of it as political if not social precedent (p. 144).” Charles’s work speaks to a memory of 1970s San Francisco and Milk as sexually free and unconfined and a disconnect with aligning Milk’s life and politics with contemporary needs and concerns in marriage equality. His work speaks to the ongoing conversation within LGBTQIA+ movements about assimilation, as well as the contrast of history and collective memory.

Villa’s (2011) work asserts that the biopic *Milk* (2008) aspires to resurrect both the history of Harvey Milk and Epstein’s (1984) documentary *The Life and Times of Harvey Milk* (p. 197). My examination of the two films will speak to how the films share a relationship with each other and participate in an evolving memory narrative of Milk between the years 1984-2011.

Additional discussions of the representation of Milk in cinema are within the examination of larger topics. *Milk* (2008) is briefly brought into an examination of contemporary film (Kellner, 2011; Quart & Auster, 2011), and studies of the biopic (Bingham, 2013; Vidal, 2014, pp. 12-13). *Milk* (2008) briefly figures into Castiglia and Reed’s (2012) long-format study of the construction of a gay past in a post-AIDS era, but since Milk himself is from the pre-AIDS era the interlude here is a limited one. Black and Morris III (2013) discuss the importance of *Milk* (2008) in both “GLBTQ and straight” memory, and Milk memory in particular, in their introduction to an edited collection of Milk’s writings and speeches (pp. 37-39).

The analysis of *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984/2004/2011) and *Milk* (2008) that appears in this dissertation is couched within the context of media and collective memory, and aspires to detail more closely how these representations and memory are constructed and reconstructed over various releases of these films and their DVD paratextuals. In this way, this work pays greater attention to descriptive detailing of film elements themselves and *how* the films and their related materials instruct viewers in representation and the social construction of collective memory.

There has been little published academic discourse on other creative works that incorporate Milk's story. Mitchell (1993) writes about intertextuality in Emily Mann's play *Execution of Justice*, in which Milk's biography serves merely to give introductory context for the play itself. Gray (2004) and Krueger (2008) write about the somewhat obscure *The Harvey Milk Show*, a musical written by Dan Pruitt and Patrick Hutchison (1996) that ran in Atlanta in 1991 and 1996 (Glaser, 1996). Neither author has as their focus Milk, although he is certainly discussed as a historical figure and as a character in the musical. Gray's (2004) book chapter speaks to how the play asserts there is a spiritual space for gay men and Krueger's conference paper (2008) later argues this point further through a narrative analysis of the relationships between religion and homosexuality depicted in the play. Both authors are more concerned with a space for gay men within religion and spirituality than they are with the remembrance of Milk, his depiction largely hagiographic and secondary to the narrative in comparison to the journey of its main character, Jamey, who is Milk's young lover.

Part of the difficulty encountered in this dissertation project is that collective memory of Harvey Milk continues to evolve. This evolution is partly due to the ever-changing evolutionary nature of collective memory, and partly due to the current time experiencing a particular peak in Milk memory. The literature review of scholarly work related to Milk was completed mid-way through the year 2013, which was when more focused analysis and writing commenced for this dissertation.

Dissertation Chapter Overview

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the origin of the dissertation and an introduction to Harvey Milk followed by a literature review of scholarship on Milk. The chapter ends with a brief overview of the dissertation chapters.

Chapter 2 moves into a literature review addressing theoretical and scholarly work in collective memory that informs the dissertation research and analysis. This chapter also provides an overview of the materials accessed for review, the process of their selection, and the methodological considerations for the dissertation project. The chapter concludes with detailed method and process information for particular analyses within the dissertation.

Chapter 3 looks at Milk's presentation of his public, political self through a history and analysis of his local political columns, published in the local San Francisco gay press during the years 1974-1978. This is the first scholarly examination of a complete set of these political columns. Journalism, even if editorial in nature, first speaks in its present and then later in the future when we inspect the past. In this way, how Milk presents himself becomes a sort of touchstone *media memoria*.

Chapter 4 begins with a look at early national and local press coverage of Milk to get a general idea of what was covered and how Milk was described by journalists. It continues with an overview of the tragedy of the assassinations as read through the local mainstream press. This overview is followed by the establishment of times within the year to commemorate and memorialize Milk, with a focus on the memorial candlelight marches and their coverage by local newspapers. The chapter concludes with an examination of local mainstream anniversary journalism, with a brief aside about politicians and Milk memory.

Chapter 5 begins with the release of the first longer-format and mainstream Milk narratives. These memory texts have as their focus Milk's life and legacy, or an element of Milk as part of the story of the assassinations. The chapter then transitions to Milk memory on the ground, following the ebb and flow of building Milk memory from the early years after Milk's assassination, through the years of the AIDS epidemic, up to the production of *Milk* (2008).

Chapter 6 is an expanded look at the two main cinematic artifacts and memory texts on Milk: the documentary *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984/2004/2011) and the biopic *Milk* (2008). It examines how collective memory of Harvey Milk is shaped over time through an interaction with these main cinematic artifacts and their DVD bonus materials. The films and DVD paratexts become memory sites through which we continue to construct a popular memory of Harvey Milk as a gay rights hero couched within a civil rights context, subtly shifting what this memory has to offer, over the years of 1984 to 2011. Shilts's (1982) long-format biography of Milk and Weiss's (1984)

history and analysis of the Moscone/Milk assassinations certainly have roles within the collection of Milk memory artifacts, but it is the cinematic artifacts that are continually revived in conjunction with commemorative and celebratory events concerning Harvey Milk. The research conducted for this dissertation repeatedly pointed to these two artifacts as the most active artifacts referenced in public remembering of Milk, and *Milk* (2008) has a particularly important role in pushing the memory of Milk into larger memory arenas.

Chapter 7 moves between the impact the film *Milk* (2008) had on local Milk memory and its continued growth alongside the rise of a more national, public memory of Milk. This chapter is assembled partially from newspaper articles and partially from fieldwork (participant observation and interviewing) conducted in San Francisco from 2012-2013. While the fieldwork seems much later than the film's theatrical run, the residue of that film was still very present in how Milk was presented and spoken about in San Francisco; it had become part of the fabric of local collective memory related to Milk. The summer of 2013 included much attention to the memory of Milk, as it was the 35th anniversary of the Moscone/Milk assassinations. This was also the summer the Supreme Court overruled the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), introducing marriage equality across the United States. The Supreme Court additionally upheld the previous 2010 ruling that overturned Proposition 8 in California.⁹ These events culminated in many public moments in which the memory of Milk was publicly aligned with events in the local present of this particular summer in San Francisco.

⁹ Proposition 8 was a state proposition banning gay marriage in California. It originally passed in 2008.

Chapter 8 concludes this dissertation. The chapter revisits the original research questions through a discussion of communicating legacy, the memory keepers, and the future of Milk memory.

CHAPTER 2

COLLECTIVE MEMORY LITERATURE REVIEW, MATERIALS, AND METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS

As mentioned in the Introduction, this dissertation is informed by researchers and scholars who examine the narratives, messages and meanings that arise out of media, events, and artifacts, and especially those researchers and scholars who link this material to issues of collective memory and its uses within a particular culture. In Chapter 2, I discuss the concept of collective memory from within the interdisciplinary area of memory studies as it applies to the study of Milk media memoria and types of Milk memory. I also provide an overview of the materials and methodological considerations for the dissertation project, with details on how particular analyses were performed.

Collective Memory

The vein of memory studies employed in this analysis and discussion is rooted in French scholar Maurice Halbwachs's concept of *collective memory*, developed in the first half of the 20th century. Halbwachs (1980, 1992) argues that we collectively develop group-based memory, which influences how we think of the past, in our present. This collective memory comes out of social and mediated interactions, which create a context for collective memory recollection, negotiation, and creation. Together we construct a depiction of the past that works in accord with our current social environment.

According to Halbwachs (1992), human memory cannot exist without the social interaction that creates a context for the recalling and creation of memory. This social interaction allows us to reconstruct our memory within our everyday lives, assisted by

others in our social circle who ask for our recollection – in essence they call forth our memory and in that action call forth the activity of memory that is then shared with people (and society) through its verbalization. The past “is reconstructed on the basis of the present” – the present social sphere of the person calling forth a memory becomes both an instigator and a context for the reconstruction of that memory (p. 40). Together we construct a depiction of the past that works in accord with our current social environment.

The process of collective memory is further described by Zelizer (1995) as “the shared dimension of remembering...recollections that are determined and shaped by the group (p. 214).” This is a particularly useful definition when thinking of community and public memory. How we reshape events from the past for a collective memory in the present can provide clues as to what we (as a culture or as a community) determine is important to remember (or forget) at a particular point in time. She explains that collective memory is often studied under the broad interdisciplinary banner of “memory studies,” with similar terms such as *social memory*, *popular memory*, *public memory*, and *cultural memory* at times used instead of *collective memory* (p. 217). In reference to authors and scholarly input in this dissertation, I will endeavor to represent their choices of collective memory terminology where I feel the distinction is important to the authors’ arguments and particular philosophy of collective memory. I may also incorporate various collective memory terminologies where they seem to make contextual sense, such as “LGBTQIA+ memory,” or “local memory,” but mostly I intend to use the term *collective memory* as a more general term and *public memory* in relation to collective

memory as mediated through publicly communicated Milk events and artifacts – the Milk media memoria. The term *public memory* makes most sense given the mass or public nature of the material I am examine and its intention for a public audience.

Zelizer (1995) summarizes a few points upon which most memory scholars agree. The first assertion is that collective memory favors using the past for work in the present (p. 218). Secondly, collective memory is constantly living and not intended to be indefinitely locked down as authentic or accurate (p. 217). In these ways, collective memory is not history, but arises from a connection to history. Thirdly, collective memory can be both specific to a particular group while also being part of a more universal collective memory. At times these grouped memories are working together and at other times, they contest one another (p. 230). Collective memory is not history itself, but a constantly living and changing experience (Zelizer, 1995, p. 217). Collective memory can be adapted as times change.

Collective Memory and History

History, as a discipline, has traditionally been sensitive to the concept of collective memory. At first glance, one might agree – collective memory is constructed, monitored and adapted through social interaction, and as discussed later in this chapter, inclusive of mediation through texts and objects. Collective memory is living, and does not necessarily depend on accuracy. Traditional history makes use of the distance of time to search something already stabilized in time, stating dates and facts verifiable by documentation. What follows are some of the commentary and concepts from scholars of

varying fields who have written on the relationship of collective memory, history and the public, and changes and nuances within memory studies itself.

For Halbwachs (1980), history and collective memory operate differently in the realm of time. Halbwachs (1980) noted that collective memory “is a current of continuous thought” through time (p. 80). It may shift, but it does not indicate, or mark, transformations - changes are difficult to pinpoint, indeed do not exist in the same way one can explain “I took a left turn here.” History, on the other hand, “gives the impression that everything...is transformed from one period to another (p. 80).” The idea is that something happens such that one period of time ends, and another begins. In history, and historical memory, “the men composing the same group in two successive periods are like two tree stumps that touch at their extremities but do not form one plant because they are not otherwise connected (p. 80)”.

Halbwachs (1980) also points out that recorded and written history was mostly representative of peoples or groups in power such as the Church, state leaders, and eventually industrialists and bankers (pp. 104-105). This was only a partial history, cobbled together from limited experiences. “The masses, who also occupy these regions but who never enter into these restricted social circles, also have their own history (p. 105).” Halbwachs passed away in 1945, and histories of everyday life and everyday people, as well as social histories of groups and movements had yet to rise through the advent of public history and social history. Yet systems of power still do seem to still exist in who is invited to the table and included in narratives of national history.

Bodnar (1992), a historian, addresses some of these historical hierarchies in how he contextualizes collective memory within systems of power. He uses the term *public memory* to refer to a kind of collective memory that “emerges from the intersections of official and vernacular cultural expressions (p. 13).” *Official memory*, according to Bodnar, is what is constructed and encouraged by the nation-state, and *vernacular memory* becomes what everyday people feel is important to commemorate, and remember. Bodnar’s (1992) work on national commemorations in the United States finds that although both vernacular and official memory are present in the construction of public memory, those in power will typically prevail - their concerns being more dominant and the other concerns folding into a largely national remembrance often centered on patriotism and progress in the United States (p. 245). Bodnar concludes: “Pluralism will coexist with hegemony. But the central question for public memory will continue to be what it always has been; just how effective will vernacular interests be in containing the cultural offensive of authorities (p. 253)?” Bodnar’s work has particular application as Milk memory rises to a more national, public memory.

American studies scholar Doss (2010) argues that as memory studies gained traction the tension between history and memory has been heightened by memory studies scholars themselves. She laments how the recent rise in memory studies has at times, placed history in a cell:

“...history is condemned as hard, cold facts and monolithic master narratives, while memory is welcomed as the feelings of ‘real people’ – especially those formerly excluded from grand historical projects. History is demonized as the remote and dusty past; memory is extolled as its immediate and intimate alternative (pp. 49-50).”

Doss (2010) instead proposes that “contemporary concepts of memory and history are largely inseparable because of changed understandings of how knowledge and identity are acquired and understood on experiential and affective terms (p. 50). These views are shared by other scholars such as Glassberg (2001) and Archibald (2004), found later in this chapter in a discussion of collective memory and place.

Sturken (1997), who prefers the term *cultural memory*, notes that the boundaries between personal memory, cultural memory and history can become fluid. Shared personal memories of public events can lead to new meaning being constructed of the events. She sees cultural memory as a site of contestation for meaning, particularly applicable to traumatic events in which “both the structures and the fractures of a culture are exposed (p. 3).” In these moments, people battle out the meaning of an event and how it is to be remembered as a culture, and a nation. These concepts have particular resonance in remembering Milk, whose life story is forever linked to the social and political trauma of his and Mayor George Moscone’s assassinations.

Memory collectives also form around identity through the ways in which we define and group ourselves. Schuman and Scott (1989) talk about generational collective memory groups. The findings from their research demonstrate support for a hypothesis that most people will list an event experienced during their defining generational development, with an even tighter relevance for those groups directly affected by events (such as women with women’s rights and African Americans with civil rights). While different generations might list the same event, their perception of the event may differ dependent on their generational position at the time of the event.

Collective Memory and Media

Popular media have important roles in collective memory. Zelizer (1995) and Zerubavel (1996) noted that collective memory is transported not only through verbal social interaction but also through the sharing of objects, rituals and media. Coser (1992) contends in his introduction to Halbwachs's work:

“When it comes to historical memory, the person does not remember events directly; it can only be stimulated in indirect ways through reading or listening or in commemoration and festive occasions when people gather together to remember in common the deeds and accomplishments of long-departed members of the group” (p. 24).

Wertsch (2002) views collective memory as “mediated action” – the reconstruction of a memory narrative through an interaction between a person, or group of people, with texts and tools that aid them in remembering. Collective memory is formed and distributed through *text*, *voice* and *remembering*. Text is an object or artifact, voice is how memory is expressed, and remembering is the activity – the action and process (pp. 14-18).¹⁰

Contemporary memory scholars examine a range of collective memory as mediated action. For the purposes of this dissertation, I define media to be what is available to the public, inclusive of a wide range of communicative objects and events: journalism, books, educational materials, documentary and fiction film, photography/images, theatrical and musical performances, memorials, commemorations, and art or public history exhibitions.

Baer (2001) examines the production and consumption of memory in the realm of media and the cultural/creative industries. He comments:

¹⁰ Wertsch (2002) explains *voice* as both how a word carries with it the presenter's tone, and the way in which the word is known/used by previous writers/orators as well as the audience (pp. 15-17).

“We are living through a moment characterized by an unprecedented presence of history and memory in the cultural sphere. Here visual technologies of representation and narration (first film and later television and computers) are playing a fundamental role. In recent decades, to talk about memory is to talk about audiovisual representations of events. These have transformed historical events by giving them renewed visibility, magnitude and public awareness and they have affected significantly the relationship between culture, history and collective memory (p. 492).”

The narrative of Harvey Milk and his legacy is told through a variety of media, but none had the reach of the Hollywood biopic *Milk* (2008). The biopic greatly impacted Milk memory in how it rose to a more public memory and it also reinvigorated pride in remembering Milk within local memory. Different media and their construction may have particular strengths due to their cultural value, their ability to convey information, tell stories, or convey emotion.

Cohen and Willis (2004) noted in their study of National Public Radio’s aural memorial of 9/11 that having the ability to incorporate a variety of individual voices broke some new ground but still maintained a traditional memorial narrative. They found that although the project engaged new forms of pervasive personal digital audio-recording technologies available to a wide berth of the public, the editorial management of the overall narrative still gave greater attention to some stories over others. This resulted in creating a narrative that followed a more singular focus on addressing grief related to the World Trade Center rather than broadening the narrative to be more inclusive of other 9/11 tragedies (p. 605). Their work points to how editorial management of a narrative affects the range of stories that can be included within memory projects.

Sturken looks at the power of personal photographs in cultural memory through the examination of photographs left behind at the Vietnam Memorial, incorporation of

photographs into the AIDS Quilt, and photographs used in advertisements for missing children. For Sturken, the proliferation of this imagery that takes the personal image into the public realm points to the separation of these two spaces as false. Each space impacts the other, the images functioning “as forms of speech in the face of cultural traumas... asking us to pay attention to the stories, both declarative and secretive, that they tell (p. 194).” Sturken’s (1999) work points to the porous boundary between personal/public, particular to narratives of grief. This has potential relevance to how Milk’s personal images were at times used in forms of public Milk media memoria. Milk, an amateur photographer, left behind many personal snapshots that were preserved in his estate that later became part of a public archive. His friends and contemporaries would also lend their imagery to Milk memory projects. The photograph, providing an index to the deceased, provides a way to remember. Borne out of the tragedy of assassination, Milk’s narrative has an inherent quality of grief that is shared by a public. His eventual heroic narrative also depends on ways to index him as an everyman who does something extraordinary, a process personal photographs help achieve.

In continued thinking about how photographs work, Grainge (1999) and Mendelson (2004) investigated the memory power of photojournalism. Grainge (1999) addressed how *TIME* magazine made use of our past cultural understanding of black and white photography as documentary to layer an impression of authenticity to its contemporary stories. Mendelson (2004) examined the impact of Norman Rockwell’s nostalgic illustrative style on “slice-of-life” feature photography used by photojournalists. This style of photography continued to gain awards, causing Mendelson to note that in

contemporary photojournalism “even nostalgic visions, which are visual ideas seeming to refer to something lost, are really visions of the present” (p. 175). Mendelson placed his arguments alongside those of other scholars who discuss journalism not just as working from outside of culture, looking in, but as “a part of culture, a process of both drawing from and contributing to social practice” (p. 175).

Collective Memory and Journalism

Journalistic media have a complex relationship with collective memory. Journalism might be seen as history or assumed to be objective given the definition journalism has within American culture. Journalism comments in the present and is referenced or recalled when it is time to “remember.” Kitch (1999, 2002, 2006) writes about *summary journalism* and *anniversary journalism* in newsmagazines – revisiting past news of a certain time period (such as a decade review) as a means to examine and explain culture. Kitch proposes that these news magazines become artifacts through which we build a collective memory of our nation’s history.

Some scholars have addressed how journalism shapes collective memory in favor of maintaining journalistic authority (Robinson, 2009; Zelizer, 1992), or to enable forgetting (Choi, 2008), or through photojournalism (Grainge, 1999; Mendelson, 2004; Meyers, 2002), and in Jordan’s (2008) article studying journalistic film criticism of *United 93*, to preclude the public from engaging their own construction of memory narratives. Kitch (2008) explains in later work that alongside its impression as a channel for memory, journalism is also a form of memory – it constructs memory, and is a space through which memory construction is commented upon (p. 317). She suggests that

scholars working with journalism and memory think beyond journalism as a “window” or as objective truth and instead conceptualize journalism as a process and “memory network,” as “*inside memory*” (author’s emphasis, pp. 317-318).” This conceptual understanding of journalism as residing inside memory, as well as journalism’s varied and complex relationship with collective memory, are necessary theoretical underpinnings to this dissertation research. Journalism is used in this dissertation as a way to chronicle memory projects and years of memory-building, and is also examined for its role in the collective memory process.

Collective Memory, Commemorative Events and Memorials

Commemorative events and memorials often follow tragedy as an expression of remembrance. Linenthal’s (2002) in-depth study of the impact of the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing includes a look at how and where memorials take shape, and whose story is told. Memorializing the tragedy of the bombing took many forms, from the initial spontaneous memorial created by the public, to memorials surrounding the site, through to the official national memorial and museum.

The term “spontaneous memorial” is a popular term used to describe collections of ephemeral objects placed at a site of tragedy. Doss (2010) argues that the term “spontaneous” is misleading, preferring the term *temporary memorial*, which she defines as a “highly orchestrated and self-conscious acts of mourning aimed at expressing, codifying, and ultimately managing grief (p. 67).” One can think of temporary memorials personally come across while walking (flowers left on the sidewalk near a building where some violent act occurred), and particularly when driving (a cross on the side of the road

to designate an accident). In the case of Milk's assassination, there was a spontaneous memorial at his apartment on Henry Street (Friday, 1998), and a spontaneous candlelight march and vigil that started from the Castro neighborhood and went to City Hall. This event was covered extensively in the news and incorporated into future Milk media memoria. What was a spontaneous or temporary event turned into an annual memorial candlelight march and vigil that is still held to this day, as part of the local, mostly LGBTQIA+, annual memorial tradition. It is no longer "spontaneous," but still temporary, and has moved beyond grief to commemorate the legacy of Milk by giving attention to local social issues that participants feel Milk would have addressed, had he lived. Additional times to commemorate were added, such as Milk's birthday, which would eventually become California's "Harvey Milk Day."

For many years, physical memorialization of Milk in San Francisco was mostly established through the process of legacy-naming, the renaming of existing structures to include Milk's name. The building might include a plaque, painting, or mural of Milk. There was ongoing movement toward marking the Castro Camera store location as a heritage site. Memorialization of Milk was largely within the Castro neighborhood itself. Savage (1994) points out that permanent public monuments have more importance than one might think. Their physical presence in our landscape gives them a certain power in asserting public memory in our everyday lives and "across generations (p. 129)." In looking at monuments, Savage asserts that what we are really seeing is a history of who has power of representation and cultural authority. Milk could be memorialized in the Castro, but it was difficult to find support for permanent memorials outside of his

neighborhood. LGBTQIA+ and local memory communities eventually worked together to fundraise for a bronze memorial bust of Milk in City Hall. At the time of this writing he is the only supervisor represented in the building.

These memorials, legacy-named buildings, and the site of Milk and Smith's former Castro Camera store have become regular stops on walking and bus tours that incorporate the memory of Harvey Milk. Local institutions such as the GLBT History Museum and the San Francisco Public Library have created public history exhibitions that incorporate Milk's story. These sites and exhibitions are media memoria in one sense, but also have a deep connection to place. As such, they are discussed within the next section, which looks at the study of collective memory and place.

Collective Memory and Place

Place also plays an important role in the public memory of Harvey Milk, particularly the city of San Francisco, the Castro district (Milk's political district and home), Milk's Castro Camera store location, and San Francisco City Hall, where Milk and Moscone were assassinated. These memory sites are also sites of tourism, both LGBTQIA+ and general visitor tourism. Archibald (2002) noted that places become important to us when we build narratives around them – when they have stories. “The past is knowable but not through words on printed pages as much as through emotional resonance, stimulated by places and objects of memory and the stories our whole community tells (Archibald, 2002, p. 80).”

Halbwachs (1980) suggests that each group has a spatial connection – spaces in which they met, interacted, and shared events. Images of these spaces or visits to a

particular location play a particular role in collective memory. The group and space share an imprint that assists in the building and maintenance of a collective memory (p. 130).

Space is organized to create a framework for the retrieval of remembrances – the nurturing and maintenance of collective memory. It is the relationship to a spatial image, the memory of place for example, that allows us to remember anything at all (p. 157).

In looking back upon his personal memories and the memories of friends, Archibald (2002) discovers the importance of place in assisting with the recall of remembrances. He calls these locations “memory places” (p. 67). He recalls his grandmother relating family stories when tending to the family grave, and a friend who took his mother to a place from her past, the location opening up all sorts of memories for his mother, and in turn, for her son (pp. 66-67). He continues:

Place is the crucible of memory.... places where things happened are stimuli to memory, and there in those places, memories will pour out with irresistible force. An individual will feel this sometimes overwhelming power in a place, and so will a family, even a community or a nation (p. 68)

Archibald (2004) notes that historical photographs of places we have visited can also extend our memory of that place because we have a context for that location (p. 41). A memory place can be dislocated from one’s personal/experiential memory as well – such as visiting Ellis Island and feeling something of the past through connections with pieces of history such as a diary or other shared memories (Archibald, 2002, p. 73).

Glassberg (2001) uses his training as a historian alongside his experiences with public history to examine “a sense of history” – “the intersection of the intimate and the historical (p. 6).” Glassberg describes this sense of history as an interaction with one’s

personal history with place and a historical event or information. Place affects us individually and as a community. Through the social interactions we have in our communities, we create “storied places,” shaping place and creating collective memory of it within a community (p. 19). Glassberg notes that remembering a place is not just about noting its geophysical location but also recalling the emotion tied to this place from our past. This process produces a connection between place and identity. Places become “storied” when we remember and share events connected to them.

Places with historical resonance are also visited as sites of memory and tourism. Barthel (1996), Dicks (2003), and Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1998) speak to relationships between heritage, museums, tourism, and memory. Sturken (2007) looks at tragedy tourism and memory. Sites of tragedy also arise in the study of collective memory and place (Doss, 2010; Foote, 2003; Linenthal, 2001).

These “storied places” can also be created by artists and writers, who connect us to place through description and narrative (Glassberg, 2001, p. 116). We can incorporate here Zerubavel’s (1996) assertion that social memory takes on conventional narrative plots (p. 288), which is shared by Archibald (2004), who notes that as we remember, re-remember, and retell memories, they become narratives:

Memory depends on story, and our identities depend upon memory attached firmly to chronology – not a fixing of precise dates, but rather sequences of events. Our narratives identify both who we are and our place in the world, explaining our own lives, forming relationships and attachments to objects, buildings, places, landscapes. We change, our narratives change. They are not fixed but fluid, works in progress as distinct as every individual, an evolving compilation of self, a diary that we open each day and then examine, rethink, rewrite, and change as we confront new experience and find new meanings, (p. 17)

Places become important to us when we build narratives around them – when they have stories. This idea moves beyond our individual memories to how we construct and maintain collective memory, and even national memory. Milk’s “place” as residing with the Castro neighborhood in San Francisco, is a powerful element of his narrative as well as the narrative of the Castro itself.

This dissertation project is concerned with questions about collective memory and Milk media memoria – material in service of remembering Harvey Milk. What follows is a discussion of materials and methodological considerations for this project.

Materials

One of the challenges in this project was deciding where to draw the boundaries for the body of materials to examine, particularly given the wide definition of media, or media memoria, I was committed to allowing into the research purview. As stated earlier, this dissertation examines how Milk is remembered through publicly available media memoria, so “publicly available” became a starting parameter.

What essentially started as an idea for a course paper expanded exponentially. I started noting potential materials in early 2010, but it was not until I seriously considered expanding this work into my dissertation research that I started keeping a more methodical list of possibilities. That list is ongoing. For the purposes of this dissertation, published media memoria are cited when discussed and a list of fieldwork materials and events are listed in the Appendix. The list is diverse, ranging from the expected mass-produced narratives on Milk (books/films) to heritage sites, public art, exhibitions, archives, events and primary source interviews. Not everything was formally analyzed,

nor is this list inclusive of all Milk media memoria. What follows is some background on the processes used for gathering and selection of materials.

Processes Used in Gathering Materials

I kept lists of media, artifacts, and events that were/are Milk-centric, and that either are available to the public or have documentation that they occurred with a public in mind. I maintained a research clipping binder and online folder of representation and shorter narratives of Milk that appear in popularly available LGBTQIA+ studies books, in some American history materials, in materials related to the trial of Dan White, in San Francisco tourist guidebooks, and in local/regional history writing. I found materials through traditional research methods, social media, archive work, fieldwork, interviewing, and word-of-mouth.

I conducted online searches through academic databases for scholarly articles on Harvey Milk and Milk media memoria, including reviews (such as film or book reviews). The “Methods” section later in this chapter outlines specific search and method details for particular analyses in this dissertation.

Fieldwork Trips

From mid-May through June of 2012, I visited San Francisco to conduct pre-dissertation research, to examine potential materials and explore some methodological avenues for the project. The research plan consisted of attending “Harvey Milk Day” celebrations, working in two main Milk archives, visiting Milk memorial sites, and spending time in San Francisco and the Castro to explore the role of place in the collective memory of Milk. Due to my possible interaction with the public, I completed

IRB protocol and received approval for interviewing – both confidential interviews and on-the-record interviews with expert informants.

As it turned out, formal/confidential interviews with the public at events and memorials were less fruitful than casual conversation that occurred as part of participant observation. Most often I noted the performative representation of Milk – what material invoked his memory, the story that accompanied it, and how the public was interacting with this material. As a result of the time spent in San Francisco I was able to build relationships with archivists, curators, docents and volunteers who were able to point out Milk media memoria I might not have known or thought of, and who were also willing to share stories of their experiences with the public's interactions with Milk media memoria. Work in two local archives provided some leads and background on earlier-produced material, unearthed some new material to consider, and offered interesting questions to ponder on public archives and collective memory.

The biggest surprise from this research trip was gaining access to people involved in the creation and maintenance of Milk public memory. Curators and historians shared stories with me about the exhibition of Milk artifacts – the choice of what to exhibit changing over time as the purpose of remembering Milk changed. Archivists discussed how members of the public and producers of Milk media memoria have made use of their archival collections. I was able to build contacts for future interviews and archival work completed in subsequent research trips: six weeks during May-June, 2013, and a last week in November, 2013.

A serendipitous meeting on my first day of preliminary fieldwork led to a series of interactions with an inner circle of three people close to Milk, all of whom have some commitment to, and/or investment in, his continued public memory. I was able to interview Daniel Nicoletta, a photographer who worked for Milk in his camera shop and who has been involved in a variety of Milk media memoria over the years. I had two interviews with Anne Kronenberg, Milk's successful campaign manager and co-founder of the Harvey Milk Foundation. Cleve Jones, Milk's activist protégé, agreed to meet with me and although he managed to avoid a formal interview appointment, we interacted at multiple public events I attended in which his connection to Milk provided a role in the remembrance process.

The fieldwork, interviews and archival work are intended to augment the analysis process, providing additional background and insight into the production and reception of Milk media memoria. These research trips and resulting interviews, archival research and fieldwork, along with expanding my materials list, also prompted additional thinking about collective memory as an active space, the fluidity of memory and history, as well as the process of researching public memory - all areas of thought that potentially enrich this dissertation project.

Archival Materials

During the preliminary and subsequent research trips, I conducted a focused search of San Francisco mainstream, alternative, and LGBTQIA+ newspapers to examine local Milk-related reporting and note eulogistic and anniversary journalism. For this process I accessed the local newspaper microfilm collection available in the Herb Caen

Magazines and Newspaper Center of the San Francisco Public Library. Detailed information on searches and methods related to particular analyses of newspaper materials for Chapters 3, 4, and 7 can be found later in this chapter in the “Methods” section. The summer research sessions included research conducted in two additional archives: 1) The San Francisco History Center in the San Francisco Public Library, which houses various archival collections for the James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center related to Harvey Milk and Milk media memoria, and 2) the archives of the GLBT Historical Society, also located in San Francisco. A list of collections accessed for this project are included in The Appendix.

An archivist from each of the centers that dealt with the Milk collections was interviewed to get a better idea of how work was collected and organized, and what the interest in the archives had been. The Harvey Milk Archives – Scott Smith Collection was a mix of materials: personal materials from his estate, records from Castro Camera and his time as a city supervisor, campaign materials and speeches, material from the original Harvey Milk Archives curated by Scott Smith, and some of Smith’s personal materials (Wilson, 2012). The archives themselves were Milk media memoria, but they would be too immense for me to process this way for this project. I did, however, work my way through every box of the Harvey Milk Archives – Scott Smith Collection except for its slides and negatives.

Methodological Considerations

The range of materials I am addressing and the questions I am asking are best served methodologically through the qualitative research methods of textual analysis,

fieldwork (inclusive of interviewing), and archival research. Qualitative research methods are best suited to address questions that inquire about meanings and how they are created through social interaction with people, culture, and inclusive of media and mass communication. Christians and Carey (1989) assert that humans “live by interpreting experience through the agency of culture” (p. 389). They assert qualitative methods are best when asking “what are the interpretations of meaning and the value created in the media and what is their relation to the rest of life” (p. 359). Research questions that emphasize processes, pointing to communication as discursive and fluid (rather than fixed), subjective (rather than objective), and contextual (rather than context-free), are especially amenable to qualitative inquiry (Jensen, 1991a, 1991b). These areas rely on a close attention to subjective interpretive frameworks in the research process – they cannot adequately be addressed through quantitative methodologies, which value external and detached approaches (p. 4). What follows is a discussion of some of the methodological considerations that inform the methods chosen for this dissertation

Textual Analysis

My experience with textual analysis is largely from the theory/practice context of filmmaking and from analysis of photography, fine art, and exhibitions. As such, my experience coming into the project was in visual analysis and narrative analysis as applied to dominantly visual, cinematic, and spatially-based forms. This rhetorical approach was expanded to give attention to the use of language in word choice, phrases, tone, and building of narrative themes in written text and interviews. The approach to textual analysis in this dissertation is largely one in seeking themes and patterns that arise

from the narrative storytelling found in media memory artifacts. This work is influenced by work completed by various scholars that employ textual analysis with an emphasis on rhetorical, semiotic, and narrative approaches.

Biesecker's (2002) examination of the prominence of new World War II narratives in popular culture at the end of the 20th century was referenced for this dissertation. It employed rhetorical analysis to examine four main media texts: two national memorials, a Hollywood film, and a popular nonfiction book. Biesecker's process was important as it worked with diverse materials, examining narrative through a range of memory texts. Another guide was Kitch's (2000) analysis of newsmagazine reporting on the deaths of celebrities. Kitch noted through celebrity memorial reporting, journalists often become both mourners and healers, creating community through personalized testimonial writing (178-179). Here work on rhetorical themes found in the narrative re-telling of celebrity lives and the tragedy of their deaths had relevance for this project. While George Moscone and Harvey Milk were not equivalent to the global celebrity status of the people examined by Kitch, the status of Moscone and Milk as well-known local politicians with large personalities gave them the equivalence of celebrity in San Francisco, particularly when tied to the tragedy of their assassinations.

Part of my guidance in textual analysis also comes from the study of semiology and semiotics as later adapted by Barthes's (1972, 1977) work with myth, symbol, rhetoric and narrative. Barthes's concerns are with how we learn to interpret and internalize the dominant meanings of publicly shared symbols. His concepts are useful for critical qualitative analysis when locating and thinking about issues of myth, symbol,

rhetoric and narrative within popular forms of Milk media memoria and their relationships to public memory.

Semiotics and critical analysis entertain some parallel beliefs – Larsen (1991) claims both seek to understand associations between text, society and ideology, and both employ qualitative analysis for social critique (p. 126). Critical inquiry is also used in conjunction with cultural studies, in critical/cultural analysis. It becomes a lens through which one can start to see how the different narratives of Milk arise and serve particular memory constituencies (local, LGBTQIA+, public). Larsen proposes that narratology, employed through narrative analysis, joins critical analysis in addressing how narratives interact in a social world.

Kitch's work related to eulogistic and commemorative journalism (Kitch, 2000; Kitch & Hume, 2008) proved to be invaluable examples for me in guiding rhetorical and narrative analyses of commemorative newspaper reporting on the Milk/Moscone assassinations, journalistic discussions of Milk over time, as well as identifying narratives of Milk in film. Also influential was Zelizer's (1992) book examining thirty years of media coverage and commemoration of the Kennedy Assassination. This work was useful as a reference when examining local anniversary coverage of the Milk/Moscone assassinations.

In addressing the variety of media memoria in this proposed dissertation project, it is also useful to think about what each medium contributes to the story/representation process. The analysis of the two main cinematic memory texts of Milk takes into consideration Bordwell's (1985) emphasis on how film form and film style informs

meaning. In some instances, similar guidance is adapted from museum/exhibition studies and studies of heritage/history/tourism, such as Corrin's (2004) analysis of Fred Wilson's "Mining the Museum" exhibit at the Maryland Historical society, and Dicks' (2000) case study of the Rhondda Heritage Park.

Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is applied across the various materials, field notes, interviews and archival research. This will allow for interplay between the different materials to see what themes arise and intersect. This process is informed mainly by Rose (2010), who writes about discourse analysis in visual culture and secondarily by Fairclough (1995), who writes more specifically about media discourse. Fairclough's (1995) critical analysis framework is grounded in working from the inside out. He starts with literal/descriptive discourse analysis, examines intertextuality, and then moves outward toward a more "selective sociocultural analysis" (p. 62). While overall his work is more tightly formed within traditional discourse-as-text analysis, his framework for critical analysis of media discourse incorporates themes common to Rose (2010) and is referenced for its guidance in examining messages across media.

Rose's (2010) version of discourse analysis is applied to visual culture and comes out of a Foucaultian influence. She breaks discourse analysis into two forms, the first of which is rooted in how "discourse is articulated through various kinds of visual images and verbal texts," with a focus in intertextuality (p. 146). The second form of discourse analysis is more attentive to the "practices of institutions," or how these images interact with systems of power such as the museum, or other organizational systems in which the

material is contextualized (p. 146). Applied discourse analysis can reveal how themes start to work together across various texts to heighten meaning, or might provide new insights not visible within the individual analyses areas. What I discover as present (and as missing) in the discourse can also inform the areas and directions of the research.

Fieldwork

I use “fieldwork” as a general organizing term to include methods used “out in the field,” conducted in “the real world,” inclusive of research conducted of place/location and research interactions with people. In the instance of this dissertation, this includes: observing participants interacting with Milk media memoria on location, experiencing “place” in San Francisco and the Castro, and when possible, interviewing participants and expert informants involved in Milk media memoria and/or the construction, negotiation and maintenance of Milk public memory.

Fieldwork processes in this study are informed by theoretical perspectives associated with symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology.¹¹ Symbolic interactionism, which is based on contributions from G. H. Mead and Herbert Blumer (Blumer, 1969), points to how our social reality is negotiated in our social interactions, focusing on the interconnectedness among the mind, self, and society. Similarly, ethnomethodology, or “people’s methods” (Garfinkel, 1967) is an interpretive inquiry that explores the creation and maintenance of social order in everyday mundane interactions. Together, these perspectives allow for a nuanced understanding of how interpretations emerge in fieldwork/interview processes.

¹¹ I wish to be clear that the proposed fieldwork is influenced by, but not situated firmly within these areas. The fieldwork I employ is adapted from these influences as part of an overall methodological design. The fieldwork is not intended as a traditional naturalistic study.

Fieldwork is commonly associated with ethnography. Ethnography came out of the discipline of anthropology and is now used (although sometimes differently interpreted and adapted) in many areas and disciplines. Jankowski and Wester (1991) cite three principles they feel embody the basic form of ethnography: it is research “concerned with cultural forms in the widest sense of the term,” it realizes a commitment to long-term participant observation, and seeks to employ a variety of ways to gather information (p. 54). One of the ways information is gathered is through the writing and referencing of descriptive fieldnotes. Geertz (1973) asserts that ethnography should incorporate “an elaborate venture in ‘thick description’ (p. 6).” Geertz borrows the concept of “thick description” from Gilbert Ryle, who describes “thinly” what two boys are doing – “contracting the eyelids of their right eyes,” followed by a more “thick description” that reveals that for one boy this action is an involuntary twitch and for the other boy it is a “wink” (Ryle, as cited by Geertz, p. 6). The “thin” describes what the boys are doing, and the “thick” describes what the boys are *doing* – the goal of ethnography being the study of this production, perception and interpretation of meaning through symbolic social acts (p. 7).

The fieldwork process is invaluable for researchers asking questions about, and seeking to understand, communication behaviors and cultural processes. A history of symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, and ethnography guided my fieldwork process, particularly during my attendance at Milk memory commemorative events, participation in walking tours, exploration of the city of San Francisco, and during informal conversation and formal interviewing completed there. Fieldwork provided

context for media memoria material. It was also a way in which audience and community could sometimes be experienced, a way in which one could experience, albeit in a fleeting way, the building of local and LGBTQIA+ collective memory. Pragmatically, the two distinct methods employed as part of this fieldwork were participant observation and interviewing, the details of which are discussed next.

Participant Observation

In traditional participant observation the researcher “participates in the daily life of the people under study...observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people, over some length of time” (Becker and Greer, 1957, p. 28).

Participant observation is used to access people in, and with, their social world. It may include open or covert observation, interaction with participants, and forms of interviewing. The time commitment depends on what is being studied/observed and its place in the overall research plan (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Chiseri-Strater & Sunstein, 1997; Jankowski and Wester, 1991). Participant observation is useful for questions asking how people interact in public and social places.

For the purposes of this dissertation, participant observation was used to observe public interaction with Milk media memoria, in particular those materials that depend on location in a public site such as memorials, exhibitions and walking tours. Fieldwork in this instance can also include the researcher-as-participant when I participate in a walking tour or a public commemorative event such as the annual Milk/Moscone candlelight memorial march. The process can include spending time getting the “feel” of a location, through both participant observation of people interacting in a space and through the

recording of descriptive fieldnotes. Casual conversation occurring on-site as a consequence of observation and participation is often considered part of participant observation. Interviewing, although sometimes seen as a component of participant observation, is also viewed as a separate method.

Interviewing

Approval was secured from the Institutional Review Board for the inclusion of participant observation, confidential interviews, and on-the-record expert informant interviews. Confidential interviewing protects the identity of the interviewee. Expert informant interviews are typically interviews with heads of organizations or people whose identity would be difficult to conceal or who wish their name publicly linked to their comments. These interviewees still have the option to make comments off-the-record and are given the same rights as confidential interviewee/participants to withdraw their participation from the project. This dissertation project used three main forms interviewing: unstructured, semi-structured, and formal interviewing

Unstructured interviewing occurs most often in fieldwork, usually in tandem with participant observation. This type of interviewing takes the form of a conversation that seems informal, but the interviewer has specific topics in mind. Unstructured interviews can be short, spontaneous conversations or longer, in-depth dialogues. In both instances, the boundary between researcher and participant is seen as less distinct, allowing the participant the ability to ask questions in return and for the interview to take on a more conversational form (Roulston, 2010, p. 15). Fontana and Frey (2005) see this method of interviewing, when appropriately handled, as an essential component of social inquiry –

“the establishment of human-to-human relation with the respondent and the desire to *understand* rather than *explain*” (p. 706, italics authors’).

The semi-structured interview uses a set of pre-written questions, but follows up on answers from participants, allowing the interviewer time to explore the participants’ answers or briefly follow the participant in a different direction than planned (Roulston, 2010, p. 15). The semi-structured interview as a qualitative method (or technique) is useful for research questions that start within a framework but allow space for more in-depth investigation. This type of interviewing was a good method to use in thinking through ideas early in the research project, allowing for changes in the research trajectory or approaches, based on interaction with participants.

Formal interviewing simply describes an interview that is formally planned. Questions particular to the needs of the researcher are planned but the actual formality of the question/answer and interviewer/participant varies in practice. Both the interviewer and the participant are aware of the interview dynamic, but the formality of the “question-and-answer” can range depending on the rapport between interviewer and participant. Some researchers see this simply as an interview, and not necessarily formal (Fontana & Frey, 2005).

All interviews completed were intended for the dissertation project, related scholarly work, and not for public archiving.

Archival Research

The archival research process for this project was less about working from original sources and more about how Jordanova (2000) speaks to what “an archive”

implies: “a kind of intimacy with particular aspects of the past that are more personal, individual, private, and hence worth looking at precisely because they concern ‘real life’” (p. 161). Spending time in the Milk and local LGBTQIA+ archives brought to mind Kirsch’s (2008) notion of experiencing the archive on location. Being in the archives and then wandering San Francisco helped establish a sense of place. Having experienced the archives gave me context for what I read outside of the archive and the media memoria I encountered.

Archival research assisted more traditional research goals such as locating information concerning dates and participants in projects, looking at correspondence records and material, and examining permissions and contracts with the estate. Having knowledge of the breadth of the archive’s contents also gave me a level of credibility with expert informants and helped inform interviewing. It also provided the potential for corroboration and greater discourse analysis across materials.

Positionality

As an out lesbian, I am conscious of the “queer eye” informing this research, writing and analyses, but a queer reading for analyses is not a primary goal for this dissertation; neither is writing for a predominantly queer audience. The “queer eye” does become important, however, as some of the work is particularly contextualized within LGBTQIA+ memory discussion.

Method Details for Specific Analyses by Chapter

Whereas methodological guidance and considerations are discussed in the previous section, this section provides details on methods and processes employed for

particular analyses in Chapters 3 through 7. These details do not preclude additional methods throughout the project but rather provide information particular to the more closely analyzed media memoria: information on sources searched, materials found, and the analysis process.

Chapter 3: Method Details

Milk participated as a contributor of articles to various publications, and was a writer of public letters as well as letters to the editor of mainstream San Franciscan newspapers (Black and Morris, 2013b). This chapter focuses on his contribution of serial political columns to two local gay community newspapers, first to the *San Francisco Sentinel*, and then to the *Bay Area Reporter*. Three archives were utilized in the process of this research: 1) The Harvey Milk Archives-Scott Smith Collection of The James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center, located in the San Francisco History Center of the San Francisco Public Library, 2) The Herb Caen Magazines and Newspapers Center of the San Francisco Public Library, and 3) the archives of the GLBT Historical Society in San Francisco.¹² The dominant source for the newspaper articles was the community newspaper collection available in the Herb Caen Magazines and Newspaper Center of the San Francisco Public Library.

I assembled a complete set of columns credited to Harvey Milk in the *Bay Area Reporter* (105 columns) and the *San Francisco Sentinel* (17 columns). The columns spanned the years of 1974-1978. In reading through the columns, I found little difference

¹² Special thanks to Timothy T. Wilson, Archivist for the San Francisco History Center, Majorie Bryer, Managing Archivist for the GLBT Historical Society, and Dr. David Reichard, who provided additional volunteer assistance during my weekends at the GLBT Historical Society Archives.

in approach or content that would preclude me from treating them as a continuum of political column writing by Milk.¹³

Textual and discourse methods were employed to examine and organize a summary of preliminary dominant themes that arose out of the political columns. Most of the articles were digital scans not conducive to digital textual analysis methods for formal coding. Each column was read and manually summarized with notes regarding: a) the main topic or topics, b) summary of content, c) particular terminology or phrases used, d) directly addressed names or titles, e) Milk's rhetorical approach, writing style and tone, and f) clarifications or questions to address. The summaries/notes were used to create a hierarchy of topics/themes according to their frequency and repetition in different columns. The articles and summaries were examined a second time to check, fine-tune, and organize the hierarchy of themes. Questions were noted that arose out of the discourse between the columns and other contextual information. The fieldwork, history, and archival methodologies have their roles in contextualizing the work – as part of gay community newspaper and political cultures within 1970s San Francisco, and within a history of sources addressing Milk as a public figure. Aside from reading the columns as a continuum of the political development of Milk's political identity, I also scanned through complete issues of *The Bay Area Reporter* and the *San Francisco Sentinel*, to have a better context for the times and these publications. I did this from the first published issues through Milk's last published column, five days before his assassination.

¹³ Milk's columns for the *San Francisco Sentinel* are perhaps more cleanly written, perhaps more closely edited according to newspaper writing standards, but approach and content did not change across newspapers, which are the main foci for this paper.

Chapters 4, 5 and 7: Method Details

Searches for newspaper coverage of Milk and Milk memory used in Chapters 4, 5, and 7 were conducted through a mix of academic database searches, online newspaper archives, and in the instance of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, its official newspaper index.

Local newspapers

San Francisco newspapers were not available in the academic databases to which I had access, but I was able to use the *San Francisco Chronicle* index and the local newspaper microfilm collection at the Herb Caen Magazines and Newspaper Center of the San Francisco Public Library to conduct searches and read material. For mainstream local reporting I searched the *Chronicle* indexed listings for 1975-2011 (this portion of the research being conducted in 2012). Searches were completed for references to Harvey Milk, George Moscone, Dan White, and a range of LGBTQIA+ issue search terms, to get a feel for the *Chronicle's* coverage of LGBTQIA+ issues. From there I created a sub-list of all Milk-indexed stories in the *Chronicle*, which I reviewed via microfilm. I also pulled and reviewed *Chronicle* issues the week before/of/after the anniversary of the Moscone/Milk assassinations (November 27), and the same for Harvey Milk's birthday (May 22), 1979-2011 to check for any additional coverage. The May and November dates were selected as they are the most common time at which Milk is publicly remembered; times at which the process of anniversary journalism is most likely to occur. Toward the end of the project a personal *San Francisco Chronicle* online subscription provided the ability to review events and topics that arose during the analyses.

A formal *San Francisco Examiner* index was not available in the San Francisco Public Library, and the Fang Family *San Francisco Examiner* Archives in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley, were still in processing at the time of my research visits.¹⁴ Instead, microfilm searches were conducted at the San Francisco Public Library, similar to what was completed with the *Chronicle*, with issues surrounding the Milk/Moscone assassination anniversary and Milk's birthday for the years 1979-1998, which were the issues available on microfilm at the time searches were conducted, and then the years 2006-2011, which were the years available in the *Examiner*'s public online article database. There were also years in which the *Chronicle* and *Examiner* shared Sunday publication due to a joint-publication period between the years of 1965-2000; these issues appeared in the standard *Chronicle* microfilm collection.

As there was no indexing available for the local LGBTQIA+ papers, I chose the two papers with the largest subscriptions during Milk's time, the *Bay Area Reporter* and the *San Francisco Sentinel*. I manually rolled through each issue on microfilm starting with coverage of Milk in 1975 through the first anniversary of the assassinations in 1979. From there on out I collected articles from the issues surrounding the anniversary and birthday dates in the following papers/years: 1980 – 2011 in the *Bay Area Reporter*, and 1980 – 1995 (last year of publication) for the *Sentinel*. The *San Francisco Chronicle* and

¹⁴ According to the Bancroft Library website at the University of Berkeley (berkeley.edu), the "Fang Family San Francisco Examiner Archives" includes the Examiner photographic morgue, 850 bound volumes of the newspaper, and clipping files, all of which are estimated to be over 3,000 linear feet of material. The photographic morgue alone is being estimated at over 5 million items. It is estimated that it will take years to process, so it was not surprising when requests for special access and interviews with archivists were not responded to for this dissertation. This discovery also set aside for the future, more in-depth analysis of photojournalism and Milk, and visual analysis of news photographs of Milk related to iconography in Milk media memoria, although these topics are discussed more generally in some sections of the dissertation. Imagery found via microform was very low in quality, in some instances barely legible.

the *Bay Area Reporter* were read via full-issue microform through the year 2011 and 2004, respectively. The *San Francisco Examiner* was read through this method for the years 1977-1983, 1988, 1993, and 1998. The pages the articles appeared on were digitized for closer review in the analysis and writing stages of research. Articles beyond these years were accessed online through the search function available at each newspaper's website, except for the *San Francisco Examiner*.

For analysis, local articles were organized chronologically according to publication to note overall coverage by individual publication, and then read and examined chronologically across publications to note individual and shared narratives across newspapers within the context of their particular time period. I was particularly looking to see how Milk was described, if and how his narrative might shift over time, how the public was informed they should remember Milk, who was being interviewed/speaking, and for what purpose(s) commemorations and remembrances might serve.

For national newspaper reporting the following academic databases were accessed: *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*, *ProQuest Newsstand 1975-2014*, various EBSCO-hosted databases and their partner database *LexisNexis Academic*. I additionally accessed national magazine articles via the *ProQuest Social Sciences Premium Edition* database, and open-query online databases for particular publications, such as the magazines *People* and *Time*. These searches covered the years 1975-2013. After 2013 articles were collected informally for augmenting discussions and thinking of future study of Milk memory.

The national articles were organized chronologically to see when, why, and how the mention of Milk came up in national news from the start of his political campaigns in 1975 through the end of this gathering of news materials in 2013. Reporting on Milk during his life was read closely and summarized. After his death and as Milk memory grew, articles from a bulk name search were culled according to headline and abstract for articles that would relate more directly to Milk memory (as opposed to referencing the name of a building with “Harvey Milk” in it, or similar references with little other discussion of Milk himself).

These chapters discuss the building of Milk memory, written out of media and LGBTQIA+ archival research, interviews, and fieldwork conducted in San Francisco from May 2012 through November 2013. Results of newspaper and magazine searches were also used to help build and contextualize the chronological narrative of Milk memory in these chapters, and as part of discourse analysis throughout the dissertation.

Chapter 6: Method Details

For the analysis process of cinematic artifacts and memory texts discussed in Chapter 6, I engaged in a critical, close textual analysis of the two main films available on Milk – the documentary *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) and the biopic *Milk* (2008). These films were viewed on DVD for the analysis, but I have also seen the films in theatrical settings. I used the same method to analyze the DVD paratexts for the DVD releases (*The Times of Harvey Milk* 20th Anniversary DVD release in 2004, the later Criterion Collection DVD release in 2011, and the *Milk* DVD release in 2009).

I first analyzed the films without viewing the “bonus” DVD materials. I conducted three full viewings of each film with notes related to narrative organization and themes, representation of Milk, and how cinematic form influenced meaning. I compared the notes from the viewings and returned to certain parts of the film for closer textual analysis. Once I felt I had spent enough time with the films themselves, I reviewed the supplementary material included on the DVD releases. I viewed this material through twice, and transcribed interview material.

CHAPTER 3

HARVEY MILK'S PUBLIC POLITICAL PRESENTATION OF SELF: MILK'S POLITICAL COLUMNS, 1974-1978

Milk participated as a contributor of articles to various publications, and was a writer of letters to the editor of mainstream San Franciscan newspapers (Black and Morris, 2013b). This chapter focuses on his contribution of serial political columns to two local gay community newspapers, first to the *San Francisco Sentinel*, and then to the *Bay Area Reporter*. I assembled a complete set of columns credited to Harvey Milk in the *Bay Area Reporter* (105 columns) and the *San Francisco Sentinel* (17 columns). The columns spanned the years of 1974-1978. In reading through the columns, I found little difference in approach or content that would preclude me from treating them as a continuum of political column writing by Milk.

As a scholar engaged in a long format project examining a history of Milk memory, my interest in Milk's political columns is in accessing what Milk professed as his political viewpoints before various memory communities started building narratives of Milk. Milk's assassination happened less than eleven months after he was sworn into office – local mass media barely had time to document him once he arrived on the larger media radar, but Milk's political columns for local gay newspapers the *San Francisco Sentinel* and the *Bay Area Reporter* provide over four years of Harvey Milk's presentation of his public, political self.

Black and Morris (2013a) published fourteen of these columns, some of which are speech reprints, but their curated collection is limited to what is in the Harvey Milk

Archives-Scott Smith Collection. Up to this point, there is no record of anyone gathering and examining all of the columns, which is what I set out to accomplish in this chapter. The columns are archival sources not yet fully explored through which one might ascertain the main topics, issues and themes Harvey Milk, political candidate and eventual city supervisor, ascribed as part of his political persona. I am not proposing these columns tell us about Milk as a person, or even as a fully fleshed out candidate and supervisor, but they contribute a longitudinal resource that engages the development of Milk's public, political self, particularly within the context of a growing gay voter constituency in San Francisco in the mid to late 1970s. The columns merit attention alongside Milk's speeches, other writings, and interviews, to more fully address the history and memory of Milk as a public figure.

In this chapter, I will briefly introduce the *Bay Area Reporter* and the *San Francisco Sentinel*, provide some background on Milk's political columns and his move between these publications, give an overview of Milk's writing style and general column content, introduce a brief summary of some of the main topics, issues and themes found in the columns, and conclude with a brief discussion on the relevance and importance of these columns for the history and memory of Harvey Milk as a public figure.

The Bay Area Reporter and the San Francisco Sentinel

The *Bay Area Reporter* promotes itself today as "America's longest continuously-published & highest audited-circulation LGBT newspaper. The undisputed newspaper of record for the Bay Area's LGBT community (Bay Area Reporter, 2015)." It was a much smaller enterprise when founded in 1971 by business partners Paul Bentley and Bob

Ross, as a free biweekly paper for the San Francisco gay community. Former Bay Area Reporter Assistant Editor Zak Szymanski (2012) writes: “Ross pasted up all the pages by hand, copied them, and delivered them to local bars from his 1969 Ford Mustang (p. 281).” The initials B-A-R simultaneously stood for the Bay Area Reporter, the initials of the founding business partners, and the location where the initial newspapers were distributed (p.281). Today one still hears the newspaper referred to as “the Bay Area Reporter,” “B-A-R.” or “the BAR.”

The *Bay Area Reporter*, from its start in April of 1971, provided news and entertainment largely centered on the San Franciscan gay male community, and had a particularly close relationship to the Imperial Council of San Francisco, founded in 1965 by Jose Sarria, who himself ran for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1961, making him “the first openly gay candidate for public office in the United States” (imperialcouncilsf.org/founder). The Imperial Council of San Francisco is known as the “founding mother court of the international court system,” a kind of queer royal family that builds community and fundraises for charity (imperialcouncilsf.org). The *Bay Area Reporter* might feature Dianne Feinstein as a Mayoral candidate (“Dianne,” 1971) and just as easily feature statements from candidates for Empress of the Imperial Court (“Candidates for Empress,” 1971). In general, the newspaper provided local and national gay news and information, political commentary, and entertainment. The early size of the paper is unclear, but issues toward the end of the 1970s appear to be a tabloid format, averaging about twenty-four pages.

The *San Francisco Sentinel* name has been used for various publications, but the one discussed here is a biweekly gay newspaper that ran from February 1, 1974 – August 30, 1995. According to Randy Alfred, one of its editors in the mid-1970s, the *San Francisco Sentinel* strived to be seen as a more professional gay newspaper in its design and content (Alfred, 2013). It provided local and national news for the Bay Area community and entertainment coverage. During the years I examined, it appears to be in a broadsheet format, averaging twelve pages.

The first issue of the *San Francisco Sentinel* outlined its journalistic objectives on the front page, above the fold, with at least four objectives pointing toward the alleviation of gay community infighting or better representation of diverse gay voices, concluding with the objective “To try our best to be inoffensive and never be offensive just for the sake of sensationalism (“First Edition/An Editorial,” 1974).” This last statement could be applied to mainstream press or other gay publications. As various authors have pointed out, mainstream media was not great at reporting on the gay community during this time (Alwood, 1996; Baim, 2012a; Gross, 2001). There was also infighting and squabbling between gay publications, as there was within the ever-evolving gay community itself (Baim, 2012b).

The *San Francisco Sentinel* published their circulation as 15,000 in 1978 (“Sentinel,” 1978); the *Bay Area Reporter* is described as having a “circulation of several thousand” within the mid-1970s (“B.A.R.,” n.d.). Both papers claimed to have the highest circulation during the years I examined (“B.A.R. The Award Winning Publication,” 1974; “San Francisco’s Most Widely Read,” 1974). Although the two newspapers were

focused mainly on San Francisco, they served the greater Bay Area, and at times attempted special sections aimed at other portions of the Bay Area. Concurrent with histories of LGBTQIA+ community media, writers during this time may or may not have journalistic training, were sometimes paid (but not much), perhaps compensated via additional duties they performed for the publication, or in the case of some community papers, volunteer contributors (Baim, 2012c; Streitmatter, 1995; Alfred, 2013).

Questions of Authorship and Publication as a Candidate

Harvey Milk is the credited byline for early “Waves from the Left” columns in the *San Francisco Sentinel*, and “Milk Forum” in the *Bay Area Reporter*. But there is some murkiness as to the actual authorship of each column, and whether Milk continued writing for the publications during his candidacies. Frank Robinson, Milk’s speechwriter, mentions authoring an occasional “Milk Forum,” (p. xix). If at times Milk’s column was ghostwritten by others, the converse may also have been true. As part of a *Bay Area Reporter* anniversary commentary, Wayne Friday, longtime political columnist for the newspaper, admitted that his column was sometimes penned by Milk, after the paper’s editor and publisher voiced concern over Milk writing once his candidacy was announced (Friday, 2011).

There has been some reporting that Milk stopped contributing to the *Bay Area Reporter* once he announced his candidacy, or when he became a city supervisor (Szymanski, 2012; Hemmelgarn, 2011). The reports might be referencing other reporting or writing contributions to the *Bay Area Reporter*, which Milk did not make once sworn into office. Milk’s column in the *San Francisco Sentinel* were written between runs for

city supervisor, but Milk wrote his political column, “Milk Forum,” through his 1975 run for city supervisor, his 1976 run for state assembly, his successful run for city supervisor in 1977, and during his appointment as city supervisor up until his assassination in 1978. Milk missed only three issues through the years 1974-1978. As to whether or not Milk actually wrote each and every column himself, for the purposes of this research it is enough that he is credited for the columns – that they are credited as representations of his public, political self.

Milk’s Move from the *San Francisco Sentinel* to the *Bay Area Reporter*

The *San Francisco Sentinel* was the paper in which Harvey Milk had his first column byline. He authored their “Waves from the Left” political column beginning with the inaugural issue on February 1, 1974, through September 12, 1974. The byline for “Waves from the Left” abruptly changes to credit new columnist Ramon Neruda, and begins with: “ED. NOTE: We have received the following communication through the mails: Dear Sir: I find it uncomfortable to continue writing for your paper. Harvey Milk (“Ed. Note,” 1974). The note continues to thank Milk for his service, despite the “brickbrats” he might receive from others in the gay community for taking a public stance, and ends with an introduction to the next contributor of “Waves from the Left.” Milk immediately moved to the *Bay Area Reporter* and starts contributing the “Milk Forum” column, which starts in the October 2, 1974 issue and appears regularly through November 22, 1978¹⁵.

¹⁵ In the four years of political columns I reviewed, Milk was a regular column contributor, missing just three issues.

In the burgeoning local gay rights movement of San Francisco, it was not uncommon for individuals to perform multiple roles within the gay community, and for there to be disagreements about how best to advance the rights of the community. One can get an idea of the differing approaches favored by various players in the gay community through reading the *Bay Area Reporter* and the *San Francisco Sentinel* from September 4, 1974 through October 10, 1974. Alongside his column in the *San Francisco Sentinel*, Milk was also contributing some reporting, although minimally, for the *Bay Area Reporter*. Milk's departure from the *San Francisco Sentinel* was most likely related to a tangled ball of yarn that involved Milk's participation in, and reporting on, meetings with police by gay leaders, and a subsequent police/public meeting surrounding the issue of "The Castro 14," a roundup by police of gay men cited for blocking sidewalks on a busy bar night and resisting arrest.

Also participating in police meetings was Thomas E. Edwards, the *San Francisco Sentinel* "On the Right Side" columnist – the "Right" to Milk's "Left" in that publication. Edwards was the temporary chairman of the Eureka Valley Police Community Relations unit. Then *San Francisco Sentinel* editor, William E. Beardemphl, was involved in the meetings as well. Milk's "Castro Busts" article¹⁶ in the September 4, 1974 issue of the *Bay Area Reporter*, and his interaction at one police meeting in particular, was trounced in a September 12, 1974 *San Francisco Sentinel* article titled "Edwards creams Milk at PCR unit meeting," by David Johns. Letters to the editor in the *San Francisco Sentinel* from September 12 through October 10, 1974, argued back and forth about what really

¹⁶ In this article, Milk repeatedly refers to a badge-less police officer as *Police Officer Chickenshit*, and also encouraged attendance in great numbers at an upcoming public meeting.

happened at the meeting. Beardemphl discussed his view of how gay leadership should proceed in an editorial in the September 26, 1974 issue. Edwards used his “On the Right Side” political column in the same issue to address Milk’s breach of confidence concerning an earlier meeting with police: “Mr. Milk, alone, broke faith within that meeting, and his duplicity jeopardized the existant [sic] rapport between the gay community and the police department” (Edwards, 1974a). Edwards discussed his thoughts about the later, public PCR (Police Commission Relations) unit meeting, via his column in the following issue (Edwards, 1974b), additionally noting the unanimous vote he received to continue chairing role within the Eureka Valley PCR unit.¹⁷

In reading through the *Bay Area Reporter* and the *San Francisco Sentinel* in the mid to late 1970s, there were many such incidents of infighting within the gay “community” – disagreements about how to organize, who to work with, who to vote for, how to approach city and state officials about issues of concern to the growing gay citizenry. Sometimes these fights and disagreements included names, and sometimes there were just allusions to whom the writer might be writing about. Narratives of Milk include moments of temper and passionate outbursts (Shilts, 1982), and this is additionally evident in some of his personal and public writing in the Harvey Milk

¹⁷ Although there was much commentary in both newspapers the of warring factions in the gay community, there have since been emphases on the importance of different voices, and noted times for setting aside differences. In an interview for a 1998 oral history project, Thomas M. Edwards’ mention of Milk starts with how Edwards may have pulled votes away from Milk by running against him in an early election. He continues: “Harvey and I didn’t really like each other, but we did respect one another.” The two men also had moments when politics were set aside. Edwards mentioned that when his lover committed suicide, Milk was one of the first to come to his door, and Edwards did the same later for Milk (Edwards, 1998).

Archives,¹⁸ and in personal interviews with people who worked alongside Milk (Kronenberg, 2012; Nicoletta, 2012). Whether Milk's temper and outbursts lessened, were better tolerated, became more in fashion, or were simply better channeled, he eventually gained greater support within the gay community and with citizens of San Francisco. Alfred (2013) arrived at the *San Francisco Sentinel* in 1975, and did not have any knowledge of why Milk left to write for the *Bay Area Reporter*, but claimed that Beardemphl did like that Alfred had some interaction with Milk, where other *Sentinel* staffers may not:

The time I started writing on the newspaper, I was the only one on the newspaper staff who even talked to Harvey Milk, to which Bill said “No, that’s good – because he’s important and we need to be in contact with him.” So even though they had some sort of political falling out, which probably had personal overtones too, Bill knew that for the good of the paper and the good of the community, the paper should not be out of touch with one of the leaders. (Alfred, 2013)

The *Sentinel* officially endorsed Harvey Milk in his 1977 campaign for City Supervisor of District 5 (“*Sentinel Endorses*,” 1977).

Reading Milk's “Waves from the Left” and “Milk Forum”

Milk's columns follow strategies taught in public speaking courses: State the issue, offer a story or example, provide a moment for your audience to snap back to attention, make a call to action, provide steps for what the audience can do, and go out with a bang. Milk's rhetorical writing style makes frequent use of repetition common in styles of preaching and campaigning. This was not unlike how Robinson (2013) described Milk's public speaking style as “he could deliver a speech like an African

¹⁸ What comes to mind in particular is a vehemently angry handwritten note to Scott Smith while they were living together, which may have also been exhibited in the San Francisco Public Library in part of a small archival display (“Correspondence,” n.d.; Nicoletta, 2012).

American preacher, using the repetition of words and phrases until the crowd was roaring” (p. xxii). Indeed, Milk’s columns often read as if he was giving a rousing speech to a crowd. There are some exceptions, such as an early column in the *San Francisco Sentinel* bears a soft, almost romantic style, lamenting homosexual lovers not being able to touch in public in most of the country. Milk likens gay love to the San Francisco fog – while there is an excitement of mystery and romance in the fog, but it is also a space of cloaking. He writes: “Someday, hopefully, there will be no place in the nation where we will feel uncomfortable to show our love” (Milk, 1974b, p.5). The *San Francisco Sentinel* columns are cleanly written; perhaps more professionally edited than the later columns in the *Bay Area Reporter*. But typically, Milk’s tone is demanding and unapologetic: He positions himself as a gay citizen, and a gay candidate, who *wants action now*.

Milk discussed national, state and local issues – rarely international issues other than regretting U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Discussion about national issues was mainly about the economy or lack of governmental leadership. Nixon was a particular target of Milk’s – for abusing his power as a national leader. Milk was also adamantly outspoken about the evils of “moralists,” a category in which he placed Adolf Hitler, Anita Bryant, and Senator John Briggs; leaders who Milk felt used their morals to rid the earth of people who did not fit their worldview. Milk often pluralized his targets – *the Nixons, the Hitlers, the Bryants* – to make the point that these people did not function in a vacuum; supporting them or ignoring them insinuated alignment and growth toward their causes. Allowing the moralists to continue leadership would only result in more moralists attacking and removing rights from more groups of people different than themselves.

Milk used the column to make arguments for or against city and state political candidates, and address issues on the table for local and state voters. This was perhaps the main business of the column – Milk telling readers who or what to vote for and why. This process also allowed Milk to publicly develop his political self during the four years of writing the column, defining where he stood politically, in print.

Milk spoke about politicians who inspired him, naming such leaders as FDR, Stevenson, and, most commonly, Truman (Milk, 1974a, 1976a, 1976c). He supported Senator of Oklahoma Fred Harris’ presidential bid, admiring Harris’ populist vision, and his grassroots campaign approach run via a very small campaign fund. Milk (1975b) writes about what he admires in Harris, and then transitions into his own campaign:

Our campaign thus will be much like that of Senator Harris. We’ll talk with any group anywhere whenever possible. Any politician -- and I **am** a politician (the word has good connotations as well as bad) -- who wishes to serve the people should be willing to do at least that. Senator Harris is right when he says that if you believe in a cause, you should fight for it as hard as you can, and then fight some more. (p.17)

Milk did not shy away from using the column to speak directly to his position as a political candidate. Three columns in particular directly address his candidacy for office, essentially working as candidate statements: “I stand for the needs of the neighborhoods. The needs of those who ride the Muni every day, of those who live and work in San Francisco” (Milk, 1975c, n.p.). His May 27, 1976 “Milk Forum” column, subtitled “My Concept of a Legislator” directly addresses his candidacy for state assembly:

If you want your legislator to devote his working hours to being a day-to-day ‘trouble-shooter,’ then I’m not your candidate. If you want your legislator to devote his time to solving the basic causes of our distress, and delegating the daily routine to his aides, then I am your candidate. The choice is yours. (n.p.)

In his final run for City Supervisor in the newly drawn district elections, Milk (1977c) makes use of his last “Milk Forum” column before the election, subtitled “Running Against a Moralistic,” to put his spin on competitor Rick Stokes’ attack on Milk’s use of expletives:

When it comes to profanity, some of our best presidents have been known for their salty language. Some of our worst used it only behind locked doors. Lincoln and Truman were up-front about it; a hypocritical Nixon used the morality line in public and swore like a trooper when he was in seclusion with his toadies. Yes, I’ve used profanity, the same words that you do. I hardly make a point of being profane, but in the heat of enthusiasm and passion I sometimes do. And I’ll tell you something else, I’m not a secretive person. People know how I feel about them. I would like to think that the occasional profanity indicates much more than a profane person. I think it’s also an indication of a passionate person, an enthusiastic person, a person who’s not afraid to show feelings, a person who is a fighter – a person who believes enough in their causes to swear by them and about them. In the days ahead, we’ll need fighters. (p.20)

Milk’s mid-column wake-up moment places Stokes in the Moralistic category with Anita Bryant and Senator John Briggs: “We spent all summer fighting a moralistic in Miami. We will be spending all winter and spring fighting a moralistic in California. I don’t think we can afford a moralistic in our own back yard” (p.20).

Milk’s Political Columns: Main Themes

Milk’s “Waves from the Left” and “Milk Forum” offer many moments of Milk stating his opinions and arguing for/against candidates and issues of interest to San Franciscan voters. There is a great deal of detail in these columns for scholars and the public who wish to review Milk’s particular political stances within San Francisco and California politics – much more than can be addressed within this paper. It is useful, however, to briefly touch upon the main themes that arise from Milk’s columns, as a way

to summarize what Milk emphasizes as important topics and issues – themes Milk returns to again and again. Four dominant themes stand out, three of which can be seen as working in concert under a larger umbrella theme of *gay liberation/the gay movement*. These three themes are *gay rights*, *gay economic power*, and *the gay vote/citizen participation*. The fourth theme, *true leadership/the people*, while not gay-exclusive, branches out to address concerns of leadership and urban issues specific to a broader citizenry of San Francisco. A discussion of the four dominant themes further narrates Milk’s public, political self, as expressed through his political columns.

Gay Rights

Gay rights are discussed by Milk in conjunction with discrimination against gay people, unfair treatment of gay people by police, gay rights as freedom, as civil rights, as equal rights, and as human rights. Milk reflects upon the meaning of the Fourth of July to the gay community in his July 8, 1976 “Milk Forum,” subtitled “200 Years of What?”:

Two hundred years of freedom and democracy and we have laws in most states making sex acts between consenting adults a crime. Two hundred years of freedom and democracy and we have public officials saying that gays must not be allowed to become police. Two hundred years of freedom and democracy and we have no national, and few local laws ending job discrimination against gay people. (p. 18)

Milk ends the column with a flourish: “After two hundred years of freedom and democracy – for millions of gay Americans – oh the hollowness of the ringing of the Liberty Bell!” (p.18). Milk often looks toward the U.S. Black civil rights movement and the ability of Black leadership to unify on a single issue, equal rights for Black citizens, as an example for the gay community in their quest for equal rights. His July 22, 1976 “Milk Forum” column, subtitled “A Lesson from the Convention,” summarized how

Milk witnessed Black leaders gaining political power in the Democratic Party at the National Democratic Convention and how through this example, the gay community could learn to unify around a single political issue such as gay rights (pp.18-19).

In later years, the power of “coming out” and one-to-one relationships with non-gay people are voiced by Milk as key in the fight against bigotry. Coming out is particularly emphasized during two periods: Anita Bryant’s campaign for “Save Our Children,” which fought for the repeal of an anti-discrimination ordinance including same-sex orientation in Dade County, Florida; and during the subsequent Briggs Initiative / Proposition 6 campaign in California, which attempted to ban homosexuals from working in public schools. In the wake of the Dade County vote and for his 1977 Fourth of July column, Milk (1977b) suggests that gay people and their families write a letter to President Carter, declaring human rights for gay people:

Of course, it would mean that many Gay people would have to take that hard step of “coming out” to their parents, relatives and friends. But the only other option is the long, bitter battle. A battle that will bring nationwide harm and waste. If everyone’s family finally understands that it is their daughter and/or son whose rights are being taken away, who may be beaten in the streets for being Gay, then maybe they would write....(n.p.)

The timing of Milk’s most famous coming out speech, the “Gay Freedom Day Speech,” put it in position to be reprinted as the 1978’s Fourth of July “Milk Forum” column. This is the speech that famously starts with “My name is Harvey Milk – and I want to recruit you...” (Milk, 1978d, p. 11). The speech takes Bryant and Briggs to task, and offers coming out as the action gay people must take to fight back against the moralists.

Gay Economic Power

Milk talks about the importance of gay businesses forming organizations and how the gay community can be an economic force in the San Francisco economy. But the most adamant expression of gay economic power for Harvey Milk is the boycott – the boycott of Coors beer until they settle with a union and also hire gay employees, of Florida orange juice until the Florida Citrus Commission removes Anita Bryant as their spokesperson, and of other local services that have negative interactions with the gay community. Toward the end of a discussion of the rising rate of taxi fares, Milk (1974c) discusses a cab company no gay person should support because of discriminatory practices in hiring drivers:

No gay person should ride in a Luxor Cab. No gay bar should keep a Luxor Cab phone in their bar. Anyone who is for gay civil rights and doesn't help to rip out the Luxor phones is aiding a company that has an out and out hiring policy that makes a sham of the words equal rights. (p.5)

The boycott of Coors beer was part of a coalition with labor unions as well as a protest against the company's treatment of minority workers. Milk advocated coalition building as a possible method to gain support for gay issues later down the road. In the March 18, 1976 "Milk Forum," Milk offers some humor with his boycott proposal:

Here is a way that the gay community could show its economic power. It is not too hard to switch brands of beer. (After the second one not too many people can really tell the difference between brands, and blindfolded, very few people can even tell the difference on the first beer.) The point: if the gay community continues, even leads, the boycott, then the Spanish and labor groups fighting Coors will understand who their friends are and what it means to join together in fighting for a common goal, ending discrimination. The point: we will also be building bridges with others who in turn will aid us in our fight for equal rights. (n.p.)

Milk's calls to action additionally demonstrate how Milk's themes of *gay rights*, *gay economic power*, and *the gay vote/citizen participation* often intersect. Coming out and putting a public face on the gay community could humanize gay issues, gay economic power could apply pressure to effect change, and the gay vote, if organized and utilized well, could afford the gay community political power to effect change.

The Gay Vote / Citizen Participation

The theme of *the gay vote/citizen participation* goes beyond Milk's suggestions about whom and what he thinks the gay community should support, or not support. Milk emphasizes the potential power of the gay vote, and prods the community to demand the gay vote result in getting something back for the gay community. Milk calls for citizen participation through voting, and volunteering to register voters. Milk at times dedicates large portions of his column to this issue. Milk's August 19, 1976 "Milk Forum" is dedicated entirely to voter registration and the power of the gay vote. He reports registering 1000 voters at the Castro Street Fair (founded by Milk and Smith), and informs readers how to register through an easy new postcard voter registration system. Milk (1976f) reminds readers: "If the gay community is ever to get the laws and general attitudes changed, it will come only through the power at the voting booth (n.p.)."

Milk also continues to encourage coalition building with minorities and other groups, such as unions, and is not above publicly chastising such coalitions or its leaders if the gay community is not experiencing reciprocity. Without reciprocity, Milk claims the gay community is reduced to being groupies – throwing out their support without

anything in return. In his February 5, 1975 “Milk Forum,” Milk calls out Cesar Chavez and the Farm Workers Union:

The time has come for the Farm Workers to speak out for gay rights. If they want us to help, and probably we should, then let us first hear from their leader. Let Chavez speak out for gay rights! Let Chavez come out to Tavern Guild and ask the bars to stop serving Gallo and put up posters of support. Let us hear from the person at the top himself. Chavez is the one person who can do the most to end some of the anti-gay attitudes that some Farm Workers have. Chavez is busy...his time is valuable...but if he cannot spend 1 hour in front of S.I.R. or the Tavern Guild to explain where he stands on gay rights, then 400,000 Californian gays should not become groupies. (p. 11)

In later years, as Milk himself attended more state and national Democratic Party meetings, his column additionally encouraged gay participation in community and national political service.

Real Leadership / The People

The final theme, *real leadership/the people*, is a theme Milk discusses as an issue at all levels of government, but it is the city level that gets the most attention. Topics within this theme also outline what Milk sees as San Francisco’s issues aside from issues particular to gay rights and the gay community. Real leadership is the city of San Francisco putting people first. Real leadership is putting city residents before the interests of business. Milk attacks the rise of rent costs and the lack of decent public transportation. He stresses the need for addressing socio-economic issues as the foundation of urban crime. He mostly blames the City Supervisors for not exhibiting real leadership, voting their personal and business needs over the needs of the public, and not listening to the public they were voted in to serve.

Milk suggests city residents and their neighborhoods would receive better attention if police officers and firefighters serving the city had to live within its neighborhoods; if members of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce had to move into the city “that they ‘care’ so much about” (Milk, 1977a, p.11). It is within this theme of *true leadership/the people* that Milk speaks to the importance of neighborhoods in the city of San Francisco. Milk’s well-known speech on the importance of neighborhoods, “The Voice of a Neighborhood,” was broken into two parts and reprinted via “Milk Forum,” in the January 19 and February 2, 1978 columns. But Milk referenced the importance of neighborhoods well beyond this speech reprint. Milk’s November 27, 1974 “Milk Forum,” calls for people to come together in the neighborhoods, to build “units,” to build “block by block” so that the neighborhoods could build power blocks that might get the ear of city officials. Milk (1976g) steadily supports district elections for City Supervisors, as a way for city residents to gain better representation:

Outside of election time, when was the last time you saw your eleven supervisors in your neighborhood? With district elections you will know who your supe [sic] is and you will be seeing that person in your neighborhood, for your supe [sic] will have to live there – now most live in only a few areas (some four or five live in St. Francis Woods; no wonder their streets are clean. (p. 7)

Milk was able to express his public, political self via his columns during three political campaigns, winning the last one during newly implemented district elections. He continued to use the column to further connect with the readership of the *Bay Area Reporter* during his time as City Supervisor.

Final Thoughts on Milk's Political Columns

Milk's "Waves from the Left" and "Milk Forum" columns communicate the changes Milk hoped to influence and potentially achieve through his political and community service. The most prominent themes addressed by Milk in his columns corroborate with themes found in much of the scholarly and creative work in Milk history and memory. What the columns contribute in addition to corroboration is greater attention to detail and variation within these themes, Milk's political attention to these themes over time, and Milk's political approach.

It is important to note that the presence of these themes does not connote origination of these topics by Milk. Gay rights, the gay vote, and gay economic power were topics discussed by many gay activists and leaders, and were certainly not Milk's invention. More particular to Milk might be his approach to achieving change through immediate action in comparison to other gay leadership of his time, which preferred slow and peaceful assimilation. This was evident not only from Milk's columns but through general reporting and commentary in the issues reviewed for this paper. Milk's columns additionally provide a range of issues he addressed for a variety of San Franciscan citizens, not just the gay community or his eventual District 5 constituency. Although the themes support much that has already been written about Milk, the columns provide further details about Milk's thoughts on issues of the time in San Francisco and Milk's approach to political activism. The columns provide insight into Milk's political presentation throughout his most politically active years.

As discourse analysis also reveals what is not part of the discussion, not entirely absent but notably rare in the columns is mention of coalition-building with women's rights organizations or women's rights as a cause. This is not unexpected given the climate of separatism that seemed to prevail at the time and the general feel of the *Bay Area Reporter* as gay male-centric. This climate of separatism did evolve during the latter part of the 70s and some of this can be seen in the *Bay Area Reporter* toward the end of the 1970s as the newspaper incorporated more women contributors and addressed concerns of the lesbian and women's rights communities. Milk started to incorporate greater mention of women in 1978, his last year of columns. Milk additionally found an ally in his colleague, City Supervisor Carol Ruth Silver, who represented the neighboring District 6 and who also started contributing a column to the *Bay Area Reporter* starting with the March 30, 1978, issue.

Another important quality of Milk, his sense of folly (Foss, 1994), showmanship (Shilts, 1982), or charisma (Alfred, 2013) – Milk's face-to-face and human communication – is not something that can be obtained through reading the columns. This sense of Milk requires description or footage of his performances. What the columns do provide is an interesting longitudinal look at Milk's development of his public, political self – what he was willing to put out in print. And while his speeches have in the past been the most commonly accessed primary sources for discussion of Harvey Milk, these columns, in concert with Milk's media interviews, speeches, and other writings, work to build a more complete picture of Milk as a public figure – a public figure who

was not just a memorable public speaker but also an active participant in the media culture of his time.

The columns indicate a man passionate about his political service and who believed fighting for equal rights for gay people should be a primary concern of the gay community of his time. Milk asserted that coming out, gay economic power and the gay vote were important ways of his time to achieve the goal of equality. Milk consistently supported a city in which people could both work and live – a city that supported its residents. He advocated true leadership that represented the interests of the people over the personal or political concerns of its elected officials. The columns provide insight into Milk's stand on various political concerns of importance to the gay community and city residents in San Francisco in the mid- to late 1970s, as well as insight into Milk's public, political self. Finally, within this dissertation examining Milk memory, these columns provide documentation and greater understanding of what Milk publicly asserted as politically important to him before various communities started building memory narratives about and around Milk.

CHAPTER 4
TRAGEDY STRIKES AND LEGACY BEGINS:
THE START OF MILK MEMORY

In addition to the Milk-authored columns covered in the previous chapter, researchers wishing to delve into media coverage of Milk during his campaigns and political career will find limited national press coverage of Milk. When there is material, Milk is consistently noted as “a leader,” of the “homosexual community.” Almost always, Milk is linked to having run, or running, for some sort of political office.

This chapter offers a look at early national and local press coverage of Milk to get a general idea of what was covered and how Milk was described by journalists. It continues with an overview of the tragedy of the assassinations as read through the local mainstream press. This overview is followed by the establishment of times within the year to commemorate and memorialize Milk, with a focus on the memorial candlelight marches and their coverage by local newspapers. The chapter concludes with an examination of local mainstream anniversary journalism, with a brief aside about politicians and Milk memory

Milk in National Newspaper Reporting

Oddly enough, the first mention of Milk in presses outside of San Francisco during the time of his candidacies is related the attempted assassination of President Ford by Sara Jane Moore. Moore’s assassination attempt on September 22, 1975 in San Francisco, was thwarted by Oliver W. Sipple, who lunged to knock Moore’s gun off target and was celebrated in the press as a hero (Associated Press, 1975; West, 1975).

Soon after the initial reporting of the presidential assassination attempt, Sipple was “outed” in the press as homosexual.¹⁹ Milk comments in an article by *Los Angeles Times* staff reporter Lembke (1975a) that the lack of official thanks from the White House was probably because of the news of Sipple’s homosexuality. Milk links the snub to the previous week’s recommendation of discharge for Leonard P. Matlovich by the Air Force on basis of his admission of homosexuality. Milk is described in Lembke’s (1975a) article as a “prominent member” of the San Franciscan homosexual community, “longtime friend of Sipple,” and later mentioned as “a candidate for the Board of Supervisors” (pp. A3, 34). In a follow-up article, Lembke (1975b) notes a letter of thanks does arrive from President Ford for Sipple, dated three days after the assassination attempt. The White House denied there was any delay due to the news of Sipple’s homosexuality. It is revealed in this article that the subject of Sipple’s homosexuality originated from a local column in the *San Francisco Chronicle* by Herb Caen, noting that Sipple was a worker in Milk’s campaign for the Board of Supervisors” (p. 3). Shilts (1982) would later reveal that Milk was responsible for the initial leak (pp. 122).²⁰

A *Los Angeles Times* article in 1977 lists Milk as a judge “for the ‘Anita Bryant Lookalike Contest,’ a high-camp show sponsored as a benefit for the Dade County Defense Fund,” and describes him as “gay activist Harvey Milk, who was narrowly defeated when he ran for supervisor...” (MacKay, 1977, pg. H4). Just days later, he comments on violence against the homosexual community in the Orange County edition

¹⁹ Sipple, who was not “out” to his family and asked reporters who knew of his sexuality to not include it in their reporting, unsuccessfully sued seven newspapers for an invasion of his privacy (Duke, 2006).

²⁰ Shilts (1982) provides more on how Milk and Sipple meet, the press leak, and the effect of Sipple’s outing on his life (pp. 34, 121-123).

of a *Los Angeles Times* article reporting on the murder of San Francisco city gardener Robert Hillsborough (Johnston, 1977). Milk here is described as “a leader of the homosexual community and an unsuccessful candidate for the state Assembly” (p. B1). The following month, Dobbin’s (1977) correspondent piece published in the *Baltimore Sun* includes Milk as one of two voices commenting on the subject of real estate, the gentrification of Victorian houses, and the homosexual community in San Francisco in light of public attacks on homosexuality by Anita Bryant. Milk is described as:

...a local homosexual activist who narrowly missed election to the city’s Board of Supervisors in the last at-large election and is consequently rated as a 50-50 bet in the forthcoming reorganized district races. (p. A3)

Milk is credited for founding a neighborhood business association, organizing an annual street fair, and working on greater voter registration of the gay community. In Gold’s (1977a) *Los Angeles Times* article on the dimensionality of gay politics in San Francisco, Milk is presented as a camera shop owner with “a reputation as a hard-liner, a right-on gay candidate for both elective and appointive office” (p. 2). Gold’s distribution of attention to candidates is most equitable out of all of the articles read, yet the feature version of his article, printed in the *New York Times Magazine* Sunday newspaper insert, it is almost as if Gold cannot resist being charmed with Milk and letting Milk’s voice take over much of the section dedicated to him, taking on the role of a progressive upstart in a sea of more qualified, but conservative candidates. After one particularly lengthy quotation from a fast-talking Milk, Herbert adds: “With his lean charm, smiles, shining teeth and street smarts, Harvey Milk resembles some of the black enragés of the 60s” (Gold 1977b, p. 104).

When read together, the national articles start to build a narrative of Milk as an involved leader of the gay community in San Francisco, indeed one might say “the” leader as other voices of gay leadership are less prominent, if present at all.²¹ Even in a 1977 *Boston Globe* article on the switch to district voting in San Francisco, it is the relative newcomer Milk who manages to get more coverage and words in print over his main political competitor, Richard Stokes (Levey, 1977).

In almost every national article, Milk is linked to local politics as a candidate who has “narrowly” lost races with a fair chance of winning in future elections. These references to Milk’s political future occur even if the article is not directly related to a discussion of San Francisco politics. Whether this was Milk’s ability and talent for getting press is uncertain but there is something to be said for the consistency of his labeling across publications, and this becoming part of a historical record available for building future narratives of Milk.²²

Almost all national, regional, and local newspaper articles about Milk’s eventual victory remark on his election as an openly self-professed homosexual or otherwise refer to Milk’s homosexuality as part of his identity. After he starts his term, press outside of San Francisco is relatively quiet about Milk with most reporting on two topics that include brief reference to or comments from Milk: San Francisco’s consideration and eventual passage of a gay rights ordinance, and the Briggs Initiative against homosexual

²¹ In exception are Gold’s (1977a, 1977b) articles, which feature a variety of candidates and political players in his coverage. It may be important to note that Gold was a San Francisco-based novelist at the time, stringing the story for national news outlets and not a newspaper staff journalist.

²² The most popularized mainstream memory narratives (Cohen, Jinks & Van Sant, 2008; Shilts, 1982; Weiss, 1984) would later incorporate a moment or scene dedicated to, or commenting upon, Milk’s desire, drive, and talent for getting press coverage, particularly during his campaign runs.

employees in the schools. The next national attention Milk would get would be the news of his assassination.

Milk in Local Newspaper Reporting

Most news coverage of Milk during his time in Francisco is provided in the local LGBTQIA+ presses, the *San Francisco Sentinel* and the *Bay Area Reporter*, followed by the local mainstream dailies, the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *San Francisco Examiner*. Local independent newspapers, the *San Francisco Progress* and *San Francisco Independent*, also provided some coverage. As a comprehensive set of materials across all local newspapers was not available during my research visits, for the purposes of this dissertation a brief overview is provided of coverage by the *Bay Area Reporter*, the *San Francisco Sentinel*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*, which may lend an idea of Milk's narrative in local presses during his time as a candidate and city supervisor, before coverage turns to the aftermath of his assassination and the task of building Milk memory through local anniversary journalism.

Coverage of Milk in the *Bay Area Reporter* and the *San Francisco Sentinel* during his campaigns is somewhat addressed in Chapter 3. Additional reporting greatly promoted Milk within the *Bay Area Reporter* and was somewhat more skeptical in the *San Francisco Sentinel*, which favored centrist gay candidates. From his swearing in to the last mention of Milk before his assassination, each of the papers averaged 15 to 16 articles with mention of Milk. Once Milk was elected, the *Bay Area Reporter* maintained its enthusiastic reporting on Milk and the *San Francisco Sentinel* mellowed its criticism. After Milk's win, even Thomas M. Edwards, Milk's largest detractor in print at the *San*

Francisco Sentinel, provided congratulatory praise, albeit with some reservations and suggestions for Milk as he transitioned into public office (Edwards, 1978).

The San Francisco Chronicle, with its reputation for a love of all things local and quirky, seemed perfectly matched for candidate and eventual Supervisor Milk.²³ An early article in 1975 describes Milk, running in his second campaign for supervisor: “He is 45, talks non-stop, enjoys a good argument and can’t resist clowning now and then. Sometimes, in profile and at just the right angle, he resembles Dustin Hoffman” (Smith, 1975). His 1977 campaign receives little coverage by the *Chronicle* but they do endorse him as the candidate to vote for in District 5, citing his Wall Street experience and his experience speaking in front of the board on issues as varied as public transportation and the public library system (“Milk in District 5,” 1977).

There are a dozen articles in the *San Francisco Chronicle* that include reference to Milk after his election and before his assassination. Five of these articles are about Milk in relation to the new board of supervisors. The new board represented a much more diverse board than ever before, Moscone referring to the new system of district elections and the range of representation that came out of it as “a great experiment” (Burns, 1978).

The *Chronicle* briefly mentions Milk asking the city attorney to consider drafting “legislation legalizing draw poker parlors” (“Legal Gambling,” 1978). Milk’s appearance and speech at San Francisco’s summer’s annual gay parade is covered, largely placed in

²³ While its national reputation at the time may have been belittled by Eastern press (Talbot, 2012, p. 80) and mocked in *All the President’s Men* (Engardio, 1999; Gorney, 1999), the paper has also been described as having “always paid serious attention to subjects that arouse local passions, like gay rights, the environment and arts (Pérez-Peña, 1999).” The quirky reporting style of the *Chronicle* is credited by Talbot (2012) to executive editor Scott Newhall, who took over in 1952 and switched the overall feel and tone of the paper, the *Chronicle* becoming “the perfect match between city and newspaper...the *Chronicle* did not just give voice to San Francisco; it invented the city (p. 77).”

the context of repealed gay rights in the nation and calling on President Jimmy Carter to consider gay rights as civil rights (Javers, 1978). Milk receives additional attention in a cheeky article about the Bay Area's most ineligible bachelors (Green, 1978) and when he volunteers, alongside other local public figures, to be made up as a clown (Kamin, 1978). This would be nine days before the paper would report the suicide of Milk's then-lover, Jack Lira ("Supervisor Milk Finds," 1978). The *Chronicle's* last coverage of Milk alive was their coverage of Milk's debates with Briggs. Audiences strongly supported Milk's comments (Hall, 1978) and hissed at Briggs (Robinson, 1978).

Additional Sources for Milk's Media Interactions

As mentioned at the start of this chapter and previously in the dissertation, published collections of Milk's speeches, writings, and transcripts from some media interviews are available in Emery's (2012) *The Harvey Milk Interviews* and Black and Morris's (2013) *Harvey Milk: An Archive of Hope*. Through the San Francisco Bay Area Television Archive, established in 1982 and housed at San Francisco State University, one can find some raw and edited news footage of Milk from local stations KQED and KPIX-TV. Clips are minimal, but slowly appearing. I discussed locating, restoring, and posting local television footage of Milk in an interview with Alex Cherian (2013), resident Film Archivist.

Cherian (2013) views Milk as falling squarely under San Francisco State's mission as it relates to social justice, and continues to restore and post clips as he finds them. The archive's initial surge of clips appeared because of archive work completed for Gus Van Sant's (2008) biopic on Milk. Requests now come from two distinct groups: 1)

middle and high school students doing school reports on Milk, and 2) artists, filmmakers, and historians hoping to use clips in public projects about Milk. The archive actively searches for material featuring Milk in the archive but locating raw moving image material on Harvey Milk is challenging.

One challenge, Cherian explains, is the labeling practices of news film and video footage at the time and Milk's relative newness. If his name was not known he might be in footage labeled simply "politician," or "hippie." "Milk" might be Harvey Milk, or a story about milk, the dairy product. Then there is the experience in which he finds a can labeled "Harvey Milk" but finds it empty, sometimes with a note saying the footage will be returned. Cherian (2013) elaborates:

If you're lucky it's just been taken and it's not been put back. If it's been put in a different can, we're not going to find it because there are hundreds of thousands of cans. It's probably not been put back in the can, it was probably stashed in a TV station on the shelf. Five years later someone looked back at it and said: "What's this rubbish? And dumped it.

The issue with the Harvey Milk footage is, after he got assassinated in '78, there was a huge amount of media coverage. All the TV station producers, they would jump into their archives, grab whatever they could on Harvey Milk.

People started making documentaries like "The Times of Harvey Milk," and film producers would come back to the TV archive. So the material was used, used again, put in different places, fast forward thirty years and a lot of it wasn't returned. A lot of it, people don't know where it is.

So when you're looking at Harvey Milk footage, oftentimes, with exhibitions or something else, what you're looking at is someone's edited version of the story, which is cool, but can people go back to the raw material to edit a different story together or just try to see what's available, the answer is quite often 'no.' It's either been destroyed, it's been stashed in a dumpster, or people just don't know where it is, so what you're seeing online, the raw clips of Harvey Milk actually talking, even though this is San Francisco and we should have a bunch of material - I can't find it.

The transitional news-gathering technologies for broadcast news at the time of Milk's life and death, the journalistic pressures for footage after Milk's assassination, and perhaps the lack of archiving practices by broadcast news (Bashin, 1985) combine to make broadcast news coverage of Milk during his life next to impossible to locate and view. One is left with edited clips from surviving Milk memory narratives such as the documentary *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984).

Newspapers and magazines, were by Milk's time, well-established in archiving their work. An essential component of reporting on a public figure's death is remembering their life. In this way, journalists, and journalism, often became the first authors of memory narratives shared within a public community of remembering.

Tragedy Strikes

"Moscone, Milk Shot to Death: Gunfire at City Hall – Ex-supervisor White held" reads the front page headline on the rush extra edition put out by the *San Francisco Examiner* on November 27, 1978, the day of the Moscone/Milk murders. "Moscone, Milk Slain—Dan White is Held" reads the front page headline from the *San Francisco Chronicle* on the following morning. Both papers' headlines are bold, dominating the space above the fold, and both papers feature the same photo: Dan White being taken down a hall for questioning, hands behind his back (Storey, 1978a, 1978b). The two papers together feature over 100 articles, captioned photos or photo essays related to the city hall murders and their aftermath between November 27-November 30, 1978.

The articles in the *Chronicle* and *Examiner* shift from a focus on White, a former supervisor who committed the murders and turned himself in the same day, to eulogizing

and memorializing Moscone and Milk, to Feinstein's new role as Mayor of San Francisco. These topics took over the front sections previously dedicated to stories on the mass suicide of members of the recently relocated People's Temple in "Jonestown," Guyana, announced just seven days earlier (Javers, 1978).²⁴ Coverage of the Moscone/Milk assassinations remains strong in early December as Moscone and Milk are laid to rest, before turning attention more strongly toward Feinstein's leadership, and reporting on White's motivation and subsequent trial.

In national reporting on the murders, Milk's biography includes not only his status as the first openly homosexual candidate elected for political office in California, but also his status as a businessman (owner of camera store or past history as a financial research analyst) and his service in the Navy during the Korean War (Associated Press, 1978a; Tribune Wire Services, 1978a; United Press International, 1978a). News of the murders also makes it into sports reporting, as wire services note San Francisco's request to the NFL for a delay in the 49ers vs. Steelers game scheduled the evening of the murders, a request that was denied (Associated Press, 1978b; Tribune Wire Services, 1978b; United Press International, 1978b). The *Bay Area Reporter* and the *San Francisco Sentinel*, being bi-weekly publications, would begin their reporting to the local GLBT community in December, as Moscone and Milk were laid to rest.

Local Eulogistic Reporting and the Initial Rush to Commemorate

The first newspaper to provide eulogistic reporting on Moscone and Milk is the *San Francisco Examiner* in its extra edition, printed the same evening. Milk is described

²⁴ The mass suicide occurred on November 18, 1978, but reports were first focused on the murder of Congressman Ryan and news personnel who flew to Guyana to investigate. The mass suicide would not be discovered until later, and print reporting on it in the U.S. would not begin until November 20, 1978.

as dedicated to the homosexual community; credited for helping push through anti-discrimination legislation. While he is described as an oft-dissenting voice that talked more than other board members, this is countered with: “Milk had a good sense of humor and accepted ribbing from the press and others goodnature[d]ly [sic]” (“Milk First Gay,” 1978, p. 17). The article narrates his background before his time in San Francisco, eventually returning to his eventual win to be on the city board of supervisors, which is noted as receiving national attention. The article concludes with remarks remembered from Milk that point to his drive and dedication to hard work. Elsewhere in the issue the *Examiner* announces:

A March in honor of slain supervisor Milk will begin at 8:30 tonight at the corner of 19th and Castro streets, spokesmen for the gay community said today. Marchers will go to the east steps of City Hall, where at 10 p.m. they will hold a silent vigil. Persons who attend are encouraged to bring candles to the vigil. Flowers are inappropriate under Jewish rites, a spokesman said. (“Services for Moscone, Milk,” p. 18)

This would become what has been referred to ever since as the initial spontaneous candlelight march in honor of Milk and Moscone, an event that is repeated each year as a memorial march, even to this day. Rubenstein (1978) of the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that about 30,000 people participated in the march, culminating in speakers such as the freshly appointed Mayor Feinstein, giving eulogies on the steps of city hall.²⁵ Joan

²⁵ In the weeks to follow there would be protests by San Franciscans over a satirical report on the march depicted in a *Saturday Night Live* “Weekend Update” segment. The segment reported the candlelight march for Moscone and Milk as “350,000 mourning Chinese homosexuals,” using stock footage of Chinese communist soldiers and citing aspects of their uniforms as indicating whether they were sexually dominant or submissive. An apology from NBC was demanded and partially met by a released statement, more fully addressed by an apology issued by KRON-TV, San Francisco’s NBC affiliate (“Sat. Night Live, 1978; NBC responds, 1978).

Baez sang at the event. A speech Milk had given after Proposition 6 was played back over the loudspeakers:

‘Every gay person must come out,’ intoned the familiar voice and the crowd roared and lifted their candles overhead. An eerie moment followed as the recording abruptly stopped while Milk was pleading for understanding from the ‘people on the right.’ The speakers and the crowd fell silent and, in that moment, the sense of loss seemed to overwhelm the mourners. (p. 2)

“It Was a Proud Year For Supervisor Milk” reads another headline, in which *Chronicle* reporter Murphy (1978) writes: “Supervisor Harvey Milk, slain yesterday at City Hall, was the leading gay politician in California and perhaps in the nation (p. 2).” After noting Milk’s “engaging manner and mischievous air,” Murphy recalls Milk shortly after his election victory finding a parallel between his own election and that of President John F. Kennedy. Both men came from backgrounds outside of the mainstream (Milk as a gay man and Kennedy as a practicing Catholic). Milk hoped his service would be likened to that of Kennedy’s, in which his background would eventually not matter because he was doing good work for the people.

In a separate *Chronicle* article, State Senator John Briggs, who had heatedly debated Milk just weeks earlier over Proposition 6, states his respect for Milk, although they disagreed, concluding: “There are many demagogues [sic] in this world and he was not one of them” (“Briggs is Shocked,” 1978). The same article includes a statement from the National Gay Task Force in New York calling Milk “a hero to our community (p. 2).” Another *Chronicle* article quotes President Carter, on a trip in Salt Lake City, Utah, as taking time to praise Milk as “a hard-working and dedicated supervisor, a leader of San

Francisco's gay community who kept his promise to represent all constituents" ("Carter Outraged," 1978).

There were multiple memorial services held throughout the city of San Francisco in the days after the Moscone/Milk murders ("A Time for Remembering," 1978; "Memorial Services," 1978). The largest public gathering noted in local papers aside from the previously discussed candlelight march, was an outdoor memorial service held outside of City Hall (Sharpe & Boldenweck, 1978; Zane, 1978b). A small group of musicians from the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra and a tenor from the San Francisco Opera performed *Ave Maria*, after which Joan Baez performed *Swing Low, Sweet Chariot*. Mayor Dianne Feinstein eulogized Moscone and Milk, the latter about whom she said:

Harvey Milk loved this city, he loved its people and he loved life. The fact of his homosexuality gave him an insight into the scars which all oppressed peoples wear. It was undoubtedly the genesis of his admirable commitment to the cause of individual rights. (Zane, 1978, p. 8)

Anne Kronenberg, Milk's campaign manager and city hall aide, spoke through tears about the man she claimed as her mentor and friend, calling upon people to remember his message of hope. Afterward, thousands of people paid their respects to the slain officials in City Hall, as they lay in state under the hall's rotunda (Zane, 1978b). Kronenberg eulogizes Milk again at his memorial service in the San Francisco Opera House, a service described by *Chronicle* reporter Butler (1978) as shifting into a political rally, with over 3500 people in attendance. Kronenberg's eulogy for Milk was reported to have received the most applause of any speaker. She starts with humor, commenting that Milk would be surprised to see her in a dress (in the event of his death,

he had asked her to wear either a dress or full leathers), and ends urging “gays to work together, ally with other minorities, and ‘come out’” (Butler, 1978, p. 5). An Episcopalian priest tells the crowd: “Tradition would expect me to tell you Harvey’s gone to Heaven. Harvey was much more interested in going to Washington” (Butler, 1978, p. 5).

Milk was eulogized as a leader and hero of the gay community, a devoted politician who fought vigorously and was respected for his diligence and service to San Franciscan residents and their issues, and who was remembered for his sense of humor. These qualities referred to in the eulogistic reporting would continue to be referenced in years to come, as Milk was commemorated and remembered.

Within days of his murder, news also came out about death threats Milk had against him and interviews with reporters during which Milk predicted he would be murdered. Giltek (1978) recalls such an experience he had with Milk three months prior to the murders, in an *Examiner* article written two days after the Moscone/Milk murders:

At first, I thought there was a self-serving quality to Milk’s revelation – either that or paranoia – but he spoke with such calmness and certainty that I realized he was truly fatalistic about the violent death he saw coming. We might as well die for something worthwhile. For Harvey Milk, that was the cause of gay rights. (p. A)

These stories are followed with the release of a partial transcript by Milk’s lawyer, of a recording Milk made shortly after he was elected to be released if Milk was killed in office (“A legacy from slain supervisor,” 1978; Zane, 1978a). The narrative of Milk’s prescient knowledge of the nature of his own death, the tape-recorded artifact, and examples of hate mail present in his archives become important elements in the narrative of his martyrdom, that he would continue fighting to the death and die for the cause of

gay rights. Some element of this narrative appears in all of the major Milk memory narratives. In hearing two of his mentees in separate interviews talk about Milk's prediction of his own death by murder in his conversations with them, followed by the actual event, one cannot miss the indelible mark both this prediction and outcome had on those close to Milk, who would tell his story for years to come (Kronenberg, 2012; Nicoletta, 2012).

Eulogistic reporting and remembrance narratives after the assassinations are plentiful in local LGBTQIA+ biweeklies the *Bay Area Reporter* and *San Francisco Sentinel*, with reporters and columnists sharing their stories of knowing Milk. Photo essays of Moscone and Milk in life contrast with images of mourners attending the candlelight march and various memorial services. Contentious conversations start almost immediately afterward over who should take Milk's place on the city's board of supervisors, with the only agreement being that the replacement should be gay. This conversation, held in the mainstream papers as well, is complicated by the three different tapes Milk had left behind to be listened to in the event of his death and in which he announced his suggestions for successors ("Feinstein's Dilemma," 1978; Moskowitz, 1978; Wahl, 1978).²⁶

Legacy-naming, the process through which buildings and organizations are named in honor of someone, began immediately after Moscone and Milk's death. The local democratic club that Milk helped to found, the *San Francisco Gay Democratic Club*, changed its name to the *Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club* days after Milk's death

²⁶ Milk's successor would eventually be Harry Britt, a member of the newly-renamed *Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club* and one of the replacements suggested by Milk ("Britt sworn in," 1979).

(“Harvey Milk Gay Democratic,” 1978).²⁷ Shortly thereafter, the board of supervisors voted to approve Moscone’s name to go on the city’s new Yerba Buena convention center, and a planned gay community center to be named after Milk (“Moscone’s Name,” 1978).²⁸ Within weeks, many of the board members of *The United Fund*, a local non-profit Harvey Milk and Sally Gearhart had started to defeat Proposition 6, reorganized as *The Harvey Milk United Fund*, and started seeking donations to channel funds to gay and lesbian causes (“Milk fund,” 1979; “Milk fund explained,” 1979). Within the first month, a filmmaker was filming in San Francisco and New York, interviewing people for a possible documentary on Milk (“H. Milk Documentary,” 1979).²⁹

In early 1979, it was announced that the recreation center located above Duboce Park near the Castro neighborhood would be renamed the *Harvey Milk Center for the Recreational Arts* and a proposal came in to the San Francisco Library Commission to rename the local Eureka Valley branch of the San Francisco Public library after Milk (“Milk Library,” 1979; sfrecpark.org). The *San Francisco Examiner* awarded a posthumous annual local public service Jefferson Award to Milk. Public comments from Pixa (1979) of the *Examiner* noted how much Milk sacrificed:

Modest in his lifestyle...Milk was apparently indifferent to the material trappings of political power. A friend remembers that his shoes sometimes had holes, his tie spots, that he bought his suits in thrift stores. He gave up a leased Volvo to ride the MUNI; a month before he was killed he gave

²⁷ The organization is known today as the *Harvey Milk LGBT Democratic Club*.

²⁸ An official gay community center to be named after Milk would never be brought to fruition. San Francisco’s official LGBT Center would finally be established in 2002.

²⁹ Arthur J. Bressan, Jr. is credited as directing the documentary, but it was never completed. It is possible Bressan’s footage ended up in Schmiechen and Epstein’s (1984) documentary; Bressan is listed in their credits as an additional camera operator.

up his business because of a rent hike, and he was determined to live on his modest supervisor's salary.... He gave generously of himself, even beyond his life, donating his organs and eyes to those who might benefit from them. ("S.F. Examiner Honors," 1979)

The rush to commemorate had started, but it was about to slow and be handled in the background for a while, overshadowed at first by attention to White's trial and its aftermath, and then later by the unexpected onslaught of AIDS.

The final verdict of two counts of voluntary manslaughter for White was announced on May 21, 1979. A march by protesters from Castro to City Hall after the announcement of the verdict broke out into violence that eventually became known as "The White Night riots." The iconic image that resurfaces in reference to this evening is Gordon Stone's *San Francisco Examiner* photo of a line of police cars, all ablaze (Stone, 1979). Later that same evening, a group of police officers would go to the Castro on a bashing spree, beating gays in bars and in the streets.³⁰

These events occurred the day before Milk's commemorative birthday party, planned for the evening of May 22. Permits for street closures in the Castro had already been secured and speakers scheduled ("Milk Birthday," 1979). Gay leaders met with Mayor Feinstein, who was concerned there would be further violence (Saltus and King, 1979). The birthday party was instead celebratory and successfully attended, the *San Francisco Examiner* reporting 4,000 people attending (Hollis, 1979), and the *San Francisco Sentinel* reporting 10,000 attendees (Schectman, 1979). The *San Francisco Examiner's* Hollis (1979) reported a giant portrait of Milk hung next to the Castro

³⁰ This is covered in greater detail in Shilts' (1982) *Mayor of Castro Street* and Weiss' (1984) *Double Play*. Coverage of the riot and its aftermath can also be followed in the local presses, which is an interesting study in itself of that goes beyond the purview of this dissertation.

Theatre marquee, with Sally Gearhart as the speaker who received the loudest applause as she spoke at Milk's birthday party of connections between race, social class, ethnicity and sexuality. Like Kronenberg's eulogy and speech at Milk's memorial service, the memory of Milk would be called forth as motivation for oppressed peoples to work together and fight for their rights. The *San Francisco Sentinel* spoke to the positive celebratory nature of the commemorative event, with many businesses posting "birthday wishes for Milk" in their windows (Shectman, 1979). Businesses in the Castro continue the tradition of decorating their businesses with birthday wishes for Milk every year on his birthday, May 22nd.

Establishing Times to Remember; Commemorative and Anniversary Journalism

The dates marking birth and death, the most common and indelible dates of human remembrance, would also become the main dates for commemorating Milk. San Francisco's annual Gay Pride activities provide another time during which Milk might be remembered, as does the annual Castro Street Fair, which Milk founded. Dedications and commemorative events planned around these times are almost certain to get press coverage. In this way, local newspapers worked hand-in-hand with the building of local Milk memory, through its ongoing documentation.

Comeau (1979), reporting on the 1979 Gay Freedom Day for the *Bay Area Reporter*, noted differences from the start given events of the previous year. "We are growing up, like it or not" (Comeau, 1979). Milk memory was present through the marching of the Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club, a sign carried on a float later in the parade read "HARVEY LOVED A CIRCUS." Milk's former colleague, Carol Ruth

Silver, addressed the crowd: “Let us all hail that Harvey Milk will live forever” (Silver as quoted by Comeau, 1979).” Harry Britt, Milk’s replacement on the board, also gave testimonial to Milk.

Gay Freedom Day (eventually changing to the moniker “Gay Pride”) was a day politicians came to strengthen bonds with gay constituents and court the gay vote. Calling upon the memory of Harvey Milk was, and still is, an oft-practiced rhetoric for city and state politicians. The local collective memory of Milk as a politician included his service not only to his gay constituents but to a range of underserved citizens and city issues linked to progressive candidates.

The fact that Milk was himself a politician allowed living politicians to shift between honoring Milk in the context of gay issues and concerns, and calling upon the memory of Milk to address issues of neighborhoods, public transportations, education, minority rights, and their re-elections. Local and state politicians would become staple speakers at almost every Milk memory dedication and commemorative event. Carol Ruth Silver would take out an ad when she was a candidate for District Attorney featuring a photograph of Silver sitting next to Milk at the supervisor’s table:

Unless every one of us participates in the legacy of Harvey Milk, it will fail. What is that legacy? Joy and sadness, memories of battles lost and won, and commitments to a continual striving for harmony between people of different lifestyles, cultures, races, political persuasions. We will not fail. (“Unless Every One,” 1979)

Local LGBTQIA+ reporting on the first gay march on Washington, D.C. reminded readers that it was Milk who had called for the march in his speeches.³¹ Supervisor Britt, returning from the national march, reflected on his experience:

For all of us from San Francisco who knew and loved Harvey, the highlight of that wonderful weekend in D.C. came when the crowd of 100,000 Lesbians and Gay men from every state in the Union roared as a single voice ‘Harvey, we are here! Harvey, we are here!’... Harvey Milk, who called for this March on Washington and whose March it truly was, would be proud of us. (Britt, 1979)

Not everyone was warmed by the ongoing Milk testimonials. One letter from a *Bay Area Reporter* reader remarked:

If we had a dollar for every time someone said, “If Harvey Milk were here he’d say/think/feel...” and/or a dollar for every person who claimed to have been a close, intimate, noncritical friend of Harvey’s, we’d probably be able to cure cancer. (Heimforth, 1979)

In addition to remembering Milk through eulogistic reporting and reporting on legacy-naming and initial commemorative events, journalists and their news agencies could pull resources from their archives to tell the story again as time went on, for the purposes of continued community healing, creating and commemorating shared pasts, repurposing the past to address present concerns, and reminding the public of the importance journalism has in their lives.

The first anniversary of the Moscone/Milk murders and the occasion of the first memorial candlelight march provided such an opportunity, as local papers featured their photos of Moscone and Milk, marking previous coverage of the two men, at times in conjunction with commemorative reporting (Baker, 1979; Barnes, 1979; “In memoriam,

³¹ Historically, the initialisms “LGB” started appearing around this time and may have been the preferred initialism. “LGBTQIA+” is used here for reading consistency.

1979; Jennings, 1979a). In the first six years after the Moscone/Milk murders, looking at the main headlines related to George Moscone, Harvey Milk, and Dan White in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *San Francisco Examiner*, it feels as if journalists were kept busy trying to answer the question of “why” the murders occurred, and keeping the public posted on White’s experience in jail and updates on his imminent parole. Stories about White were far more prevalent than mention of Milk, or Moscone. Coverage of the annual memorial march helped bring Moscone and Milk back into focus at least once a year, with Milk getting the greater coverage of the two.

The first commemorative march from the Castro to City Hall retraced the steps taken in the spontaneous candlelight march that occurred the night of the murders. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported 20,000 people participating in the first memorial march (Blakey and Jennings, 1979). *The San Francisco Examiner* included coverage of Mayor Dianne Feinstein’s speech earlier in the day (Anders, 1979), and the *Chronicle* provided an interview with Feinstein in which she retraced her own steps of finding Milk’s body, the smell of gunpowder, and her discomfort with sitting in Moscone’s side office, where he had been killed (Jennings, 1979a). Feinstein’s memories of that day would be a story she would return to throughout her political career, becoming the tragic origin story that nonetheless jumpstarted her waning political career. The *San Francisco Chronicle* (Jennings, 1979b) included interviews with academics commenting on recovery from tragedies to help explain and aid the healing process.

The annual candlelight march received coverage yearly and its attendance varied. In 1980 the march landed on Thanksgiving and could not secure a permit. Two thousand

people still marched, but it was a stark contrast from the 20,000 that showed up the previous year (Jarvis & Stewart, 1980; Capps, 1980). Attendance reporting the following year varied from 1,000 to 2,000 participants with low attendance blamed on rainy weather (Reza & Lang, 1981; Sharpe, 1981). The candlelight marches began to take on additional meaning, some years memorializing Moscone/Milk while also shedding light on some civil issue or injustice occurring in San Francisco or elsewhere in the world. In 1980 there was an emphasis on strong ties between the gay community and the Chinese minority community in San Francisco (Lorch, 1980). In 1981 it was shedding light on increased violence against the gay community in San Francisco (Reza & Lang, 1981). The five-year memorial march attendance was estimated at 3,000 to 5,000 marchers, and additionally featured the sister of Benigno Aquino, a Philippines opposition leader who had been assassinated earlier in the year (Shilts & Magagnini, 1983; “March Tomorrow,” 1983). During the years while Dan White was still alive there was often reporting of marchers calling for justice against White (Reza & Lang, 1981; Anders, 1982; Lattin, 1983; Shilts & Magagnini, 1983).

A photo in the *San Francisco Chronicle* documenting the 1984 memorial march featured a banner from the San Francisco AIDS Foundation (Maloney, 1984); the following year it reached the headlines in the *San Francisco Examiner*: “Vigil for Moscone, Milk, AIDS” (Ginsburg, 1985). Many of the articles covering the early candlelight marches made mention of Cleve Jones, one of Milk’s friends who also assisted Milk as an intern when Milk was a supervisor. The 1985 march became an origin story in and of itself, as marchers carried signs featuring the names of AIDS victims,

taping them against the walls of the old federal building (Ginsburg, 1985). Jones, who helped organize the action, would later recall this as the origin of the AIDS quilt, which he would help bring to national attention in the years to come (Bizjak, 1987; Jones & Dawson, 2000, pp. 106-107).

At these candlelight marches, Milk's name would be brought forth in support of issues of importance to oppressed groups. In 1985 one marcher was quoted as saying "These AIDS people died with the same respect and dignity in which Milk died. He was a martyr and so were they" (Ginsburg, 1985). Scott Smith, described as Milk's "lover and executor of his estate," was noted as finding the mourning of AIDS victims completely appropriate for inclusion in the march, linking it back to how Milk "was one of the first publicly mourned gay people....it has become OK to mourn our gay dead" (Smith, as quoted by Ginsberg, 1985, p. A28). This was also the year in which White was released and attempted a return to his life only to end it through suicide, five weeks before the anniversary of the assassinations (Sward & Barabak, 1985). The death of White may have allowed more space for the annual candlelight march and vigil to focus elsewhere, now that White could no longer be a living target for public anger. An article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* stated that some organizers attributed the rise in attendance due to the issue of AIDS and also White's death ("Gay Vigil Marks," 1985).

The number of reported attendees continued to vary throughout the years, from as low as 250 ("250 March," 1994) in rainy years or years landing on Thanksgiving, to estimates in the thousands during those marker anniversary years such as the 10th anniversary or the 20th anniversary (Marine, 1988; Zamora, 1998). Coverage of the

candlelight march varied but the event always had some presence in local newspapers, whether as a single captioned photograph or longer article in anniversary years or when the march attended to additional issues. The headlines slowly changed from mourning to martyrdom to legacy. The 10th anniversary headline in the *San Francisco Examiner* read “10 Years, and Tears Still Fall,” (Marine, 1988), then “Remembering Milk 15 years later: ‘He Was Our Martyr’” (Zamora, 1993) to the 20th anniversary headline of “Moscone, Milk Legacy Hailed” (Zamora, 1998). The film *Milk* (2008) and related coverage in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *San Francisco Examiner* overshadowed coverage of any other commemorative activities that particular year.

At times announcements of the march received more coverage than the actual march itself, which was the case with the 35th annual memorial candlelight march and vigil, which focused on housing affordability, an issue Milk also fought for as a city supervisor, and celebrated the 35th anniversary of the San Francisco Gay Men’s Chorus, who sang publicly for the first time at the initial candlelight march the year Moscone and Milk were assassinated (Echavaria, 2013). This was also the year that two marches occurred – an official city remembrance on the steps of City Hall was held in the late afternoon, scheduled to march up to the Castro, where the traditional candlelight march and vigil would start later that evening, and march its way back down to City Hall (Alexander, 2013).

During the first years of commemorative reporting, stories were briefer and more about remembering the dead, mourning, and healing. One exception was Randy Shilts’s (1981) special report for the *San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner’s* Sunday magazine

supplement, “This World.”³² Shilts placed the assassinations squarely in the middle of political dramas started in 1975 when Moscone beat John Barbagelata in the mayoral election. The timeline ends in 1980, with the abolishment of district elections in favor of a return to the former city-wide election system. This was the first story attempting to contextualize the assassinations within a longitudinal political framework. Shilts incorporates interviews with eight public figures who are largely pessimistic about what these times wrought, all but for Cleve Jones that is, the voice representing the gay community as a relatively unknown, but important activist. Jones is portrayed as young activist who led angry gay crowds protesting the repeals of gay rights laws happening nationally, but who afterward transitioned to a political life “inside,” first as Milk’s intern/aide, and after that an aide to California Assemblyman Art Agnos.³³ Jones remarks that the events that had transpired, and the gay riots after the White verdict was announced in particular, created a city unlike any other in the US. This was when the gay community became a reality instead of just an idea (p. 19).

Due to their proximity, it would be more common for the events surrounding Jonestown, the congressional delegation that was attacked and the murder/suicides that followed, to have mention in or near articles about the Moscone/Milk assassinations and for these assassinations to be mentioned alongside or near articles on Jonestown.³⁴ As the

³² There were certain years in which the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *San Francisco Examiner* published a joint Sunday paper.

³³ Shilts (1982) would later remark in his biography of Milk that although Milk ran against Agnos for the Assemblyman position in 1976 on a “Milk vs. the Machine” campaign, the two men got along. Agnos offered advice to Milk to help him further his political career.

10th anniversary of the Moscone/Milk assassinations approached, the storytelling shifted as the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *San Francisco Examiner* more closely folded together Jonestown and the Moscone/Milk assassinations into a “10 days” narrative that told the tale of ten days that changed San Francisco forever.³⁵ Articles looking back at the two events offered by the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *San Francisco Examiner* combined, lasted from November 6, 1988 through November 28, 1988. This anniversary by far had the longest date spread and overall word count out of the decade-related anniversary journalism.

The “10 days” narrative began with Warren Hinckle’s (1988) essay, “The Ten Days that Shook San Francisco,” published on November 6, 1988, in *Image*, the *San Francisco Examiner*’s Sunday magazine supplement. Hinckle’s essay was spread over 17 pages, accented at times by full-page *Examiner* photographs, including Jonestown images from *Examiner* photojournalist Greg Robinson, who was killed while accompanying the congressional investigation into Jonestown. Hinckle, credited at the end of the article as an “Associate Editor of the Examiner,” had a long reputation for both muckraking journalism and local theatrics (Boulware, 1996).³⁶ He wove a dramatic narrative that had

³⁴ Although today often referred to as the “Jonestown Massacre,” local papers often did not know what to label this event, often just referring to it as “Jonestown.” This could be because the event in the local papers included not only the suicide/murders of the Jonestown compound but also the congressional delegation that went to investigate, resulting in the deaths of during which and “Jonestown” became a somewhat accepted shorthand for the entire sequence of events.

³⁵ Yes, the “10 days” titling is likely a reference to American journalist John Reed’s (1919) book *Ten Days that Shook the World*, his first-person account of witnessing the 1917 October Revolution in Russia. Shilts used a similar titling tactic for his 1981 report “Five Years That Shook the City,” that contextualized the assassinations smack dab in the middle of 1975-1980. Jonestown was also incorporated in Shilts’ narrative.

³⁶ To describe Warren Hinckle and his career would take an additional chapter. I suggest Boulware’s (1996a/b) overview of Hinckle’s career as a good start for understanding this reporter’s context in San

as its protagonists two paranoid men: Reverend Jim Jones of the Peoples Temple, originally based in San Francisco but by that time in Jonestown Guyana, and former San Francisco City Supervisor Dan White. Moscone is described as “George Bush’s typical card-carrying liberal,” (p. 16), and Milk, as “48, short and bubbly with charm...” who “had forged progressive alliances with many heterosexuals” (p. 28). Moscone and Milk figured only briefly into Hinckle’s overall narrative, with Milk garnering far more attention than Moscone.³⁷ Hinckle spends considerable time reporting police corruption, starting with police violence in the Castro after the White Night Riots, labeling it “a gay Selma (p. 28),” officers making Milk jokes after the assassination, and using a quote from journalist Randy Alfred to connect police culture in San Francisco with Jonestown in Guyana: “What scares me about the City Hall murders is that they were so much like Jonestown....They were both cult murders. In Jonestown it was a suicide cult, in San Francisco it was a cop cult (Alfred as quoted by Hinckle, p. 29).” Hinckle concludes: “In paranoid schizophrenic San Francisco, Moscone and Milk, the liberal and the gay, somehow came to be seen by some as the bad guys (p. 30).”

Hinckle’s narrative of “10 days” is a narrative that instead of mourning and healing, breaks back open the wound of those “10 days” as a story of politics gone south and a warning of what can happen when journalism does not do its duty as watchdog of the state. He notes how San Francisco’s papers would not publish investigative work on

Francisco. At times loved and at other times, begrudgingly tolerated, a mix of investigative nerve, emotional/personal writing style, and the kind of quirky, eccentric character that seems at home in San Franciscan lore.

³⁷ Greater attention to Milk might be explained by Hinckle’s earlier work on *Gayslayer!* (1985) which is credited as material used toward the *Image* essay (Hinckle, 1988, p. 34).

the People's Temple, work that was eventually published in the *New West* magazine (p. 34). He blames the results of the White trial on bad decisions by a police chief with political motivations. By the time of this article, Shilts's (1982) biography of Milk and Weiss's (1984) book on the White trial had been published, both books providing greater detail on the assassinations and subsequent trial. Hinckle himself had published *Gayslayer!* (1985) best summarized by its subtitle: "The Story of How Dan White Killed Harvey Milk and George Moscone & Got Away with Murder." This slim volume contained investigative work he had done on the White trial under employ of the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Los Angeles Times*.³⁸ Shilts, Weiss and Hinckle were all journalists who were present in San Francisco during the White trial and its aftermath, and their particular collective work represents journalists returning to tell the story they were not allowed to tell at the time.

The *San Francisco Examiner* released their own "10 days" story on November 18, 1988. Kilduff and Roberts's (1988) front-page article, "10 Days of Horror That Left S.F. in Shock," begins dramatically:

On the gray overcast Saturday afternoon of Nov. 18, 1978, Mayor George Moscone sat down in his ceremonial City Hall office for an informal chat with ex-Supervisor Dan White. At almost the same hour, in the steaming heat of a jungle outpost near Port Kaituma, Guyana, followers of Peoples Temple leader Jim Jones were also meeting, obediently lining up to kill themselves and murder their babies (p. 1).

Kilduff and Roberts (1988), like Hinckle (1988), link the two tragic events together as a single narrative that transformed the city. Unlike Hinckle, Kilduff and Roberts's report focuses on interviews with a variety of leaders and citizens to talk about effects "still

³⁸ Boulware (1996) claimed the newspapers would not print any investigative journalism during the time of White's trial.

being felt, debated and endured a decade later (p. 1).” They note that the black community was hit especially hard, losing community members in Jonestown and losing Moscone, their political ally. The loss of Milk by the gay community was interpreted as only making them stronger, as they “rallied around him as a martyr to gain more power.” One of Milk’s former aides, Jim Rivaldo, notes that while before they only had Milk, now they had a variety of gay people within civic and public service organizations (p. A4). Overall, the article notes the ten days put an abrupt halt to a political shift to the left, which the city was now returning to, ten years later, comparing the time ten years ago to the present day office of Mayor Art Agnos.

At this point the “10 days” narrative stops and the past events of Jonestown and the Milk/Moscone assassinations unhitch to rejoin in a different section of the newspaper, reported on separately albeit within the same, full-page spread. Jonestown is remembered with: “Jonestown Survivors Haunted” (Kilduff, 1988) and “Cults Now Blend into American Life” (Lattin, 1988), talking about how surviving members of the Peoples Temple are attempting to move on. The Moscone/Milk assassinations are remembered with “Harvey Milk’s legacy” (Shilts & Herscher, 1988), which focuses on how Milk helped the gay community “break into the mainstream” (p. B3). There is no separate article on Moscone.

The second page of the article on Milk begins with the header “Harvey Milk’s place in history: A martyr becomes a symbol” (p. B4). Shilts & Herscher (1988) move back and forth between describing Milk in his time and people in the present taking stock of Milk’s importance in the present day. Milk is referred to as a martyr, whose career

might relate less to why he is remembered than his “charisma, humor and theatrical sense of politics” (p. B4). Nevertheless, Milk was a sacrifice. A local leader labels Milk a hero whose death turned him into a symbol, a martyr whose value was heightened due to his killer representing the conservatism Milk was fighting every day from his position as an out gay leader. Another person notes Milk’s violent death also softened relations between local conservatives and the gay community, allowing for greater acceptance in San Francisco, of its LGBTQIA+ citizens (p. B4).

Every other interview in the article is with someone who personally knew Milk as an associate or friend: Dick Pabich, Milk’s, political consultant and City Hall aide; Harry Britt, Milk’s replacement on the Board of Supervisors; Cleve Jones, Milk’s aide and now also known as one of the founders of the NAMES Project (run out of Milk’s former camera store at the time); Scott Smith, who ran the camera store with Milk and was by now referred to as “Milk’s longtime lover” (p. B4). These were all people Shilts had also interviewed for his posthumous biography of Milk, years earlier.

Part of the strength of building local Milk memory depended less on Milk being depicted as a martyr to motivate the gay community, and more on the circle of people around Milk who continued to work to keep his story alive while also becoming part of the structure of the city itself. Through their service in political offices, commissions, organizations and community projects, the circle of people around Milk were in position to call forth his name in service to the city, all the while continuing to build a lasting memory of their friend and colleague.

It is pertinent to also remember that San Francisco is a small, big city. At only 49 square miles, it was and still is a city of neighborhoods that simultaneously celebrates the amenities and challenges of urban living alongside the feel of being in a small town. Everyone seems to know everyone. It was not difficult to call upon each other to help support local building of Milk memory. The ongoing battle fighting for adequate attention to the AIDS epidemic further united this community, with some of Milk's inner circle working on projects intended to remember Milk's life, even as their own lives were overtaken by HIV and AIDS (Nicoletta, 2012). The onslaught of AIDS may also have been partially responsible for the shift of focus to Milk on the annual commemoration of the assassinations. The candlelight memorial march and vigil was increasingly tied to AIDS activism. The LGBTQIA+ community had an invested interest in remaining visible and using Milk as an example to follow in their fight for gay and AIDS victims' rights.

The narratives of Jonestown and the Milk/Moscone assassinations return together in the November 27, 1988 10th anniversary editorial published by the *San Francisco Chronicle* ("A Tragic Day," 1988). The paper takes the event of the 10th anniversary as an opportunity to remind the public of the value journalists have in their lives, calling to their attention Moscone's press aide as a former *Chronicle* colleague who had calmly explained the details of murders next to a shaken Feinstein. The editorial reminds the public it was an investigative reporter, Marshall Kilduff, who helped run Jim Jones out of the City of San Francisco.³⁹ The editorial chastises the political system of the past, particularly its Democratic wing, who looked past signals of Jim Jones's instability in

³⁹ That Kilduff would be turned away from the local newspapers and have to publish his investigative reporting in *New West* magazine is not mentioned (Talbot, p. 292)

favor of what his Peoples Temple could do for them. Yet in spite of this oversight, the editorial proclaims the city as now more aware and more culturally tolerant, reminding citizens: “At its darkest moment, San Francisco’s leaders and its citizens moved courageously together to commence a healing process that still continues” (“A Tragic Day,” 1988, p. 1).

Reporting on the 10th anniversary memorial candlelight march and vigil carries forward this theme of healing. “10 Years and Tears Still Fall,” reads the *San Francisco Examiner* (Marine, 1988). “Emotional Milk-Moscone Tribute,” reports the *San Francisco Chronicle* (Tuller, 1988). Crowds are estimated be anywhere from 8,000 to 25,000 depending on who is counting and reporting, which may be the largest attendance on record in the years of the memorial event. Both newspapers recount the lives of Milk and Moscone, their assassinations by Dan White, and how the aftermath of the event affected the city. These stories are told in the context of how some people at the march were perhaps too young to fully understand the events of that day, but still they came now, to honor these two men. The *San Francisco Chronicle* maintains a theme of San Francisco coming full circle, a return to political liberalism. This is accented by a second article featuring Harry Britt, Milk’s successor on the Board of Supervisors, and just recently elected its first openly gay president (Garcia, 1988).

Local newspapers provided anniversary journalism yearly, and a bit more prominently in five and ten-year anniversary increments, but for a few exceptions they rarely used these opportunities to directly express their journalistic authority as overtly as Zelizer (1992) found with some media remembrance of the Kennedy assassination.

Overtly, perhaps not, but the local newspapers still held onto their role as the city's chief collective memory storyteller, reminding its citizens of what happened, and why it was important to remember.

Reading coverage by the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *San Francisco Examiner* of the yearly memorial candlelight march and vigil also provided readers a yearly timeline of the ebb and flow of LGBTQIA+ issues and concerns. The mid to late 1980s marks issues with AIDS. In 1989, the *Examiner* reports the march as somber, after a year in which local domestic partner rights were voted down. A marcher who knew Milk comments that Milk would not be quiet if he was there but would instead be getting people together, soliciting donations, and organizing (Maatz, 1989). Just a few weeks earlier the *Chronicle* reports an elementary school in Milk's former district slated to be renamed after Milk was given another name entirely, reportedly because some parents felt "the urge to commemorate Milk was getting out of hand and that a change would disrupt tradition" (Asimov, 1989). The following year is depicted as a march of victory as the domestic partner ordinance passed ("Candlelight March," 1990; Dougan, 1990). In 1992 there is cautious optimism over the election of Bill Clinton (Lucas, 1992). While attendance at the 15th memorial anniversary in 1993 is lower than expected due to the November rain, about 3,000 people still attend the march and vigil. Before the 15th memorial anniversary march, a plaque was installed in the sidewalk outside of Milk's former camera store in the Castro. A young man who was thirteen when Milk died notes Milk's death was like "losing Martin Luther King or Kennedy" (Zamora, 1993, p. B6). An article describes the gay community as happy over Roberta Achtenberg's

appointment in the Clinton administration, which was the highest an out gay person had risen in national service (Zamora, p. B6). The following year marchers dwindle to 250 in the rain, and heard naval reservist Lieutenant Zoe Dunning talk about her violation of “Don’t ask, don’t tell,” Clinton’s compromise policy for gays serving in the military (“250 March,” 1994).

In 1997 there was an attempt to shift from memorializing the assassinations to commemorating Milk’s election date, November 7. According to articles by the *Chronicle’s* Epstein (1997a, 1997b), on this date in 1997 a memorial urn containing some belongings of Milk’s was to be buried in the Congressional Cemetery in Washington, D.C. Epstein reports the urn had been in storage for years as gay communities were busy with AIDS-related issues and a gay veterans organization fought for a designated space for gay leaders in the cemetery. In the meantime, Scott Smith died and ownership of the urn became unclear (1997a, p. A13, 1997b, p. A24). The move to official national public memory and history for Milk, beyond the media memoria narratives, would still have to wait. Locally this day was celebrated by the dedication of Harvey Milk Plaza at the MUNI station on the edge of the Castro neighborhood where Milk ran his camera shop and lived most of his time while in San Francisco (Epstein, 1997). A giant rainbow flag on a 70-foot flagpole forever marks Milk’s neighborhood and San Francisco’s official gayborhood.⁴⁰

For the 20th year anniversary in 1998, it seemed Moscone would finally regain some attention as his son Jonathan was scheduled to be a main speaker at a memorial

⁴⁰ While there is a history of various gay neighborhoods in San Francisco and the Bay Area, and which gets to be remembered when and how is at times hotly contested, the Castro remains the marketed “gayborhood” of San Francisco, the city’s main heritage neighborhood representing LGBTQIA history.

scheduled a few days before the actual candlelight memorial march and vigil. He was indeed the top of the news coverage, as Jonathan remembered his father as someone who would be proud of what he was about to do, which was to “come out” publicly as gay. Sward (1998) of the *San Francisco Chronicle* reports the young Moscone’s speech as “the highlight” of the event (p. A17). Harry Britt speaks of Milk being a prophet, but it was Jonathan Moscone that embodied the legacy of Milk for the evening, and grabbed the bulk of the text. Jonathan Moscone’s act of coming out also allows the Moscone and Milk names to become aligned with gay civil rights, as people attending the event recall how much Moscone had done for the gay community. Although Moscone would remain in Milk’s shadow in LGBT collective memory, he would not be forgotten.

In 20th anniversary coverage of the assassination tragedies, the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *San Francisco Examiner* return to be the city’s collective memory storytellers. The space was allotted differently than in 1988, the narrative less about the tragedies and more about celebrating Milk and Moscone and what their lives and sacrifice provided to San Francisco.

The *San Francisco Examiner* provides their main remembrance of Moscone and Milk through their coverage of the annual memorial candlelight march and vigil. The full headline announces: “Moscone, Milk legacy hailed: Leaders assassinated 20 years ago praised as symbols of City’s progressive and tolerant tradition” (Zamora, 1998). Zamora of the *Examiner* interviews attendees at the march, providing background on Milk through their stories. A young man talks about reading of Milk’s election and how it inspired him as a teenager in Texas (p. 1). A Vietnam vet talks about how Milk inspired

him to be more political (p. 1). A new resident talks about not knowing about Milk but being inspired by his story since moving to San Francisco (p. A-13). One marcher likens Milk to Martin Luther King and Gandhi. Members of the Moscone family are not present at the event, so despite the dual headline, the focus was squarely on Milk.

Tom Ammiano and Cleve Jones, speakers at the event who both had known Milk, comment on what Milk had missed over the years since his death and what he would think of current events. Jones comments on how Milk would find it ironic that the focus of gay rights was “preoccupied with serving in the military and getting married” (Jones as quoted by Zamora, 1998). Ammiano cracks that Milk would have liked the Spice Girls, particularly Ginger. More seriously, he comments on how Milk would be handling Jesse Helms and the new religious right (p. A13). The remembrance of Milk in this year’s *Examiner* is more about the legacy of Milk to present day citizens of San Francisco, and less about the tragedy of the assassinations twenty years before. The standard narrative of the assassinations and their cause, proximity to the Jonestown massacre, the “White Night riots,” and White’s eventual suicide after his release from prison, are covered in three very short paragraphs at the very end of Zamora’s (1998) *Examiner* article.

The *San Francisco Chronicle*’s coverage of the 20th anniversary memorial candlelight march and vigil speaks of “unfinished business” (Solis & Schwartz, 1998). While some people talk of gains in LGBTQIA+ rights, others speak about ongoing challenges and the increased importance of coming out in the face of contemporary challenges such as AIDS and the recent Matthew Shepherd murder (p. A21). The overall

tone is one of remembering Milk as inspirational to the continued fight for LGBTQIA+ equal rights.

In the days before the anniversary, the *San Francisco Chronicle* provides a two-part series of articles under the banner of “The Moscone-Milk Killings” with part one on Moscone (Herscher, 1998a), and part two featuring Milk (Herscher, 1998b). Milk’s remembrance is framed as a moment to take stock of the present-day LGBTQIA+ rights movement and positing what Milk might think and do if he was still alive. The article makes use of the remembrance of Milk as a way to summarize gains and losses of the LGBTQIA+ rights movement, and notes Milk’s profound positive effect on the LGBTQIA+ citizens of San Francisco. By affiliation, the citizens of San Francisco could feel proud of their progressive heritage as polls are mentioned that point to Californians’ approval of child custody rights for gay parents (p. A23).

The story of Milk’s life is told by the Herscher (1998b), who also posits what some of Milk’s reactions would be to the present day. This is intermingled with comments and proposals from other local citizens who knew Milk when he was alive. Herscher announces Milk as “the world’s best-known martyr to the cause of lesbian and gay civil rights....and he would be astounded by the visibility of gays today” (p. A23). Milk would have marched in honor of Matthew Shepard, be in Washington demanding attention to the AIDS crisis, and return to the fight against Christian fundamentalists (Herscher, 1998b, p. A23). Milk’s former service in the Navy is linked to his potential reactions to the national “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy and his death to kick-starting the local LGBTQIA+ movement and its representation in local politics (1998b, p. A23).

Milk's work for affordable housing is called up in conjunction with similar issues facing San Franciscans in 1998, and his support of district elections is brought up in conjunction with the decision to return to city district elections in 1999 (p. A23).

The 20th anniversary remembrance of Milk in the mainstream newspapers of San Francisco reminded its citizens of their progressive history through a memory of Milk as a progressive politician. It also reminded its citizenry that they landed on the right side of history as San Francisco noted the importance of LGBTQIA+ rights before AIDS forced the nation to start to come to terms with its societal homophobia. While there were still many issues for the LGBTQIA+ rights movement to tackle, the local newspapers, as the city's collective memory storytellers, wove a Milk memory narrative that could appeal to both its straight and gay 1998 readers.

LGBTQIA+ collective memory was also served by the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *San Francisco Examiner* as they provided remembrance of Milk through regular annual coverage and heightened anniversary coverage of the memorial candlelight march and vigil. This event, although always advertised as a memorial for Moscone and Milk, regularly hosted speakers who knew Milk, many of whom identified somewhere within the LGBTQIA+ spectrum. Coverage of the march and vigil documented the ongoing building of Milk memory within the local LGBTQIA+ community, as the stories they told were reported in both local LGBTQIA+ and mainstream newspapers.

Milk Memory and the Trotting out of Politicians

An interesting layer to local newspaper coverage of Milk memorial and commemorative events is the way in which they report on politicians attending Milk

commemorative events, as if these events had a political attendance sheet and score card. In looking through local newspapers from 1978 through 2013, political attendance at events shift depending on concurrent local issues and elections; it is like reading a “who’s who” of San Francisco left-leaning politics. The LGBTQIA+ press is more likely to call out no-show candidates, particularly Feinstein in her years as Supervisor and then Mayor, who seems to support the gay community, but does so from a conservative, centrist Democratic position.

Candidates for office seeking the “gay vote” also sought the endorsement of former Milk friends and supporters, the closest they could get to an endorsement from beyond the grave. Squabbles about which candidates the gay community should support usually occur in the LGBTQIA+ presses, but when Feinstein’s term as Mayor ended, the endorsement battle spills over into mainstream news. Barabak (1987) of the *San Francisco Chronicle* reports on how a battle “over the political legacy of Harvey Milk” was being waged in the gay community over who Milk would have supported as the new Mayor of San Francisco, California Assemblyman Art Agnos or San Francisco City Supervisor John Molinari” (p. A6).

Barabak (1987) reports that Kronenberg, Milk’s former campaign manager and then aide, wrote a letter in support of Agnos, which was read aloud “amid a collection of Milk campaign memorabilia....More than a half-dozen associates then offered their own memories of Milk....Starting with ‘I first met Harvey,’ they wound up with a pitch for Agnos and a slam against his chief rival....” (p. A6).⁴¹ A letter of support for competitor

⁴¹ Milk actually ran against Agnos for State Assembly in 1976; Agnos won (Friday, 1976).

Molinari was signed by Scott Smith, Milk's former lover, business partner and keeper of Milk's estate, and also signed by Milk's replacement on the board of supervisors, Harry Britt, because they felt Molinari best represented "the principles that Harvey Milk lived and worked for" (letter as quoted by Barabak, 1978, p. A6). The article includes a statement Smith released after the event (said to be drafted with aides from Molinari's campaign): "To use the trappings of Harvey's life and political career as a backdrop of a thinly veiled posthumous endorsement is the most cynical form of political grave robbing" (p. A6). Tom Ammiano, a former Milk associate in the Agnos camp retorts with "I don't think Harvey Milk would be endorsing anybody for mayor if he were still alive...I think he would already be mayor and would probably be seeking a second term" (Ammiano as quoted by Barabak, 1987, p. A6).⁴²

One never-shifting constant within the local mainstream collective memory narrative of Milk is that of Dianne Feinstein, who is forever linked to her presence at, and handling of, the tragedies of November 27, 1978. Local articles on Feinstein that return to that day in some way include her experience of the events of November 27, 1978, whether recounted by Feinstein herself or borrowing from earlier reports. Sometimes this retelling is accompanied by an image of Feinstein at the press conference held the day of the assassinations, announcing the slayings, or an image of her head bowed in silent prayer after she convened a short board meeting as Acting Mayor later that same afternoon (Roberts, 1987). Feinstein would also recount the day's events as her mayoral

⁴² Ammiano would later serve on the Board of Supervisors in 1994 and famously ran for mayor himself in 1999 as a write-in candidate, ending up in a run-off election against incumbent Willie Brown. Ammiano lost, but eventually won a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors and is currently a California State Assemblymember (Epstein & Wildermuth, 1999; tomammiano.com)

term ended (Roberts, 1987), as part of her political biography (Roberts, 1994, pp. 169-173),⁴³ and again in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Moscone/Milk assassinations and the release of the film *Milk* (2008), which concluded with commentary from Feinstein on why she did not intend to see the film:

I think in my face you saw the pain of the day 30 years ago. I still have a hard time returning to it, and I'm not a masochist. I know what happened; I lived those times, and I've tried to learn from them in terms of the kind of public servant I am, and that's really enough for me. (Gordon, 2008).

As mentioned previously, Milk media memoria was often unveiled or revisited around the commemorative dates of Milk's birthday, his election, or his assassination. Some years the local papers allowed coverage of Milk media memoria to accent or even replace their own reporting of why it was important to remember Milk. As Milk media memoria formed and grew, it also took on the role of producing and shaping collective memory of Milk.

⁴³ Feinstein's biographer also covered her for the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the two Roberts cited here are the same person.

CHAPTER 5

GETTING THE STORY OUT AND MILK MEMORY ON THE GROUND

This chapter begins with the release of the first longer-format and mainstream Milk narratives. These memory texts have as their focus Milk's life and legacy, or an element of Milk as part of the story of the assassinations. The chapter then transitions to Milk memory on the ground, the ebb and flow of building local Milk memory from the early years after Milk's assassination up to the early production of *Milk* (2008).

Writing Milk's Life

In addition to the rush to commemorate Milk through local legacy-naming and the ongoing journalistic coverage of the assassinations and their aftermath, there was a rush to see who would have the first book related to the Moscone/Milk assassinations. Randy Shilts, a local freelance reporter, published an extended feature on Milk in the May 1979 issue of *Christopher Street* magazine (Shilts, 1979). According to an interview in the *Los Angeles Times*, Shilts had a contract with St. Martin's based off of that initial article, which turned into the 1982 biography *The Mayor of Castro Street: The Life and Times of Harvey Milk* (Mehren, 1982).

Shilts's (1979) *Christopher Street* feature article, titled "The Life and Death of Harvey Milk," focused on the politics of local gay culture in San Francisco and Milk's disruption of it with his progressive brand of campaigning and insistence of pushing limits. The cover of the magazine featured an image of Milk, with the title of Shilts's article above it. Below the photograph of Milk was the message he left on at least one of

his three taped wills in the event of his assassination: “Let the bullets that rip through my brain smash through every closet door in the nation” (p. 39).

In Shilts's (1979) feature article, Milk is depicted as an outsider who pushed the comfort zone of the established gay power structure and who was very good at getting press attention.⁴⁴ He was able to build a network of grassroots support from organizations that would otherwise pose odd company, and after finally winning his seat, proved to be an active progressive force in City Hall. Milk's assassination provided gay culture a martyr “and with this they attained a respectability that would forever seal them into the mainstream of the city's political life. They had also acquired a bogymen whose memory would make any anti-gay politician in San Francisco immediately suspect” (p. 42). This last part referred to White, who would receive the most press attention in the next five years and lead the focus of many of the additional narratives being produced about the Moscone/Milk assassinations.

Shilts admitted a love for literary journalism and for the episodic storytelling of novelist Michener, in particular (Albert, n.d.; Turner, 1980a; Wills, 1993). While his *Christopher Street* feature demonstrated some of this style, it appears quite restrained when compared to his eventual biography of Milk released a few years later. Shilts's (1982) *The Mayor of Castro Street* received attention as the first gay narrative to break into the mainstream (Mehren, 1982).⁴⁵ While not reaching editor or best-seller lists,

⁴⁴ Shilts (1979) repeatedly refers to Milk's ability to get press attention, his cultivation of relationships with the press, and ability to create press moments as working alongside Milk's drive to make a difference.

⁴⁵ A biography provided by the California Association of Teachers of English claims the book “sold more than 100,000 copies in hardback; 600,000 in paperback,” but the post is undated and numbers were not able to be verified in time for this project (Albert, n.d.).

published mainstream reviews commented positively on how the book revealed the workings of a gay community with Milk as an unlikely hero, a man with flaws (Thompson, 1982; Liebert, 1982). Shilts hoped for a gay book that moved beyond self-help titles of the day, a book that could use biography and individual characters as elements in showing a history of gay life in the United States through the life and times of Harvey Milk (Mehren, 1982; Turner, 1980a/b). While writing the book, Shilts also spoke of how he hoped the work would help right wrongs caused by a 1980 CBS documentary reporting on gay politics in San Francisco (Turner, 1980a, p. 10).⁴⁶

A contemporary read of *The Mayor of Castro Street* can come off as highly dramatic and assumptive, as we are often inside the heads of the characters, including the mind of Harvey Milk. To read the book feels as if one is experiencing this time from the inside, much like reading a novel in which extant threads slowly weave themselves together toward a climactic conclusion. This literary style of non-fiction can also be found in other media memoria of the time that focused on the Dan White trial and aftermath, such as Hinckle's (1979) "Dan White's San Francisco," written for the magazine *Inquiry*, his later short book *Gayslayer!* (1985), and Weiss's massively detailed *Double Play* (1984). All three of these authors were journalists and were present for some part of Milk's life, the assassinations, or the Dan White trial and aftermath.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ This would be *CBS Reports*' "Gay power, Gay Politics." For an in-depth history of this television report and the fight to counter its reporting by gay reporters, see Alwood's (1996) chapter on the topic (pp. 181-196). Alwood's book is also a helpful resource for coverage of gay culture by news media and contextualizing LGBT identity politics within the profession of Journalism.

⁴⁷ Weiss (1984) notes that his decision to write *Double Play* came after Shilts interviewed him for his book on Harvey Milk, after which he was contacted by an editor who asked if he might be interested in writing a book about the trial (p. 419).

It bears noting that Shilts's (1982) biography of Milk becomes the reference for most of the LGBTQIA+ studies and history books reviewed for this dissertation project and was also an oft-recommended source during fieldwork for this project. Participants included that while they felt Shilts's work at times took great license with historical accuracy in favor of drama, they felt it an important depiction of Milk's range as a human, in that Milk was not a simple heroic martyr but a complicated man who could have just as many fits of anger alongside the fits of laughter more often depicted in contemporary commemorative remembrances.⁴⁸ One docent interviewed in 2012 at the GLBT History Museum in San Francisco recalled the book as being part of local public school curriculum.

While Shilts would gain greater acclaim for his later works, *And the Band Played On* (1987), and *Conduct Unbecoming* (1992), *The Mayor of Castro Street* has continued to have a life within mainstream and LGBT popular literature, going to paperback in 1993, republished in 1988 as part of the St. Martin's Press Stonewall Inn Editions series, and in 1993 in as a Penguin paperback.⁴⁹ St. Martin's Press re-released a United States trade paperback in 2008 and Atlantic Books published a trade paperback in England in 2009. The Atlantic Books' publication was packaged to reap benefit from the film *Milk* (2008), the title font used on its cover similar to that of the film, emphasizing Milk's last name in all capital letters, and including a stamp that read: "now an Academy Award

⁴⁸ San Francisco journalist Randy Alfred (1982) wrote a review in the *San Francisco Sentinel* headlined "Milk Bio Flawed," but later explained in an interview (2013) that the title was misleading as it was edited from its original title of "Milk Bio Evocative but Flawed."

⁴⁹ Nicoletta (2012) noted that not many people realize that the first edition was a *chop*, so first editions are difficult to find. It received more publication through the Penguin edition but was still "basically a well-kept secret" for quite some time.

winning film starring Sean Penn” (Shilts, 1982/2009).⁵⁰ Ironically, *The Mayor of Castro Street* (1982) was itself optioned for film adaptation and went through various film script iterations with intermittent reports of stars and directors being attached, but Shilts’s narrative of Milk would not come to fruition on the big screen (“Cruising Producers,” 1980; Zadan, 2004; “Bryan Singer,” 2005; “Two Harvey Milk Films,” 2007).

The other two early print Milk media memoria were narratives of Milk within books that addressed the assassinations and their aftermath, largely attempting to answer public inquiry as to what happened and why it happened. Weiss (1984) had sat in on the White trial as a reporter and decided to write a book after being interviewed by Shilts for the Milk biography (p. 419). Weiss (1984) reported completing over two hundred interviews and examining “tens of thousands of documents” for the completion of his book *Double Play* (p. 419). At the time of this book’s release, the major questions were still “why” did White commit these murders and “how” did he get away with only manslaughter charges?

Moscone, Milk, and White are set up as a sort of literary triad narrative in the first half of the book with Moscone and White’s history in San Francisco receiving most of the attention. In comparison to Moscone and White, Milk was a relative newcomer to town. His narrative within the triad is more about how he comes up in San Francisco as a leader within the homosexual community and local politics despite being an outsider. Shilts (1982) and Weiss (1984) set up Milk as a character who finally determines his purpose and destiny in San Francisco. Weiss describes Milk as “...young, single, gay,

⁵⁰ This is not intended as an exhaustive list but an example of ongoing reprints. Shilts’ (1982) biography of Milk was also translated into other languages.

anti-establishment, and with skills he could sell in the financial center. It was as if he were a bad cubist painting of what would later become, the pieces all there but a certain coherence missing” (p. 31). Describing Milk during his successful campaign for city supervisor, Weiss writes: “He was an outsider’s insider, always picking fights, unfailingly abrasive, the lightning rod for all the fright and anger inside and outside the homosexual minority. If you were gay, and felt abused, Harvey was your leader” (p. 105). Milk is described as jovial and playful (p. 149), as someone who was not afraid to make use of situations for political gain (p. 105), as having a certain savvy with the press (pp. 171-172), and as having the expectation that he would be killed (p. 152).

Shilts (1982) and Weiss (1984) provide similar descriptions of Milk and his narrative in San Francisco. As both projects depended on local interviews conducted within a fairly similar time frame they share similar sources. Weiss’s (2010) second edition of *Double Play* included sourcing for each chapter, in which one can find references to *Mayor of Castro Street* for material on Milk and an overlap of interview sources (pp. 474-466). The first edition of *Double Play* (1984) ends with White in jail. The second edition remains largely the story of the assassinations and White’s trial, but the additional material includes White’s suicide, new information discovered about White’s intent the day of the assassinations, and a chance for Weiss to reflect on the long term effects of the assassinations.⁵¹ Weiss (2010) writes:

⁵¹ In the original edition, the assassinations are eventually understood as coming out of White’s feelings of personal and political betrayal by Moscone and Milk, combined with his undiagnosed emotional psychological challenges. In the 2010 edition, Weiss had new information that White intended to also kill Willie Brown (then California Assemblyman) and Milk’s colleague Carol Ruth Silver, before killing himself (p. 461). The second edition also changes its subtitle from “The San Francisco City Hall Killings” to “The Hidden Passions Behind the Double Assassination of George Moscone and Harvey Milk” (p. 465).

...the biggest change Dan White wrought was unintended: the acceptance of gay people here, and in many other places across the country, was inspired in part by the martyrdom of Harvey Milk. In death, Harvey's influence grew far greater than he had any reason to expect it would be had he lived. (p. 467).

Weiss adds to this the media memoria created about Milk that are of note, in particular the documentary, an opera, and the then-recent film biopic. Weiss (2010) concludes his update on Milk:

It's a testament to unintended consequences that although Dan White did not kill Harvey Milk because he was gay, the assassination of a courageous and pioneering leader galvanized the movement and assured Harvey's place in history. Dan White is all but forgotten, George Moscone has his name on a convention center and a playground where he passed part of his youth, but Harvey will live forever. (p. 468).

In talking about Milk's memory as legacy, Weiss simultaneously validates the importance of his book while simultaneously recontextualizing Milk as a legend living beyond his original narrative.

Hinkle's *Gayslayer!* (1985) takes an insider San Franciscan's view of the tragedies – both the assassinations and the White trial – within the context of a history of violence and paranoia in Northern California in the 1970s. Hinkle reports his version of the events in the first half of the book and then provides a fictional version of the events from White's perspective. In between the two sections of the book is a pictorial interlude of photographs from Milk's estate, with hand-written commentary by Milk's former lover and executor of his estate, Scott Smith (pp. 51-68). The layout of images and writing take on the format of a personal photo scrapbook. Smith's writing narrates the photographs, many of which are credited to Milk himself, described as an avid photo-taker. There are snapshots of their camera store, of vacations, of former lovers, of Gay Freedom Day

activities, of bearded drag queens posing in the streets. There are snapshots of Milk with his dogs, of Milk clowning around in an early Gay Day Parade, and Milk's high school yearbook photograph. The last photo featured Milk seated at Moscone's office desk. Its photographer, Daniel Nicoletta, provided handwritten notes about this particular day in Milk's life:

Harvey as Mayor, when George was out of town, I must reminisce that for the short while the handful of us that were there witnessed something not unlike the Marx Brothers at the Mayor's office. Harvey would suggest various appointments to give us, and we became particularly awed by the Mayor's built-in paper shredder. (p. 68)

The narration provides a light look at Milk's humor but the photograph, featuring Milk looking off camera as he raises paperwork to sign, leaves the impression of what might have come to pass, had White not accomplished his task.

Hinkle's (1985) *Gayslayer!* was published by a small press and not reprinted; it is difficult to find a copy today. Still, it had its time and holds a place in San Franciscan history with locals still recommending the text as a unique take on the events of that time from an author who is distinctly San Franciscan. There were other media memoria produced for public audiences that leave only traces today, mostly through newspaper mentions found in databases and archives. The ones that survive to have a life, either through continued availability or enough support to merit local lore, seem to involve some direct connection of its creator to San Francisco or to research conducted with people who knew Milk. Such was the case with Emily Mann's play *Execution of Justice*, which was based on the trial and local stories, commissioned in San Francisco and performed on stages around the United States to much critical acclaim (Mann,

1983/1986), and Schmiechen and Epstein's (1984) documentary *The Life and Times of Harvey Milk*, which went on to win an Academy Award and is discussed in greater length in the next chapter.

Milk Memory on the Ground

While the local mainstream newspapers participated as the collective memory storytellers for the general public and the first mainstream memory narratives were being worked upon, behind the scenes a small group of friends and former associates of Milk were working to ensure Milk memory would be ongoing. These people saw to it that items from Milk's estate were preserved and that Milk's accumulated election campaign debts were paid. Ads in the *Bay Area Reporter* were taken out by "The Friends of Supervisor Harvey Milk" asking for donations to help pay the \$30,000 debt Milk left behind ("This Man," 1979a, 1979b). Milk's former lover Scott Smith inherited Milk's estate and was committed to creating an archive. Friends gathered to help. Daniel Nicoletta spoke to this process in an interview conducted for this dissertation:

My commitment was organically based in the sense that there was an authentic mentorship and then there was trauma around the loss of one of the two men that mentored me, and then the second survivor, who was Scott Smith, who was Harvey's lover and ex-lover at that point but the executor of the estate, his mourning process was very enmeshed with the positing of the legacy of history in a tangible way. And he was responding to movement in culture to do that. So he took it upon himself to be the vessel for that and he did a brilliant job at that but he was completely OCD about it, which I came to recognize, over time, was his way of coping with the trauma. (Nicoletta, 2012)

There was a core of nine to ten people who worked on the archive:

It was not dissimilar to Harvey's own life. It was completely chaotic and you know, messy, but basically the impulse was we had this great estate of papers, we're gonna organize it, we're going to identify who the people

in the photographs are, and we did that for months. We sat around that table and fortunately we did ID and caption and we additionally started fundraising. We did four newsletters. We did a couple street fair booths and that type of thing. The goal was to form a nonprofit, but we never did formalize it. Basically we just wanted to hang out and process the material and provide it to researchers – the writers of the opera and the playwright Emily Mann – all sorts of people were passing through Scott's apartment at that point and mine to a lesser degree. Randy Shilts was the most prominent. Scott got some compensation from Randy for some first drafts, not of the book but the later screenplays.

When Scott died he left the papers to his Mom. So just to zoom forward they sat fallow for a long time and finally we held her hand and got her to sign off on both the papers to the Hormel and the ephemera to the GLBT Historical Society. They split, I think to honor some documentation Scott had left. (Nicoletta, 2012)

Nicoletta views his work with the Milk archives and his work as a documentary photographer of the local LGBTQIA+ movement as something that he was cultivated to do by Milk and other mentors of his time. He explained that it was almost as if they knew the cultural zeitgeist they were in and so they mentored him and other young people to document what was happening around them. Nicoletta recalled how Milk mentored him right from his first day on the job at Castro Camera, when Milk handed Nicoletta a few rolls of film to go cover the street fair outside instead of staying in to learn the fundamentals of the store. Nicoletta's commitment is indicative of the type of responsibility felt by people who were close friends and associates of Milk, and were affected by the tragedy of his assassination.

When there is a local Milk memory project, either a person who knew Milk or a local politician is usually involved in some way. Jim Rivaldo and Dick Pabich, Milk's campaign consultants, contributed a chapter to *The New Gay Liberation Book* in 1979

titled “Learning from Harvey.”⁵² In it, the two authors use Milk’s story to “spell out clearly the new course gay politics must take” (p. 208) and his life an example for “how far gay people have come and how much one concerned individual can do in his or her lifetime” (p. 211). Friend David Pasko typed up his memories of Milk, which he contributed to Smith’s Harvey Milk Archives. In it he voiced concern over the tour buses making their way to the Castro, and “a conceited attempt to whitewash his [Milk’s] character” (Pasko, 1980). Pasko typed up 16 single-spaced pages of his memories of Milk drinking and laughing, and of Milk’s indefatigable service to all sorts of events and issues (Pasko, 1980). Friends were leaving nothing to chance. Each in their own way was contributing to the future legacy of Milk.

The Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club (HMGDC) celebrated Milk’s birthday every year, usually in conjunction with fundraising or membership activities.⁵³ For what would have been Milk’s 50th birthday in 1980, Scott Smith and photographer Crawford Barton presented a slide show of images of Milk.⁵⁴ It was an HMGDC fundraising dinner with guest speaker Jane Fonda. Heymont (1980) reported for the *Bay Area Reporter*:

People were treated to fond memories of Harvey dressed as a clown, Harvey romping with a dog, and Harvey stumping in the streets. The poignant shots left few dry eyes in the crowd as people remembered a beloved friend whose spirit lives on, but whose twinkle no longer brightens our days. (p. 5)

⁵² Pabich was also Milk’s aide in City Hall.

⁵³ This is still a practice of the HMGDC to this day.

⁵⁴ It is possible that Guy Corry also contributed to the slide show, as his name is included for similar slide shows in subsequent years.

Also noted was how many political candidates were in attendance, handing out materials; the gay vote continued to resonate in San Francisco (p. 5). Smith continued working to build the Milk Archive during these years, appearing at events such as the HMGDC dinner, or putting together displays about Milk's legacy for other events (Koskovich, 2012). The HMGDC continued to honor Milk on or near his birthday in May and the annual memorial candlelight march and vigil allowed for remembrance and attention to local issues each November.

The gay center that was to bear Milk's name did not materialize ("Gay Center Plans," 1980) but a local branch of the public library was dedicated to Milk the week of his birthday in 1981 ("Harvey Milk Week," 1981). The *Bay Area Reporter* produced a special 16-page Milk commemorative supplement that featured Milk birthday and commemorative events for the week along with sponsored birthday wish ads to Milk from friends, businesses and especially political candidates ("The 1981 Celebration," 1981). A photo spread was included that promoted a slide exhibition of Harvey images to be shown at a Milk birthday reception at City Hall (pp. 8-9). Jim Rivaldo (1981) provided the Milk narrative, an uplifting recollection of Milk's life, what he loved, and what he did for the city of San Francisco and the gay movement. In the article Rivaldo noted the straight press liked to remind readers that Milk was there for a variety of San Francisco's citizens and not just the gay community, but gay readers needed to remember that gay rights and freedoms were forefront in Milk's goals. Rivaldo concluded: "Harvey helped lead us closer to freedom. It's up to us now to travel the rest of the way" (p. 7). Just the previous November the HMGDC would call upon the memory of Milk's close ties with

the Asian-American community in San Francisco (Lorch, 1980). The fact that Milk collected support from a broad swath of minority constituencies during his life made it possible for his name to be called back and forth across this broad list for purposes of inspiring support.

As mentioned previously in this dissertation, Shilts received local and some national press coverage in 1982 for his biography of Milk. This was also the year Smith garnered attention as “the Widow Milk” when he was awarded survivor’s benefits from the city of San Francisco (Brown, 1982; “Milk Widow on KGO,” 1982). In 1983 Smith lent articles from the archive to the first “official” exhibit of the gay and lesbian history museum, which was just getting off the ground with temporary exhibits at various locations. Featured items included the letters Milk had in his breast pocket when shot, shorn by the bullets that went into his body (Soiffer, 1983).⁵⁵ The HMGDC, which started to be referred to locally as simply the “Milk Club,” sponsored their annual Milk birthday dinner, featuring a visit from Congresswoman Barbara Boxer, who had helped secure major funds for AIDS research. The evening also featured a partial screening of the documentary Epstein was working on (Friday, 1983).

While 1984 and 1985 featured positive coverage of Epstein’s documentary in the mainstream press, celebrating its critical acclaim, the haunt of AIDS hung over much of the news related to Milk as the birthday celebrations and memorial marches included

⁵⁵ Gerard Koskovich (2012), historian, worked with some of the early exhibitions linked to the GLBT historical society in San Francisco. He recalled quite a few temporary displays and exhibitions leading up to the one reported here. There was even a small temporary display at the county fair. He noted that it was highly likely Milk material was incorporated into these exhibitions, which featured a sampling of different artifacts related to gay culture. Milk’s suit made appearances at future exhibitions, but at this point it was still tied up in evidence with the San Francisco police department (Hinckle, 1984).

activism for greater AIDS research funding. Harvey Milk Plaza, located at Market and Castro Streets, was dedicated in 1985 along with a plaque commemorating Harvey Milk (White, 1985). The first school to be renamed after Harvey Milk would be in New York, not San Francisco. Harvey Milk High School was established in 1985 as part of an at-risk educational project with New York City Department of Education (hmi.org). In spite of these movements, Milk memory building slowed a bit. Anne Kronenberg commented:

There was a long lull and during that period of time where Harvey certainly wasn't forgotten because the documentary was made and the book came out there was still almost a reticence to identify too closely with him. He was not ready for prime time. (Kronenberg, 2012).

Milk might not have been ready for primetime, but artists in San Francisco were working toward ensuring his image would endure. A renovation that occurred during the years 1986-1988 of the Monadnock Building at 685 Market Street included murals by the famed Evans and Brown Company. The East wall of the foyer still depicts Milk alongside other local historical figures, all decked out in Renaissance costuming, the style inspired by the architecture of the building (monadnocksf.com).

The most unusual image of Milk completed during this time might be Robert Lentz's icon painting of Harvey Milk, completed in 1987. Lentz, a member of the Order of Franciscan Monks, lived in San Francisco during the 1980s and was deeply affected by his life experiences there (Lentz, 2003, p. 144). In writing about this particular icon painting for a later book publication of his work, Lentz told the story of Harvey Milk as a person who "fought consistently for the rights of all of those without a voice," and the outpouring of San Franciscans attending the candlelight vigil on the night of his assassination (p. 55). Lentz describes the icon:

In this icon, he holds a candle, keeping vigil himself for the oppressed of the world. He wears a black armband with a pink triangle. This was a Nazi symbol for homosexuals, and it represents all those who have been tortured or killed because of cultural fears regarding human sexuality. Their number continues to grow with each passing year, and the compassionate Christ continues to say, “Whatever you did to the least of my brothers and sisters, you did to me.” (Lentz, 2003, p. 56).

Lentz seems to address not only Milk and the persecution of LGBTQIA+ people in the past, but the continued loss of gay men due to inattention to the AIDS epidemic. The Lentz icon rises up from time to time, particularly in reference of Milk as a Saint. It continues to have a life as a religious artwork represented by a dealer of religious art, in spite of the internal religious controversy it reportedly inspired (robertlentz.com, 2015).⁵⁶

Johanna Poethig’s giant color mural depicting images of Milk on the side of the Harvey Milk Recreation Center was dedicated in 1988, and it was also not without its own dramatic controversy. The mural included images of Milk riding in the Gay Freedom Day Parade with flowers around his neck, and Milk as a clown when he volunteered to be made up by the visiting Ringling Bros. circus. The mural was inspired by conversations Poethig had with Scott Smith, and some images that reminded her of her friend Rick, who had AIDS. It was he who inspired the giant blooming dahlia blossom out of which the figures of Milk seem to float out toward the viewer (johannapoethig.wordpress.com). Some people felt the mural should have been in the Castro and not in neighboring Duboce Park. Others felt it was hidden from view and not on the best available real estate of the building for public visibility (White, 1988). In its planning stages Deputy Mayor

⁵⁶ The icon is distributed by Trinity Stores Religious Artwork & Icons (trinitystores.com). This is not to encourage purchase, but for the curious reader who would like to experience how contemporary icon work is commercially distributed. One can order the icon as a traditional framed print, wall plaque, or holy card. One can also order the work printed on a coffee mug, t-shirt, or sweatshirt.

Rotea Gilford claimed it was too large and too much in view; he could see it from his home, which he did not like (Chung, 1987). Tommy Harris, a member of the Parks and Planning Committee claimed the image would “overwhelm the park” (Gordon, 1987).

A rendering of Poethig’s mural appeared in a local arts exhibit in 1987 that focused on Milk and featured his election memorabilia and some personal artifacts, allegedly including Milk’s ponytail (Liberatore, 1987). Poethig talked about the mural years later in her blog, how hard she had to fight to gain permissions, how it shifted walls to satisfy Gilford, how rainbow flag originator Gilbert Baker and a sister from the Sisters of Perpetual Indulgence had made her “a huge purple curtain with polka dot trim” for the mural’s unveiling. The mural would be lost due to lack of maintenance funding and a remodel of the center years later, replaced with a plaque in its place featuring an image of the mural and noting its former location (johannapoethig.wordpress.com).

The local elementary school that would eventually bear Milk’s name was also a battle, parents “saying that the urge to commemorate Milk was getting out of hand and that a change would disrupt tradition” (Asimov, 1989).⁵⁷ An article in the *San Francisco Sentinel* was more forthcoming, with Tom Ammiano speaking of his experience presenting the proposal at a PTA meeting and parents responding with “homophobic arguments” against having Milk’s name on the school (Anderson, 1989a). A few weeks later the cover story of the *Sentinel* heralded the change of the Castro neighborhood. “Harvey Milk talked about wanting to make the Castro an integrated neighborhood. Harvey would have been pleased” (Anderson, 1989b, p. 8). An editorial in the same issue

⁵⁷ The San Francisco school board eventually renamed the school for Harvey Milk in 1996 (Asimov & Wallace, 1996).

spoke about how the Castro was badly hit by AIDS, and the neighborhood needed help dealing with issues of parking, homelessness, and drugs, alongside preservation and reclaiming its gay heritage:

Since the Milk days, the Castro has been OUR neighborhood. It's time to look forward to the 90s and shape our destiny, and that of the Castro. Whether we live in the Castro or not, the emotional, political and social ties are there and all of us should have a say in its destiny.
("The Castro," p. 7)

The AIDS epidemic had a tremendous impact on San Francisco and the energies of its LGBTQIA+ citizens and allies. In the peak years of the early 1990s, the AIDS epidemic in San Francisco was claiming as many as 2,400 lives per year (Fernandez, 2008). Further building on the memory of Milk continued through the 1990s but it happened slowly under the shadow of the AIDS epidemic, which in addition to activism for medical research and care had new issues to fight for such as partner/survivor rights and benefits. That year's annual Milk/Moscone candlelight march and vigil was reported as celebrating movement in that area ("Candlelight March," 1990).

Through some parts of the 1980s and early 1990s there was talk of building a monument to Milk in Washington D.C. but the plans were put on hold, citing in part "the gay community's preoccupation with the AIDS epidemic" (Liebert, 1990). Work toward this project continued on and off for years, Fernandez (1992) reporting: "Some 50 memorial designs were submitted at one point or another for the memorial, ranging from a modernist pink triangle to a statue of Milk opening a closet door" (p. B3). That D.C. memorial project would never materialize. In 1991, *The Harvey Milk Show*, a small musical about Harvey Milk with book and lyrics by Dan Pruitt and music by Patrick

Hutchison, premiered during a local theater festival in Atlanta (Glaser, 1996), followed by brief runs in Chicago (Bommer, 1993), a return to Atlanta for a special staging during the 1996 Olympics (Glaser, 1996), an engagement at Source Theatre in Washington D. C. (Rose, 1997), and a return to Atlanta in 2009 (Harris, M). While reviews for the musical were mixed with most of its positive reviews coming from its home base of Atlanta, the musical merits mention for its ability to return to the stage over the years. Not much has been written critically about the musical within the theater or music recording industry. A soundtrack CD was released in 1996 (Pruitt & Hutchison, 1996)

Back in San Francisco, a 1992 march was uncharacteristically organized and carried out on Milk's birthday, linking Milk's fight for civil rights and the White Night riots to protests and related riots in Los Angeles after the Rodney King beatings. Organizers connected the celebration of Milk's birthday (May 22) with that of Malcolm X (May 19), strengthening the bond of gay rights to civil rights (Timoner, 1992). During this time there was also still talk toward the creation of a movie based on Shilts's (1982) biography of Milk. Warner Bros. was reported as optioning the book and Oliver Stone was associated with the project (Wilson, 1990). Controversy arose when the local LGBTQIA+ community found out the adaptation was considering Robin Williams for the role of Harvey Milk (Levy, 1992; Warren, 1992). This discovery added onto already-present skepticism of Stone, whose film *JFK* was not well received by LGBTQIA+ media watchdogs, and other recent depictions of the LGBT community in Hollywood films that were seen largely as negative (Jennings, 1991; Marx, 1991; Levy, 1992). Gus Van Sant was in talks to direct the film but eventually bowed out, noting in a *Bomb*

interview that the script “lacked humanity” and “Harvey wasn’t funny in the script; in real life he was hilarious. He was corny. He had a lot of depth. I couldn’t personally do that script; the film would have been a cliché” (Indiana & Van Sant, 1993). The film project continued to be on hold. Shilts, who died in 1994 from AIDS, would not live to see a Hollywood film adaptation of his novel (Grimes, 1994).

In 1993, during the 15th anniversary of the assassinations, a small plaque was installed in front of Milk and Smith’s former Castro Camera shop at 575 Castro Street (Astudillo, 1993). For the next few years, although there are records of smaller projects such as James Patrick Kennedy’s one-man theatre project *You Gotta Give ‘Em Hope* (McMillan, 1995), Milk memory building would largely depend on an outside project – an opera based on Harvey Milk, announced in 1994 as a project commissioned by the San Francisco Opera, Houston Grand Opera and New York City Opera (Kosman, 1994).

The opera followed a trend of operas based on public figures such as Nixon, Malcolm X, and Marilyn Monroe (Kosman, 1994, p. D1). Composer Stewart Wallace and librettist Michael Korie were commissioned to create the opera. Korie was a former journalist and he commented in an *Opera News* feature that during research discovered that people did not quite remember Milk, or they confused him with the man who was in the press more often, Milk’s assassin Dan White. For Korie, this indicated that the “time was ripe for reinvention of Harvey Milk’s legacy of hope” (von Buchau, 1995, p. 9).

Korie noted:

Harvey Milk is a perfect subject for an opera, a heroic figure who transforms himself, who takes a moral stance, who effects change and who dies for his beliefs. He was also a theatrical, demonstrative man who showed people, not just in San Francisco, that coming out of the closet was

not just a liberating, feel-good thing but a political act that would improve the lives of non-gays as well. (Korie, as quoted by von Buchau, 1995, p. 9)

Korie concludes at the end of the article:

By the end of the piece we try to show that the Harvey Milk story is more than a yellowing headline about political assassination. It is really a story of hope, his favorite word.... After what I saw reporting gay rights activities as a journalist, and what I relived while gathering material for this libretto, it does seem that since Milk's death we have gone backward. Yet hope is not just a political buzzword. If it could happen before, it can happen again. Harvey Milk knew that hope really means hard work. (Korie, as quoted by von Buchau, p. 35).

There was no publicly available full-length moving image artifact of the opera itself or full script that was available for study related to this dissertation project. What is left are photographs, a soundtrack, and a great deal of coverage in a variety of newspapers and industry periodicals in the form of reviews and commentary. The *buzz* of the opera might have had a greater impact than viewing the opera itself, in giving Milk memory the shot in the arm it needed. The articles reviewing the Houston and New York premieres of the opera and later reviews of the soundtrack could not help but incorporate narrative about Milk's life as they described the narrative of the opera itself. (Davis, 1995; Moor, 1995; Rothstein, 1995; Schwarz, 1995; Clum, 1996). While the reviews for the opera were mixed at best, they nevertheless provided an opportunity taken by many writers to reintroduce Harvey Milk to the public.⁵⁸ The opera performances were described as rich with symbolism, flashy camp characters, and stage design. This combination lent itself well to dramatic and rich description that was then counterpointed with Milk's life.

⁵⁸ One reviewer of the opera's soundtrack in 1998, referred to the opera in hindsight as "an honorable failure (Schiff, 1998)."

The coverage of the opera, although often limited to arts sections of newspapers and periodicals, was longer and more in-depth than the coverage of any previous Milk media memoria. It also allowed for a more Jewish Milk, incorporating more Jewish symbolism than previous and future narratives of Milk. There were references to gay persecution in the Holocaust linked to the importance of the Holocaust as one of the drivers of Milk's activism. Milk was symbolized as Moses. The opera incorporated the Kaddish, the Jewish prayer for the dead (Blumenthal, 1995; Kosman, 1995). The fact that the Milk narrative had come to opera, long a cultural mecca for gay men (and Milk himself), also was not overlooked. Holland's (1995) review in particular spoke to how the opera was long overdue, given the strength of the gay community with the production and consumption of the opera medium.

The opera was revised for its San Francisco debut. "Welcome home, 'Harvey Milk'," read the *San Francisco Chronicle* headline, the reporter feeling a particular thrill seeing the opera in its narrative home while quickly thereafter noting: "That said, no one would mistake 'Harvey Milk' for a great opera" (Kosman, 1996, p. E1). This was a theme similar to many local reviewers, not being able to commit to a positive review within the context of opera, but reacting positively to the attempt to bring Milk to life as a larger-than-life operatic character (Elliot, 1996; Kosman, 1996; Pfaff, 1996; Thompson, 1996). The opera ran through November 30, which allowed for a special performance held on the night of the annual memorial candlelight march and vigil. It was scheduled to start after the vigil ended. Local Milk memory was starting to churn again.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ It is difficult to resist this statement after reading the headlines "Got Milk? (Elliott, 1996)" and "Milk Dud (Thompson, 1996)," both used for local reviews of the Milk opera."

The battle to rename the local elementary school in the Castro after Milk was finally won in 1996, although *San Francisco Chronicle* reporters noted it was not with support from all parents of children attending the school (Asimov & Wallace, 1996). Courses were offered through the newly formed *Harvey Milk Institute* in San Francisco, described in a *Bay Area Reporter* article as “the world’s largest gay and lesbian studies institute (Schwartz, 1996).”⁶⁰

The former *Elephant Walk* bar and restaurant at 500 Castro, Street, one of the bars subjected to police retaliation in the form of gay beatings after the White Night riots, had closed in 1988 after a fire (harveyssf.com, 2017a).⁶¹ It re-opened in 1996 as a new restaurant/bar called *Harvey’s*. The bar, still open today, features photographs of Milk and brochures describing the importance of Harvey Milk in the Castro. For many years this location was where both straight and LGBTQIA+ tourists would discover the story of Harvey Milk.⁶² The bar’s website declares its mission one aligned with Milk, who was a local merchant who never shied away from community needs. To this end *Harvey’s* works not only to spread the word about Harvey Milk but also to raise money for various local organizations (harveyssf.com, 2017b).

1996 was also the year Donald Eckert started his *Uncle Donald’s Castro Street* website, a site of all things Castro (thecastro.net).⁶³ For many years *Uncle Donald’s*

⁶⁰ The institute does not exist today.

⁶¹ The *Elephant Walk* has another eerie connection to Milk. It originally opened on November 27, 1974, exactly four years to the date before Milk was assassinated (harveyssf.com).

⁶² While I did not discover Milk at *Harvey’s*, the visit there with friends and colleagues described at the start of this dissertation did have a role in swaying me toward this dissertation project.

Castro Street may have been the most publicly accessible location for material related to the life and memory of Harvey Milk. While its 1990s garish web design appearance can be off-putting at first, it is a treasure trove of photographs documenting Milk and some Milk-related memorial activities, particularly as they pertain to the Castro. In a discussion of Milk twenty years after his assassination, Eckert (1998) features a painting by mural artist Josef Norris in which Milk appears to be looking down from his apartment window above Castro Camera. The mural, painted on the Castro Camera building, greets visitors to this day. Although the Castro was evolving, it was simultaneously cementing its historical connection to Harvey Milk.

Bob Kelley received funding from the San Francisco Arts Commission to curate an online image exhibition from slides in the Harvey Milk Archives-Scott Smith Collection for the 1998 anniversary of the assassinations. The exhibition was titled “Harvey Milk, Second Sight.” It included only twelve images, most of them personal snapshots of Milk’s former lovers or early images of Milk. Many of these were intimate images, not yet seen with captions that told their stories. The caption for an image of Scott Smith, for example, spoke about how Smith spiraled into a deep depression and resent after Milk’s assassination, “saddled with Milk’s debts but none of the recognition” (Kelley, 1998). The slides return to a more standard Milk narrative with Milk in front of Castro Camera. A photograph taken by Crawford Barton pictured the Civic Center crowd that was at Milk’s famous 1978 Gay Freedom Day speech, 375,000 strong. Within a

⁶³ Eckert passed away in 2016, but his site is maintained in his memory (thecastro.net).

contemporary context it may seem somewhat limited, but it has also survived in ways that other exhibitions have not, and offers a glimpse into a more personal Harvey Milk.

Local PBS station KQED produced a series titled *Neighborhoods: The hidden cities of San Francisco*. The Castro was one of their featured neighborhoods and its episode aired nationally on PBS in June, 1998, as part of Gay Pride month programming (kqed.org). The description of the episode read:

Out of the heart of San Francisco comes an epic story that is at once poignant and controversial -- a tale of social upheaval, political assassination, and devastating plague -- all happening within a few square blocks, and in just a few short years. (kqed.org)

The DVD of the episode provided this description: “The true story of the neighborhood Harvey Milk made famous...from its earliest days to what he helped it become” (Stein, 1997). The episode won a Peabody and a CINE Golden Eagle Award (kqed.org).

In addition to local mainstream reporting on the 20th anniversary of the assassinations in 1998, the *Bay Area Reporter* also took a long look at Milk through two articles that ran side-by-side: “Who he was” by Milk’s friend and *Bay Area Reporter* colleague Wayne Friday (1998), and “Who he has become” by Jonathan Katz (1998), who at that time headed the Harvey Milk Institute. Friday spoke about how Milk was at Friday’s house the night before he was assassinated to celebrate Friday’s birthday over a meal. Milk invited Friday to come to City Hall the next morning for the swearing in of White’s replacement, promising Friday the 49er tickets he received as a supervisor for Friday’s belated birthday gift. Instead, Friday received a call from Carol Ruth Silver informing him of Milk’s murder.

Friday's article spoke to what he did the day he heard, how people came together at Milk's apartment (then on Henry Street), how there was a spontaneous memorial of candles and flowers on the steps. Friday then moved to remembering and describing the various moments he spent with Milk, the kind of personal, detailed stories one would hear at a funeral or wake when attempting to remember and process loss, that moment when one is trying to hang onto what rang true about someone before those memories are forgotten. In sharing this personal memory with LGBTQIA+ readers, Friday shared a memory with markers that could become their own, as a community. He inserted his own story into the larger narrative of Milk's assassination, providing locations readers would recognize enough to be able to insert themselves as part of the story. The markers were the Castro, City Hall, and other gay or gay-friendly bars and restaurants Friday mentioned as Milk's late night hangouts (p. 21). Friday, like many of Milk's friends and contemporaries who were not also politicians, also took time to describe Milk "warts and all," including reminders that Milk was not a perfect leader and martyr, but a man who was complicated, and at times even difficult to like. By this time Milk memory was starting to smooth out Milk's actual rough edges, like river water shaping a rough rock. Friday's article attempted to hold onto parts of Milk that were human as Milk continued to be shaped into a memory icon in service to not only local LGBTQIA+ activism, but San Franciscan progressivism, and the national LGBTQIA+ rights movement.

Katz (1998) boldly claimed that Milk without the drama of his assassination might have remained only locally important. He noted that while Milk was achieving political goals locally for his constituencies; news of Milk outside of San Francisco when

was alive was minimal. He was mostly considered a San Franciscan oddity. Milk's martyrdom also benefited from how short his career was. This brevity simplified Milk's story and avoided the blemishes that would come with time. The compact story of Harvey Milk's rise to LGBTQIA+ leadership followed by his sudden assassination made it easier to turn him into a symbol for the larger LGBTQIA+ community. Katz, not in San Francisco at the time of the assassinations, spoke about how Milk's murder reverberated not just across the U.S. but also internationally. Milk's story inspired LGBTQIA+ communities to work toward becoming political constituencies. The figure of Harvey Milk became a much-needed symbol for LGBTQIA+ movements (p. 20). Katz continued on to address what he felt was lost with Milk's death, which was the legacy of progressivism in San Franciscan politics that was swept aside after the assassinations.

The essays from Friday (1998) and Katz (1998), along with local Milk memory projects, demonstrate the different agendas of collective memory communities at this time. Parts of the local LGBTQIA+ memory community worked to memorialize Milk and make use of him for their present-day needs while simultaneously attempting to retain what actual memories they still had left of him. The Castro neighborhood, hit hard by AIDS deaths and the challenges of its aftermath, was transitioning. It worked toward anchoring their LGBTQIA+ history through steady legacy-naming and memorial projects that would anchor Milk to their neighborhood. Local memory of Milk remembered and celebrated him as leader of the local LGBTQIA+ community, which continued to grow as an important voter constituency after his death. Local Democratic and progressive politicians worked off of Milk's memory to try to regain support for a more left-leaning

and progressive San Francisco political structure. Nationally and internationally Milk's name was getting known, but still mostly within LGBTQIA+ communities. Cloud (1998) wrote a feature article for the *Advocate*, by then a national LGBTQIA+ magazine, remarking on the importance of remembering Milk as part of LGBTQIA+ history. As one of his concluding thoughts he spoke of how "Milk's assassination means we can evaluate him in the warm light of the pre-AIDS past" but how that also meant that his memory might seem "prehistoric" for younger people (n.p.). Cloud promoted the narrative of Milk as a breath of fresh air that might help post-AIDS exhaustion.⁶⁴ Here Milk became a simpler symbol of leadership and sacrifice made as part of the overall fight for LGBTQIA+ rights, a fight that as the decade closed, was beginning to be forgotten by younger LGBTQIA+ members as AIDS moved from epidemic to backdrop, with greater visibility of LGBTQIA+ culture starting to bud in the mainstream. As for ongoing LGBTQIA+ rights issues, time previously given to the emergency epidemic of AIDS could return to stabilizing long-term goals for LGBTQIA+ movements. It was likely that the memory narrative of Milk that included an emphasis on coming out, pride in being gay, and the power of the gay vote, might have a place in this post-AIDS, post-gay 90s environment. It might, that is, if it could continue to be carried forward.

This transition into the 21st century was assisted when Milk was selected as one of *Time* magazine's "100 most influential persons of the 20th Century" ('Persons of the Century,' 1999). With this simple event Milk was marked as worthy of mainstream memory as his name was listed with Anne Frank, Rosa Parks, Che Guevara, Mother

⁶⁴ Cloud's (1998) title of "Why Milk is Still Fresh" also points to this goal for his article.

Teresa and fifteen other persons that rounded out the magazine's category of "Heroes and Icons" (p. 8). An essay later in the issue introduces the "Heroes and Icons" section of the magazine, noting the importance of this category:

We need our heroes to give meaning to time. Human existence, in the words of T.S. Eliot, is made up of 'undisciplined squads of emotion,' and to articulate our 'general mess of imprecision of feeling' we turn to heroes and icons—the nearly sacred modules of humanity with which we parse and model our lives. As the fifth installment in our selection of the 100 most important people of the century, *TIME* has chosen a score who articulate the longings of the time they lived in. (Chua-Eoan, 1999, p. 69)

The reporter selected to write about Milk for the issue was none other than John Cloud, who was at this time a reporter for *TIME*. Cloud's (1999) narrative of Milk for *TIME* is written for a more mainstream audience who might need guidance understanding why Milk's identity as an out gay politician would be considered heroic. Cloud also calls upon Shilts's (1982) biography to go back to Milk's life prior to San Francisco, noting Milk's military service and career on Wall Street, and his childhood in New York, broadening Milk's identity and location. Cloud closes by contextualizing Milk back with the LGBTQ rights movement, pondering what Milk's leadership might have achieved had his life not been shortened by those bullets. "He could have guided gay America through the confused start of the AIDS horror. Instead, he remains frozen in time, a symbol of what gays can accomplish and the dangers they face in doing so" (p. 184).

Toward the end of 1999 Emily Mann's play was adapted into a Showtime movie, which premiered in 1999 around the anniversary of the assassinations. Local coverage of the television movie *Execution of Justice* (Daly, Burleigh, & Ichaso, 1999) in the *San Francisco Chronicle* concentrated on the portrayal of White in the movie and

remembering the real Dan White. Tim Daly as White and Peter Coyote as Milk received good reviews (Carman, 1999, p. C9).⁶⁵ Daly spoke to how the story had particular relevance to the present day as White represented white men who did not feel a part of a changing America (Rubin, 1999, p. C8). Rubin interviewed contemporaries of White, who expressed sadness at his story, and contemporaries of Milk, who returned the focus to Milk and the importance of his sacrifice (pp. C8-9).

Local memory communities continued to push for markers of Milk to be placed around San Francisco. If proposal was within the confines of the Castro there was a better chance of approval (Kronenberg, 2012). The building that housed Castro Camera and Milk's former apartment was approved as a city landmark #272 in 2000 (noehill.com). In 2001 Kari Krakow released *The Harvey Milk Story*, an illustrated children's book recommended for ages 6-9 ("The Harvey Milk Story," 2001). Krakow places Milk within the context of learning how to understand the struggle gay people go through when they cannot be who they are, and the role Milk played in working toward greater equality for the LGBTQIA+ community. The book touches upon Dan White and the Milk/Moscone assassinations and the first candlelight march that followed, but instead of ending there the book ends the following year with people marching with Milk's photo at the first gay rights march in Washington, D.C., a march Milk had called for earlier at the 1979 Gay Freedom Day Parade. Krakow concludes in her epilogue:

⁶⁵ Carman (1999) also noted that mayoral candidate Tom Ammiano was featured as one of three San Franciscans playing themselves in the movie, serendipitously receiving some publicity just weeks before the mayoral election. Incumbent mayor Willie Brown, also received time in front of the camera as part of a mini-documentary that followed the premiere (p. C9).

Harvey Milk believed that one person could make a difference in the lives of others. His legacy continues to inspire and give people hope as they struggle for justice. Today there is an ever-increasing number of cities and states that have enacted civil rights protections for gay people. More and more openly gay people are running for office and getting elected. Harvey Milk once said: ‘The true function of politics is not just to pass laws, but to give hope.’ Harvey Milk pioneered a road to freedom. He showed the world that all people can have their hopes realized. (Krakow, 2001, n.p.)

Milk is depicted as either contemplative or smiling throughout most of the illustrations, many of the images inspired by photographs of Milk by news photographers which lends the illustrations an added layer of memory. *Kirkus Review* noted “Capturing just the right tone for its audience, this is a significant contribution to the genre and a fitting tribute to an ordinary guy turned extraordinary” (“The Harvey Milk Story,” 2001). In spite of its celebrated gay content, Krakow’s book has yet to grace the American Library Association’s challenged book list (ala.org). Her book would resurface later as a recommended text by the Harvey Milk Foundation and in conjunction with California’s Fair, Accurate, Inclusive, and Respectful (FAIR) Education Act discussions, as discussed in a later chapter.

In 2003 the book series *Images of America* contracted local Strange de Jim to organize and author *San Francisco’s Castro* (de Jim, 2003). Strange de Jim was a San Franciscan who was recognized as a treasured quirky character; known locally for providing gossip to the late Herb Cain while famously hiding his face in public by wearing a pillowcase over his head (Ford, 2004). For many years he also maintained a website about his life in San Francisco (strangebillions.com). His volume for *Images of America*, like most of its volumes, incorporated images that were then captioned by its

author. Milk is featured prominently in the decade of the 1970s, which is easily the largest chapter of the book. Milk is also featured on the book's cover.

Strange de Jim credits Shilts's (1982) book for much of his information on Milk, although he comes up with some of his own, unique captioning such as that found under a Nicoletta photo of Milk with Denis Peron: "Here is Harvey with Dennis Peron, the Castro's neighborhood dope dealer, supporting the Marijuana Initiative. Dennis ran the Island Restaurant, where several Milk campaign functions were held" (p. 44). Some of Strange de Jim's captions sound as if he is narrating a scrapbook of his friends in the chapters that he himself experienced in San Francisco, while other captions strongly reference Shilts's (1982) narrative of Milk. The result manages to crack the standard local Milk narrative which had become: Milk runs repeatedly for office, eventually wins, is great with media and coalition-building, is ever available to the gay and other minority coalition groups, is assassinated, and afterward rises as an icon for the LGBTQIA+ community. *Images of America* would release another volume in titled *Gay and Lesbian San Francisco* (Lipsky, 2006). This volume, authored by an author with academic credentials, returned to the more standard abbreviated narrative of Milk within a diverse representation of the history of the LGBTQIA+ movement in San Francisco.

An exhibition curated by the GLBT Historical Society took an interesting route to examining Milk with *Saint Harvey: The Life and Afterlife of a Modern Gay Martyr*. The exhibition made use of the Milk artifacts donated to them by Scott Smith's mother. A flyer that promoted the exhibition wrote: "His personal possessions were treated like the relics of a saint, lovingly tended and occasionally displayed by a band of friends until

they finally came to rest in the archives of the GLBT Historical society” (GLBT Historical Society, 2003).⁶⁶ The Lentz icon of Milk was featured in the flyer, which was folded to possibly mimic an altar.⁶⁷ While the Lentz icon drew attention in the flyer, it was the display of the clothing he was shot in that drew attention. A brief review of “Saint Harvey” in the *Advocate* described the exhibition:

The centerpiece of ‘Saint Harvey’ drives home the point: It’s an altar-like installation displaying the clothing Milk wore at the time of his assassination. The first half of the show, leading up to the altar, documents Milk’s life; the second half, his legacy. (Milvey, 2003)

As there was little documentation that could be found related to this exhibition, I asked Gerard Koskovich, a local historian who was a member of the GLBT Historical Society’s board at the time, for his description of how Milk’s clothing was displayed. Whereas anecdotally participants remembered Milk’s suit hanging on a crucifix, Koskovich noted this was not the case. He explained:

It’s not on a crucifix, it’s not on a mannequin. In fact, the exhibition designer did this quite deliberately; it’s displayed in the way that an antique kimono is displayed, with a simple rod with the arms and the fabric hanging flat from that. So, it does echo a crucifix-like presentation but when you see it in person it doesn’t look like a crucifix. (Koskovich, 2012)

Koskovich explained that the display of the clothing interacted with a blurry photograph by Daniel Nicoletta, in which Milk was running, arms outstretched.

It is Harvey running across Castro towards his supporters in front of the camera store with his arms thrown out in the same posture as the display

⁶⁶ The flyer indicates exhibition dates of “June 6, 2003 – April 2004” (GLBT Historical Society, 2003).

⁶⁷ Documentation of the exhibition was difficult to find. GLBT Historical Society volunteer Dr. David Reichard found a flyer on a desk one afternoon and emailed a scan of it. He remembered the flyers as what was distributed to the public during the exhibition (D. Reichard, personal communication, July 6, 2013).

of the clothes, so in fact in the setting of the exhibition you are seeing this echoing Harvey at his moment of triumph. It becomes a much more complex and powerful exhibition of the clothing that is restrained and tasteful with a sub-tone of the iconography of martyrdom behind it. (Koskovich, 2013)

The exhibition was part of a special 25th anniversary week of tributes to Milk and Moscone offered in November, 2003.⁶⁸

The San Francisco Public Library created a traveling folding-panel exhibition and book featuring material from the James C. Hormel Gay & Lesbian Center housed in the library. The panels were displayed in the public library in 2005 and the book benefitted the center (San Francisco Public Library, 2005). The exhibition featured photographs of artifacts with text explaining the artifact or person being featured. The section on Milk featured photographs of Milk's appointment book, opened to the week he was assassinated, the front page of the *San Francisco Examiner* Extra edition announcing the assassinations, and photos taken by Daniel Nicoletta of Milk making a presentation at an Empress Coronation, and in another photograph, people silhouetted by the smoke and flames of the White Night riots (pp. 103-105). After a brief narrative of Milk in which his importance is anchored by noting Shilts's (1982) book and Epstein's (1984) documentary, the text explains that Milk's assassination "unified the LGBT community as never before" (San Francisco Public Library, 2005, p. 105). The text concludes by noting that the appointment book was part of the Harvey Milk Archives – Scott Smith Collection available in the library.

⁶⁸ Although the week remembered both Milk and Moscone, the list of events largely represented Milk. Examples included: Two exhibitions curated from the Harvey Milk Archives for display in the San Francisco Public Library, a lecture and slide show by Daniel Nicoletta titled "Remembering Harvey" at the LGBT Community Center, and an arts festival in Harvey Milk Plaza (May & Nolte, 2003, p. A24).

Local Milk media memoria and legacy-naming were building slowly but steadily. Two larger projects started in the mid-2000s but took years to complete. One was the renovation of the Harvey Milk Recreation Center, which featured a suite of art works by Michael Davis and Susan Schwartzberg, and was funded by an arts grant. The other project was an official bronze bust of Milk to be installed in City Hall, which required years of fundraising.

Creating new art for the Harvey Milk Recreation Center turned out, once again, to be controversial. Susan Schwartzberg, an artist who was known for artwork that incorporated social histories, along with Michael Davis, were chosen from a short list of artists to tackle the project. In an interview for this dissertation, Schwartzberg (2012) explained that Poethig's mural was being removed for the renovation and meetings were held to gain input on what kind of tribute to Milk could replace it. Neighbors near the recreation center, located in Duboce Park, still didn't feel Milk had a connection to their neighborhood. Schwartzberg and Davis were given a tour of the center and discovered an unofficial archive of costumes and theatrical props created by children for theatrical presentations and events. They created an exhibition of glass cases featuring these items inside the center.

The center overlooks Duboce Park, site of Milk's famous pooper scooper stunt where he held a press conference about the lack of dog curbing ordinances in San Francisco, proving his point by stepping into a pile of dog poo he had skillfully placed before reporters arrived (Shilts, 1982, p. 203). Schwartzberg developed a camera obscura-like device encased in a column of collaged, semi-transparent images related to

Milk. She incorporated personal photographs in the back panels and mediated representations of Milk in the front panels to depict the layers that made up the person Harvey Milk. During the day the daylight streams in, illuminating the images, and at night the center's lighting provides illumination. Visitors can also view part of Duboce Park through the device, the park where Milk staged his "pooper scooper" ordinance press conference. Schwartzberg remarked that while people made a lot of fun of Milk's stunt, his ordinance is something that is actually noted in cities all over the world.

The recreation facility had a photography center named after Milk and, knowing Milk was an avid amateur photographer, the artists collected images from local people who had created them in the center's photography lab. These images were collaged in the glass alongside the doors leading into the photography center. At this point there was a demand that some of the artwork be more visible, making use of the large open back wall of the building (that previously had been denied Poethig). Schwartzberg and Davis chose a quote from Milk that related to neighborhoods, which was their way of reminding locals that Milk had a history beyond the LGBTQIA+ community. A quotation from Milk's speech on neighborhoods was quoted in raised letters on the wall, but in the same color as the building. It read "The American Dream starts with the neighborhoods, - Harvey Milk." Schwartzberg (2012) explained that the shadows cast by the sun at certain points during the day made the letters stand out, which made the text an interesting discovery. It is likely that this also assuaged neighbors who were worried about having a giant mural in their backyard. Schwartzberg began work on the project shortly after moving to the neighborhood in 2005 and it would take until 2009 for the

project to be completed and have its official dedication. Schwartzberg and Davis had an unofficial name for their suite of work:

I think the secret title was “The Homage to the Amateur,” thinking about how the programs at the center were for the community and Milk himself seemed to me an unexpected character to become a revered political leader and go down in history like he did. It was like he was always shooting from the hip and realized he was kind of good at it (laughs). And with the suite of works we strung them together in our minds as really respecting that human drive for achievement whether it is personal creativity or the scale Milk achieved. (Schwartzberg, 2012)

The bronze bust of Milk, like the recreation center project, took years to complete, but it was further disadvantaged by lack of funding. Nicoletta (2012) noted that while there was a movement toward creating a memorial bust of Milk just after his death, it would take until 2003 or 2004 for energy toward larger local Milk memory projects to return. It was at that time that city supervisor Matt Gonzales announced a return to the project and called for a community meeting. Nicoletta showed up, and spent the next four years working with a committee of volunteers in conjunction with a local nonprofit in a grassroots campaign to raise money for the sculpture. Nicoletta explained that even with the success of the documentary, before the release and success of *Milk* (2008) it was difficult to get serious dollars from the general philanthropic community to put toward Milk media memoria.

Harvey Milk is still perceived as a maverick, a somewhat rogue phenomenon. In a sense the more formal, more conservative philanthropic community was “let’s just hope he just goes away,” which is what they always hoped when he was alive. “Let’s just hope he doesn’t have traction.” (Nicoletta, 2012).

The project was taking in small donations and building them up, but in the end the Bob Ross Foundation stepped in to set up matching funds and eventually put in additional

funds to help the project reach completion, with the stipulation that the group work with the San Francisco Art Commission for the proposals and final sculpture.⁶⁹ Nicoletta remarked that in his role of documentary photographer, in the past he often simply functioned as a sort of hovercraft, flying over and around these sorts of fundraising projects, merely watching and documenting. He had no idea of the work he would have to put in over four years to assist with this project.

I have a feeling that Harvey Milk and Scott Smith's ghosts are like 'Girl, you've had a luxurious life here and now it's your time to be in the fuckin' trenches so you actually know what the queer community is about and what it takes. We're going to deal you that hand now. We've been mentoring you proactively while we were alive and we're still mentoring you even though we're six feet under (laughs) and this is the new challenge – live with it....' At the very last minute, a little movie *Milk* came out and there was a short, 3-month leg of fundraising for a party we were going to throw to unveil the thing. Of course they were beating down the doors at that point, but we did it already. (Nicoletta, 2012)

The San Francisco Art Commission formed a small committee to work toward an official sculpture of Milk to be placed in City Hall. Daniel Nicoletta was on the committee, having a personal interest in seeing the project come to fruition. Two of the proposals asked permission to have the bust portion based on Nicoletta's iconic photograph of Milk laughing with his tie flying in the wind, which Nicoletta was tickled to allow. There was a jury and also public balloting, the eventual winner being one of the two proposals partially based on Nicoletta's photograph, the influence of which can be seen in the final bronze sculpture that sits in the Ceremonial Rotunda of the San Francisco City Hall. It was installed on Milk's birthday in 2008, just one week after the

⁶⁹ Bob Ross, as in the founder of the *Bay Area Reporter*. Other interviews pointed toward the possibility that the producers behind the movie *Milk* (2008) may have also pitched in money toward the project or its installation/unveiling.

state courts overturned the state's ban on gay marriages (Buchanan, 2008). Milk was able to be present at gay weddings held in the City Hall Ceremonial Rotunda, smiling in the background of couples' photographs with joyful approval (Nicoletta, 2012).⁷⁰ The *San Francisco Chronicle* featured coverage of unveiling preparations for the bust, noting:

It is shaping up to be quite a year for Milk. The state Assembly passed a bill sponsored by Assemblyman Mark Leno, D-San Francisco, earlier this week to permanently mark this date as Harvey Milk Day. And a major Hollywood film about his life is in post-production and will be released before state voters likely decide in November whether to ban same-sex marriage in the California Constitution. (Buchanan, 2008, p. B2)

Things would not quite work out the way Buchanan predicted. Governor Schwarzenegger would veto the bill that year (glaad.org, 2008), and Proposition 8 passed, which banned same sex-marriage in California. Buchanan was right about the influence a Hollywood film could have, he was just incorrect about when, where, and how. *Milk* (2008) did not affect the vote on Proposition 8, but it would reverberate farther than anticipated, and more effectively than any other Milk media memoria at building LGBTQIA+ and public memory of Milk. The film's relationship with *The Life and Times of Harvey Milk* (1984/2003/2011) would help create an environment in which these two cinematic artifacts became the primary moving image memory texts for remembering Harvey Milk.

⁷⁰ On the day before the 30th anniversary of the assassinations, a miniature of the bust was also unveiled at the first federal building named after Milk, which was located on Treasure Island. Then-Speaker Nancy Pelosi spoke at the official unveiling, offering her remembrance of Milk and noting her presence at his funeral (Pelosi, 2008).

CHAPTER 6

CINEMATIC ARTIFACTS AS MEMORY TEXTS: *THE TIMES OF HARVEY*

MILK AND MILK, 1984-2011

This chapter focuses its attention on the two main cinematic artifacts available on Harvey Milk to how collective memory of Milk is shaped and communicated through an interaction with its main cinematic artifacts – *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984/2004/2011) and *Milk* (2008). These cinematic artifacts become memory sites through which we continue to construct a public memory of Milk as a gay rights hero couched within a civil rights context, subtly shifting what this memory has to offer, over the years of 1984-2011. I contend that these cinematic artifacts become memory sites through which LGBTQIA+ memory works within the framework of popular media toward assimilating into popular/public memory. Textual analysis is used to examine how Milk is remembered in these films, and how this memory is adapted to address American culture and the LGBTQIA+ rights movement in the 1980s, and again in the early 21st century. This analysis seeks to contribute to a discussion of identity and memory ongoing in the interdisciplinary area of memory studies, as it relates to popular media and collective memory.

Some initial queries that drive this analysis include: What are the narratives of Milk presented in these artifacts and how do these artifacts shape how to remember Milk? Are there themes that arise from the texts that inform audiences as to how the history and memory of Milk can be of use in their times? What are the unique contributions that these

cinematic artifacts make (or propose) in the (re)construction of social and collective memory, particular to LGBTQIA+ movements?

The Times of Harvey Milk (1984) and *Milk* (2008) – Release and Availability

The Times of Harvey Milk (1984), directed by Rob Epstein, was the main cinematic artifact with a focus on Milk's life until the Gus Van Sant biopic, *Milk*, in 2008. The films have won Academy Awards and various film critic awards. *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) won an Academy Award for Best Feature Documentary, an Emmy for News & Documentary, and a Peabody Award for its producing station, WNET, New York Public Media (IMDb.com, 2009a). It was selected for restoration by the UCLA Film and Television Archives, in collaboration with The Sundance Institute, resulting in a digitally-mastered 35mm print in 2000 (Lipman, 2011). A 20th anniversary collector's edition DVD of the documentary followed in 2004 (Thetimesofharveymilk.com). In 2011, Criterion released a special edition DVD/Blu-ray as part of the Criterion Collection (Galloway, 2011). The following year, the documentary was named to the National Film Registry by the Library of Congress, to "become part of the nation's permanent visual record" (Hornaday, 2012).

Milk (2008) started with a limited release of 36 screens that grew to 882 screens in just over two months (IMDb.com, 2009b). Sean Penn won an Academy Award for Best Performance by an Actor in a Leading Role for his portrayal of Milk, and Dustin Lance Black was awarded the Academy Award for Best Writing: Screenplay Written Directly for the Screen. *Milk* (2008) was nominated for six additional Academy Awards, including Best Motion Picture of the Year (IMDb.com, 2009a). *Milk* (2008) was released

on DVD in 2009. Both *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) and *Milk* (2008) continue to be available to a mass audience through special event screenings, DVD, and digital streaming options.

This analysis of *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984/2004/2011) and *Milk* (2008) is couched within the context of media and collective memory. Collective memory and media, as previously discussed in this dissertation, is a particularly useful framework in which to analyze *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984/2004/2011) and *Milk* (2008). Intended as mass media products, these films and their respective DVDs are encouraged to develop a story about the past that will be interesting to a broad public audience. This process necessitates negotiating the local and LGBTQIA+ history and memory of Milk and the Milk/Moscone assassinations to appeal to a broader public and national audience of the mid 1980s and later again, in the early 21st century. The result is the creation of a collective memory narrative of Harvey Milk that lives in these films, a memory that is potentially renegotiated through ongoing DVD releases and their bonus materials.

What might make these memory narratives particularly persuasive is the ability of cinema to connect with our senses. Cinema has the ability to engage our visual and aural senses through moving image and sound. This experience virtually transports the viewer into the storyworld of the subject, thus providing the audience with a compelling link to the spatial imagery and shared imprint Halbwachs (1980) insists is necessary for collective memory to form. Additionally, the forms through which these stories are told - historical documentary and biopic, and their related DVD paratexts, might be particularly effective forms for mediating collective memory.

Documentaries, Biopics, and DVD Paratexts

The documentary and the biopic are two common forms of cinema used in telling stories about actual events and people from history. While there are expectations of historical authenticity, documentary films about history are not history itself. Nichols (1991) asserts that history stands outside the text of documentary – it is an element of *excess* that informs the documentary – “always referred to but never captured” (p. 142). Nichols proposes that documentaries instead create an *indexical bond* “between what they represent and the historical authenticity of that representation” (p. 163). Additionally, many documentaries will employ a *style of realism* that “serves to make an argument about the historical world persuasive” (p. 165). A style of realism in documentary typically refers to how it represents reality - convincingly showing and telling through ways one experiences information in everyday life.

Realism, as a style, also exists in fiction film. Realism here refers to how style and plot work together to serve the overall narrative of the film – how we suspend disbelief to “believe” in the film’s storyworld (Nichols, 1991, pp. 165-167). *Milk* (2008) comes out of the biopic genre – scripted narrative films based on the biography of an actual person. Biopics sit somewhere in the space beyond documentary but before pure fiction. This liminal location is why biopics often include the disclaimer (as found in *Milk [2008]*): “This film is based on actual historical events. Dialogue and certain events and characters contained in the film were created for the purpose of dramatization.” These films, similar to documentaries, also create an indexical bond, but biopics typically make use of script

and stylization with greater license to veer from strict actuality in service to fiction film narrative expectations.

As mentioned earlier, these films, as mass media products necessitate the negotiation of local and LGBTQIA+ memory in order to reach a broader audience. The result is the creation of a cultural/popular memory of Milk that lives in these films, a memory that is revisited and potentially renegotiated through ongoing DVD releases and their bonus material – their paratexts. When a feature film is packaged for DVD release, additional material is often added to further extend meanings of the film. This may include deleted scenes, alternative endings, interviews with cast and crew and additional material related to the film content, including DVD packaging and promotion. Interaction with “special” or “bonus” features most often occurs in a home theatre or small audience environment, encouraging an “insider-status” or even familial intimacy, additionally contributing to the viewer’s negotiation of film meaning (Bertellini & Reich, 2010; Klinger, 2006; Skopal, 2007). In some cases, experiencing additional material can “reframe the viewer’s experience and memory (Skopal, p. 191). While at first glance, interaction with DVD paratexts might seem more individual than social, this process enters into the social as viewers call forth what they recall during conversations about the film or its subject. The DVD additionally archives the films and paratexts, creating cinematic artifacts that can be easily referenced time and time again.

Film One: *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984/2004/2011)

The Times of Harvey Milk (1984) tells its story through a mix of talking-head interviews, footage of the Castro district in the 1970s, still photographs of Milk and his

acquaintances, news footage, and narration. The eight people featured in interviews are diverse in gender, race, age, and profession. All knew Milk personally, and they paint a picture of him as a boisterous and caring individual who provided something special in each of their interactions. The documentary provides Milk's backstory through a quick chronological prehistory: Milk through pictures from his youth as the narrator speaks about his childhood through pre-political years. The documentary then travels through Milk's rise to, and service as, city supervisor. The film reaches Milk's assassination again later in the documentary, followed by the trial of Dan White and its aftermath, concluding with thoughts on the legacy Milk's life leaves behind. This analysis begins with a close textual analysis of the opening of the documentary, and then for sake of brevity, moves into a summary of main themes that inform us on how to collectively remember Milk.

The Times of Harvey Milk (1984), as it appears today on DVD, and in contemporary screening, is preceded by a message that imbues it with stature. This message, in the form of white text/titling over a black screen, mentions that the "film has been preserved by the UCLA Film and Television Archive." It additionally lists funding by foundations, including a relationship with the Sundance Institute, a respected institute that supports independent film. A second title page includes an illustration of the Academy Award Oscar statuette and lists that this film was an Academy Award winner for Best Documentary Feature in 1984. Before the film even starts, the audience is informed that what they are about to watch has importance in the history of film, having support from peers within the film and documentary communities. It was seen as

important in its time, and has continued importance over time. The documentary and what it has to say are important to remember.

The documentary starts with background audio of people talking while opening producer credits appear over a black background. It sounds like the murmurings of a small crowd in an interior space, the kind of sound where one can tell people are present but we cannot make out any of their distinct words or dialogue. The black fades up to a tight head shot of a woman with microphones in her face and two men in suits on either side of her. The camera is handheld, attempting to keep the image steady. Camera lights are adjusting on and off her face as journalists prepare to film and record the announcement. The viewer initially feels placed in the viewpoint of the news-gathering journalist, preparing to see, hear and document an announcement. This viewpoint privileges the viewer and takes them in as a cohort journalist, to see what happened “from the inside.” Being with the journalists can also lend a feeling of newsworthiness to the event, as we culturally understand news journalism as indicating what is important to know. As we wait with the journalists, the woman’s eyes look ahead, but above the crowd in front of her. She is standing very still and slowly starts announcing, “As President of the Board of Supervisors, it is my duty to make this announcement...” Lower third titling here identifies the woman as Dianne Feinstein, Acting Mayor, and a second superimposed title labels the material as “San Francisco KGOI News Tape.”

The broadcast image of Dianne Feinstein’s announcement of the assassinations, inclusive of lower third graphics and station identification, moves us to the outside of the screen, looking in as television viewers. Feinstein continues very slowly “...both Mayor

Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk have been shot, and killed.” As she is speaking, the camera jerks in to a close-up and stays tight on her face while in the audio track, one hears the reaction of journalists and people present at the announcement. A male voice painfully yells “Oh, Jesus Christ!” and a female voice simultaneously wails. The close-up image of Dianne Feinstein is a video news image, bluish in tint with slight scan lines running across it. The shot continues to stay in tight on the close-up of Dianne Feinstein’s face as voices in the crowd yell requests to quiet down. Her mouth opens to speak and then closes a few times as she waits for the crowd to settle. We hear people yell to one another to keep quiet. Feinstein announces, “The suspect (pause) is Supervisor Dan White.” The shot freezes on Dianne Feinstein’s face.

Most viewers already know that Milk was assassinated before viewing the film, but this opening gives the viewer a sense of “being there,” placing us, as an audience, in the time of Milk while simultaneously indexing the historical public announcement of his assassination. Sturken (1997) talks about how national memory can be constructed through our viewing of tragic events through television and other mass media images, this viewing itself creating “a sense of shared participation and experience in the nation (p. 24).” This moment becomes a trigger moment for remembering, the “where were you when” experience, which creates the space for collective memory construction as testimony and memory sharing takes place within a community. The Dianne Feinstein Moscone/Milk assassination announcement provides a similar experience for local memory construction, and LGBTQIA+ memory. This announcement at the start of the film also reminds us of the sacrifice of life, and over time, becomes the symbolic

equivalent for building LGBTQIA+ memory, and eventually, even national memory, as the announcement is repeated in ongoing screenings, and revisited in other retellings of the Milk story.

The Dianne Feinstein announcement in *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) dissolves to a black and white photograph of George Moscone and Harvey Milk, both in suits, as a narrator corroborates that Mayor Moscone and Harvey Milk were assassinated on November 27, 1978 in City Hall. Viewers familiar with gay theater and film will recognize the voice of Harvey Fierstein - another endorsement of the importance and authenticity of this documentary. A celebrity can lend a layer of affirmation to the work he/she is narrating. In 1984, Fierstein, an out gay actor, provides affirmation and authenticity. In later screenings and DVD releases, this same narration can also be seen as Fierstein fulfilling the role of community elder as he narrates the story of Milk for the creation and maintenance of LGBTQIA+ memory.

The Times of Harvey Milk (1984): Narrative Themes

What follows is a discussion of four main narrative themes arising from *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984): 1) An ordinary life turned extraordinary – Harvey Milk as gay rights hero, 2) Not just gay rights but civil rights – Harvey Milk as civil rights leader, 3) Tragedy, mourning, and the beginning of recovery through remembrance, and 4) Harvey Milk’s legacy: Hope through civil rights activism and political service. The discussion concludes with some attention to themes that are “bubbling under” the main themes: Anti-gay religious fundamentalism, and the “times” of Harvey Milk.

1) An Ordinary Life Turned Extraordinary – Milk as Gay Rights Hero

The first theme to arise from the documentary is that of an ordinary life turned extraordinary. Milk is depicted as an ordinary man on a hero's journey. Milk starts his public service after the age of 40, he has no history of political service, and he loses three campaigns for city office before he is finally elected as a city supervisor to the city of San Francisco. He is the first openly gay person to serve as a city representative in San Francisco. News reports acknowledge the "historical moment" of this occasion, instructing viewers to remember this "first" in history, while also constructing LGBTQIA+ memory of Milk as an important historical figure. Milk is seen in a victory ride in the city's annual gay parade. We hear someone comment that gay people finally have a voice. Whereas the prehistory of Milk emphasizes his ordinariness; the documentation of Milk's journey to and in political office emphasizes how extraordinary he becomes – a hero for the gay community. A portion of the documentary is dedicated to a dramatic example of one of Milk's most heroic achievements – a successful campaign against Proposition 6, a proposition to ban homosexuals from working in public schools. The hero narrative is one familiar in western culture – an individual up against an immense challenge that seems insurmountable, but after a long battle during which the hero looks to certainly fail, the hero is able to persevere and be grandly victorious in the end. Couching Milk's heroic achievement within this hero narrative allows the collective memory of Milk to be both particular to the LGBTQIA+ community as well as more broadly universalizing Harvey's story for construction of mainstream public memory.

2) Not Just Gay Rights, but Civil Rights - Milk as Civil Rights Leader

Milk additionally co-authors and shepherds through a gay rights ordinance that prevents employers from firing employees based on sexual orientation. But the documentary reminds us that Milk also fights for all those discriminated against – in particular, senior citizens, the poor, African Americans and Asian Americans in the San Francisco community. A significant portion of the documentary focuses on the breadth of Milk's representation, which serves to shift the memory of Milk from gay hero to civil rights leader. Proposition 6, for example, is eventually couched by Milk not just as a gay-rights issue, but as an issue of discrimination that, if passed, could start to affect other minorities as well.

Milk represents the average citizen as he fights for better public transportation, rent control, and limiting high-rise development. The choice of interviewees also somewhat represents “the people,” avoiding politicians, and selecting a range of voices to tell us about Harvey – not just members of the gay community. One example of this range is Jim Elliot, a white, older straight-identified man. He is a machinist and union leader who consistently speaks about how Milk represented everyone and how he (Jim Elliot) learned to be okay with homosexuals because of Milk. The couching of gay rights within the civil rights movement was not uncommon in Milk's time, and was a strategy Milk rhetorically employed in his more public speeches (Hall, 2008). It additionally was a strategy that made sense for the early 1980s, the time in which this documentary was produced and first released for theatrical screening.

3) Tragedy, Mourning and the Beginning of Recovery through Remembrance

The film opens by announcing the tragedy of the assassinations. In the third act of the documentary we revisit the tragedy and process forward to mourning and the start of community recovery through witnessing, testimony, and remembrance. As an audience, we revisit the scene with Feinstein announcing the death of Moscone and Milk. We once again join the press corps and listen to police reports as a manhunt for Dan White is engaged. We are there with the cameras when White is apprehended. We see draped corpses as police radio segments narrate information about the shootings. We experience a series of interviews in which people describe where they were and how they reacted, their testimonies demonstrating the construction of collective memory through the “where were you when” phenomenon. One interviewee comments that on the day of the assassinations, the course of history changed. A spontaneous and peaceful candlelight march is emotionally described and depicted. These acts of witnessing, sharing testimony, and spontaneous memorialization are part of healing strategies for trauma, the beginning of a recovery process, and also part of the collective memory process in dealing with tragic events (Doss, 2010; Eyerman, 2012; Linenthal, 2001). It is important to note that the trauma does not end within *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984), but in mourning, the process begins. The following trial and sentencing of Dan White results in public violence and rioting that becomes known as “The White Night riots.” In terms of memory, this sequence can be seen as part of a community processing loss/injustice. It can additionally be thought of maintaining an LGBTQIA+ collective memory of

“fighting back”. This collective memory builds upon other LGBTQIA+ “rebellions,” such as the 1959 Cooper’s Doughnuts riot, Compton’s Cafeteria Riot in 1966, and the 1969 Stonewall Riots. Here we experience the potential for contesting public memory (Bodnar, 1992; Sturken, 1997), but in the narrative progression of the documentary, the overarching theme wins out - one of peaceful commemoration. The day following the White Night riots is Milk’s birthday, for which a street party celebration in the Castro is planned. Community leaders agree to continue the celebration as a non-violent commemoration of Milk. The rioting community is diverted from further angry protests toward a commemorative celebration of Milk.

4) Milk’s Legacy: Hope through Civil Rights Activism and Political Service

It is at this point that the interviewees speak to how Milk influenced their lives in a positive way and how minorities must continue to fight for their rights. These testimonies build upon the theme of remembering Milk as a civil rights leader, moving into instruction to take up his legacy through civil rights activism and active political service. At the end of the documentary, the person who calls us to service is Milk, himself. The documentary closes by returning to the recording of Milk reciting his will, we return to his words, as we see a recap of Milk marching, speaking to crowds, and campaigning. The footage is slowed, altering the style of realism we associate with documentary and rendering the moment more emotionally, as if a dream, or memory. Milk’s narration urges the listener, and subsequently the audience, to have hope, and to give hope. His message includes the encouragement to elect more gays, but is careful to keep within a civil rights

context by encouraging the joining of gays with other minorities to make a larger civil rights movement. Milk's narration notes that without hope:

not only the gays, but those blacks, the Asians, the disabled and the seniors –the 'us-es,' ...without hope, the 'us-es' give up. I know that you cannot live with hope alone, but without it, life is not worth living, and you and you and you, gotta give 'em hope. Thank you very much.
(Schmiechen & Epstein, 1984)

The repetition of “hope” is a rhetorical mnemonic for remembering Milk's most often cited speech, the “Hope” speech, a campaign speech given at the 1977 Gay Freedom Day in San Francisco, and a theme he returned to in other speaking opportunities. Its inclusion as the closing of the documentary supports the maintenance of this theme of hope as part of the popular memory of Milk.

Bubbling Under: 5) Anti-Gay Religious Fundamentalism/Conservatism; 6) The “Times”

While not quite an explicit theme, the subtext of a public rise of religious fundamentalism and conservatism in U.S. politics enters into the documentary just before the heroic journey against Proposition 6. Anita Bryant is shown throughout various clips, speaking out against homosexuality, and supporting political action against gay rights. It is with this undercurrent that we get to know Dan White, a former firefighter from a conservative, Irish Catholic neighborhood, who gives up his job to represent his district as their city supervisor. As the documentary proceeds, we see Milk succeed as we see Dan White fail – setting up a subtext of competing American values. This is part of another subtheme – that of “the times.” The documentary, as indicated in the title, is to be viewed within the context of its time – a moment of social shifting – the rise of gay leadership/a more public gay community and rights movement, a shift in what political

representation means, a place at the (Board of Supervisor's) table for minorities. We experience times filled with possibility as everything aligns for a push toward more progressive values, followed by a pushback of conservative values. The documentary represents "the times" as one of great gains followed by great loss.

Remembering Harvey in 2004: The 20th Anniversary DVD

The 20th anniversary collector's edition DVD for *The Times of Harvey Milk* (2004) includes the restored version of the documentary along with commentary track with director Epstein, co-editor Hoffman, and photographer Daniel Nicoletta, with over three hours of bonus features on a second DVD. In summary, much of the bonus material supports the themes as found in the initial analysis, with a great emphasis on memorial events held in conjunction with the 25th Anniversary of the assassinations. The bonus material does indicate a growth of cultural interest in the trial of Dan White. While Epstein remarks in the commentary track, and a bonus university appearance, that he felt it important to allow the film to stand on its own without an update on White, the bonus materials provide us with an update on Dan White's parole and eventual suicide, along with a panel at the 25th anniversary event that is dedicated to remembering and discussing the Dan White trial. The trial itself received much media attention, and aside from more sensationalist discussion, inspired Weiss's (1984/2010) detailed history and analysis of the trial and Mann's (1984) theatrical play, which was adapted in 1996 for television. Inclusion of the bonus materials on Milk indicate a shift in the remembrance process to be more inclusive of the Dan White trial as important in the overall cultural memory of the assassinations.

The alternate ending offered on the 20th Anniversary DVD, if chosen for the film's actual ending, would have concluded the film on a much more gay-focused note that also more literally pondered Milk's importance in history. One interviewee cannot decide if Milk made history or if history made Milk; another interviewee comments that it doesn't matter if history is "accurate and honest" concerning the "legend of Harvey," because the (gay) community has someone to "hold onto...be proud of." The last interviewee is Jim Elliot, who reveals that his daughter came out as gay and his positive response is a reflection of what he learned from Milk. Had this ending been chosen for the original film, a closing narrative theme of gay activism and historical importance may have been heightened. Elliot would also have lost some of his credibility in 1984, as the straight working-class everyman supporting the homosexual Milk. Having a gay daughter could certainly soften his views on homosexuality. The inclusion of this alternate ending in the anniversary edition of the DVD allows us to ponder a stronger remembrance of Milk as a gay icon in history, a public memory perhaps more collectively acceptable in 2004 than it was in 1984.

Film Two: *Milk* (2008)

We experience a more cinematic, yet subtle reconstruction of the collective memory of Harvey Milk through the 2008 film simply titled *Milk*. The film is presented in widescreen. At the beginning of the film we hear melancholy but contemporary music featuring piano and cello under the opening credits. This music continues and swells with additional instrumentation as we watch the opening credits of cast and crew over black and white archive footage of men and some women in bars, intercut with gay men being

rounded up and carted away by police. Shots of newspaper headlines build a narrative of confrontations and violence between police and homosexuals. The newspapers are from New York, Los Angeles and Miami – essentially from three corners of the U.S.A. The time period seems to be the 1950s or 1960s - one newspaper finally has a date visible as "1967". As this sequence progresses, the viewer becomes very aware just how many of the men are covering their faces, trying to avoid being photographed and filmed. Men enter the back of a police van and we return later in the opening sequence to the same shot as more men file into the van until the rear door can barely close. The men in these shots do not fight back against police but sit quietly, except one man who throws the contents of his drink into a camera.

As a whole, this first part of the opening sequence achieves a few things. First, it contextualizes the film within a United States history of altercation between police and homosexual men, particularly the decades preceding Milk's time in 1970s San Francisco. While the text of the visual material provides an official memory of homosexuality as shameful deviance, the soundtrack seems empathetic to the men, allowing the sequence to depict competing memories, official versus vernacular, or the contestation of memory as to how to remember this historical material in the present day of 2008. This first part of the opening sequence fades to black, over which a bold printed "1978" appears, the frame dissolving to a shot of Harvey Milk (as portrayed by Sean Penn), sitting at his kitchen table with a tape recorder.

In *Milk*, the recording of Milk's will onto cassette tape becomes a narrative device through which Milk narrates the film. This second part of the film opening creates a

parallel to the opening of *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984), linking these two films together. As Milk speaks, his narration starts as a bit of a montage that mixes Milk speaking in his kitchen, with him speaking at various events, then intercutting with actual footage from the day of the assassinations, including the Dianne Feinstein announcement clip. We return to (fictional) Milk in the kitchen speaking about how almost everything he has done has been done “in the eye of the gay movement,” followed by the title screen of “Milk.” The biopic’s closing moments also have a similar parallel to the ending of the documentary. The ending of the biopic incorporates the candlelight march, Milk’s message of hope, and a coda updating the audience on the lives of the main characters from the film.

Milk (2008) and *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984), appear eerily alike at times, so much so that Villa (2010) claims *Milk* (2008) aspires to resurrect both the history of Harvey Milk and the documentary (p. 197). It is additionally useful to think about this homage and repetition as a sort of spatial imprint for remembering through cinema, where we return to in the process of building collective memory.

The film stakes out the years of 1970-1978 as its context for Milk, starting with Milk’s 40th birthday when he still lives as “a suit,” an employee of Wall Street, in the city of New York. By the time Milk arrives in the San Francisco Castro district in 1972, he has shed his suit and grown his hair. We stay with him through the following years as he struggles for a foothold in city politics, is elected, helps pass ordinances for his constituents, successfully fights Proposition 6/The Briggs Initiative, and is soon thereafter killed by White in City Hall.

Milk (2008): Narrative Themes

Four main narrative themes arising from *Milk* (2008) include: 1) An ordinary life turned extraordinary for 2008: Harvey Milk as gay hero/icon/martyr, 2) Harvey Milk's legacy: Hope through civil rights activism and political service, 3) Anti-gay violence paired with Anti-Gay Religious Fundamentalism/Conservatism, and 4) Gay love for 2008: Partners, soul mates, and "forever pairing".

1) An Ordinary Life Turned Extraordinary for 2008: Milk as Gay Hero/Icon/Martyr

This first theme of *Milk* (2008) somewhat duplicates the first theme of *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) – *An ordinary life turned extraordinary: Harvey Milk as gay hero*. In *Milk* (2008), Milk is also on a hero's journey during which he fails repeatedly but keeps pulling himself up by his bootstraps and getting back on the horse until he wins his way into city hall. Much time is spent on Milk's battle against Proposition 6, which is depicted as another heroic moment in Milk's life. The rest of the handling of Milk in the biopic differs in subtle, but important ways from the documentary. In *Milk* (2008), we start with Milk when he is 40 years old, a suited professional in the city of New York. While this is indeed part of Milk's history, it has more emphasis in the biopic than the documentary. The everyman here is the middle-aged businessperson who has yet to find a purpose in his life. The yearning Milk has for purpose in his life as he reaches his mid-life would seem to resonate with a contemporary yearning in American culture toward the end of the first decade of the new millennium. It is a touchstone between remembering Milk, and what he can offer to people sensing a loss of purpose in the latter part of the first decade in the 21st century. Milk does not go from here to rise to the top of

his corporation, the ultimate professional and individual, American achievement. He instead quits the corporate life and joins the counterculture, moving up to activism and social change, eventually “cleaning up” for civil service – a lesson from the past as a suggestion for the present.

In *Milk* (2008), Harvey Milk is elevated from gay hero in 1984, and gay icon in 2004, to prescient gay martyr in 2008. Throughout *Milk* (2008), Milk seems to sense death before him. In the beginning part of the film, on his 40th birthday, he comments that he doubts he will make it to 50. He receives death threats that he heroically ignores, except for one that he posts on his refrigerator door so that it is not hidden, but called out and challenged. Toward the end of the film, Milk is at a performance of the opera *Tosca*, where a death scene is especially poignant to him. Around this same time, he removes the death threat from his refrigerator door. As these threads start to gather, one recalls that in the opening of the film, Milk is reciting his will on Friday, November 18, 1978, just over a week before his death. The next day, Milk is assassinated by White. As he turns away from the bullet shots, he gazes out the window at the banners on the opera hall for *Tosca*. The film flashes back to Milk’s scene at 40, when he doubts he will reach his 50th birthday, before cutting to the closing sequence for the film – the spontaneous memorial of the candlelight march.

2) *Milk’s Legacy: Hope through Civil Rights Activism and Political Service*

A second narrative theme that arises is the handing down of civil rights from generation to generation - Milk handing down the gay activist torch to a younger generation. One of the young people working with Milk is Cleve Jones, a smart-ass but

intelligent young man. He comes and goes in the beginning of the film but eventually becomes Milk's confidante and takes over organizing crowds because now that Harvey is a city supervisor he can no longer be seen as an activist.

We now know Cleve Jones was instrumental in forming the AIDS quilt and general AIDS activism. He is part of the Shilts's (1982) story of Milk, skips mention in the documentary, and is reinserted into *Milk* (2008) as a sort of apprentice to Milk. At one point in the film, Milk literally hands over the torch to Jones as he hands him his worn-out megaphone to go calm an angry crowd – breaking in Jones, while simultaneously passing the torch to a younger LGBTQIA+ generation. This memory could not be constructed in *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) because Jones's future was still ahead of him – we had yet to recognize AIDS on a national scale or in a public way, and Jones had not yet achieved that which would make him the heir to Milk's activism. By the reconstruction of this aspect of the memory of Milk's life, we construct a collective memory of generational gay activism that serves as a connection and can be called forth and used in present times. The closing sequence of the film narrative is similar to the second part of the film's opening sequence in that it intercuts between Milk recording his narration of hope into his taped will, fictional footage of the candlelight march held after Milk's death, shifting to archival footage of the actual spontaneous candlelight march featured in *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) and then back to (fictional) Milk in his kitchen, saying “you gotta give them hope, you gotta give them hope.” Milk turns off the tape recorder, folds his legal pad back to its first page and puts down his pencil. The

image cuts to black. Here again the film softly echoes the closing of *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984), but *Milk* (2008) allows Milk to speak longer, sharing more of his taped will.

Although the feature film narrative ends as described above, it is followed by a cinematic coda, an epilogue, a series of end titles that inform the audience of what happens after the assassination: the candlelight march, White's trial, verdict, and subsequent White Night riots. For each update we first see an image of the actor/character, and then cut to an image of the actual person the actor is depicting. We first are updated on White's parole and subsequent suicide, but then the subsequent updates become testimonies of Milk's legacy, as the text for each image demonstrate how these people continued Milk's legacy of service, after Milk's death: Scott Smith, Anne Kronenberg, Jim Rivaldo and Dick Pabich, Danny Nicoletta, and Cleve Jones. The last image is of Harvey Milk laughing (first Sean Penn, then a very similar shot of the actual Milk), as the text describes how his ashes were scattered. The soundtrack at this point incorporates a boy choir singing, providing a metaphor for angels singing, that carries over into the beginning of the closing credits. This ending shot of the actual Milk along with the fictionalization of his prescient awareness of his own death, lends a supernatural quality to the memory of Harvey Milk and reemphasizes the hero/icon/martyr triad.

3) *Anti-Gay Violence Paired with Anti-Gay Religious Fundamentalism/Conservatism*

As a third theme, *Milk* (2008) brings to the surface the subtext of anti-gay religious fundamentalism and conservatism felt in *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984), adding a layer of police brutality and anti-gay violence that surrounds the edges of the main narrative of *Milk* (2008). The opening sequence of men being arrested for suspected

homosexuality is echoed by scenes scattered throughout the film of police having violent confrontations with gay men, gay men being jumped and attacked in the streets at night, and eventually the murder of a gay man. White is painted as a conservative man, and a former police officer, with bigoted views who cannot change with the times. Briggs has a role in this film as a publicity-seeking villain, wielding religious morality over homosexuals. Mention of Anita Bryant's religious crusade against homosexuals is woven into the narrative. This theme is also in *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984/2004), but in *Milk* (2008) the depiction through fictional characterization and exposition lends the theme greater drama and resonance for the audience. *Milk* (2008), through Gus Van Sant's stylized take on the biopic, remembers the beginning sparks of anti-gay fundamentalist religion at this time, and aligns that socio-psychological violence with the physical violence already encountered by the gay community via police brutality and gay bashing. Like *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984), however, the biopic *Milk* (2008) stops short of the White Night riots.

4) *Gay Love for 2008: Partners, Soul Mates and "Forever Pairing"*

A fourth theme that arises from *Milk* (2008) is one of gay male love and partnership, depicted here as Milk's longtime relationship with his lover Scott Smith. They meet on Milk's 40th birthday when he picks Milk up in the subway and takes him home for sex and birthday cake. Smith seems to be the impetus for Milk's ability to change his life from "a suit" to an activist. They move to the Castro together, and Smith is there throughout Milk's struggles. Even after Smith leaves Milk (Smith being sick of political life interfering in their personal lives), and both are seeing other people, Smith

and Milk seem to long for one another as if soul mates. They continue to have “moments” for the remainder of the film that point to their possible recoupling, including a late night conversation that suggests a possible rekindling of their relationship just before Milk is assassinated. This narrative of “forever pairing” works well as a collective memory that can be applied for use in the present day atmosphere of the LGBTQIA+ movement for gay marriage.

Milk DVD (2009) Bonus Features

The *Milk* DVD (2009) bonus features total just under 40 minutes, featuring deleted scenes and three short segments: *Remembering Harvey*, *Hollywood Comes to San Francisco*, and *Marching for Equality*. The segments intercut clips from the film and location stills with interviews given by the cast, producing/writing personnel, and the people characterized in the biopic. This juxtaposition ties the fictional images of the biopic to actual people speaking about actual events, creating a sort of indexical bond between the images and history. A few of the people who are characterized in the biopic are titled in these segments as “Historical Consultants,” layering the biopic with an additional sense of historical authenticity.

Many of the interviews featured are with people who are part of the original *memory keepers* – people from Milk’s life and times who, over the years, provide testimony to help us remember him. This is the core memory group sharing the spatial imprint for group/collective memory. In *Remembering Harvey*, they share how they met Milk, something particular they remember about him, and their “where were you when” moments – when they heard Milk had been killed. Through the more intimate space of

the DVD paratexts, we share their experience, and their stories become part of the memory we call upon when remembering Milk.

The *Remembering Harvey* segment also provides a space for ongoing mourning, commemoration, and memorial not addressed as strongly in *Milk* (2008). The parats otherwise mostly support and firm up the themes found in the biopic itself. James Franco, who plays Smith in the biopic, comments upon the depth of Milk and Smith's relationship. The segment on shooting in San Francisco emphasizes "place" as an important layer in telling the story. Emphasized throughout the three segments are the four of the spatial images important for remembering Milk: The Castro, Milk and Smith's camera store, City Hall, and the candlelight march down Market Street. The interviews speak to how Milk is a gay hero/icon/martyr. Milk's former city supervisor colleague Carol Ruth Silver starts her remembrance of Harvey Milk with: "martyrdom works." She doubts the gay rights movement might have progressed as quickly without Milk's sudden death. She speaks to the historical importance of Harvey Milk who stood up for what was right, even though it meant an "ultimate sacrifice." Josh Brolin, who plays White in the biopic, likens Milk's story to that of Jesus, Gandhi, and Martin Luther King, Jr. Many interviews broaden the memory of Milk as not just a gay story, but also an American story. Denis O' Hare sums this up at the end of one segment:

He's somebody who takes this country, its principles, and runs with them, and ends up bettering all of our lives because of that. It's the classic American story. Maybe I should say he was a gay saint, but an American saint. (Black, et al., 2009)

The theme of Milk as an American story is not new – we see the clash of American values emphasized in *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984/2004) and its paratexts. The

theatrical screening poster for the documentary and its DVD cover feature Harvey Milk in a suit giving a speech in front of an American flag. The emphasis on Milk's story as an American story, however, has greater verbal and testimonial emphases in the *Milk* DVD (2009) paratexts.

Milk's legacy, as discussed in the paratexts, encourages hope, coming out, community involvement, and belief in political process, with a stronger emphasis on Milk's belief in youth culture. The DVD bonus materials seek to inspire young people to become more active and less despondent. Voting is encouraged. Dustin Lance Black, the screenwriter for *Milk* (2008), speaks to how his own life as a young gay man growing up in Utah was affected by hearing Milk's story. In the biopic, Milk passes the torch of activism to Jones. In the DVD paratexts, it is Jones that passes the torch to Black.

The emphases of passing the legacy of Harvey Milk on to a new LGBTQIA+ generation, and broadening the story of Harvey Milk into an American narrative, make sense for the time. Milk's generation and peers are aging, and at this point (2008), Harvey Milk's memory is just starting to rise to a more a national status, with the posthumous award of the U.S. Medal of Freedom in 2009. The original collective memory groups and memory texts must work to expand the memory group in order to forward his memory to current and future generations. In these DVD paratexts, the Milk memory narrative demonstrates a strengthening of the importance of local memory and place, contextualizes Milk as important to ongoing LGBTQIA+ rights memory, and broadens his narrative to be an American story - a national public memory.

As a Hollywood film, *Milk* (2008) had incredible reach for its narrative of Harvey Milk. The release of the film, its Academy Award run, and subsequent wins for Sean Penn and Dustin Lance Black, provided moments for the local, national, and international press to relate the biopic and the narrative of Harvey Milk to such current events as California Proposition 8 – a proposition to eliminate rights of same-sex couples to marry in the state (Rich, 2009; Stuever, 2009), and to Obama and the 2008 presidential election (Adams, 2008; Gilbey, 2008).

The Times of Harvey Milk (1984/2011) Criterion Collection DVD Bonus Materials

By the time Criterion released their DVD of the documentary in 2011, a resurgence of Milk memory was in full swing. In 2009, Harvey Milk posthumously received the U.S. Medal of Freedom, accepted on his behalf by nephew Stuart Milk. Epstein accompanied Stuart Milk to the White House for the award (Milk, 2011). Stuart Milk and Anne Kronenberg co-founded the Harvey Milk Foundation shortly thereafter. State recognition followed, as outlined earlier in this dissertation; further national recognition was not far away.

Criterion has been producing special edition releases of films for the home market since the early 1980s, and they were the first to pioneer the audio commentary and bonus features, available then on laserdisc (Schauer, 2005, pp. 32-33). According to Kendrick (2001), to become part of the Criterion Collection archive is to become not just a cinematic artifact but also a cultural artifact, offering something to culture beyond the film itself (p. 138). By 2011, the memory narrative of Harvey Milk had broadened from a local and LGBTQIA+ narrative to an American narrative. The Criterion Collection DVD

for *The Times of Harvey Milk* (2011) supports the simultaneity of these narratives, providing a cinematic artifact and memory text that works across local, LGBTQIA+, and public memory groups. Some of the archival material included on the DVD additionally opens up space for ongoing renegotiation of Milk memory.

The supplemental materials for the Criterion Collection DVD include a 28-page booklet, a selection of video materials carried forward from the 20th Anniversary DVD, additional archive materials, and new segments created specifically for this release. The DVD cover is one of the images increasingly associated with Milk - the grinning City Supervisor Harvey Milk, riding in the 1978 San Francisco Gay Freedom Day parade. He wears a white t-shirt, black armband, and pink lei. Milk has one fist up in the air in a show of victory, his other hand holding a bunch of flowers. This is the image that is slowed for effect at the end of the documentary. This scene is additionally dramatized in *Milk* (2008), before Harvey Milk recites his “That’s What America Is” speech. It is a decidedly different cover from previous covers and promotion for the film that focus on Milk as a suited political official in front of an American flag, the image anchored by the film title. The Criterion Collection edition depicts the grinning and victorious casual Harvey, with the title over the center of the image, allowing a greater emphasis on “the times of” in the title. The font uses a soft focus bleed with a subtle effect of television scan lines. This difference works to separate the Criterion Collection from previous releases of the documentary, but it also marked a shift in how to visually remember

Harvey Milk at a time when Americans' trust in their elected officials was at an all-time low (Jones, 2014).⁷¹

The essay booklet included with *The Times of Harvey Milk* Criterion Collection DVD (2011) provides cast and crew credits, film restoration information, and three essays related to the documentary. Film scholar B. Ruby Rich (2011) provides historical context and an overview of what makes Epstein's documentary one to revisit over the years, and in doing so, Rich touches upon the themes of left/right political battles, tragedy/mourning/memory, and the legacy of Milk. She places the film in the beginning battle between left and right in the American culture was post Vietnam and Nixon (p. 6). Rich discusses the film as *elegy* and *eulogy* (p. 7), and the interviewees within it as *witnesses* and *mourners*, who "model for us all the stages of grief, from bereavement and anger to grudging acceptance" (p. 9). She includes discussion of *Milk* (2008) as arising out of the documentary's inspiration (p. 5), and a complementary resource for political activism, as both films are sourced by gay activists after the 2008 passage of Proposition 8 in California (p.11).

Stuart Milk's (2011) essay in the booklet speaks about Milk's influence as an uncle and the importance of Epstein's documentary as a tool to communicate Milk's legacy. He relates the use of Epstein's documentary in gaining support for the establishment of California's Harvey Milk Day and in taking Milk's story to international audiences (p. 17). Ross Lipman's (2011) essay in the booklet gives an overview of decisions made in the restoration process, outlining some of the hurdles and ethical

⁷¹ This all-time low statistic was reached in 2011, and then broken again later in 2014. This data only went up to 2014.

questions archivists encounter in the process. Each of the essayists write for the archive – how to think of the documentary within history, film, and American culture. They also write for the present – why it is important to remember this film, and its content, in contemporary times.

Over four hours of additional video materials are included on the DVDs. Some of the material is carried forward from the 20th Anniversary DVD: the postscript/alternate ending, original trailer, clips of White and a panel discussing his trial, speeches from the 25th anniversary candlelight memorial, Harry Britt speaking at the more formal 25th anniversary event, opening night at the Castro Theatre, and the documentary win/acceptance at the Academy Awards. Overall, the bonus materials work to solidify the importance of Epstein's documentary, provide moments of Milk and Moscone remembrance and memorial, and deepen the viewer's engagement with Harvey Milk and his times. A segment from Jon Else explains the significance of the film from a scholarly standpoint. A segment titled "Two Films, One Legacy," has Epstein, Van Sant, and some of the key memory keepers discuss how *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) and *Milk* (2008) work together to bring Milk's story to a larger public. The interviews stress the importance of keeping his memory alive for future generations. Another segment includes a collection of recordings: a radio segment on local reaction to Anita Bryant, Milk speaking at various events, and one of Milk's recorded wills.

Excerpts from Epstein's research tapes, also on the DVD, allow the greatest opportunity for negotiation of Milk memory. Viewing these excerpts is like sifting through clips in an archive. The slightly soft black-and-white 70s video elevates the

experience of “going back” to the times of Milk. Shot as drafts for research, the videos escape standard lighting, makeup, and set design. Their lack of design enhances a sense of actuality and authenticity for the viewer. There is an intimacy in the way these interviews are casually held in people’s homes, an intimacy that is also potentially elevated through the audience’s home viewing experience. The Smith and Jones interviews are additionally indicative of the relationship *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984) has with *Milk* (2008) in creating an ongoing Milk memory narrative held within these two main cinematic artifacts.

Smith’s interview footage provides insight into his everyday life with Milk. The inclusion of this clip brings back the forgotten Smith, and indeed builds off of Smith’s love partnership role in *Milk* (2008). The closing title for Smith’s interview, which notes Smith as the sole executor of the Harvey Milk estate (until Smith’s death in 1995), solidifies his familial importance in Milk’s life. Through these cinematic artifacts, Smith’s relatively small role in Milk’s narrative has expanded over the years, 1984-2011. The research interview with a young Jones is a similar experience. Viewers who have also seen *Milk* (2008) now get to see “the real” young Jones. As with Smith, the interview works to expand the memory of Jones within the Milk narrative, and his position as one of the initial Milk memory keepers. Jones discusses his time as Milk’s City Hall intern, but more time is given to his experience of the White Night riots, the celebration of Milk’s birthday the following day, and Milk’s influence not only on Jones’s life, but on seeing himself as part of a larger, gay culture. Ending titles testify to how Jones has

carried the Milk legacy torch forward as we are informed that Jones later founded the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt, alongside other ongoing human rights activism.

Two additional research interviews provide opportunity for the collective memory of Milk to be subtly deepened and somewhat contested. In San Francisco Superior Court Judge Lillian Sing's research tape, she speaks to Milk as a civil rights leader, introducing her to coalition politics for minorities and underserved populations. She credits his Jewish identity alongside his experience as a gay man as informing his fight against injustices. Milk's Jewish identity as personally influential is touched upon in the documentary and biopic, but remains an undercurrent in the overall Milk memory narrative as presented in these cinematic memory texts. The other interview is with political organizer and activist Amber Hollibaugh, who offers a counter-narrative to the theme of gay rights as civil rights. Hollibaugh discusses the couching of gay rights within civil rights in the fight against the Briggs Initiative as missing an opportunity to confront homophobia through open discussion of homosexuality in a public arena. Whereas Milk is viewed within the cinematic memory narratives as breaking away from stodgier gay politicians, Hollibaugh's interview allows for a memory of Milk as a more centrist leader, and the gay movement, as potentially more varied and complex than depicted in the cinematic artifacts.

Harvey Handled: Cinematic Memory Texts and Collective Memory

Through their continued public screening as well as their preservation and release on DVD, the cinematic artifacts of *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984/2008/2011) and *Milk* (2008) become memory sites through which we continue to construct a social and

collective memory of Milk as a gay rights hero couched within a civil rights context.

Milk is remembered as a man whose life (and memory thereof) is reconstructed based on present needs for such a memory to help civil rights movements continue work in both the 1980's, in again in the early 21st century.

The first reconstruction of Milk in 1984 situates our remembering within the broader context of civil rights – it somewhat “normalizes” Milk while still simultaneously remembering Milk as a gay rights activist. This remembering of Milk makes sense in a pre-AIDS era, in the dawning era of the United States gay rights movement. In both films, Milk is remembered as an ordinary man who makes his life extraordinary through becoming one of the first openly gay persons elected to city office, and through his subsequent commitment to civil rights and social change. Milk goes on the hero's mythic journey in both films, working hard, running into challenges that almost break him before rising up, fighting and achieving his goals. He becomes a hero and an icon. The reconstruction of the memory of Milk in *Milk* (2008) takes this heroic journey one step further, into martyrdom. The biopic includes a narrative theme of civil rights, and in particular, gay rights, as a responsibility handed from one generation to the next. As we watch *Milk* (2008), we see Milk passing the civil rights torch to Jones. This gesture instructs young LGBTQIA+ viewers on how they have a past as a community, and how the gay rights movement keeps living. The cinematic coda of “where they are now” adds to the notion of how Milk's life (and sacrifice) similarly motivated others. This film additionally reconstructs a memory of Milk as having a long-term romantic relationship,

or at least a desire for that relationship, which works to address the then-current LGBTQIA+ movement's focus on marriage equality.

Both films remember conservatism and bigotry but the more recent film makes a firmer attempt to bring these issues to the forefront, including more instances of what we would recognize today as “hate crimes” – violence against minorities and, in particular, gay people. *Milk* (2008), although it largely couches the memory of Milk within a civil rights context, creates more space for Milk to have a thicker layer of memory particular to the LGBTQIA+ civil rights movement, albeit simplified for mainstream viewing.

As Zelizer (1995) contends, collective memory is transported through the sharing of objects and media. Collective memory is constantly living and is not locked down as authentic or accurate (p. 217). Although documentaries and biopics share a relationship to history and attempt to align themselves closely, they stay distanced as separate texts. These are memory texts providing what Zelizer (1995) terms as an “added layer through which to consider the past” (p. 218).

This chapter engaged a close textual analysis of two cinematic artifacts that have become the main moving image media texts for remembering Milk. Their media necessitated a distillation of information to fit within a particular viewing time, and the films were intended for larger mainstream audiences. They had to keep in mind market concerns for audience and distribution, which could not help but push the films to a more standard narrative of Milk that could be palatable beyond LGBTQIA+ audiences.

What cannot be addressed as well by this chapter is where and how the films are used and viewed and what role that plays in their interpretation. Audience is something

not well addressed by a close textual analysis such as this one. Here the focus was on message and the narrative themes built within the media memoria themselves. For a topic such as *Milk*, which has established such strong local memory collectives, the films also had to keep in mind their relationship to San Francisco and San Franciscans. This was demonstrated earlier in the community's reaction to the Shilts/Oliver Stone "Mayor of Castro Street" film adaptation, which never got off the ground. One had to court the locals and satisfy the memory keepers, particularly when the collective memory is one that still had witnesses to the event or people being remembered.

What additionally marks the documentary and biopic is a sense of pride felt by local LGBTQIA+ and other San Franciscans about these two films, something that I did encounter during fieldwork and will attempt to address in the following chapter. This does not mean that everyone agreed with everything the films said or their approaches. *Milk* (2008), being a Hollywood film, was expected by local citizens to not necessarily "get it all right." Still, there was something special locals felt when "Milk came to town" for production, returned for its world premiere, and then began its theatrical run near the 30th anniversary of the assassinations. The next chapter looks at the continued work of local *Milk* memory production in San Francisco during and after *Milk* (2008), the impact of the movie on local and local LGBTQIA+ *Milk* memory, and the rise of a more public, national *Milk* memory.

CHAPTER 7

MILK (2008) COMES TO TOWN AND HARVEY GOES TO WASHINGTON

A few smaller Milk memory projects fell into place before *Milk* (2008) came to town. In 2006 a photo installation was permanently installed in Harvey Milk Plaza featuring photographs of Milk taken mostly by local photographers (Eckert, 2009). In 2007, John Baden painted a colorful mural in the former Castro Camera, which was then a gift shop (Towle, 2007). The mural featured an image of a mustached Milk smiling, wearing his “Harvey Milk for Supervisor” t-shirt.⁷² A gray gun stenciled off to the side shoots swirling floral-like trails that surround Milk. Following along the trail between the gun and Milk is the text “If a bullet should enter my brain, let the bullet destroy every closet door.”

It was around this same time that Dustin Lance Black had finished his script for a movie about Milk (Black, 2008, pp. 114-115). Van Sant spoke about making the film about Milk as a sort of destiny. Black had approached Cleve Jones with a friend a few years earlier about a possible musical on Jones’s life, but Jones convinced them that Harvey was the person they wanted to focus on. Years later Jones called Van Sant and brought Black and Van Sant together. This is a story that was told several times during my fieldwork in San Francisco and is recounted in interviews and with the publication of Black’s script (Van Sant, 2008).⁷³ Black (2008) wrote his script from original interviews with people who knew Milk; Jones connected him and would accompany him on trips to

⁷² The image of Harvey is based off a photograph taken for his 1975 campaign kick-off. The image is credited to the Harvey Milk Archives; no specific photographer is noted.

⁷³ In public Jones sometimes dramatically adds in that it was too early for a film about him, he still had a lot of things to get done before that movie could be made.

San Francisco (pp. 113-114, 117; Winn, 2008, p. A11). For a while in 2007 there were two Milk projects in development, the one Van Sant/Black project and a resurrection once again of a script based on Shilts's (1982) biography, which was rumored to have Bryan Singer attached to direct ("Two Harvey Milk Films," 2007). The Van Sant/Black project gained the advantage, getting greenlit first; the Shilts adaptation would yet again be thwarted ("Harvey Milk Film," 2007).

This chapter moves between the impact the film *Milk* (2008) had on local Milk memory and its continued growth alongside the rise of a more national, public memory of Milk. The stitching together of these stories come from newspaper articles and fieldwork (participant observation, interviewing) conducted in San Francisco from 2012-2013. While that time span seems much longer than the film's theatrical run, the residue of that film was still very present in how Milk was presented and spoken about in San Francisco; it had become part of the fabric of local collective memory related to Milk.

Production for the movie *Milk* (2008) occurred on-location in San Francisco during early 2008, which meant that locations had to be transformed to represent 1970s San Francisco (Winn, 2008). Members of pre-production were dispatched to archives to pore over Milk-related artifacts and film clips (Bryer, 2013; Cherian, 2013). Sean Penn and James Franco met with friends of Harvey Milk to hear stories and learn more about the people they were portraying (Alfred, 2013). This kind of attention had an impact on how locals connected and engendered trust to the film project and its representation of Milk. During one of the summers of research I was invited to a photography opening at which some men still discussed the attention given to locals. They spoke of Penn as if

star-struck fans, noting he was the perfect incarnation of Harvey. Small anomalies could be waved away as the price paid for Hollywood attention to a local figure. The fact that Penn was from neighboring Marin County did not hurt.

Strangers I met in food and bus lines would have a story about when “Milk came to town,” talking about when the film shot in San Francisco during the early months of 2008. One young couple lived between L.A. and San Francisco, and first learned about Harvey Milk when the film production was in town. She spoke of how respectful the film production team seemed to be shooting on location, the care they were taking to make everything look just right, and in the end, how much fun it was to see everything on the screen. She paused for a second and noted that she didn’t really see them when they were here but it was all everyone was talking about during that time. My interaction with her was the sort of communal interaction one has with a visitor, speaking for the town, even if an event wasn’t something one personally experienced. Watching her recall and explain this story it struck me that her experience was indicative of collective memory. She took the shared stories as her own memory, which she shared with me as we waiting in line at Bi-Rite Creamery on a Saturday afternoon.

The film shot in San Francisco for eight weeks, on-location in the Castro and outside of City Hall, with office settings in other buildings and restaging Milk’s night at the opera on nearby Treasure Island (Wynn, 2008a; Stein, 2008). Jones, who consulted on the film, told a reporter “I have cried every single day since we started working” (Jones as quoted by Wynn, p. A11). Nicoletta, who had worked for Milk and Smith in Castro Camera and was a photographer on the shoot recalled his experience in the

restaged Castro Camera, waking up from a brief nap on the couch and how real the store felt, as if he had suddenly been transported back to the past, of having a brief moment of not really knowing whether it was past or present (Nicoletta, 2012). Reporting on the shooting day of Milk's Gay Freedom Day speech, Stein (2008) remarked:

Appearing on the City Hall steps to deafening applause, Penn looked shockingly like Milk. He had his almost Grecian nose and dark wavy hair parted to one side.... A dozen rows back from Penn, John Hershey, 63, started crying. Milk had influenced him to come out to his family, Hershey recalled. 'This is an important thing to me because I want all the kids to know what Harvey did,' he said. All age groups were represented. Peter Weitz came with his wife, Jenni. They're both 28. 'We came to be part of history, even if it's re-created history. We couldn't have been there the first time,' he said. (Stein, 2008, p. E3)

Being part of history, even if re-created. To be part of the myth, in its remaking. When "Milk came to town," its connection with place gave some San Franciscans a sort of elevated "sense of history," one similar to Glassberg's (2001) description of how in connection with place one can have a feeling of the past in the present. The experience connected the participants even more strongly to have pride in Milk as part of their local collective memory; indeed, it folded into that collective memory. One person commented that having the film return to the Castro went beyond simply adding a layer of authenticity, it contributed a spiritual component to the film (Winn, 2008a, p. A11). Another connection to history was being made at the re-creation of Milk's Gay Freedom Day speech outside of City Hall. Stein (2008) noted if people were paying attention, they may have even noticed Robin Williams and Oliver Stone in the crowd (p. E3).

This was not to say that all locals were enraptured when the production came to town. Some local Castro business owners felt the production did not pay them enough

money to close down or restage their exteriors to work for shooting (Winn, 2008). Some conversations in the LGBTQIA+ community during fieldwork spoke to how they worried about Milk getting too much of the “Hollywood treatment,” stripping him of what made him unique. Still others wished more attention was given to other local people who also deserved recognition as part of the area’s LGBTQIA+ history. Certainly there was more than Milk. But this was not what was reflected in the local mainstream papers reporting on the production, its world premiere, or its standard release in local theatres timed to occur around the 30th anniversary of the assassinations.

The film *Milk* (2008) had its world premiere at the Castro Theatre in San Francisco on October 28, 2008. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that people took the opportunity to march with “Vote No on Prop. 8” signs to protest the proposition to ban same-sex marriage (Winn, 2008b). Aside from noting stars who attended, the article noted the premiere “was a heady mingling of then-and now. Various real-life participants in Milk’s career showed up, along with the actors who portray them onscreen” (p. A10). The film was pre-screened for some of Milk’s friends. Anne Kronenberg commented that she was still recovering from her viewing: “Gus (Van Sant) and the production team caught the era exactly. It’s very accurate. What really comes across is that feeling of compatriots and being family that we felt” (Kronenberg as quoted by Winn, 2008b). The incorporation of Milk’s friends at the world premiere and in its subsequent coverage granted the film a sense of authenticity, an approval of this particular media memoria. San Francisco celebrated by naming streetcar #1051 after Harvey Milk (Gordon, 2008).

The streetcar ran on the F-line between the Castro and Fisherman's Wharf, and featured placards informing passengers about the life of Harvey Milk.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* offered extensive coverage of the film as it opened its standard theatrical run in November, just before the anniversary of the Milk/Moscone assassinations. Through ongoing discussion of *Milk* (2008), the *San Francisco Chronicle* talked about the history of the assassinations and the memory of Milk, the man. Stein's (2008b) "The Long Road to Milk" feature story in the *Chronicle's* "Datebook" supplement finally addressed the elephant in the room, providing a history of the attempts to make a biopic on Milk and why it was that *Milk* (2008) was the victor (pp. 16-19). A steady stream of articles was in this special supplement and more continued throughout the anniversary week. Articles ranged from discussions of the film's actors (Winn, 2008c, Stein, 2008c) to timelines of events in Milk's life ("How events unfolded," 2008), to "Real versus Reel," a comparison of actors in the film to the actual person they portrayed (Harmanci, 2008a).

Harmanci's (2008b) "Still a force for change?" looked at how the memory might bring Milk's past to a present young generation and paralleled Milk's battle against Proposition 6 to the recent battle over Proposition 8. LaSalle's (2008) "His time. Our Story" reviews the film, toward the end, remarking about the importance of this film to San Franciscans:

One truth 'Milk' doesn't need to amplify or manipulate: It's that Harvey Milk's story is part of the San Francisco story, and that story still means something, even to those who came to town years later and never heard of Milk until they got here. (p. E4)

The *San Francisco Chronicle's* ongoing coverage of *Milk* (2008) was simultaneously able to discuss the film while also addressing the city's past. They were able to tell Milk's story through the lens of the film, and use its release as a way to pass through the trauma and tragedy of the assassinations to the larger message of inspiration and hope. They used the film to build pride in their city, encourage unity, and embrace Milk as a full local memory representing what was important to remember as a San Franciscan. Reporters also used the film to discuss another tragedy, that of the surprising passage of Proposition 8, which banned same-sex marriage. The parallel to Milk's battle against Proposition 6, which Milk is depicted as winning in the film, was used as a lesson for what was needed to defeat what had been wrought by Proposition 8.

Resonant for thinking about evolving collective memory was Winn's (2008d) "Harvey's Friends Remember," featuring interviews with Anne Kronenberg, Cleve Jones, and Daniel Nicoletta. The three are pictured together in a photograph next to the headline. Nicoletta is in front, Jones is behind him to the right, and Kronenberg stands to the left of the two men with her arms wrapped comfortably around both of them, hands resting on their shoulders. The article featured each of them talking about how their lives intersected with that of Milk's and what they felt Milk taught them. Kronenberg noted that the scene depicting her introduction to Milk's friends as his new campaign manager and their startled reaction was exactly how she experienced it in real life, but Milk didn't see those distinctions, he only saw injustices and possibilities for coalition. Nicoletta noted that Milk encouraged them to be themselves and find their own path to involvement. Jones pointed to how Milk taught him to be more politically pragmatic and not build walls that

kept him inside an LGBT bubble. All three “agreed that ‘Milk’ summons its period faithfully” (p. 21).

Cleve Jones, Anne Kronenberg, and Daniel Nicoletta were historical consultants for the film (Nicoletta was also a still photographer for the production). They were often on set and interviewed by local papers about their experiences “going back.” It was not that other people were not involved. Frank Robinson’s name often came up (Milk’s speech writer and great friend), and he also attended events and made himself available as a living reference to Milk. But it would be Jones, Kronenberg and Nicoletta in particular that provided a triad thread between the past and present where larger Milk narratives were concerned. The three were often interviewed and depicted in articles related to *Milk* (2008), speaking of their experiences, their presence lending approval of the film. With *Milk* (2008) all three felt they had secured the final genre that had been missing in Milk media memoria – a Hollywood film based on Milk (Kronenberg, 2012, Nicoletta, 2012).⁷⁴

The film was cathartic for the three, bringing back emotions while simultaneously moving through them. Through referencing this triad, reporters could perhaps also help the local community move through the tragedy of this past during its 30th anniversary. Kronenberg, who often talked about shutting down after the assassinations, talked about how the film allowed to her to remember more positive memories and move forward from the more painful ones (Winn, 2008b; Winn, 2008d). Nicoletta talked about the long work of devoting the last 30 years to preserving Milk’s legacy. He talked about his

⁷⁴ Jones agreed to be interviewed for this project but a suitable time could not be arranged. Assertions to his thoughts/comments not credited directly come from generalizing from multiple news reports or from public events I attended during fieldwork, at which Jones spoke.

participation with various Milk-related projects, his dedication to documentary photography, and his work as a living reference for students who want to know more about Milk (Guthmann, 2008, Nicoletta, 2012). Each of the three were also now documented within the two main cinematic artifacts of Milk, with Kronenberg featured in the documentary as an important source, and Jones and Nicoletta finally joining her as characters in *Milk* (2008). Guthmann (2008) noted that Nicoletta's role as a supporting character in *Milk* (2008) was partially because of his dedication to maintaining Milk's memory over the years (p. 8). As Milk memory evolved, the keepers of its flame, over time, would also be inserted in its evolving narrative.

Milk (2008) captured two Oscars in February, 2009, and the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported on watch parties in San Francisco and their proud reactions to the films (Hendricks, 2009). Senator Mark Leno, who championed the bill for Harvey Milk Day that was vetoed by Governor Schwarzenegger, decided to give it another try. He brought Penn back to town the following month to help lobby for support. "If there's one thing Arnold Schwarzenegger understands, it's box office," Leno said. "And Harvey Milk now has box office (Leno as quoted by Wildermuth, 2009)."

There was opposition to Harvey Milk Day in California from the same constituencies that had supported Proposition 8. Now the success of *Milk* (2008) at resurrecting Milk in the public's consciousness was being used to fight back. LGBTQIA+ rights group Equality California built upon the popular resurrection of Milk in a television ad to garner support for the repeal of Proposition 8 (Wildermuth, 2009, p. B7). The advertisement, titled "Hope," used images, piano music and a calm, male voiceover:

“Persecuted, arrested, and beaten, and still denied equal rights. But for every Jerry Falwell, there is a Harvey Milk. For every voice of hatred, a million voices were changed. Because equality is our right” (Equality California, 2009). The advertisement received some criticism from blogger Andy Towle, who blasted its mellow production:

I hate to sound like a ‘debbie downer’ because the images and issues here could not be more serious, but would Harvey Milk have approved the soporific, feel-good elevator music and the groovy stoned sounding narrator that accompanies this ad? Where’s the anger? (Towle, 2009)

President Obama would take the first step in honoring Milk as the White House announced on July 30, 2009 that Milk would posthumously receive the Medal of Freedom award. This would make Milk “the first openly gay civil rights leader to receive the award” (Marinucci, 2009, p. 1). The award was accepted by Stuart Milk, Milk’s nephew, who then co-founded the Harvey Milk Foundation with Anne Kronenberg that same year (Kronenberg, 2012; milkfoundation.org).⁷⁵ It was a moment, briefly, when Milk found more support for recognition nationally than in his own state.

Schwarzenegger would approve Harvey Milk Day later that year, his spokesman crediting Obama’s move and the success of *Milk* (2008) as major motivations of the governor’s change of heart (Tran, 2009). Milk was additionally inducted into the California Hall of Fame on December 1, 2009. Lagos (2009) listed what Milk’s exhibit would feature:

⁷⁵ Kronenberg and Stuart Milk had previously talked about a possible foundation. Kronenberg had started working with Pabich and Rivaldo on a foundation right after the assassinations but the timing was not right. Stuart actually found the original brochure and approached Kronenberg again as interest in Milk started to rise (Kronenberg, 2012). An additional factor shared with me during research might have been that Desmond Tutu, also a recipient of a Medal of Freedom that year had strongly encouraged Stuart Milk to work to preserve his uncle’s legacy. Tutu is on the Harvey Milk Foundation’s Advisory Board (milkfoundation.org/about).

a time capsule created by his lover, Scott Smith, that includes a lock of Milk's hair, a tape recording of one of his speeches and a rainbow flag. The exhibit also includes the supervisor's groundbreaking 1978 sexual discrimination ordinance and the Medal of Freedom. (Lagos, 2009)

A book could be written solely on how the film *Milk* (2008) created a gateway for calling upon the memory of Milk in the fight for repealing Prop 8 and the fight for marriage equality in the U.S. This was an interesting pairing. Yes, it seemed from these Milk narratives that he was a lover of love, given to grand romantic gestures, but was marriage something he would have pushed for from his 1970s perspective? Charles (2012) argued for what he saw as a more historical Harvey Milk, that Milk was incongruous with marriage equality. But in the new century, Milk's legacy was reinterpreted to include gay marriage within the context of full equality of LGBTQIA+ citizens. Jones came forward to talk about how gay marriage was not an assimilationist move by the big LGBTQIA+ organizations. He asserted Milk would have supported gay marriage, had he lived through AIDS and witnessed the lack of rights partners had for visitation, medical, and life benefits (Siler & Hoshaw, 2016). This was how collective memory worked, shaping and reshaping the past for its use in the present. In this space, whether Milk historically would have actually supported marriage was irrelevant. It was how an evolving collective memory of Milk could serve the needs of the present that was important, how his memory was called for support.

There was a flurry of Milk media memoria coming out after 2008. In interviews and participant conversation, many speculated this was from the power of finally having a major motion picture related to Milk that had traction nationally and internationally. There was also the recognition Milk was receiving state-wide and nationally. Both

Nicoletta (2012) and Kronenberg (2012) noted the interest in Milk overseas. Newmarket Press (2009) released *Milk: A Pictorial History of Harvey Milk* as a companion to the DVD release of the Gus Van Sant movie in 2009. The book included a foreword introduction by San Franciscan author Armistead Maupin, who was a contemporary of Milk's, and scriptwriter Dustin Lance Black. The first part of the book included images of Milk from individual photographers, from the main archives associated with Milk, and from the San Francisco History Archive. Captions were provided by other people in the photographs or friends and contemporaries of Milk (p. 144). The second half of the book told the story of making *Milk* (2008), illustrated by images from the set, images from the past of Harvey Milk and friends, and images of the real life people depicted in the film next to the actors who portrayed them in the film (pp. 112-139). Returning to the same sources for information – living friends and contemporaries of Milk and his related archives – ensured that many of the media memoria produced similar Milk narratives. Thus, the narratives of Milk being produced remained fairly constant, becoming more like a scrapbook of memories that could be referenced. Much of the media memoria around this time and through 2013 had this quality.⁷⁶ Every once in a while there would be a bit of a break to allow the possibility of fresh interpretation.

Patricia Loughrey was commissioned by a Diversionary Theatre in San Francisco to write a play about Milk which premiered in 2009. The script of *Dear Harvey* (Loughrey, 2011) is set up to be a simple play requiring only seven actors, and is based on interviews “with people who knew Milk, or were affected by his life and vision” (p.

⁷⁶ This dissertation itself makes use of many of the same resources, and its main research was conducted during this flurry of Milk media memoria production. The author is cognizant that the influence discussed can be seen throughout this work, as well.

11). It also incorporates material from the Harvey Milk Archives-Scott Smith collection and excerpts from the *Bay Area Reporter*. Among the interviewees and written play characters are Milk regulars Tom Ammiano, Cleve Jones, Anne Kronenberg, Daniel Nicoletta, and Milk's nephew, Stuart Milk. The characters of Milk's friends carry forward much of the same narrative Milk has elsewhere but the incorporation of Stuart Milk and at least five new women who knew Milk or were inspired by him allows for this play to evolve Milk's memory as one more inclusive of women, which had not been done since the Epstein (1984) documentary.

Milk was already a symbol, and in some ways he was quickly becoming a brand. In the past, the GLBT Historical Society's gay history museum initiative exhibited the suit Milk was shot in as his featured artifact. This was still the case in their "Passionate Struggle" pop-up exhibition that opened during the month of the 30th anniversary of the assassinations (Bajko, 2008).⁷⁷ After the success of *Milk* (2008) they created a semi-permanent case of Milk artifacts that visitors might recognize from props they saw in the film, which they used as part of the "Our Vast Queer Past" exhibition that christened the museum's new semi-permanent location opening in 2011. As Koskovich (2012) explained:

One cannot really have a museum of GLBT history in San Francisco and not have Harvey Milk. The tourists would riot (laughs heartily). It would be like them going to New York and someone had put the Statue of Liberty away that week.

I was one of three lead curators on that show and the one thing we're all sort of used to is the idea that you need to give people something that they

⁷⁷ This exhibit also featured a downloadable audio walking tour podcast narrated by Jewelle Gomez, Anne Kronenberg, Cleve Jones, and Daniel Nicoletta. Focus Features, the distributors of *Milk* (2008) posted links for downloading the tour on their site. (Paul Van DeCarr, 2008).

can think they already know about, as a starting point. That's the door in. For launching the new museum, putting forward the Harvey Milk piece was also what opened the door to international coverage of the opening of the museum. That was the piece that could be understood easily and very quickly after the release of the Gus Van Sant film. It gave a point of entry not only for people coming into the museum but for folks thinking about covering the museum in the media or talking about it in blogs beyond those who might visit.⁷⁸ (Koskovich, 2012)

The case of Milk artifacts sat on Milk's kitchen table, a replica of which was used in the film. The placard for the exhibit read "Harvey Milk: From gay hippie to gay hero." In the museum case was Milk's bullhorn, a "Milk for Supervisor" t-shirt, a pair of jeans, a whistle, a cartoon-adorned beer stein with the name "Scott" on it, a pair of funky goggle glasses, and a black and white photograph of Milk embracing Smith in a kitchen. On a return visit there was an audio file one could listen to of one of Milk's recorded wills. Koskovich (2012) talked about how the curators had two objectives guiding what they selected. One was to give people who had seen the film the actual item that they saw as a prop in the film. Koskovich explained:

For many exhibition goers that has a particular frisson and thrill. But the selection of objects was largely focused on portraying Harvey Milk as an ordinary guy who lived in the Castro, since the museum is around the corner from where he lived and since many people came away from the movie with "Harvey Milk: Hero and Mythic Figure" as their primary sense of Harvey Milk. We wanted to bring it back down to earth and say "Harvey Milk, ordinary hippie guy around the neighborhood with his ragged jeans and his kitchen table that looks like a middle-aged hippie, and not some design queen, had it in their house....and that would also make it more vivid for visitors to the Castro who would be going and seeing where he lived. That would help them think "oh, this is another

⁷⁸ The other curators of "Our Vast Queer Past" were Don Romesberg and Amy Sueyoshi. Koskovich also curated an exhibition for a movie theatre in Paris that was screening *Milk* (2008). The GLBT Historical Society provided high resolution scans of images related to Milk from their archives, which the theatre printed out with the help of a local photography department at one of Paris' art schools. Koskovich provided the material objects, which consisted of buttons, brochures, and flyers from Milk's era and Milk-related media memoria (Koskovich, 2012).

ordinary queer person like me who came to this neighborhood and ultimately managed to change history, and we can all do that if we give it a try.” (Koskovich, 2012)

For the GLBT History Museum curators, the Milk exhibition was about capitalizing on the success of *Milk* (2008) and the heroic narrative it offered, while simultaneously emphasizing the “everyman” narrative of Milk. The choice of this narrative encouraged visitors to recognize Milk as regular guy who lived in the neighborhood. Their presence in Milk’s actual neighborhood might encourage their visitation to other Milk heritage sites such as the nearby building that housed Castro Camera.

575 Castro Street / Castro Camera

575 Castro Street, the site of the former Castro Camera and now San Francisco Landmark #227, is the Harvey Milk stop on walking tours of the Castro.⁷⁹ The former Castro Camera store is an interesting heritage site in that it is still a commercial property. It only has city landmark status and must house some sort of business that can pay San Franciscan rent prices. The building is marked by Norris’s mural of Milk looking down from his apartment window and brass plaques memorializing him placed in the sidewalk in front of the building, but otherwise, whoever is renting the building has their own function for the site; it is open for business. In 2010, it became the new home of a Human Rights Campaign store but not without some controversy.

To outsiders it seemed the perfect match, a gay rights foundation housed within Milk’s former camera shop, a location known for its political heritage. But the Human

⁷⁹ I personally took at least four different walking tours of the Castro myself and also watched other tours roll by during my fieldwork. Promotional brochures for the Castro “mark the spot” of 575 Castro so you don’t miss it.

Rights Campaign (HRC) was known within the LGBTQIA+ community as a more centrist, assimilationist organization. The *Associated Press* (2010) reported:

Milk's friends and admirers are so incensed at the group taking over the slain San Francisco supervisor's stomping grounds that they would rather see a Starbucks there, underscoring the tensions that exist within the various factions of the gay rights movement. (Associated Press, 2010)

Cleve Jones and Dustin Lance Black were the names in particular that were brought forward in the *Associated Press* (2010) story and another report in the *New York Times* (McKinley, 2010). An HRC store sells their merchandise as a way to fund their national organization. It was noted in the AP report that the HRC would stock Milk merchandise and a portion of those profits would go to the Harvey Milk Civil Rights Academy and the GLBT Historical Society. It was not the sale of Milk or HRC souvenir material that Black and Jones objected to:

“I don't mind us having images of Harvey Milk on all sorts of objects that are for sale if it keeps his memory alive,” said Dustin Lance Black, the Academy Award-winning screenwriter of the 2008 biopic “Milk.” “I have a problem with that money being used to fund a philosophy that he fought against.” (McKinley, 2010)

As for Jones:

“It's spitting in the face of Harvey's memory,” said AIDS Memorial Quilt founder Cleve Jones, who received his political education at Milk's side in the 1970s. (Associated Press, 2010)

Jones continued later in the article, referencing Milk:

“He was not an ‘A-Gay’ and had no desire to be an A-Gay. He despised those people and they despised him,” he said. “That, to me, is the crowd HRC represents. Don't try to wrap yourself up in Harvey Milk's mantle and pretend you are one of us.” (Associated Press, 2010)

A line had been crossed: “Black said HRC’s failure to talk to anyone close to Milk before it leased The Castro Street storefront demonstrates that it is out of touch” (Associated Press, 2010). Was this a déjà vu of the same discord Milk had with the centrist gay community of his day? Were the Milk memory keepers (one original, one newly anointed) drawing a line in the sand over who had say over Milk’s legacy? The *Associated Press* (2010) article acknowledged that the HRC was launched by activists with whom Milk had philosophical conflicts. But both articles also noted that Black and Jones had another non-profit interest they were lobbying support for to take over the site, a youth hotline known as “The Trevor Project.” So was Milk’s memory being invoked to help their cause? Was this just a tactic?

An article by *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter Bronstein (2010) brought Stuart Milk into the fray. Milk’s nephew stated: “Many people are saying they know what Harvey would have said or done.... I know he would have been upset about the community's weakness of always attacking each other. We have enough real enemies” (Bronstein, 2010). In the end, *Bay Area Reporter* Bajko (2011) announced a partnership was brokered through which the HRC would allow the back room of the building to be used for a youth crisis call center run by the Trevor Project while the front of the building would be an HRC Action Store. Bajko did not let it go unnoticed that the camera store was where Milk was depicted in *Milk* (2008) answering the phone call from that young man in Altoona, who was asking for help (Bajko, 2011). Whatever the simple or complicated truth was behind the very public squabble over 575 Castro Street was not ascertainable from reading the articles alone, but the performance of the disagreement

and resolution as presented through the press did play out as a battle over the interpretation of Milk's legacy and the "sacred ground" of 575 Castro Street.

The HRC Action Store at 575 Castro Street today has a special display on Milk with official Milk-licensed products. Stuart Milk holds the "Harvey Milk" trademark. A portion of the proceeds for Milk-licensed products goes to the Harvey Milk Foundation and the local Harvey Milk Civil Rights Academy, located in the neighborhood. Clips featuring Milk sometimes playback on a monitor near the back of the store. The door to the Trevor Project is there. The mural of Milk painted by Baden remains, located behind the front counter of the store. At one point, local filmmaker Jenni Olson's contemplative short film *575 Castro St.* played on a small screen with headphones nearby. The seven-minute film was comprised of four fixed moving-image shots of the interior of the Castro Camera shop, the store as re-created for the movie *Milk* (2008). The opening titles read:

In February 1977, the "San Francisco Gay Film Festival" was born when a self described [sic] "ragtag bunch of hippie fag filmmakers" got together and projected their Super 8 short films on a bed sheet. Many of these films explored gay themes, but (like other experimental films of the era) many were simple light and motion studies. Most of these films passed through Harvey Milk's Castro Camera Store at 575 Castro St. for processing. In 2008, the Castro Camera Store was recreated at that address for Gus Van Sant's film MILK. This film was shot on that set.⁸⁰ (Olson, 2008)

The only movement in the visuals of the film are cars passing behind the front window or reflections of light bouncing off of the store walls. Almost twenty seconds into the film, after the titles, Milk's voice comes on and as one is looking at the camera store one listens to what turns out to be one of his tape-recorded wills. There are only four shots but they each have a lot to look at within them. One sees a desk, mismatched chairs, a well-

⁸⁰ Jenni Olson is well known within the LGBTQIA+ filmmaking community as having a long investment in the Frameline Film Festival, the origin story of which these titles also describe.

worn velvet couch. Campaign posters are on the wall next to a bulletin board with a row of camera straps pinned to it. One notices the details of the store as one is listening to Milk's final wishes. The result is haunting, peaceful, memorial. The fact that one is watching it within the actual space it represents is an odd meta-commentary. One is watching a re-creation of the past while in the location's actual present, surrounded by interpretations of Milk that range from traditionally informative, to playfully expressive, to random souvenir. A souvenir shot glass features Milk's smiling face sandwiched between a trolley and the sign for Fisherman's Wharf.

Contemplative memorials such as Olson's are rare, and even it returns to friends of Milk and mining the archives related to Harvey Milk. Olson's own access was due to her knowing friends of Milk and her position within in the local filmmaking community. She also had access to one of Milk's cassette tapes and was pushing toward its preservation. Because of her respected creative and activist reputation in the LGBTQIA+ community, Olson was contacted by someone at Focus Features who queried if she was interested in creating content for their website during the production of Gus Van Sant's film. Olson used only portions of Milk's tape, having felt "a very heavy sense of responsibility in representing him" (Olson, 2012). The short film ran an interesting parallel to *Milk* (2008), working in tandem. Olson noted: "Dustin Lance Black took verbatim a lot of that text and now you can see this short and listen to Harvey's actual voice; it is really powerful for people (Olson, 2012). Olson's film exudes her signature landscape style, while simultaneously authenticating *Milk's* (2008) Hollywood feature film representation of Harvey Milk.

Locking Things Down in Print; Events and Audiences

Some Milk media memoria turned toward further curation of material from the archives. Emery (2012) self-published a curated book of lesser-known Milk interviews and photographs, supplemented by timelines of important events in Milk's life and a record of his supervisory activities. His publishing company was also responsible for the second edition of Weiss's (1984/2010) *Double Play* book, updating it with an additional chapter and a companion DVD that the book's sleeve promoted as including "police dispatch recordings of officers responding to the murders and hunting for the killer, Dianne Feinstein telling how she found Harvey Milk's body, and the never-before-available recording of White's gut-wrenching confession." During one of my research visits Emery was promoting his book through slide show lectures, one of which was offered at the library branch that bears Milk's name. He displayed images and talked about his process of curating materials for the book. This particular presentation had a flair for the more dramatic details of Emery locating backgrounds of photographs he used in the book with a focus on Milk's connection to the stage and celebrities. The crowd was small, mostly locals. Emery, a showman presenter, kept them entertained and signed their books at the end of the presentation.

Black and Morris (2013) curated from the Harvey Milk Archives-Scott Smith collection in their more academically-anchored *Harvey Milk: An Archive of Hope*. They held public events/book signings in the summer of 2013 around the time of Harvey Milk Day celebrations. One event was in the James C. Hormel LGBTQIA Center in the San

Francisco Public Library.⁸¹ Daniel Nicoletta was with them on a panel that discussed their book and took questions from the crowd. About 20 attendees nestled into the center, a well-appointed LGBTQIA+ reading room on the third floor of the library. Particular attention was given to young men in the crowd, who talked about just learning about Harvey Milk. The desire to pass the story of Milk along to a younger generation was acute during the years of my research. This would come out at events in audience discussions and in interviews with people involved with Milk or Milk media memoria. The move to curate material from the archives seemed to also be part of this movement, to strike while the proverbial Milk iron was hot, while Milk was receiving public acknowledgement and his story had caché.

Black and Morris's second event was at a local bookstore in the Castro. The panel featured the authors, Daniel Nicoletta, and Frank Robinson, who was Milk's speechwriter and had provided the Foreword to Black and Morris's (2013) book. This event was standing room only with somewhere around 50 to 60 people. They seemed to be locals, as everyone was acknowledging one another and chatting before the event. The age range seemed to be late 40 to early 60s, with a smattering above and below that range. A line-up of singers from the San Francisco Gay Men's Chorus (SFGMC) sang songs to promote an oratorio on Milk that would premiere later that summer. Frank Robinson shared his stories about working with Milk. He shed tears as he talked about how much Milk impacted his life.

⁸¹ The center also features a large circular ceiling mural, "Into the Light," by Mark Evans and Charley Brown, installed in 1996. Men and women in the mural work in a construction site with blocks bearing the names of LGBTQIA historical figures, chosen from a list provided by a taskforce in the American Library Association. Harvey Milk is one of the names featured (sfpl.org, n.d.)

During the question and answer session, people took the opportunity to stand and share their “Harvey story,” which would either be a vignette of how they had an encounter with him or a prediction of “what Harvey would do” about a particular issue. The audience talked about how Milk was fighting rising rents and how the city was back in that situation again, there was a conversation about whether Milk was religious or not, and a somewhat heated argument about how the “LGBT” community needed more history and documentation of men like Milk, and less queer theory. This was an interesting discussion as it spoke to a resentment of the inaccessibility of queer theory to a more general LGBTQIA+ community. Some audience members felt that attention to, and arguments within, the often loftier queer theory took energies away from documenting people and history that could be more pragmatically useful on the ground for activism and social change.

2013: The Summer of Love and Milk in the Schools

The summer of 2013, which was the 35th anniversary year for the assassinations, was particularly active where Milk memory was concerned. Milk was one of 25 people included in Mario Chiodo’s massive “Remember Them: Champions for Humanity” sculpture in neighboring Oakland, California. The unveiling was on May 31, 2013. Seats were reserved for donors and relatives of those being honored. One of Malcom X’s relatives spoke at the event. Daniel Nicoletta was there for Milk.

Local journalist David Talbot, whose book *Season of the Witch* covered turbulent San Francisco from the late 1960s to the early 1980s, gave a lecture for the monthly

meeting of the San Francisco Museum and Historical Society held at the Old Mint.⁸² The room was packed with about 100 people. Talbot's focus for the lecture was the time of Milk and Moscone. Here was an instance in which Moscone received more attention than Milk. Talbot noted that Milk had used the Temple's services for folding or distributing brochures but that Milk also warned his staff to be careful; he knew Jones was "deeply creepy." He also noted that Milk had written to someone in President Carter's office and complained that some of the followers were not getting their social security checks in Guyana. These were discussions of Milk that were not standard. Some of Milk's interactions with Jim Jones's Peoples Temple were mentioned in Shilts's (1982) book but otherwise this is an area that is usually left out of most Milk media memoria. The audience question and answer was much the same as it was at other events, just with a focus on other people in history, instead of Milk. People wanted to witness their own experiences from the time period being discussed, and also used the event as a small town hall again, this time to discuss local health care.

Frameline, San Francisco's annual LGBTQIA+ film festival, held a special panel for the implementation of the California's Fair, Accurate, Inclusive, and Respectful (FAIR) Education Act. This Act required that a more diverse and inclusive curriculum be implemented in history and social studies curricula in the K-12 schools, with better LGBTQIA+ inclusion as one of the Act's components. Shepherded by Senator Mark

⁸² The event was open to the public.

Leno, the same senator who fought for Harvey Milk Day, the Act became law in 2012.⁸³

Schools had five years to complete its implementation.

Senator Leno was in attendance at the FAIR panel and in his opening remarks he spoke about the violence LGBTQIA-identified children received in schools. Leno remarked that with greater representation of LGBTQIA+ people and movements in the schools this discrimination and violence should lessen. Leno remarked that teaching Milk was as valuable as teaching Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Later he recounted a personal story in which he shared the story of Milk to visiting LGBTQIA+ students at a state capital day. Another panelist's presentation was on his work with university students to develop Milk curriculum that might be used to keep in compliance with FAIR.

Milk in the Schools: Milk Media Memoria, K-12

Milk media memoria developed for K-12 readers was not something completely new. Kari Krakow's (2001) *The Harvey Milk Story* was written for general release but it was also used in schools.⁸⁴ This was a book that was also recommended by various people I contacted for further information on Milk. The book was on lists I received from project participants on material they suggested I consider.

An academic article examining the presentation of Milk's narrative in materials prepared for K-12 readers warned that the book reinforces normativity when it emphasizes how Milk was like other boys and men and its single hero narrative overshadows a history that depended not on a single hero but on the collective action of everyday people (Donahue, 2014, pp. 43-44). Donahue's analysis came over a decade

⁸³ Leno formerly served as a member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

⁸⁴ The book is out of print but used copies were still available in 2016 at over double their original hardcopy cost.

after the book was initially published and in concert with the implementation of FAIR, for which Donahue contributed a report (Romesburg, D, Rupp, L. J., and Donahue, D. M., 2014). While Donahue's concerns merit examination, the challenge is larger than Milk himself, as his narrative fits into the standard great-men-of-history narrative familiar in American storytelling.

As I worked on this project I was regularly sent Milk material by friends who knew of my dissertation topic. In 2015 a friend posted a link to Maria Popova's blog *Brain Pickings*, on which Popova posted an extended feature on Krakow's book, the full title of which was: *The illustrated story of Harvey Milk, humanitarian martyr of love: How a little boy with big ears grew up to hear the cry for social justice and answered it with a clarion call for equality in the kingdom of love* (Popova, 2015).⁸⁵ It would be difficult to remove the heroic narrative of Milk circulating in mass culture. Popova concluded her feature on the book by linking Milk to Edith Windsor and her successful fight against the constitutionality of the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) in 2013:

Thirty-four years later, one brave woman picked up where he left off and made possible a dream even Milk didn't dare to dream... Complement *The Harvey Milk Story* with marriage equality patron saint Edie Windsor on love and the truth about equality.... (Popova, 2015)

Popova (2015) hyperlinked the stories on her blog.

Another book on Milk intended for younger readers is Aretha's (2010) *No Compromise: The Story of Harvey Milk*, which is intended for young adult readers. It references Shilts's (1982) book and Epstein's (1984) documentary, but also incorporates

⁸⁵ The title is real and the feature post was an effusive celebration of Krakow's book featuring most of its story and many of Gardner's illustrations. While a subscription number for *Brain Pickings* was not available, in 2017 Popova had over 727,000 followers on Twitter, where she also shares some of her *Brain Pickings* posts.

a large amount of journalism to place Milk's life in context of his time. The book distills Milk's life into easily digestible chapters and also incorporates additional information, as in its discussion of other pioneer gay politicians (p. 53). The book ends with a chapter on Milk's legacy. This chapter mentions Milk making the *TIME* 100 list and lists places and memorials that honor Milk (pp. 107, 112). It talks about how Milk's story inspired Dustin Lance Black to write a script and the chapter provides a description of Black's Academy Awards acceptance speech (pp. 110, 115). The chapter ends with Stuart Milk accepting his uncle's posthumous Medal of Freedom Award in 2009 (pp. 115-117). Aretha's (2009) book is a straightforward book for standard reading.

Materials such as described in the FAIR panel have been in development; one example is Luna's (2011) "In Celebration of Harvey Milk," which is designed as an activity workbook for students from Grades 4 up. For some of the assignments students engage Krakow's (2001) book or the *Milk* DVD (2009). The discussion at the FAIR panel in 2013 indicated more Milk educational material was in the pipeline, but some pushback was also present. There were conversations about how there needs to be room for "more than just Milk." This seemed partially a discussion between the "great man/individual" history versus a more social history and partially a discussion of whether students needed some sort of cognizant connection to learn. But for some participants, this seemed to be about wanting to "spread the wealth" to other figures in the California LGBTQIA+ movement.

Return to the Summer of Love: Wednesday, June 26, 2013

The summer of 2013 was also the summer the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) and California's Proposition 8 (Prop 8) were taken to the Supreme Court in hopes of DOMA being overturned and the Prop 8 marriage ban lifted. People on the streets of the Castro and San Francisco were hopeful, and it was not unusual during my summer 2013 research trip for people to cross their fingers and talk about it being the "summer of love," nostalgically recalling its Haight-Ashbury predecessor.⁸⁶ There were special social media accounts promoted to keep up with decisions. The city had granted a sliding date for when the streets of the Castro might be closed for a grand celebration. This was also high LGBTQIA+ tourist season, as San Francisco Pride was near, its large annual parade and festivities scheduled for the last weekend in June.

I was up early to catch a MUNI Metro ride to an interview with the archivist of the Bay Area Television Archive, which was housed at San Francisco State University. As I walked to catch the train at the Harvey Milk Plaza, it struck me that with the time change a decision on DOMA and Prop 8 might have come to pass. When I round the corner to Castro Street it was pretty clear something had occurred. A big rainbow flag and a big American flag were being waved from a crowd of people at the plaza. Someone was ringing a cowbell; drivers were honking their car horns as they passed the crowd. I crossed into the plaza and a group of about eight excited young women were jumping up and down. One of them asked me to take a photo of their group with the huge Castro rainbow flag in the background. About 40 to 50 people are at the plaza cheering and

⁸⁶ It should be noted that this reference was used mostly by people too young to have experienced the original Summer of Love.

carrying on. Before I head into the station I check some of the social media and news feeds. The news was in and it was official: DOMA was struck down; the Prop 8 decision was in the wings. City Hall would be bathed in rainbow lights that night.

The Supreme Court decisions meant that that a chunk of Castro Street, Milk's neighborhood, would be closed later that day for a big block party celebration. I also had to go across town for another event that commemorated Milk. Should I go to the big Castro street party and risk being late to the other event? I remember thinking: Do I go where Harvey is remembered, or do I go where Harvey lives?⁸⁷

I finished the interview, spent some time doing work in the library, and then headed into the Castro in the late afternoon. It was packed. Straight families, who make up a healthy part of the Castro neighborhood now, were there with their kids. People were carrying signs and hugging, lots of hugging. I heard a familiar voice coming from the stage. It was Cleve Jones, revving up the crowd, and next to him Bruce Cohen, one of the producers of *Milk* (2008). That day Jones, in his signature plain black t-shirt, was not just recalling Milk, he was practically channeling him as he shouted:

Today is a milestone, in our long struggle for equality and social justice. But we are not done yet. Not as long as queer kids are committing suicide. Not while we can still be fired, just for who we love, in 33 states. We know this victory is incomplete and we will not rest until we achieve our goal. Our goal, is nothing more and nothing less than equal protection under the law...

...In November 2008 everything changed for us. Barack Obama showed us that real change was possible. And on that same day, young people,

⁸⁷ The switch to "Harvey" is intentional here. The use of "Harvey" is the preferred reference to Harvey Milk within Milk media memoria and I would at times use this term when writing about Milk in fieldnotes. "Harvey lives" is also a famous graffito that still appears from time to time. It is based on an original graffito that appeared after the White Night riots. In contemporary times the graffito seems to appear as a call to remember Milk in conjunction with LGBTQIA+ activism.

LGBT, who thought they were equal, were slapped across the face with Prop 8, that we have buried today. And at the end of that month, a film came out, that reminded us older ones of what we fought for in the 70s and informed our young people of a history they had never been taught in school. And the legend of Harvey Milk went out to the world, from Castro street. (Castro Block Party, 2013)

Jones then introduced Cohen as the President of the American Foundation for Equal Rights (AFER), the organization that hired the lawyers to fight Proposition 8 in the Supreme Court. He also noted that Cohen was a producer of *Milk* (2008). Cohen came up to the microphone and talked about how he, Dan Jinks (the other producer of the film), Dustin Lance Black and Gus Van Sant were in the Castro doing pre-production for the film and a young man came out of a building and saw Van Sant and was very excited, asking what Van Sant was doing there. When Van Sant told the young man what they were doing, preparing to make a film about Harvey Milk, the young man did not know who Harvey Milk was. Cohen continued:

And we knew right then that what we thought was a film was actually a sacred mission to bring Harvey's legacy to the world. In 1978, all of you probably know, Harvey Milk fought a hideous anti-gay ballot initiative. The opponent said "protect our children" and Harvey Milk won the Prop 6 fight. Exactly 30 years later, in 2008, we all fought an anti-gay initiative. Our opponent said "protect our children." And this time we lost. We have a lot to learn from Harvey Milk...

Cohen spoke of the night Prop 8 lost and how a group of people decided to fight back all the way to the Supreme Court. He then closed his remarks with this:

...Stuart Milk called me about a half an hour ago and I told him I was about to speak to you, and he told me to tell you that he is sure Harvey is smiling tonight. Harvey would be ready to celebrate. We are going to celebrate, tonight. We are going to celebrate, tomorrow. We're going to celebrate this entire weekend. And then, until every LGBT American has full federal equality in all 50 states, on Monday morning – back to work! (Castro Block Party, 2013)

Cohen was a producer of *Milk* (2008) and the President of AFER (of which Dustin Lance Black is also a board member). He would also be the producer of the event I attended later that evening. What struck me from listening to these two men was: 1) the power block puzzle pieces coming together in my head, and 2) the older LGBTQIA+ generation working diligently to ensure that what they felt was an important historical moment of *their* gay lives would have a life with the next LGBTQIA+ generation. The legacy of Harvey Milk was as much their legacy as it was Milk's, particularly those who had been there in 1970s San Francisco. To not have young people recognize the importance of Harvey Milk was a warning bell that all would be forgotten and history would be destined to repeat itself, as it almost did with Prop 8.

“Harvey Milk 2013” was a theatrical arts event of two acts commissioned by the San Francisco Gay Men's Chorus (SFGMC) for the 35th anniversary of Milk's assassination. The first act was a mix of dance, video, music, and choral work. The second act was Andrew Lipka's new oratorio, *I Am Harvey Milk*. The SFGMC's origin story is inextricably linked to Harvey Milk. Their first performance was at the spontaneous candlelight march held the night of the assassinations, when they gathered on the steps of City Hall and sang in public for the first time. “As the first chorus to use the word ‘gay in its name, SFGMC became the grandfather of the LGBT choral movement and an early legacy of Harvey Milk” (SFGMC, 2013). In the evening's program, Dr. Timothy Seelig, the SFGMC artistic director, wrote about how Milk was an everyman who decided to do the extraordinary:

He was one of us. A normal man who looked at the world around him and decided it needed help. He stepped forward to make a change. Had

lived, he would have most likely been in the audience – maybe even sitting next to you (SFGMC, 2013).

At the end of his comments Seelig concluded: “Hopefully you will leave saying ‘I am Harvey Milk,’ ‘I am the Legacy.’” If that happens, our work will have been well worth the effort. And, Harvey will be smiling” (SFGMC, 2013).

Cohen’s producer’s note in the world premiere program gave a brief history of Milk, followed by a list of works and awards keeping Milk’s legacy alive: Shilts’s (1982) book, Epstein’s (1984) documentary, Gus Van Sant’s (2008) biopic, the Medal of Freedom Award, and Harvey Milk Day. Cohen concluded: “And now tonight, we present the world premiere of what we hope is the stirring next chapter in the preservation of Harvey’s memory and legacy forever, Andrew Lippa’s *I Am Harvey Milk*. Long live Harvey” (SFGMC, 2013).

The program did not mention the Supreme Court actions that occurred earlier in the day, but Jones appeared on stage before Act II to ensure the day’s victories would not be forgotten. On the following Friday, Cohen and Black spoke with the audience. Lippa’s work incorporated three main soloists: Milk as a boy, Milk as a man, and Milk’s mother. The SFGMC provided the large chorus, crediting over 300 performers. To describe the performance itself would require another chapter and for this author to gain greater confidence in oratorio analysis. Let it somewhat suffice to say that given the topic, one cannot imagine Lippa’s use of oratorio was anything other than completely deliberate. Between the day/week’s events, the year of the 35th anniversary, and performing to what many consider Milk’s “home crowd,” it was an event that culminated in what many people exiting described as a religious or spiritual experience to friends.

Two Steps Forward, One Step Back

To end this chapter with that “dramatic high” might seem right, but it would not be honest. Milk memory had its ebb and flow even in the post-*Milk* (2008) era. There have been some uses that were unique in comparison to the traditional legacy narratives being asserted by larger projects. What follows are a few last moments that merit some mention for using the memory of Milk in unique ways, some more successfully than others, before we move to this dissertation’s last concluding chapter.

There were mysterious stencil graffiti that protested San Francisco Pride’s rescinding of Chelsea (then Bradley) Manning’s status as a 2013 honorary grand marshal. A purple sidewalk stencil appeared in front of SF Pride’s office and around town with an image of a woman and the text “Milk would have marched for Manning! Free Brad.” The stencil was signed “Eclair Bandersnatch,” who turned out to be a Banksy-like stencil artist in San Francisco (Clemons, n.d.).

There was also a fashion-show benefit sponsored by the Harvey Milk Foundation during one of the Harvey Milk Day celebrations. It was an awkward fit of young fashion students using fabric with Milk iconography (campaign buttons, his face), models on a runway, a former Project Runway contestant as a judge, and an auction of Milk fashion. It might have worked, but the crowd of Milk’s friends and foundation supporters and the contestants’ families and friends did not mingle; they seemed strangers to one another. It was an odd and painful disconnect.

“Harvey Milk’s American Diner” in San Diego was an unsuccessful attempt at a Milk-themed restaurant (Horn, 2014), but the Harvey Milk Diversity Breakfast held in

San Diego was an early success and now runs annually (Sanchez, 2016). The Harvey Milk Foundation encourages communities to develop their own interpretation of the day, which has resulted in a variety of events on or around Milk's birthday. Sarasota, Florida, has the three-day Harvey Milk Festival featuring live music, film, and performing arts (harveymilkfestival.org). Austin, Texas uses Harvey Milk Day to host an annual LGBTQ workshop conference (geteqaltx.org). The Harvey Milk Foundation lists events on their Harvey Milk Day site. In 2014 there was a "Give 'Em Hope BBQ" in Santa Clarita, California, and an organization in Rochester, New York held a screening of *Milk* (2008) with free milkshakes afterward (harveymilkday.co).

On the national front, attempts to name the San Francisco International Airport after Milk caused a great kerfuffle for many weeks in early 2013.⁸⁸ The movement to rename the airport was not successful. President Obama's "Champions of Change" program offered the "Harvey Milk Champions of Change" in 2013 that honored ten openly gay public officials (obamawhitehouse.archives.gov). Milk was honored by a United States postage stamp in 2014, and the United States Postal Service went against convention, choosing Washington, D.C. instead of San Francisco for the stamp's unveiling. Minor feathers were ruffled, but locals arranged their own unveiling in Harvey Milk Plaza later the same day (Nahmod, 2014). An attempt to name a Navy ship after Milk in 2012 attracted more sailor jokes than supporters, but four years later, a ship was chosen and is now being built, expected to set sail in 2021 (Rubenstein, 2016).

⁸⁸ This is not credited to any single or set of articles as it was a prevalent discussion in the local and national mediasphere.

Internationally, Milk was described in interviews as particularly popular in Italy and Stuart Milk is stretched thin with requests to speak about Milk with international LGBTQIA+ organizations (Nicoletta, 2012; Kronenberg, 2012). In 2014 the Harvey Milk Foundation website listed participation in LGBT projects or panels in sixteen countries over five continents (milkfoundation.org/HMF). It seems that Milk memory has risen beyond California and even crossed national borders but what is this memory and will it endure? Is there room for any new interpretations? Where does Milk memory go from here? The next chapter will conclude this dissertation, revisiting the original questions asked at the start of this project through a discussion of: communicating legacy, the memory keepers, and the future of Milk memory.

CHAPTER 8
COMMUNICATING LEGACY, THE MEMORY KEEPERS, AND THE FUTURE
OF MILK MEMORY

Four main questions guided this dissertation project: 1) How is Harvey Milk remembered? 2) Who are the individual and institutional players involved in constructing, negotiating, and maintaining collective memory of Harvey Milk? 3) How has Milk memory changed over time? and 4) How is the examination of Milk memory useful to scholarly research in media and memory? Memory and history? Media and communication? This chapter will offer some concluding thoughts regarding the research questions through a summary of findings and a discussion of issues and gaps that might be addressed in future research.

Communicating Legacy

It seems that the first and third questions can work together when thinking about communicating the legacy of Harvey Milk. Milk is remembered as the first openly gay politician elected to office and a leader in the 1970s United States gay rights movement advocating for gay equality as civil rights. He advocated for “coming out” as an important gay strategy toward becoming stronger personally and politically. Milk’s assassination is remembered as a “sacrifice,” which at times causes him to be seen as a martyr in the ongoing fight for LGBTQIA+ equality.

Milk’s assassination also occurred just as he was finally involved in political work that could enact actual change. He shepherded non-discrimination policy and was involved in a successful fight against a state-wide proposition that would have

discriminated against gay people in education employment. His repeated runs for election (viewed as occurring later in life) and eventual successes are seen in the narrative context of an ordinary man who achieved extraordinary things, which became part of his legacy: 1) Anyone can take up the call to stand up to injustices, and 2) One must always have hope. The fact that Milk made the “ultimate sacrifice” becomes the impetus within his legacy, to inspire others to ensure that his sacrifice was not made in vain.

The above summarized narrative represents the core of the Milk memory narrative that has held throughout the various memory communities over time. Layers are added on or removed by various memory communities when appropriate to their needs in particular times. Milk’s work with coalition-building is remembered when the LGBTQIA+ community needs to broaden his memory for wider acceptance and recall him as a civil rights leader. Thinking of Milk within a civil rights context helped mainstream Milk for a broader, more public memory. This broadening also worked for local and state politicians, who call upon the memory of Milk’s fight for other minority groups and urban issues in San Francisco when approaching LGBTQIA+ citizens for their votes.

The next layer wrapping the core narrative of Milk is his charm, charisma, and talent as a politician. This narrative wins out against the narrative of a thornier Milk, which is admitted in local witnessing and remembrance, not denied. The thornier Milk can be subsumed within an overall layer of *passion*, which allows for a spectrum of emotion from love to anger. The angrier, temper-ridden Milk is explained through a narrative of Milk’s passion, which is always in service to the greater cause of ridding

injustice. It is the ever-smiling, effervescent Milk that we see in photographs, and his humor and charm that is remembered more fully and more often.

This narrative of charisma and humor lends itself to multiple interpretations as needed: Milk as a regular guy who joked around, as a talented charismatic politician, and also as somehow “special.” Milk as a regular guy who told jokes helps the narrative of the everyman who is approachable, a “down-to-earth regular guy.” Milk’s political charisma is viewed as the coveted soft skill admired within that profession and within the construction of what is required for great leadership. Charisma also makes Milk “special.” Milk’s charisma is at times interpreted as a saintly or charismatic religious quality, which feeds into his martyrdom and ability to become an icon.⁸⁹ The narrative of charisma also feeds into the notion of personality, individuality and celebrity. It works well to support a narrative of Milk as a pioneer, as a leader, and as someone who had that something extra or “special” that made him someone important to remember.

The local collective memory of Milk as “progressive” would ebb and flow as needed. Politically Milk would be pulled up when a more centrist Democrat would want to broaden their appeal further toward the political left, or a more progressive Democratic candidate would be seeking to topple a more centrist Democrat. He remains a progressive figure for the Harvey Milk LGBT Democratic Club, whose current membership has evolved to include local younger political progressives regardless of sexual identity.

⁸⁹ Journalist Randy Alfred felt Milk’s charisma was an area not well-enough explored. He spoke of Milk being only “proto-charismatic” at the time of his assassination, the assassination providing martyrdom, which was the confirmation of Milk’s charisma (Alfred, 2012).

Milk's progressive, or left-of-center political ideology is a contested aspect of his LGBTQIA+ memory. In order for him to have broader appeal, Milk is often mainstreamed into a more assimilationist LGBTQIA+ memory. This assimilationist memory is at times contested, as it was when his Castro Camera store was being leased out by the Human Rights Campaign (HRC), or within discussion of Milk within LGBTQIA+ academic studies, as explored in the beginning of this dissertation.

Milk's local memory within San Francisco ebbs and flows from the Castro neighborhood, where his memory is largely bound, and from City Hall, where his political memory also rests. These two locations are where most of the local Milk media memoria are corralled and maintained. The local collective memory of Milk was contested within the Castro in the renaming of a local elementary school, a battle that eventually fell in favor of Milk's memory as the school was dedicated as the Harvey Milk Civil Rights Academy, invoking the memory of Milk promoting integration of the Castro neighborhood and the importance of supporting public education. This same tactic was used for creating Milk memorial material at the Harvey Milk Recreational Center, which borders the Castro, alongside Duboce Park. Here Milk's support for "the neighborhoods" was resurrected, as was the memory of Milk as an avid photographer, to broaden his memory beyond the boundaries of the Castro. His memory as a charismatic politician was also activated in connecting him with the park in which he famously promoted his "pooper-scooper" legislation.

City-wide pride in Milk rose when *Milk* (2008) came to town and he has experienced larger local memory as a result of the "Milk effect" created by the positive

response to the biopic production and release. He also officially entered City Hall at roughly the same time, his bronze memorial bust having a prominent location in the Ceremonial Rotunda. The collective memory of Harvey Milk has seemed to eclipse that of Mayor George Moscone. Although both are remembered annually around the date of the assassinations, the LGBTQIA+ community has been the more active collective memory group involved in events such as the annual candlelight march and vigil, resulting in greater attention to Milk at these and other local events. This does seem to confirm Eyerman's (2012) assertion that having a "carrier group" such as the local LGBTQIA+ community, results in a greater chance of long-term maintenance of collective memory of Milk over that of Moscone (pp. 413-414).

I do feel, however, that in the case of remembering Harvey Milk, there may be deeper and additional factors that catapult Milk over Moscone in local and public memory. One factor may be how the cultural trauma impacted key memory keepers willing to go the distance as keepers of the Milk memory narrative. Another factor might include how political figures called upon the memory of Milk as part of their political platform and progressive identity. The role of journalism in documenting Milk commemorative activity and their ongoing role in helping San Franciscans "remember" may factor into Milk receiving greater attention than Moscone. Lastly, there were culture wars enacted through the fight for marriage equality that engaged an entire nation and provided visibility for LGBTQIA+ culture and an opportunity to remember and introduce figures such as Harvey Milk to a national public.

The Memory Keepers

Critical to this entire process of collective memory of Harvey Milk is this concept of *memory keepers*, a term that I start to use at various times throughout the dissertation and will explain in greater detail here. The memory keepers are what I consider the main creator and maintenance personnel within collective memory groups; they form the core of the individual and institutional players involved in constructing, negotiating, and maintaining collective memory of Harvey Milk (research question #2). The core memory keepers started with Milk's former lover Smith and Milk's circle of friends, both his age and younger. Nicoletta spoke about how the original Harvey Milk Archives came about after Milk's death:

My commitment was organically based in the sense that there was an authentic mentorship and then there was trauma around the loss of one of the two men that had mentored me. The second survivor, who was Scott Smith, his mourning process was very enmeshed with the positing of the legacy in history in a tangible way. And he was responding to movement in culture to do that. So he took it upon himself to be the vessel for that and I came to recognize, over time, that this was in fact his way of coping with the trauma.

I would never have stopped to think about how important it was in culture for me to be remembering Harvey Milk, it was a no-brainer, it was just what I did – what I do. And it was partly what I do out of community with that original family of people. We would sit around the old kitchen table and we would catalog Harvey's papers and it was a way to stay together as a family unit. It was not dissimilar to Harvey's own life. It was completely chaotic and you know, messy, but basically the impulse was we had this great estate of papers, we're gonna organize it and we're gonna identify who the personnel in the photographs are, and we did that for months. (Nicoletta, 2012).

Nicoletta talked about how the group worked toward formalizing the archives but it never happened during Smith's lifetime, although Smith was interacting with researchers

working on Milk media memoria – Randy Shilts, Emily Mann, and the writers of the opera – who would all pass through Smith’s apartment to make use of the material. It is important to note that these archives, now public, represent a main source that Milk media memoria producers pull from in their creation of ongoing Milk narratives.

Nicoletta commented on how he felt Milk and Smith were almost prescient about the time they were all living in and cultivating a few of the younger people to be sure to pay attention and document the changing culture around them. For Nicoletta, this was documenting LGBTQIA culture through photography. After Milk’s death, it was also ensuring Milk’s legacy would be carried forward. Daniel Nicoletta, Anne Kronenberg, and Cleve Jones were all in their mid-twenties when Milk was assassinated. They are likely to have been the most directly impacted by the tragedy of Milk’s assassination as an important aspect of their generational development, as discussed by Schuman and Scott (1989). Dick Pabich would have been at a similar age.⁹⁰ Milk’s nephew, Stuart, is only six years younger than the four of them.

Another chapter could be written about these young people and their lives after Milk’s assassination. What is important here is that Milk’s assassination affected Milk’s friends who were his adoptive family in San Francisco, and affected these young people in particular, who continued on as his memory-keeper core. They became the key people interviewed for researchers wanting to learn more about Harvey Milk; they reviewed film scripts and potential projects. To complete a successful project about Milk, you probably needed to pass muster with at least one person from this group. They represent the inner

⁹⁰ Pabich passed away in 2000.

carrier group with the longest carry of the Milk memory torch. They have been indefatigable in their quest to ensure Harvey Milk be remembered and his legacy shared. To see *Milk* (2008) come to fruition represented a final piece falling into place; it was something they were not sure would happen in their lifetime. It also was a moment for Jones, Kronenberg and Nicoletta to reflect upon what their own futures might hold.

Nicoletta recently moved out to Oregon to be with his partner and work on assembling his own legacy of LGBTQIA+ documentary photography, some of which incorporates images of Milk and images from *Milk* (2008). Kronenberg continues to work with the City of San Francisco and commits her spare time to the Harvey Milk Foundation, which she looks forward to doing more with in terms of education and international outreach. Jones continues LGBTQIA+ and labor activism as well as speaking about Milk's legacy. He appears at times alongside Black at speaking engagements, and forges connections between other creatives and producers of more Milk media memoria. Black would eventually have his project with Jones in it after all, as he incorporated him into his 2017 ABC mini-series "When We Rise," which moves from the 1970s gay movement forward to examine the relevance of the past, in our present (Halterman, 2017).

The noting of this core memory group is in no way intended to ignore the large group of Milk friends and contemporaries who gave of themselves in commitment to ensuring Milk's legacy continue. Frank Robinson was the point person for Black & Morris's (2013) work and countless others who sought information on Milk's speeches. There were and are still, people who knew Milk who are willing to share stories about

their time with him and San Francisco during the time of Milk. But these people are getting older. Had Milk lived, he would be 87 at his birthday celebration this year. Many of his direct contemporaries are passing. Frank Robinson passed in 2014, Donald Eckert and Wayne Friday in 2016. The members of the younger memory keeper core are merely in their early sixties, with Stuart Milk just passing his mid-fifties, but even they are on the constant outlook for ensuring safe passage of Milk's legacy to younger torchbearers.

Politicians

Moving from key individuals and the core memory keepers to other institutional players in Milk memory one has to factor in local politicians and the San Francisco political community. Local politicians have worked to keep Milk's memory alive, some of whom have climbed to higher offices. Left-leaning politicians coming out of, or through, San Francisco make use of the memory of Milk with their constituents when applicable, and most participate in Milk media memoria at some point in their political career. Tom Ammiano was a school teacher when he met Milk during the days of Proposition 6. In a book chapter titled "My Adventures as a Gay Teacher," Ammiano (2009) credits Milk as his political inspiration as Ammiano went on to become president of the San Francisco School Board, a member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, and eventually a California State Assembly-member (p. 42). Nancy Pelosi's brother-in-law Ron Pelosi, was on the board of supervisors with Milk. She attended memorial activity after the assassinations and has carried support for Milk to the White House. Nancy Pelosi would beat out Harry Britt in 1987 to fill out Sala Burton's Congressional term (Lindsey, 1987) and has publicly supported Milk media memoria, dedicating the

federal building on Treasure Island, and attending the 2014 USPS Milk Stamp issue ceremony.

California Senator Mark Leno has noted Milk as an inspiration and was instrumental in shepherding Harvey Milk Day as well as the FAIR Act in California. The LGBTQIA+ and young progressive and Democratic votes in San Francisco are still important constituencies. Local politicians seeking these votes continue to appear at Harvey Milk Day events, dedications, and commemorative activities such as the annual candlelight memorial march and vigil, which continues each year on November 27. The San Francisco Board of Supervisors continues to be the place where young supervisors seek their Milk legacy project. Supervisor David Campos headed the legislation to rename San Francisco's airport after Harvey Milk (Lagos, 2013). Supervisor Scott Wiener, a moderate Democrat representing Milk's former district, is credited with starting the resolution in 2012 for that Navy ship that will be named after Milk ("Naming a Navy ship," 2016).⁹¹ These are just some of the ways in politicians participate in the construction and maintenance of Milk Memory. The endorsement of the Harvey Milk LGBT Democratic Club is still a prized possession. The club itself carries on the yearly Milk birthday party and has expanded Milk's memory beyond the LGBTQIA+ community to encompass a more progressive branding of Milk.

Local Journalism

Local journalism, both LGBTQIA+ and mainstream, have maintained their role as one of the chief local storytellers of the Milk/Moscone assassinations. Journalists were

⁹¹ Scott Wiener would win a tight race in 2017 to become a California State Senator for the 11th District ("California Results," 2017).

there first, to cover the assassinations and get answers for the public. They would cover the Moscone/Milk memorials, the White trial and the subsequent White Night riots. They would remind San Franciscans of the importance of Moscone and Milk through their annual and anniversary journalism. The LGBTQIA+ community and the core Milk memory keepers, would have the commitment to keep Milk's memory alive over the years and help shift coverage in the press from Moscone to Milk.

Local Milk media memoria events would have less impact without the coverage and commentary provided by journalists who remind San Franciscans who Harvey Milk was, why he was important, and what his memory could offer local citizens in their present. This is where the memory keepers' stories and messages are documented and retold, where politicians are seen and counted, and where local Milk memory has left its traces over the years. Milk's birthday celebrations, now Harvey Milk Day, the Castro Street Fair, and annual Gay Pride events provide other opportunities in which the story of Milk might appear through new media memoria events covered by the press or by the press itself, offering its own narrative of Milk. The local press played a big role in helping restore local pride in Harvey Milk through their coverage *Milk* (2008). They highlighted key memory keepers who told the story of Harvey Milk and explained Milk's legacy. The first longer-format narratives of Milk would also be produced by journalists Randy Shilts, Warren Hinckle, and Mike Weiss.

Timing

Shifting the collective memory of Milk from a local and LGBTQIA+ memory to a larger national and more public memory was something that could not be planned. It

required patience, commitment, timing and not a little luck. The memory keepers interviewed for this project talked about how they thought a major milk memory text in the form of a Hollywood biopic would not happen within their lifetime. *Milk* (2008) indeed played a role in broadening the audience who learned about the legacy of Harvey Milk and put forth a narrative of Milk that evolved for its time – a time in which the nation seemed to be changing as Obama took the White House and LGBTQIA+ equality was gaining greater public support. The culture wars enacted through the fight for marriage equality engaged an entire nation and provided visibility for LGBTQIA+ culture and an opportunity to remember and introduce figures such as Harvey Milk to a national public. It was a window of opportunity where Milk had sudden relevance in culture and could break through to a more public memory.

This dissertation spent a great deal of its time tracing ways in which Milk memory grew from the ground up, over time. Milk’s legacy was documented in LGBTQIA+ history and studies books, and was also expressed locally through various Milk media memoria that often anchored Milk to place. Those projects matter, as they play a role in the continued maintenance of Milk memory as it moves forward.

The Future of Milk Memory

There were many small Milk memory projects that helped plant local seeds for the remembrance of Milk that now provide ongoing maintenance of local, national and international Milk memory. As Milk “made the bigtime,” there were places for people to come and find Milk in San Francisco. They could see his smiling face on the official Milk bronze bust outside of the supervisor chambers in City Hall, or even get married

with Milk in the background. They could visit his neighborhood, learn about Milk at the GLBT History Museum there, toast him at the bar named after him, and visit his former camera shop. They probably arrived in the Castro via the Harvey Milk Plaza metro station, and may have even been greeted by a “Castro Ambassador,” a volunteer group that, on weekends, gives neighborhood information to tourists coming out of the Harvey Milk Plaza. There is much more to be said about the role of walking tours and tourism in the ongoing maintenance of Milk memory, and much more to the collective memory of Milk that might be explored to expand the small start undertaken by this dissertation.

There are so many other LGBTQIA+ figures who need attention. It is difficult to imagine another substantial biography, feature documentary, or biopic that might come out as any sort of main counter-narrative. But the diversity available within the core narrative of Milk allows for his memory to be stretched in small ways that can serve various collective memory groups. Locally, Milk somewhat ensured this memory “wobble room” himself through the representation of his political self in his political columns and through the various coalition-building activities he engaged as an activist and politician that were documented by the press. Nationally, Milk’s narrative has been a bit more mainstreamed, although the diversity of ways in which various American cities are incorporating their own unofficial Harvey Milk Day celebrations could be an interesting trend to follow and study. In the current political climate, it is unlikely Milk will receive more awards from the White House, so his survival and growth through state LGBTQIA+ efforts may be key to the ongoing survival of his public memory, for now.

International Milk and the HMF

Where Milk has become most symbolic and iconic may be in how his narrative is used internationally. This is an area of growth in the post-*Milk* (2008) era that merits greater study, and an area that the Harvey Milk Foundation (HMF) has taken hold of most dominantly. How the HMF is able to grow and thrive is key to the future of Milk memory nationally and internationally. Their influence is also key to how Milk's legacy will be translated in the years to come.

Kronenberg spoke of visiting a small town in southern France that was doing grassroots LGBTQIA+ organizing, reminding her of work she did with Milk some thirty plus years before. She spoke of invitations for foundation representatives to come to Montreal, Turkey, and Russia. She spoke of Stuart Milk as a person who "has done some very courageous things in the name of his uncle and the foundation," one of which was marching with LGBTQIA+ rights activists in Moscow (Kronenberg, 2012). Within the state of California and locally in California, their cultivation of local Milk commemorative activities has come a long way from that early fashion show to address education and encourage more young people to encounter Milk's legacy. But what is little known is that the HMF is a much smaller enterprise than one might anticipate, and still largely depends on volunteer work to survive. The logistics of being a foundation that takes on Milk's legacy and answers to broader LGBTQIA+ issues and concerns is likely to further mainstream Milk's memory, although if this is in service to Milk's legacy, that may be fine with the HMF. Kronenberg responds:

That's a heavy question. I guess I think that everybody over time who has been very famous in certain way becomes almost mythical, bigger than

who they were. I knew Harvey with all his flaws and so sometimes when I hear people talk about him I just chuckle inside but I know he would love that too. He is much bigger than life right now, much bigger than he was, in life. I think that's okay. There is no way that history is going to be exact. It just doesn't happen that way. Having lived through this now I've seen this firsthand, how people transform things.
(Kronenberg, 2012)

For Kronenberg, Milk as a symbol and icon means that Milk's legacy can survive, interpreted as assisting LGBTQIA+ rights movements nationally and internationally, helping young people understand and have greater empathy for struggles encountered by LGBTQIA-identified individuals and their communities. She noted *Milk* (2008) as the main Milk media memoria people encountered internationally. While the film may not be completely factual, its ability to spread the word of Milk's legacy globally is considered by the HMF to be an immeasurable return.

Still to Explore

In looking across the various Milk media memoria over time, there are still areas to Milk's life that remain relatively unexplored: Milk's Jewish identity, and Milk's interactions with women and feminism. Milk's Jewishness is one such area that may remain a subtext of his memory unless Milk becomes more important to Jewish-American collective memory. This aspect of Milk's life was approached in the opera, in Lippa's oratorio, and in some smaller Milk media memoria, but in larger mainstream narratives it has suffered the same semi-erasure that many other Jewish-American stories have often undergone. Milk's Jewish upbringing has at various times been hinted at as instrumental to his belief in social justice. Although Milk openly fought against fundamentalist Christianity and most forms of organized religion, perhaps even claiming

atheism at times, some participant interviews noted he was known to visit a local synagogue that was open to the LGBTQIA+ community of Milk's time.

A post on the *Jewish News of Northern California* website told the story of a member of San Francisco's Sha'ar Zahav congregation, who "often strolled into Harvey Milk's camera store in the Castro to gab with him in Yiddish ('Slain, S.F. supe,' 1998)." The article went on to talk of a commemorative Shabbat held on the 20th "yahrzeit of Milk's death," noting that Milk had at times attended services there. The Rabbi explained that "a yahrzeit helps to establish the collective memory of the community," which was important as many members of the congregation were too young to remember Milk on their own ("Slain, S.F. supe," 1998). Milk was also celebrated as part of the national organization Keshet's "LGBT Jewish Heroes" project (keshetonline.org). Stuart Milk has been more likely to speak to Milk's Jewish heritage within his work with the HMF, which may open up greater interest in, and attention to, Jewish-American collective memory of Milk.

In examining the various Milk media memoria narratives it is almost as if women did not exist in Milk's life at all. Loughrey's (2011) play *Dear Harvey* attempts to remedy this absence with the greater inclusion of female characters inspired by Milk. One question to ask is whether Milk's interactions broke out of the largely gay male-centric culture of 1970s San Francisco that is often depicted around him in memory texts. Some participant interviews suggested that Milk had female friends and did show support to feminist causes but that the narratives that are built are largely reflective of those who

created them: white gay men. Perhaps there are yet ways to stretch the Milk narrative should these memories surface in future Milk media memoria.

Importance of the Study of Milk & Collective Memory

The study of media, memory and Harvey Milk is useful to the scholarly research in media and memory as it looks at how memory narratives fall into place and how they are stretched or adapted to address the needs of various communities over time. Milk memory demonstrates some room for malleability within smaller memory projects, and is perhaps a bit less malleable as it moves to public memory. This remains to be seen, as Milk's public memory has yet to stand long enough to be tested at a mainstream national level. In today's political climate, it may turn to individual states to keep a public memory of Milk alive, and this is likely to occur at the level of LGBTQIA+ memory. The continued study of Milk public memory can look at what is yet a fairly young collective memory to see if and how Milk's recently achieved national and more public collective memory is maintained.

Milk's international memory is largely dependent on the continued circulation of Milk media memoria and the ability of the Harvey Milk Foundation to grow and thrive as a stable, supported foundation. The movement of Milk as a more international LGBTQIA+ collective memory is interesting as this may grow faster than his national memory. There seems to be a greater demand for Milk from countries and international communities looking to use his narrative and legacy toward addressing their current LGBTQIA+ issues and concerns. A simplified Milk narrative that borders on iconic, such as found in *Milk* (2008), may work well to address these concerns.

The study of how media play a role in the building, maintenance and distribution of Milk memory is a great asset to the study of media and collective memory. Local journalism in particular was instrumental in maintaining and shaping the memory of Milk over the years. Whether through anniversary journalism or coverage of Milk media memoria and commemorative events, local newspapers provided ongoing attention to Milk as someone important for San Franciscans to remember.

The ongoing production of Milk media memoria over the years provided memory texts that could travel and memory texts that could anchor Milk to place. These were both important elements to the survival and growth of local and LGBTQIA+ collective memory of Milk and to the use of the memory of Harvey Milk outside of San Francisco. The basic media memoria narrative of Milk was one that could be applied to a wide range of needs, which is part of its larger success nationally and internationally. The longer-format mainstream memory narratives of Milk, particularly Shilts's (1982) biography, Epstein's (1984) documentary, and the biopic *Milk* (2008) demonstrate how access to mainstream media narratives are important to the success of larger, more public collective memory.

The study of how legacy is communicated through media, memory and Harvey Milk returns focus to what is a very important element in collective memory that may prove key in determining who and what is remembered or forgotten: the commitment of a core group of memory keepers. Built upon this is the incorporation of tragedy into the memory event and the age of the people affected, which are likely motivators to this commitment over time. Milk's narrative as a politician became one important to the

political community, who also brought his memory into the very halls where memory legislation such as legacy-naming and heritage media memoria occurs. The slow building of the local LGBTQIA+ and local mainstream memory of Milk over time in San Francisco combined with national attention to Milk has granted the collective memory of Milk greater gravitas within its local memory base, ensuring that even if public memory of Milk subsides, its core has been well-established and will always have a place and home to build from in San Francisco. Here, Harvey Milk has become part of history.

The institutionalization of Milk through national channels such the posthumous Medal of Freedom award and the United States Postal Service stamp point to Milk entering national history and a more public memory, but the usefulness of a memory of Milk continues to depend on active collective memory. Collective memory provides narratives that tell communities what is important to remember when confronting contemporary issues and concerns. These narratives provide inspiration through difficult times, and can even provide leadership when that leadership seems otherwise scarce. Collective memory is intended to be malleable; in the case of the collective memory of Milk it does indeed, as Zelizer (1995) noted, continue to “vibrate” as a living collective memory. Whether Harvey Milk remains a token LGBTQIA+ figure in American memory and history or can remain relevant for broader national use remains to be seen – perhaps one last reason the study of the collective memory of Harvey Milk remains an interesting topic to explore within ongoing scholarly discussions in media and memory, memory and history, and media and communication.

REFERENCES

- 4th annual Harvey Milk Day conference planning meeting. (2013, March 14). [Web post]. Retrieved from: <http://getequaltx.org/rsvpmaker/4th-annual-harvey-milk-day-conference-planning-meeting/>
- 250 march to mark Milk, Moscone deaths (1994, November 28). *San Francisco Examiner*, p. A6.
- A time for remembering: City Hall rite set for the slain. (1978, November 28). *San Francisco Examiner*, pp. 1, 14.
- A legacy from slain supervisor: taped message for supporters. (1978, November 29). *San Francisco Examiner*, p. A.
- A tragic day. (1988, November 27). *San Francisco Chronicle* [Editorial, *Punch* magazine insert], p. 1.
- Adam, B. D. (1995). *The rise of a gay and lesbian movement* [Rev Ed.]. New York: Twayne Publishers.
- ala.org (2017). Frequently challenged books with diverse content [web page]. Retrieved from: <http://www.ala.org/bbooks/frequentlychallengedbooks/diversepublishing>.
- Albert, J. (n.d.). California authors: Randy Shilts, 1951-1994 [Web post]. *California Association of Teachers of English*. Retrieved from: http://www.cateweb.org/CA_Authors/shilts.htm
- Adams, G. (2008, October 30). The man who set America straight about gay rights. *The Independent*, p. 30.
- Aldrich, R. (2012). *Gay lives*. New York: Thames & Hudson.

- Alexander, K. (2013). S. F. recalls deaths of Milk, Moscone 35 years ago. [Blog post] *SFgate.com*. Retrieved from: <http://blog.sfgate.com/stew/2013/11/27/s-f-remembers-deaths-of-milk-moscone-35-years-ago/>
- Alfred, R. (1982, March 4). Milk bio flawed [book review]. *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 1.
- Alfred, R. (2013, November 25). *Interview with Randy Alfred by Heidi Mau* [audio recording]. Personal communication.
- Alwood, E. (1996). *Straight news: Gays, lesbians, and the news media*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Ammiano, T. (2009). My adventures as a gay teacher. In T. A. Mecca (Ed.) *Smash the church, smash the state: The early years of gay liberation* (pp. 40-42). San Francisco: City Lights Books.
- Anders, C. (1979, November 27). Thousands at service for Moscone and Milk. *San Francisco Examiner*, p. 1.
- Anders, C. (1982, November 28). Milk, Moscone honored as thousands march to City Hall. *San Francisco Examiner & Chronicle*, p. A3.
- Anderson, K. & Jack, D. C. (1998). Learning to listen: Interview techniques and analyses. In R. Perks & A. Thomson (Eds.) *The oral history reader* (pp. 157-171). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
- Anderson, P. (1989a, May 18). Parents object to Harvey Milk school. *San Francisco Sentinel*, pp. 3, 11.
- Anderson, P. (1989b, July 6). The Castro: Our neighborhood is changing. *San Francisco Sentinel*, pp. 1, 8-9, 12.

- Archibald, R. R. (2002). A personal history of memory. In J. J. Climo & M. G. Cattell (Eds.) *Social memory and history: Anthropological perspectives* (pp. 65-80). Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press.
- Archibald, R. R. (2004). *The New Town Square: Museums and Communities in Transition*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira.
- Armstrong, E. A. (2002). *Forging gay identities: Organizing sexuality in San Francisco, 1950-1994*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Asimov, N. (1989, November 9). School gets renamed, but not after Harvey Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. A4.
- Asimov, N. (1989, November 9). School gets renamed, but not after Harvey Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. A4.
- Asimov, N. & Wallace, B. (1996, June 26). S. F. renames school for slain Supervisor Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. A15.
- Associated Press. (1975, September 24). Man who deflected gun asserts, "I'm not a hero". *New York Times*, p. 27. Retrieved from ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
- Associated Press. (1978a, November 28). Thumbnail sketches of men involved in San Francisco killings. *The Baltimore Sun*, p. A8. Retrieved from ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
- Associated Press. (1978b, November 28). Steelers zap 49ers, 24-7. *Boston Globe*, p. 29.
- Associated Press (2010, December 14). New tenant of Harvey Milk's old store draws ire. *The San Diego Union-Tribune*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/>

- Astudillo, R. M. (1993, December 2). Harvey Milk mourned, recalled, and serenaded. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 1, 24).
- Athena, D. (2010). *No compromise: The story of Harvey Milk*. Greensboro, NC: Morgan Reynolds Publishing.
- Atkinson, P. & Hammersley, M. (1994). Ethnography and participant observation. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 248-261). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bailey, R. W. (1999). *Gay politics, urban politics: Identity and economics in the urban setting*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Baim, T. (2012a). All the news that's not fit to print. In T. Baim (Ed.) *Gay press gay power: The growth of LGBT community newspapers in America* (pp. 15-77). Chicago, IL: Prairie Avenue Productions/Windy City Media Group.
- Baim, T. (2012b). Gay news: In the beginning. In T. Baim (Ed.) *Gay press gay power: The growth of LGBT community newspapers in America* (pp. 79-140). Chicago, IL: Prairie Avenue Productions/Windy City Media Group.
- Baim, T. (2012c). The long haul. In T. Baim (Ed.) *Gay press gay power: The growth of LGBT community newspapers in America* (pp. 273-278). Chicago, IL: Prairie Avenue Productions/Windy City Media Group.
- B.A.R. (n.d.). *University of California, Berkeley Preservation Guide to Contents*, M-89-1318.
- B.A.R. The Award Winning Publication. (1974, November 13). *Bay Area Reporter*, (n.p.).

- Baer, A. (2001). Consuming history and memory through mass media products. *European journal of cultural studies*, 4(4), 491-501.
- Bajko, M. S. (2008, December 4). Gay history museum opens in Castro. Bay Area Reporter. Retrieved from <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=3538>
- Bajko, M. S. (2011, May 19). Political notebook: Trevor Project opens SF call center Sunday. *Bay Area Reporter*. Retrieved from: <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=5721>
- Bailey, R. W. (1999). *Gay politics, urban politics: Identity and economics in the urban setting*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Baker, R. (1979, November 30). The city remembers. *San Francisco Sentinel*, pp. 1, 16.
- Barabak, M. Z. (1987, September 23). The politicians fight over Harvey Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. A6.
- Barnes, W. E. (1979, November 27). A hard look. *San Francisco Examiner*, p. 1.
- Barthes, R. (1972). *Mythologies*. (A. Lavers, Trans.). New York: Hill and Wang. (Original work published 1957)
- Barthes, R. (1977). *Image music text*. (S. Heath, Ed. & Trans.). New York: Hill and Wang.
- Bashin, B. J. (1985, May/June). How TV stations are trashing history. *Columbia Journalism Review*, pp. 51-54.
- Bay Area Reporter (1971, November 1). Dianne: Exclusive interview. *Bay Area Reporter*, (n.p.).

- Bay Area Reporter (2015). Bay Area Reporter Newspaper/About/Overview. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/LGBTSF/info>
- Beardemphl, W. E. (1974, September 26). Editorial comments. *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 6.
- Becker, H.S. & Geer, B. (1957). Participant observation and interviewing: A comparison. *Human Organization*, 16(3), 28-32.
- Berkeley.edu (2005, Summer) Bancroft Library [website]. Bancroft Library receives vast archives of *San Francisco Examiner*. Retrieved from: <http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/give/bene-legere/bene70/bene70story5.html>
- Berlant, L. & Freeman, E. (1992). Queer nationality. *Boundary 2*, 19(1), 149-180.
doi:10.2307/303454
- Bertellini G. and Reich, J. (2010). DVD supplements: A commentary on commentaries. *Cinema journal*, 49(3), 103-105.
- Berton, J. (2009a, May 21). Opposition muted as Milk Day nears. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. C2.
- Berton, J. (2009a, May 23). Spirits high in Castro as pioneer gets his day. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. C1-2.
- Bodnar, J. (1992). *Remaking America: Public memory, commemoration, and patriotism in the twentieth century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bingham, A. (2011, July 16). California adds gay rights advocates to history books. *ABC News*. Retrieved from: <http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2011/07/california-adds-gay-rights-advocates-to-history-books/>

- Bingham, D. (2013). *Whose lives are they anyway?: The biopic as contemporary film genre*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Bizjak, T. (1987, December 16). The man behind the AIDS Quilt. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. B3, B5.
- Black, D.L. (2008). *Milk* [Newmarket Shooting Script Series]. New York, NY: Newmarket Press.
- Black, D.L., Cohen, B., Hall, B.A., Horberg, W., Jinks, D. London, M., & Papandrea, B. (Producers), & Van Sant, G. (Director). (2008). *Milk* [Motion picture]. USA: Universal.
- Black, D.L., Cohen, B., Hall, B.A., Horberg, W., Jinks, D. London, M., & Papandrea, B. (Producers), & Van Sant, G. (Director). (2009). *Milk* [DVD]. USA: Universal.
- Black, J. E. and Morris, C. E. (Eds.) (2013a). *An archive of hope – Harvey Milk’s speeches and writings* (pp. 1-59). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Black, J. E. and Morris, C. E. (2013b). Introduction. In J.E. Black and C. E. Morris (Eds.) *An archive of hope – Harvey Milk’s speeches and writings* (pp. 1-59). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Blakey, S. and Jennings, D. (1979, November 28). Big candlelight memorial. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 2.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Bodnar, J. (1992). *Remaking America: Public memory, commemoration, and patriotism in the twentieth century*. Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press.

- Bordwell, D. (1985). *Narration in the fiction film*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Boulware, J. (1996a, February 14). Hinckle, Hinckle, Little Start (Part I). *SF Weekly*. Retrieved from: <http://archives.sfweekly.com/sanfrancisco/hinckle-hinckle-little-star-part-i/Content?oid=2132855&showFullText=true>
- Boulware, J. (1996b, February 14). Hinckle, Hinckle, Little Star (Part II). *SF Weekly*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sfweekly.com/news/hinkle-hinkle-little-star-part-ii/>
- Briggs is shocked. (1978, November 28). *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 2.
- Britt, H. (1979, October 25). Reflections on D.C. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 1-2.
- Britt sworn in as supervisor. (1978, January 12). *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 1.
- Bronski, M. (2011). *A queer history of the United States*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Bronstein, P. (2010, December 20). Heated debate over Harvey Milk's store. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sfgate.com/opinion/bronstein/article/Heated-debate-over-Harvey-Milk-s-store-2452708.php>
- Brown, D. (1982, November 23). Milk heir wins case. *San Francisco Sentinel*, pp. 1-2.
- Bryan Singer to direct *The Mayor of Castro Street* for Warner Bros. (2005, May 7). *Advocate*. Retrieved from: <http://www.advocate.com/arts-entertainment/entertainment-news/2005/05/07/bryan-singer-direct-ltigitthemayor-castro>
- Bryer, M. (2013, June 25). *Interview with Marjorie Bryer* by Heidi Mau [audio recording]. Personal communication.

- Buchanan, W. (2008). Milk's spirit felt as bust finds a home. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. B1-2.
- Burns, J. (1978, January 10). New board begins its 'great experiment.' *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 2.
- Butler, K. (1978, December 1). A fighting tribute to Harvey Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 5.
- Button, J. W., Rienzo, B. A., & Wald, K. D. (1997). *Private lives, public conflicts: Battles over gay rights in American communities*. Washington DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.
- Californiamuseum.org (2009). Exhibits. Inductees of the California Hall of Fame 2009. Retrieved from: <http://www.californiamuseum.org/exhibits/halloffame/inductees#2009>
- California results (2017, February 10). *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <http://www.nytimes.com/elections/results/california>
- Callis, B. C. (1991). *From castro street to city hall: Harvey Milk and gay politics in San Francisco, 1973-1977* (master's thesis). University of Hawai'i, Manoa, Hawai'i.
- Candidates for Empress. (1971, November 1). Bay Area Reporter, (n.p.).
- Candlelight march for Milk, Moscone. (1990, November 28). *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. A2.
- Capps, S. A. (1980, November 28). S. F. gays: 'We shall overcome'. *San Francisco Examiner*, p. A3.
- Carman, J. (1999, November 26). A blank White. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. C1, C9.

- Carter outraged by 'senseless' slayings. (1978, November 28). *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 2.
- Castiglia, C. & Reed, C. (2012). *If memory serves: Gay men, AIDS, and the promise of a queer past*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press
- Castro Block Party (2013, June 26). [Public event audio recording]. Personal communication.
- Charles, Casey (2012). *Critical queer studies: Law, film and fiction in contemporary American culture*. Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Cherian, A. (2013, June 26). *Interview with Alex Cherian by Heidi Mau* [audio recording]. Personal communication.
- Chiseri-Strater, E. & Sunstein, B. S. (1997). *FieldWorking: Reading and writing research*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Choi, S. (2008). Silencing survivors' narratives: Why are we again forgetting the No Gun Ri story? *Rhetoric and public affairs*, 11(3), 367-388
- Christians, C. G. & Carey, J. W. (1989). The logic and aims of qualitative research. In G. H. Stempel & B. H. Westley (Eds.) *Research methods in mass communication* [2nd Edition] (pp. 354-374). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Chua-Eoan, H. (1999, June 14). *Time* magazine, 153(23), pp. 68-69.
- Chung, L. A. (1987, June 30). Harvey Milk mural's key foe. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 5.
- Clendinen, D. & Nagourney, A. (1999). *Out for good: The struggle to build a gay rights movement in America*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

- Clemons, A. (n.d.). Eclair Bandersnatch: San Francisco's elusive graffiti queen [blog post]. *Culture Trip*. Retrieved from: <https://theculturetrip.com/north-america/usa/california/articles/eclair-bandersnatch-san-francisco-s-elusive-graffiti-queen/>
- Cloud, J. (1998, November 10). Why Milk is still fresh. *The Advocate*, (772), pp. 29-31. Retrieved through the LGBT Life with Full Text database.
- Cloud, J. (1999, June 14). Heroes and icons: Harvey Milk. *Time magazine*, 153(23), pp. 183-85.
- Clum, J. M. (1996). Queer music. *Performing arts journal* [music review] v53, pp. 118-126.
- Correspondence. (n.d.). Correspondence – Smith, Joseph Scott [typewritten pages]. Harvey Milk Archives – Scott Smith Collection (GLC35). The James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, CA.
- CNN.com (2009, October 12). Politics. Scharzenegger signs bill honoring gay-rights activist. Retrieved from: <http://www.cnn.com/2009/POLITICS/10/12/harvey.milk/index.html>
- Coakley, M. (1978, April 2). San Francisco ready to get gay rights law. *Chicago Tribune*, p. 50. Retrieved from ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
- Cohen, E. L. & Willis, C. (2004). One nation under radio: Digital and public memory after September 11. *New media & society*. 6(5), 591-610. doi: 10.1177/146144804047082]
- Comeau, R. (1979, July 5). Gay parade. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 1-3.

- Corrin, L. G. (2004). Mining the museum: Artists look at museums, museums look at themselves. In B. M. Carbonell (Ed.) *Museum studies: An anthology of contexts* (pp. 381-402). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Coser, L.A. (1992). Introduction. In M. Halbwachs' *On collective memory*. (L. A. Coser, Ed. & Trans.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Criterion.com (2011). Films. The times of Harvey Milk. Retrieved from:
<http://www.criterion.com/films/27549-the-times-of-harvey-milk>
- Cruising* producers may film Harvey Milk story (1980, December 12). *San Francisco Sentinel*, pp. 1, 10).
- Daley, J. (Ed.). (2010). *Great speeches on gay rights*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.
- Daly, T. & Burleigh, S. (Producers) & Ichaso, L. (Director). (1999). *Execution of Justice* [televised motion picture]. USA: Paramount Pictures.
- Davis, P. G. (1995, April 24). Opera comes out. *New York*, pp. 70-71.
- Davis, R. A. (2007). *Bluebirds fly* (master's thesis). Hamline University, St. Paul, MN
- De Jim (2003). *Images of America: San Francisco's Castro*. Charleston, NC: Arcadia.
- DeLeon, R. E. (1992). *Left coast city: Progressive politics in San Francisco, 1975-1991*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas.
- D'Emilio, J. (1989). Gay politics and community in San Francisco since World War II. In M. B. Duberman, M. Vicinus, & G. Chauncey (Eds.), *Hidden from history: Reclaiming the gay and lesbian past*, (pp. 456-473). Marham, Ontario: New American Library.
- Dianne. (1971, November 1). *Bay Area Reporter*, (n.p.).

- Dicks, B. (2000). *Heritage, place, and community*. Cardiff, UK: University of Wales Press.
- Dobbin, M. (1977, September 6). San Francisco gays find success in real estate. *The Baltimore Sun*, pg. A3. Retrieved from ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
- Donahue, D. M. (2014). Learning from Harvey Milk: The limits and opportunities of one hero to teach about LGBTQ people and issues. *The social studies*, 105, 36-44.
- Dorsey, Z. A. (2007). *Embodied resistance: A historiographic intervention into the performance of queer violence* (doctoral dissertation). The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX.
- Doss, R. (2010). *Memorial mania: Public feeling in America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Dougan, M. (1990, November 28). Milk, Moscone memorial has new air of celebration. *San Francisco Examiner*, p. A4.
- Dreier, P. (2012). *The 100 greatest Americans of the 20th century: A social justice hall of fame*. New York: Nation Books.
- Drushel, B. (2013). First but (nearly) forgotten: Why you know Milk but not Kozachenko. In J. Campbell & T. Carilli (Eds.), *Queer media images: LGBT perspectives* (pp. 123-134). Lanham, MA: Lexington Books.
- Duke, L. (2006, December 21). Caught in fate's trajectory, along with Gerald Ford. *Washington Post*. Retrieved from: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/12/30/AR2006123000160.html>

- Duke, S. (2016, July 29). Navy ship to be named after pederastic rapist Harvey Milk. *The New American*. Retrieved from: <https://www.thenewamerican.com/usnews/item/23755-navy-ship-to-be-named-after-pederastic-rapist-harvey-milk>
- Eaklor, V. L. (2008). *Queer America: A GLBT history of the 20th century*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Echavaria, V. (2013, November 27). Anniversary of Milk, Moscone slayings to be focused on housing affordability. *San Francisco Examiner* [SFExaminer.com]. Retrieved from: <http://archives.sfexaminer.com/sanfrancisco/anniversary-of-milk-moscone-slayings-to-be-focused-on-housing-affordability/Content?oid=2636061>
- Eckert, D. (1998, October 31/ 2009, August 8). Harvey Milk 20 years later [web page]. *Uncle Donald's Castro Street*. Retrieved from: <http://thecastro.net/milk/milk+20.html>
- Eckert, D. (2009, August 8). Harvey Milk 20 years later [web page]. *Uncle Donald's Castro Street*. Retrieved from: <http://thecastro.net/milk/milk+20.html>
- Ed. Note. (1974, September 26). *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 5.
- Edwards, T. M. (1974a, September 26). On the right side. *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 5.
- Edwards, T. M. (1974b, October 10). On the right side. *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 5.
- Edwards, T. M. (1978, January 12). The right: Memo to BAR's Way Friday [Editorial]. *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 7.

- Edwards, T. M. (1998). *An oral history with Thomas M. Edwards*. Interviewer: Roland Shembari. Oral History Project of Gay-Lesbian Society of Northern California. GLBT Historical Society Archives, San Francisco, California.
- Elliott, B. (1996 November 28). Got Milk? *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 10.
- Eisenbach, D. (2006). *Gay power: An American revolution*. New York: Carroll & Graf.
- Emery, V. (Ed.) (2012). *The Harvey Milk interviews: In his own words*. San Francisco: Vince Emery Productions.
- Epstein, E. (1997a, November 7). Memorials honor slain Harvey Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. A24.
- Epstein, E. (1997b, September 13). Controversy over slain gay leader. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. A13.
- Epstein, E. & Wildermuth, J. (1999, November 5). Ammiano vs. Brown / write-in votes catapult supervisor into S. F. runoff. *San Francisco Chronicle* [SFGate.com]. Retrieved from: <http://www.sfgate.com/politics/article/Ammiano-vs-Brown-Write-in-votes-catapult-2897587.php>
- Epstein, R. (Director). (1984). *The times of Harvey Milk* [DVD]. USA: New Yorker Films.
- Epstein, R. (Director). (1984/2004). *The times of Harvey Milk* [20th anniversary collector's edition DVD]. USA: New Yorker Films.
- Epstein, R. (Director). (1984/2011). *The times of Harvey Milk* [DVD]. USA: The Criterion Collection.

- Epstein, Steven. (1999). Gay and Lesbian Movements in the United States: Dilemmas of identity, and political strategy. In B. D. Adam, J. W. Duyvendak, and A. Krouwel (Eds.), *The global emergence of gay and lesbian politics: National imprints of a worldwide movement* (pp. 30-90). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Equality California (2009, March 2). *Hope*. [television advertisement]. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nXI2zlhIk3s>
- Erl, A. (2009). Narratology and cultural memory studies. In S. Heinen and R. Sommer (Eds.) *Narratology in the age of cross-disciplinary narrative research* (pp. 212-227). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Eyerman, R. (2012). Harvey Milk and the trauma of assassination. *Cultural sociology*, 6(4), 399-421.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media discourse*. London: Arnold.
- fairducationact.com (n.d.) About. Leadership. [web page]. *The FAIR education act*. Retrieved from: <http://afer.org/about/leadership/>
- Feinstein's dilemma: Who should replace Milk? (1978, December 7). *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 8.
- Fernandez, E. (1992, July 5). Harvey Milk memorial is still a work in progress. *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle*, p. B3.
- Fernandez, E. (2008, December 1). S. F. AIDS ward 86–25 years of saving lives. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sfchronicle.com/health/article/S-F-AIDS-Ward-86-25-years-of-saving-lives-3259670.php>

- Fontana, A. & J. H. Frey (2005). Interviewing: The art of science. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.) *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* [3rd edition] (pp. 361-376). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- First Edition/An Editorial. (1974, February 1). *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 1.
- FitzGerald, F. (1986). *Cities on a hill*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Ford, D. (2004, January 23). Strange but true / a character from Caen's column captures the character of the Castro. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/Strange-but-true-A-character-from-Caen-s-column-2828737.php>
- Foss, K. A. (1986, August 18). *Letter to Scott Smith* [letter], Harvey Milk Archives—Scott Smith Collection (GLC 35), Box 13, F: Foss, Karen Permission. The James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, CA.
- Foss, K. A. (1988). Harvey Milk: "You have to give them hope." *Journal of the west*, April 2008, pp. 75-81.
- Foss, K. A. (1994). The logic of folly in the political campaigns of Harvey Milk. In R. J. Ringer (Ed.) *Queer words, queer images: Communication and the construction of homosexuality* (pp. 7-29). New York: New York University.
- Foss, K.A. (2007). Harvey Milk and the queer rhetorical situation: A rhetoric of contradiction. In C. E. Morris (Ed.) *Queering public address: Sexualities in American historical discourse* (pp. 74-92). Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.

- Foss, S. (2009). *Rhetorical criticism: Exploration and practice* (Fourth ed.). Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.
- Friday, W. (1976, June 24). Agnos wins – Milk loses. *Bay Area Reporter* [World of Wayne column], p. 17.
- Friday, W. (1983, June 2). Milk club hosts jubilant dinner. *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 13.
- Friday, W. (1998, November 26). Harvey Milk in retrospect: Who he was. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 1, 21.
- Friday, W. (2011, April 7). Our man Friday returns to dish the political dirt. *Bay Area Reporter*. Retrieved from: ebar.com/botg/article.php?sec=botg&article=13
- Galloway, C. (2011). The Times of Harvey Milk [Review of the film *The Times of Harvey Milk*]. Criterionforum.org. Retrieved from: <http://www.criterionforum.org/DVD-review/the-times-of-harvey-milk-bluray/the-criterion-collection/803>
- Garcia, D. (1988, November 28). A reluctant politician will lead S. F. supervisors. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. A6-7.
- Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Gautam, R. (2013, May 28). Honoring Harvey Milk Champions of Change. Retrieved from: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2013/05/24/honoring-harvey-milk-champions-change>
- Gay center plans scrapped. (1980, June 5). *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 1
- Gay vigil marks deaths of the past and present. (1985, November 28). *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 4.

- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gilbey, R. (2008, December 28). A nonconformist who knew when to stand up and be counted. *The Sunday Times*, pp. 2-3.
- Giltek, L. (1978, November 29). Milk said he would be assassinated. *San Francisco Examiner*, p. A.
- Ginsburg, M. (1985, November 28). Vigil for Moscone, Milk, AIDS. *San Francisco Examiner*, pp. 1, A28.
- glaad.org (2008, October 1). Gov. Schwarzenegger vetoes Harvey Milk Day [Web post]. *Glaad*. Retrieved from: <https://www.glaad.org/2008/10/01/gov-schwarzenegger-vetoes-harvey-milk-day>
- Glassberg, D. (2001). *Sense of history: The place of the past in American life*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Glaser, B. (1996, June 17). Atlanta theatre reviving Harvey Milk musical. Retrieved from: www.playbill.com/article/atlanta-theatre-reviving-harvey-milk-musical-com-68020
- GLBT Historical Society (2013). *Saint Harvey: The life and afterlife of a modern gay martyr* [exhibition brochure].
- Gold, H. (1977, November 6). Homosexuals step out of the closet, into politics. *Los Angeles Times*, pp. F1-2). Retrieved from ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
- Gold, H. (1977, November 6). A walk on San Francisco's gay side. *New York Times Magazine* [Sunday newspaper insert], pp. 67-8, 94-114. Retrieved from ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

- Goltz, Dustin Bradley (2011). *Queer temporalities in gay male representation: Tragedy, normativity, and futurity*. New York: Routledge.
- Gordon, B. (1987, July 3). Harvey Milk mural rejected by park panel. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 26.
- Gordon, R. (2008, October 29). Harvey Milk car dedicated in Castro. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. A10.
- Gordon, R. (2008, November 26). Feinstein recalls S.F.'s 'day of infamy'. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sfgate.com/bayarea/article/Feinstein-recalls-S-F-s-day-of-infamy-3260395.php>
- Gorney, C. (1999, January/February). The state of the American newspaper: The battle of the Bay. *American Journalism Review*. January/February. Retrieved from: <http://ajrarchive.org/Article.asp?id=3293>
- Gottheimer, J. (Ed.). (2003). *Ripples of hope: Great American civil rights speeches*. New York: Civitas Books.
- Grainge, P. (1999). TIME's past in the present: Nostalgia and the black and white image. *Journal of American studies*, 33(3), 383-392.
- Green, B. (1978, January 20). The Bay Area's most ineligible bachelors. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 26.
- Grimes, W. (1994, February 18). Randy Shilts, author, dies at 42; one of first to write about AIDS. *New York Times*, p. D17. Retrieved through ProQuest Historical Newspapers database.

- Gross, L. (2001). *Up from invisibility: Lesbians, gay men, and the media in America*.
New York: Columbia University Press.
- Guthmann, E. (2008, November 24). Milk's photographic memory. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. E1, E8.
- Halbwachs, M. (1980). *The collective memory*. (F. J. Ditter, Jr. & V. Y. Ditter, Trans.)
New York: Harper Colophon Books. (Original published in 1950.)
- Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On collective memory*. (L. A. Coser, Ed. & Trans.). Chicago:
University of Chicago Press.
- Hall, S. (1978, September 16). Fiery clash over prop. 6. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 7.
- Hall, S. (2008). Protest movements in the 1970s: The long 1960s. *Journal of contemporary history* 43(4), 655-672.
- Halterman, J. (2017, February 24). 'When we rise' EP Dustin Lance Black: 'This is going to be more timely than we thought. *Variety*. Retrieved from: <http://variety.com/2017/tv/news/when-we-rise-dustin-lance-black-dee-rees-1201988779/>
- Harmanci, R. (2008a, November 23). Real versus Reel. *San Francisco Chronicle* [Sunday *Datebook* supplement], pp. 20-23.
- Harmanci, R. (2008b, November 25). Still a force for change? *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 1, A15.
- Harris, M. (2009, October 23). Theatre review: The Harvey Milk show [theatrical review]. *Atlanta InTown*. Retrieved from: <http://atlantaintownpaper.com/2009/10/theater-review-the-harvey-milk-show/>
- Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club. (1978, December 7). *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 4.

Harvey Milk Film Green-Lit for Production. (2017, November 20). *The Advocate*.

Retrieved from: <http://www.advocate.com/arts-entertainment/entertainment-news/2007/11/20/harvey-milk-film-greenlit-production>

Harvey Milk, May 22, 1930-November 27, 1978. (2010). Commemorative street plaque, 575 Castro Street, San Francisco, CA.

harveymilkday.co (2014). Harvey Milk Day. Retrieved from:

<http://www.harveymilkday.co/>

Harveymilkfestival.org. Harvey Milk festival. About. Retrieved from:

<http://harveymilkfestival.org/#>

Harvey Milk for Assembly Committee (1976). *Milk forum by Harvey Milk: My concept of a legislator* [One-sheet campaign material]. Harvey Milk Archives – Scott Smith Collection (GLC 35), The James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, CA. (Reprint of column originally published in the *Bay Area Reporter*, May 27, 1976).

Harvey Milk week plans unveiled. (1981, May 7). *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 10.

Harveyssf.com (2017a). About. Harvey's. Retrieved from: <http://www.harveyssf.com/>

About.html

Harveyssf.com (2017b). History. Harvey's Retrieved from: <http://www.harveyssf.com/>

History.html

Hayes, C. J. (2009). *Building bridges through song: A qualitative study of educational outreach by the New York City ambassador chorus* (doctoral dissertation). New York University, New York, NY.

- Heimforth, D. (1979, December 20) Memorial reflection. [Letter Forum]. *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 6.
- Hemmelgarn, S. (2011, April 7). Community looks back at 40 years of the B.A.R. *Bay Area Reporter*. Retrieved from: www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=5609
- Hemont, G. (1980, June 5). Fonda/Hayden toast Milk dinner. *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 5
- Hendricks, T. (2008, February 23) Joy in Castro as Penn wins. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. 1, A8.
- Hendricks, T. (2009). Joy in Castro as Penn Wins. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. 1, A8.
- Herscher, E. (1998a, November 26). Moscone's time was anything but quiet. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sfgate.com/politics/article/Moscone-s-Time-Was-Anything-But-Quiet-His-2976274.php>
- Herscher, E. (1998b, November 27). Milk built power base for gays. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. 1, A23.
- Hinkle, W. (1979, October 29). Dan White's San Francisco. *Inquiry*, pp. 8-20.
- Hinkle, W. (1984, February 9). Where are Harvey Milk's clothes? *San Francisco Chronicle* ["Hinkle's Journal" column], p. 4.
- Hinkle, W. (1985). *Gayslayer: The story of how Dan White killed Harvey Milk and George Moscone & got away with murder*. Virginia City, NV: Silver Dollar Book Publishers, Inc.
- Hinkle, W. (1988, November 6). The ten days that shook San Francisco. *San Francisco Examiner* [Image magazine supplement], pp. 4-16, 28-34.

Hirshman, L. (2012). *Victory: The triumphant gay revolution*. New York: Harper.

H. Milk documentary. (1978, December 29). *San Francisco Sentinel*, pp. 13, 15.

Hmi.org (2017). About. *Hetrick-Martin Institute*. Retrieved from:

<http://www.hmi.org/about/>

Holland, B. (1995, April 6). 'Harvey Milk,' a gay opera as a grand coming-out party.

[music review]. *The New York Times*, p. C17, C24.

Hollis, R. (1979, May 23). Police lie low as Castro party stays peaceful. *San Francisco*

Examiner, p. 4.

Horn, J. (2014, October 16). Harvey Milk's American diner closes. *The San Diego*

Union-Tribune. Retrieved from: <http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/>

[business/restaurants/sdut-harvey-milk-american-grill-closes-hillcrest-2014oct16-story.html](http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/business/restaurants/sdut-harvey-milk-american-grill-closes-hillcrest-2014oct16-story.html)

Hornaday, A. (2012, December 19). 'The Times of Harvey Milk' among 25 films added

to National Film Registry. Retrieved from: [http://www.washingtonpost.com/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/movies/the-times-of-harvey-milk-among-25-films-added-to-national-film-registry/2012/12/18/7d988a80-4957-11e2-b6f0-e851e741d196_story.html)

[entertainment/movies/the-times-of-harvey-milk-among-25-films-added-to-](http://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/movies/the-times-of-harvey-milk-among-25-films-added-to-national-film-registry/2012/12/18/7d988a80-4957-11e2-b6f0-e851e741d196_story.html)

[national-film-registry/2012/12/18/7d988a80-4957-11e2-b6f0-e851e741d196](http://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/movies/the-times-of-harvey-milk-among-25-films-added-to-national-film-registry/2012/12/18/7d988a80-4957-11e2-b6f0-e851e741d196_story.html)

[_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/movies/the-times-of-harvey-milk-among-25-films-added-to-national-film-registry/2012/12/18/7d988a80-4957-11e2-b6f0-e851e741d196_story.html)

How events unfolded. (2008, November 23). *San Francisco Chronicle* [Sunday

Datebook supplement], p. 19.

Hrc.org (2012). Store Locations. *Human Rights Campaign*. Retrieved from:

<http://shop.hrc.org/hrc-store-locations/>

Hudson, D. (May 22, 2014). The Harvey Milk stamp is dedicated. *Whitehouse.gov*

Retrieved from: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2014/05/22/harvey-milk-forever-stamp-dedicated>

IMDB.com (2009a) Milk. Awards. [web]. Retrieved from: http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1013753/awards?ref_=tt_ql_op_1

IMDB.com (2009b) Milk. Box office / business for. [web]. Retrieved from: http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1013753/business?ref_=tt_ql_dt_4

Imperialcouncilsf.org (n.d.). Imperial Council [website page]. Retrieved from <http://www.imperialcouncilsf.org>

Imperialcouncilsf.org/founder. (n.d.). Imperial Council/Founder [website page]. Retrieved from: <http://www.imperialcouncilsf.org/founder.html>

In memorium. (1979, November 16). *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 4.

Indiana, G. & Van Sant, G. (1993, Fall). Gus Van Sant. *Bomb*, pp. 34-38.

James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center. (2003). Biography [Finding Aid]. Harvey Milk Archives – Scott Smith Collection (GLC 35). San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, CA.

Jankowski, N. W. & F. Wester (1991). The qualitative tradition in social science inquiry: Contributions to mass communication research. In B. Jensen & N.W. Jankowski (Eds.) *A handbook of qualitative methodologies for mass communication research* (pp. 44-77). London: Routledge.

Jarvis, B. & Stewart, P. (1980, November 28). S. F. march for Moscone and Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 5.

- Javers, R. (1978, November 20). I was in the airport ambush. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 1.
- Jennings, D. (1979a, November 23). Moscone and Milk – the scars after a year. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. 6-7.
- Jennings, D. (1979b, November 23). It's still a nightmare for Feinstein. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. 6-7.
- Jennings, R. (1991, December 21). Gay and Lesbian alliance looks at 'JFK.' *Los Angeles Times* [San Diego edition], p. SDF2. Retrieved through ProQuest Historical Newspapers database.
- Jensen, K. B. (1991a). Introduction. In B. Jensen & N.W. Jankowski (Eds.) *A handbook of qualitative methodologies for mass communication research* (pp. 1-12). London: Routledge.
- Jensen, K. B. (1991b). Contributions to mass communication research. In B. Jensen & N.W. Jankowski (Eds.) *A handbook of qualitative methodologies for mass communication research* (pp. 17-43). London: Routledge.
- Johns, D. (1974, September 12). Edwards creams Milk at PCR unite meeting. *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 1.
- Johnson, L. (1980, December 4). A drink at Harvey's. *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 7.
- Johnston, D. (1977, June 25). S.F. mourns slain gay city worker. *Los Angeles Times*, pp. B1, B12. Retrieved from ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
- Jones, C. & Dawson, J. (2000). *Stitching a revolution: The making of an activist*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.

- Jones, J. M. (2014, September 15). American's trust in executive, legislative branches down. *Gallup*. Retrieved from: <http://www.gallup.com/poll/175790/americans-trust-executive-legislative-branches-down.aspx>
- Jordan, J. W. (2008). Transcending Hollywood: The referendum on United 93 as cinematic memorial. *Critical studies in media communication*, 25(2), 196-223.
- Jordanova, L. (2000). *History in practice* [2nd ed]. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kamin, I. (1978, August 20). Seven good sports letting their clowns out [*Calendar* supplement]. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. 4, 24-25, 27.
- Katz, J. (1998, November 26). Harvey Milk in retrospect: Who he has become. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 1, 20-21.
- Kelley, B. (1998). *Harvey Milk, second sight* [online photo exhibit]. Retrieved from: <http://www.queer-arts.org/milk/>
- Kellner, D. (2011). *Cinema wars: Hollywood film and politics in the Bush-Cheney era*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Keshetonline.org (2014). LGBT Jewish heroes poster series (Harvey Milk, Kate Bornstein, Leslea Newman) [web store product post]. *Keshet*. Retrieved from: <http://www.keshetonline.org/product/lgbt-jewish-heroes-poster-series/>
- Khalil, R. K. (2012). *Harvey Milk and California Proposition 6: How the gay liberation movement won two early victories* (master's thesis). Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA.
- Kilduff, M. (1988, November 18). Jonestown survivors haunted. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. B3, B5).

- Kilduff, M. & Roberts, J. (1988, November 18). 10 days of horror that left S. F. in shock. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. 1, A4.
- Kirsch, G. E. (2008). Being on location: Serendipity, place, and archival research. In G. E. Kirsch and L. Rohan (Eds.) *Beyond the archives: Research as a lived process*, (pp. 20-27). Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Kitch, C. (1999). Twentieth-century tales: Newsmagazines and American memory. *Journalism & communication monographs*, 1(2), 119-155.
- Kitch, C. (2000). 'A news of feeling as well as fact': Mourning and memorial in American newsmagazines. *Journalism*, 1(2), 171-195.
- Kitch, C. (2002). Anniversary journalism, collective memory, and the cultural authority to tell the story of the American past. *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 36(1), 44-67. doi:10.1111/1540-5931.00030.
- Kitch, C. (2005). *Pages from the past: History and memory in American magazines*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Kitch, C. 2006. "'Useful Memory" in Time Inc. Magazines Summary Journalism and the Popular Construction of History." *Journalism Studies*, 7 (1): 94–110. doi:10.1080/14616700500450384.
- Kitch, C. (2008). Placing journalism inside memory – and memory studies. *Memory Studies*, 1(3), 311-320.
- Kitch, C. & Hume, J. (2008). *Journalism in a culture of grief*. New York: Routledge.
- Klinger, B. (2007). *Beyond the multiplex: cinema, new technologies, and the home*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

- Koskovich, G. (2012, June 18). *Interview with Gerard Koskovich by Heidi Mau* [Audio recording]. Personal communication.
- Kosman, J. (1994, January 31). New opera on the life of Harvey Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. D1.
- Kosman, J. (1995, January 15). Harvey Milk immortalized on opera stage. *San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle* [Sunday Datebook supplement], p. 28.
- Kosman, J. (1996, November 11). Welcome home, 'Harvey Milk.' *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. E1, E3.
- Krakow, K. (2001). *The Harvey Milk story*. Ridley Park, PA: Two Lives Publishing.
- Kronenberg, A. (2012, June 13). *Interview with Anne Kronenberg by Heidi Mau* [Audio recording]. Personal communication.
- Kqed.org (2009). The Castro [web page] KQED. Retrieved from:
<http://www.kqed.org/w/hood/castro/>
- Lagos, M. (2009, December 2). Milk, Lucas among 13 inducted in Hall of Fame. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/Milk-Lucas-among-13-inducted-in-Hall-of-Fame-3208646.php>
- Lagos, M. (2013, January 14). Campos wants Harvey Milk's name on SFO. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/Campos-wants-Harvey-Milk-s-name-on-SFO-4194091.php>
- Larsen, P. (1991). Textual analysis of fictional media content. In B. Jensen & N.W. Jankowski (Eds.) *A handbook of qualitative methodologies for mass communication research* (pp. 121-134). London: Routledge

- LaSalle, M. (2008, November 25). His time. Our story. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. E1, E4.
- Lattin, D. (1983, November 28). Thousands march in memory of Moscone, Milk. *San Francisco Examiner*, p. B7.
- Lattin, D. (1988, November 18). Cults now blend into American life. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. B4, B6.
- Legal gambling proposed. (1978, June 16). *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 8.
- Leff, L. (2010, May 5). California to observe first Harvey Milk Day. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/05/21/california-to-observe-fir_n_585478.html
- Lembke, D. (1975, September 25). Hero in Ford shooting active among S.F. gays. *Los Angeles Times*, pp. A2, 34. Retrieved from ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
- Lembke, D. (1975b, September 26). Ford note thanks S.F. man who deflected gun. *Los Angeles Times*, p. 3. Retrieved from ProQuest Historical Newspapers.
- Lentz, R. & Gateley, E. (2003). *Christ in the margins*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
- Levy, D. (1992, June 25). Planned film about late gay leader Harvey Milk causes flap. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. A16.
- Liao, A. (2011). Re-imagining Harvey Milk: Queering identity politics. In C. McCarthy, H. Greenhalgh-Spencer, & R. Mejia (Eds.) *New Times: Making sense of critical/cultural theory in a digital age* (pp. 171-194). New York: Peter Lang.
- Liberatore, P. (1987, August 1). Remembering Harvey Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 15.

- Liebert, L. (1990, August 2). A plan to build D.C. memorial to Harvey Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. A10.
- Lin, J. (2011, July 14). California gay history law: Jerry Brown signs landmark bill. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from:
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/07/14/california-gay-history-law-jerry-brown_n_898745.html
- Lindsey, R. (1987, April 9). House race in West goes to runoff. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from: <http://www.nytimes.com/1987/04/09/us/house-race-in-west-goes-to-runoff.html>
- Linenthal, E. T. (2001). *The unfinished bombing: Oklahoma City in American memory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lipinsky, W. (2006). *Images of America: Gay and Lesbian San Francisco*. Charleston, NC: Arcadia Publishing.
- Lipman, R. (2011). Restoring “The Times of Harvey Milk” [Liner notes]. In R. Epstein (Director) *The times of Harvey Milk* [DVD]. USA: The Criterion Collection.
- Lorch, P. (1980, December 4). Milk club march remembers Harvey. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 1, 4.
- Loughery, J. (1998). *The other side of silence: Men’s lives and gay identities: A twentieth-century history*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- Loughrey, P. (2011). *Dear Harvey*. [play script]. New York, NY: Playscripts, Inc.
- Lucas, C. (1992, November 28). A guarded optimism at Milk-Moscone march. *San Francisco Examiner*, p. A4.

- Luna, A. F. (2011). *In celebration of Harvey Milk*. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse.
- Maatz, L. (1989, November 28). Quiet memorial for Moscone, Milk. *San Francisco Examiner*, p. A4.
- Mann, E. (1983/1986). *Execution of Justice*. New York: Samuel French, Inc.
- Maloney, M. (1984, November 28). Some of the marchers gathered on the steps of City Hall for a brief moment of meditation [captioned photograph] *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 2.
- March tomorrow for Moscone, Milk. (1983, November 26). *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 26.
- Marcus, E. (1992). *Making history: The struggle for gay and lesbian equal rights 1945-1990: An oral history*. Toronto, Ontario: HarpersCollins Publishers.
- Marine, C. (1988, November 28). 10 years, and tears still fall. *San Francisco Examiner*, p. 1.
- Marinucci, C. (2009, July 31). Obama to honor Milk with Medal of Freedom. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. 1, A8.
- Marx, A. (1991, December 6). Gay rights activists protest 'JFK.' *Los Angeles Times* [San Diego edition], p. SDF21. Retrieved through ProQuest Historical Newspapers database.
- May, M. & Nolte, C. (2003, November 21). Week of tributes, memorials to honor slain. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. A24.

McKelvey, M. E. (2004). *Making American opera in the 1990's: The co-commissioning and co-producing of Houston Grand Opera from the 1990-1991 through 2000-2001 seasons* (doctoral dissertation). The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX.

McKinley, J. (2010, December 19). Harvey Milk's shop, center of a movement, is now the center of an internal fight. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from:
<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/20/us/20milk.html>

McMillan, D. (1995, May 24). Milk club toasts helpers. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 8, 14.

Mehren, E. (1982, March 25). Gay author in straight mainstream. *Los Angeles Times*, pp. H1, H18-H19.

Memorial services for Moscone, Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 3.

Mendelson, A. (2004). Slice-of-life moments as visual "truth": Norman Rockwell, feature photography, and American values in pictorial journalism. *Journalism History*, 29(4): 166-178

Meyers, O. (2002). Still photographs, dynamic memories: A study of the visual presentation of Israel's past in commemorative newspaper supplements. *The communication review*, 5(3), 179-205

Milk birthday party. (1979, May 10). *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 10.

Milk, first gay to be supervisor. (1978, November 27). *San Francisco Examiner*, p. 17.

Milkfoundation.org (2009). About. *Harvey Milk Foundation*. Retrieved from:
www.milkfoundation.org/about/

Milkfoundation.org/HMF. (n.d.) HMF. *Harvey Milk Foundation*. Retrieved from:

<http://milkfoundation.org/hmf>

Milk fund explained. (1979, January 4). *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 14.

Milk fund gets underway. (1979, January 4). *Bay Area Reporter* [advertisement], p. 9.

Milk, H. (1974a, March 28). Waves from the left. *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 5.

Milk, H. (1974b, June 6). Waves from the left. *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 5.

Milk, H. (1974c, July 18). Waves from the left: Play ball. *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 5.

Milk, H. (1974d, September 4). Castro Busts. *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 1.

Milk, H. (1974e, November 27). Milk forum: Vox clamitis. *Bay Area Reporter*, (n.p.).

Milk, H. (1975a, February 5). Milk forum: Gay groupie syndrome - where have all the flowers gone. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 10-11.

Milk, H. (1975b, April 3). Milk forum: The 'Gospel' according to Fred. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp.16-17.

Milk, H. (1975c, October 30). Milk forum. *Bay Area Reporter*, (n.p.).

Milk, H. (1976a, March 4). Milk forum. *Bay Area Reporter*, (n.p.).

Milk, H. (1976b, March 18). Milk forum: Reactionary beer. *Bay Area Reporter*, (n.p.).

Milk, H. (1976c, May 27). Milk forum: My concept of a legislator. *Bay Area Reporter*, (n.p.).

Milk, H. (1976d, July 8). Milk forum: 200 Years of what? *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 18.

Milk, H. (1976e, July 22). Milk forum: A lesson from the convention. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 18-19.

- Milk, H. (1976f, August 19). Milk forum: It's your money they're spending. *Bay Area Reporter*, (n.p.).
- Milk, H. (1976g, September 30). Milk forum: District election and the gay movement. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 6-7.
- Milk, H. (1977a, January 20). Milk forum: A questionable chamber. *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 11.
- Milk, H. (1977b, June 23). Milk forum: Your letter on the fourth. *Bay Area Reporter*, (n.p.).
- Milk, H. (1977c, October 27). Milk forum: Running against a moralist. *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 20.
- Milk, H. (1978a, January 19). Milk forum: First major address – the voice of a neighborhood, part I. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 13-14.
- Milk, H. (1978b, February 2). Milk forum: The voice of a neighborhood, part II. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 9-10.
- Milk, H. (1978d, July 6). Milk forum: Gay freedom day speech. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 11-12.
- Milk in district 5. (1977, November 1). *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 40.
- Milk library considered. (1979, January 18). *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 18.
- Milk, S. (2011). Harvey's enduring legacy [Liner notes]. In R. Epstein (Director) *The times of Harvey Milk* [DVD]. USA: The Criterion Collection.
- Milk Widow on KGO. (1982, November 18). *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 14.

- Miller, N. (1995) *Out of the past: Gay and lesbian history from 1869 to the present*. New York: Random House.
- Milvey, E. (2003, July 8). Household saint. *The Advocate*, 893, 65-66. Retrieved through the GenderWatch database.
- Monadnocksf.com. History. The Monadnock Building [Web post]. Retrieved from www.monadnocksf.com/history.htm
- Moor, P. (1995, Fall). Milk, the opera [Review]. *The Harvard gay & lesbian review*, pp. 47-48.
- Moscone, Milk shot to death. (1978, November 27). *San Francisco Examiner* [Extra], p. 1.
- Moscone, Milk slain – Dan White is held. (1978, November 28). *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 1.
- Moscone's name for Yerba Buena. (1978, December 5). *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 3.
- Moskowitz, R. (1978, December 6). Mayor Feinstein hears tape recording left by Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 4.
- Morris III, C. (2004). My old Kentucky homo. In K. R. Phillips (Ed.), *Framing public memory* (pp. 89-114). Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press.
- Murphy, George. (1978, November 28). It was a proud year for supervisor Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 2.
- Nahmod, D. (2014, May 29). Milk stamp a hit in the Castro. *Bay Area Reporter*. Retrieved from: <http://www.ebar.com/news/article.php?sec=news&article=69750>

- Naming a Navy ship for Harvey Milk is the right thing to do. (2016, July 29). *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sfchronicle.com/opinion/editorials/article/Naming-a-Navy-ship-for-Harvey-Milk-is-the-right-8670177.php>
- NBC responds to gay protests. (1978, December 21). *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 10.
- Newmarket Press (2009). *Milk: A Pictorial History of Harvey Milk*. [Introduction by Lance Black; Foreword by Armistead Maupin]. New York: Newmarket Press.
- Nicoletta, D. (2012, June 10). *Interview with Daniel Nicoletta by Heidi Mau* [audio recording]. Personal communication.
- Nichols, B. (1991). *Representing reality: Issues and concepts in documentary*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Noehill.com (n.d.). *San Francisco landmark #227*. Retrieved from: <http://noehill.com/sf/landmarks/sf227.asp>
- Obamawhitehouse.archives.gov (n.d.). Home. *Harvey Milk Champions of Change*. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/champions/harvey-milk-champions-of-change>
- Olson, J. (2008). *575 Castro St*. [motion picture]. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=klcAJNkmlpw>
- Olson, J. (2012, June 25). Interview with Jenni Olson by Heidi Mau [Audio recording]. Personal communication.

- Pasko, D. (1980). *Untitled* [typed Harvey Milk remembrance]. Harvey Milk Archives – Scott Smith Collection (GLC 35, Box 13, Folder: Pasko, David 1980). the James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center, San Francisco Public library, San Francisco, CA.
- Pauly, J. J. (1991). A beginner's guide to doing qualitative research. *Journalism monographs*, 129, 1-29.
- Pelosi, N. (2008, November 26). Pelosi statement on the 30th anniversary of the assassination of Harvey Milk [press release]. Retrieved from: <https://pelosi.house.gov/news/press-releases/pelosi-statement-on-the-30th-anniversary-of-the-assassination-of-harvey-milk>
- Pérez-Peña, R. (2009, March 29). Setbacks in Bay Area add to pain for the Chronicle. *New York Times*. Retrieved from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/30/business/media/30chronicle.html?pagewanted=all>
- Persons of the century. (1999, June 14). *Time* magazine, 153(23), p. 8.
- Pfaff, T. (1996, November 17). Making history. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 1, 56-57.
- Popova, M. (2015). The illustrated story of Harvey Milk, humanitarian martyr for love: How a little boy with big ears grew up to hear the cry for social justice and answered it with a clarion call for equality in the kingdom of love. [Blog post]. *Brain Pickings*. Retrieved from: <https://www.brainpickings.org/2015/04/10/the-harvey-milk-story/>
- Pruitt, D. & Hutchison, P. (1996). *The Harvey Milk show* [CD]. Atlanta, GA: Actor's Express.

- Pullen, C. (2011). Heroic gay characters in popular film: Tragic determination, and the everyday. *Continuum: Journal of media & cultural studies*, 25(3), 397-413.
- Quart, L. & Auster, A. (2011). *American film and society since 1945* (Fourth Ed.) Santa Barbara: Praeger.
- Reza, H. G. & Lang, P. (1981, November 28). 1000 protest S.F. attacks on gays. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 3.
- Reed, J. (1977). *Ten days that shook the world* [Reprint with introduction by A. J. P. Taylor]. London, England: Penguin Group (Original work published 1919)
- Rich, R. (2009, January 16). Ghosts of a vanished world. *The Guardian*, p. 5.
- Rich, R. (2011). Making history [Liner notes]. In R. Epstein (Director) *The times of Harvey Milk* [DVD]. USA: The Criterion Collection.
- Rimmerman, C. (2001). *From identity to politics: The lesbian and gay movements in the United States*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Rivaldo, J. & Pabich, D. (1979). Learning from Harvey Milk. In L. Richmond and G. Noguerra (Eds.) *The new gay liberation book: Writings and photographs about gay (men's) liberation* (pp. 204-211). Palo Alto, CA: Ramparts Press.
- Rivaldo, J. (1981, May 21). Who was Harvey Milk? *Bay Area Reporter* [special commemorative supplement], p. 7.
- Robertlantz.com (2015, March 18). Harvey Milk: A lesson in love. [Web post]. Retrieved from: <http://robertlantz.com/harvey-milk-a-lesson-in-love/>
- Roberts, J. (1987, September 2). The awful day 'the world stopped'. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 4.

- Roberts, J. (1994). *Dianne Feinstein: Never let them see you cry*. New York: HarperCollins West.
- Robinson, E. (1978, October 11). A wild debate – Briggs vs. Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 6.
- Robinson, S. (2009). We were all there: Remembering America in the anniversary coverage of Hurricane Katrina. *Memory studies*, 2(2), 235-253.
- Romesburg, D., Rupp, L. J., Donahue, D. M. (2014). *Making the framework FAIR: California history-social science framework proposed LGBT revisions related to the FAIR Education Act*. San Francisco, CA: Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender History.
- Rothstein, E. (1995, January 23). ‘Harvey Milk’ opens in Houston with the reverence built in [Review]. *New York Times*, pp. C1, C13.
- Rose, G. R. (2010). *Visual methodologies: An introduction to the interpretation of visual materials* [2nd ed.]. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Roulston, K. (2010). *Reflective interviewing: A guide to theory & practice*. London: Sage.
- Rubenstein, S. (1978, November 28). A candlelight tribute at city hall. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 2.
- Rubenstein, S. (2016, August 16). Harvey Milk saluted at Navy ship naming ceremony. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved from: <http://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/Harvey-Milk-saluted-at-Navy-ship-naming-ceremony-9146849.php>

- Rubien, D. (2008, November 29). Gay men's chorus marks 30 years of comfort and joy, *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. E1-2.
- Rubin, S. (1999, November 26). Memories that won't die. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. C1, C8-9.
- Saltus, R. & King, P. (1979, May 22). Police will ring are but let Milk celebration go on. *San Francisco Examiner*, p. 1.
- Sanchez, T. (2016, May 19). LGBT community marks annual Harvey Milk breakfast. *The San Diego Union-Tribune*. Retrieved from:
<http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/lifestyle/people/sdut-harvey-milk-breakfast-2016may19-story.html>
- San Francisco Public Library. (2005). *Out at the library: Celebrating the James C. Hormel Gay & Lesbian Center*. Portland, OR: PrintResults, Inc.
- San Francisco's Most Widely Read. (1974, July 3). *San Francisco Sentinel*, p.1.
- 'Sat. Nite [sic] Live' protests over Milk satire. (1978, December 21). *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 10.
- Savage, K. (1994). The politics of memory: Black emancipation and the Civil War monument. In J. R. Gillis (Ed.), *Commemorations: The politics of national identity* (127-149). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Schectman, L. (1979, June 1). Harvey's birthday on Castro. *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 1.
- Schiff, D. (1998, June 7). Is headline opera yesterday's news? *The New York Times*, pp. 35, 45.

- Schmiechen, R. & Epstein, R. (Producers), & Epstein, R. (Director). (1984). *The times of Harvey Milk* [DVD]. USA: New Yorker Films.
- Schmiechen, R. & Epstein, R. (Producers), & Epstein, R. (Director). (1984/2004). *The times of Harvey Milk* [20th anniversary collector's edition DVD]. USA: New Yorker Films.
- Schmiechen, R. & Epstein, R. (Producers), & Epstein, R. (Director). (1984/2011). *The times of Harvey Milk* [DVD]. USA: The Criterion Collection.
- Schuman, H. & Scott, J. (1989). Generations and collective memories. *American sociological review*, 55(3), 359-381.
- Schwarz, K.R. (1995, April 2). A brash opera holds a mirror to gay life in America [Review]. *New York Times*, pp. 33, 36.
- Schwartz, S. (1996, October 3, 1996). Harvey Milk institute launches fall term. *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 14.
- Schwartzberg, S. (2012, June 16). *Interview with Susan Schwartzberg by Heidi Mau* [Audio recording]. Personal communication.
- Sentinel. (1978, January 12). *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 3.
- Sentinel Endorses. (1977, November 3). *San Francisco Sentinel*, p. 12.
- Services for Moscone, Milk are scheduled. (1978, November 27). *San Francisco Examiner*, p. 18.
- S.F. Examiner honors Harvey Milk. (March 15, 1979) *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 10.
- SFGMC. (2013, June 26-28). *Harvey Milk 2013* [Program notes]. N.p.

Sfpl.org (n.d.). Into the light: The making of the mural. [Web post]. Retrieved from:

<http://sfpl.org/index.php?pg=2000045301>

Sfrecpark.org (n.d.). Harvey Milk Rec Arts Center. Retrieved from:

<http://sfrecpark.org/destination/duboce-park/harvey-milk-recreational-arts-center/>

Sharpe, I. and Boldenweck, B. (1978, November 29). Tearful tribute to Moscone and

Milk. *San Francisco Examiner*, pp. 1, 20.

Sharpe, I. (1981, November 28). Rain fails to dampen Moscone-Milk march. *San*

Francisco Examiner, p. A3.

Shilts, R. (1979, March). The life and death of Harvey Milk. *Christopher street*, pp. 25-

43.

Shilts, R. (1981). Five years that shook the city. *San Francisco Chronicle and Examiner*

[*This World* supplement], pp. 16-19, 26.

Shilts, R. (1982). *The mayor of Castro Street: The life and times of Harvey Milk*. New

York: St. Martin's Press.

Shilts, R. (1982/1988). *The Mayor of Castro Street: The life and times of Harvey Milk*.

London: Penguin Group.

Shilts, R. (1982/1993). *The Mayor of Castro Street: The life and times of Harvey Milk*

[Stonewall Inn ed.]. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Shilts, R. (1982/2008). *The Mayor of Castro Street: The life and times of Harvey Milk*.

New York: St. Martin's press.

Shilts, R. (1982/2009). *The Mayor of Castro Street: The life and times of Harvey Milk*.

London: Atlantic Books.

- Shilts, R. (1982, November 10). Panel Oks \$5500 for Milk's ex-lover. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 22.
- Shilts, R. & Magagnini, S. (1983, November 28). Thousands march in S.F. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. 1, 22.
- Shilts, R. & Herscher, E. (1988, November 18). Harvey Milk's legacy. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. B3, B4.
- Siler, T. & Hoshaw, L. (2016, June 26). Cleve Jones. Marriage equality is an extraordinary victory for everybody [Audio file]. KQED News. Retrieved from: <https://ww2.kqed.org/news/2015/06/26/cleve-jones-marriage-equality-is-an-extraordinary-victory-for-everybody/>
- Skopal, P. (2007). 'The adventure continues on DVD'. *Convergence: The international journal of research into new media technologies*. 13(2), 185-198
- Slain S.F. supe Harvey Milk eulogized at Shaar Zahav. (1998, November 27). Retrieved from: <http://www.jweekly.com/1998/11/27/slain-s-f-supe-harvey-milk-eulogized-at-sha-ar-zahav/>
- Smith, J. (1975, October 23). The second time around for Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 6.
- Sofen, A. A. (2001). *The legend of Castro Street: Harvey Milk and the making of a gay martyr* (master's thesis). Harvard University, New Haven, CT.
- Soiffer, B. (1983, November 21). Gay history goes on exhibition in S.F. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 45.

- Solis, S. E. & Schwartz, S. (1998, November 28). Light rain suits mood of vigil. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. A21.
- Stein, P. L. (Director) (1997). *The Castro* [DVD]. San Francisco, CA: KQED Public Media.
- Stein, R. (2008a, March 18). It's a wrap – for 'Milk,' the next stop will be the movie theater. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. E1, 3.
- Stein, R. (2008b, November 23). The long road to "Milk." *San Francisco Chronicle* [Sunday *Datebook* supplement], pp. 16-19.
- Stein, R. (2008c, November 23). Local actress plays Feinstein. *San Francisco Chronicle* [Sunday *Datebook* supplement], pp. 22-23.
- Stuever, H. (2009, February 21). Out of 'Milk,' perhaps a little human kindness toward gay rights. *Washington Post*, p. C01.
- Stone, G. (1979, May 22). At the most chaotic moment of the demonstration, nine police cars were ablaze, their sirens moaning, and two squads of police were being assaulted with rocks and bottles [photograph with caption]. *San Francisco Examiner*, p. 1.
- Stoner, A. E. (2013). *Reconsidering Randy Shilts: Examining the reportage of America's AIDS chronicler* (dissertation). Colorado State University, CO.
- Storey, J. (1978a, November 27). Former Supervisor Dan White taken into custody by police [photograph with caption]. *San Francisco Examiner* [Extra], p. 1.
- Storey, J. (1978b, November 28). Former Supervisor Dan White (left) and Inspector Howard Bailey [photograph with caption]. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 1.

Streitmatter, R. (1995). *Unspeakable: The rise of the gay and lesbian press in America*.

Winchester, MA: Faber and Faber.

strangebillions.com (2013) The peculiar works of Strange de Jim. [website, now defunct].

Strinati, D. (1996). *An introduction to theories of popular culture*. London: Routledge.

Stryker, S. & Van Buskirk, J. (1996). *Gay by the bay: A history of queer culture in the*

San Francisco Bay Area. San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books.

Sturken, M. (1997). *Tangled memories: The Vietnam War, the AIDS epidemic and the*

politics of remembering. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Sturken, M. (1999) The image as memorial: Personal photographs in cultural memory. In

M. Hirsch (Ed.) *The familial gaze* (pp. 178-195). Hanover, NH: University Press

of New England.

Supervisor Milk finds his roommate dead. (1978, August 29). *San Francisco Chronicle*,

p. 20.

Sward, S. (1988, November 25). Hundreds pay homage to slain S. F. leaders. *San*

Francisco Chronicle, pp. 1, A17,

Sward, S. & Barabak, M. Z. (1985, October 22). S. F. Mayor's killer dies in his garage.

San Francisco Chronicle, p. 1.

Szymanski, Z. (2012). Bay Area Reporter, San Francisco. In T. Baim (Ed.) *Gay press gay*

power: The growth of LGBT community newspapers in America (pp. 281-284).

Chicago, IL: Prairie Avenue Productions/Windy City Media Group.

Talbot, D. (2012). *Season of the witch: Enchantment, terror, and deliverance in the city*

of love. New York: Free Press.

The 1981 celebration of the birthday and life of Harvey Milk. (1982, May 21). *Bay Area Reporter* [special commemorative supplement], pp. 1-16.

The Castro: Looking to the future. (1989, July 6). *San Francisco Sentinel* [Editorial], p. 7.

thecastro.net. (2016, June 24). Uncle Donald's Castro Street. [Website index]. Retrieved from: <http://thecastro.net/index.html#index>

Thetimesofharveymilk.com. (2009). Home. Retrieved from:

http://www.tellingpictures.com/films/hm/hm_hist.html

This man needs your help. (1979a, June 7). [Advertisement]. *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 11.

This man needs your help. (1979b, July 5). [Advertisement]. *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 6

Thompson, T. (1982, March 7). Bay Area biography, social history and

assassination [Review of the book *The mayor of Castro street*, by R. Shilts]. *Los Angeles Times* pg. L3.

Thompson, P. (1996, November 14). Milk dud. *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 48.

Timoner, R. (1992, May 28). Harvey Milk march helps heal wounds of protest clashes.

Bay Area Reporter, p. 4.

Towle, A. (2007, December 5). Exclusive: Inside Harvey Milk's Castro Street camera

shop today [Blog post]. *Towleroad*. Retrieved from: <http://www.towleroad.com/2007/12/exclusive-insid/>

Towle, A. (2009, March 3). New ad released as anti-prop 8 efforts ramp up in California.

[Blog post]. *Towleroad*. Retrieved from: <http://www.towleroad.com/2009/03/new-ad-released-as-antiprop-8-efforts-ramp-up-in-california/>

- Tran, M. (2009, October 13). Arnold Schwarzenberger signs law establishing Harvey Milk Day. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/oct/13/schwarzenegger-law-harvey-milk-day>
- Tribune Wire Services. (1978a, November 28). Harvey Milk. *Chicago Tribune*, p. 12.
- Tribune Wire Services. (1978b, November 28). 49ers lose game and postponement. *Chicago Tribune*, p. C3.
- Trinitystores.com (2017). Art products [retail web page]. Retrieved from: <https://www.trinitystores.com/store/art-products/RLHRM>
- Tuller, D. (1988, November 28). Emotional Milk-Moscone tribute. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. 1, A18.
- Turner, D. (1980a, November 20). An interview with Randy Shilts, part I. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 10-11, 33).
- Turner, D. (1980b, December 4). An interview with Randy Shilts, part II. *Bay Area Reporter*, pp. 14-15, 32.
- Two Harvey Milk films in the making (2007, May 4). *The Advocate*. Retrieved from: <http://www.advocate.com/arts-entertainment/entertainment-news/2007/05/04/two-harvey-milk-filmsmaking>
- United Press International (1978a, November 28). Milk called 'progressive.' *Boston Globe*, p. 8.
- United Press International. (1978b, November 28). NFL refuses to reset 49er game. *Los Angeles Times*, p. D9.

- Unless every one of us. (1979, November 1). [Advertisement]. *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 13.
- VanDeCarr, P. (2008). Out of the Bars and into the Streets [Podcast]. Retrieved from:
http://www.focusfeatures.com/article/podcast__out_of_the_bars_and_into_the__streets
- Vaid, U. (1995). *Virtual equality: The mainstreaming of gay & lesbian liberation*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Van Sant, G. (2008). Introduction. In D. Black's *Milk* [Newmarket Shooting Script Series] (pp. vii-viii). New York, NY: Newmarket Press.
- Van Sant, G. (Director). (2008). *Milk* [Motion picture]. USA: Universal.
- Van Sant, G. (Director). (2009). *Milk* [DVD]. USA: Universal.
- Vidal, B. (2014). Introduction: The biopic and its critical contexts. In T. Brown & B. Vidal (Eds.) *The biopic in contemporary film culture* (pp. 1-32). New York: Routledge.
- Villa, S. (2010). *Milk* (2008) and *The Times of Harvey Milk* (1984): The double filmic resurrection of the mayor of Castro Street, *Altre modernita*, 4, 190-199.
- Von Buchau, S. (1995, January 21). Eye of the Storm. *Opera News*, pp. 8-10; 35.
- Wahl, J. Milk attorney speaks on tapes. (December 21, 1978) *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 4.
- Walkson, H. (1995, February 3). Opera: Houston premiere of 'Harvey Milk' [Review]. *Wall street journal*, p. A10.
- Warner, M. (2002). *Publics and counterpublics*. Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books.
- Warren, S. (1992, June 4). How gay was my Harvey? *San Francisco, Sentinel*, pp. 26-27.

- Weiss, M. (1984). *Double play: The hidden passions behind the double assassination of George Moscone and Harvey Milk*. San Francisco, CA: Vince Emery Productions.
- Weiss, M. (2010). *Double play: The hidden passions behind the double assassination of George Moscone and Harvey Milk* [2nd Ed.]. San Francisco, CA: Vince Emery Productions.
- West, R. (1975, September 23). President escapes assassin's bullet: Woman seized on S.F. street after firing pistol. *Los Angeles Times* pp. 1, 3.
- Wertsch, J. (2002). *Voices in collective remembering*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- White, A. (1985, November 14). Candlelight march planned for Nov. 27. *Bay Area Reporter*, p. 3.
- White House. (2009, July 30). President Obama names medal of freedom recipients: 16 agents of change to receive top civilian honor. Retrieved from: http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/president-obama-names-medal-of-freedom-recipients/
- Wildermuth, J. (2009, March 4). Leno uses star power to kick another try at Harvey Milk Day. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. B1, B7.
- Williams, W. L. & Retter, Y. (2003). (Eds.) *Gay and lesbian rights in the United States: A documentary history*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Wills, G. (1993, September 30). Randy Shilts. *Rolling stone*. Retrieved from MAS Ultra – School Edition database.

- Wilson, J. M. (1990, March 25). Courting 'Castro.' *Los Angeles Times*, pp. N29-30.
Retrieved through ProQuest Historical Newspapers database.
- Wilson, T. T. (2003). *Biography* [Finding Aid]. Harvey Milk Archives – Scott Smith Collection (GLC 35), The James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco, CA.
- Wilson, T. (2012, June 25). *Interview with Tim Wilson by Heidi Mau* [Audio recording].
Personal communication.
- Winn, S. (2008a, January 30). Picturing Harvey Milk. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. 1, A11.
- Winn, S. (2008b, October 28). Star-studded screening at the Castro. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. 1, A10
- Winn, S. (2008c, November 23). Penn breaks new ground. *San Francisco Chronicle* [Sunday *Datebook* supplement], p. 18.
- Winn, S. (2008d, November 23). Harvey's friends remember. *San Francisco Chronicle* [Sunday *Datebook* supplement], pp. 20-21.
- Wong, M. (1980). *'Harvey' by Mike Wong* [typed diary pages]. Randy Shilts Papers (GLC 43, Series 2b: Professional Papers – Books, Box 1: Mayor of Castro Street, Folder 19: Research Materials), the James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center, San Francisco Public library, San Francisco, CA.
- Yodelis Smith, M. A. (1989). The method of history. In G. H. Stempel & B. H. Westley (Eds.) *Research methods in mass communication* [2nd Edition] (pp. 316-330). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

- Zadan, C. (2004). Vito, Randy, and Harvey. *Advocate*. (917), 20. Retrieved from:
www.advocate.com
- Zamora, J. H. (1993, November 28). Remembering Milk 15 years later: 'He was our martyr'. *San Francisco Examiner*, pp. B1, B6.
- Zamora, J. H. (1998, November 28). Moscone, Milk legacy hailed. *San Francisco Examiner*, pp. 1, A13.
- Zane, M. (1978a, November 28). How Milk viewed possible assassination. *San Francisco Chronicle*, p. 4.
- Zane, M. (1978b, November 30). Thousands gather to mourn. *San Francisco Chronicle*, pp. 1, 4.
- Zelizer, B. (1992). *Covering the body: The Kennedy assassination, the media, and the shaping of collective memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Zelizer, B. (1995). Reading the past against the grain: The shape of memory studies. *Critical studies in mass communication*, 12(2), 214-239
- Zerubavel, E. (1996). Social memories: Steps to a sociology of the past. *Qualitative sociology*, 19(3), 283-299.

APPENDIX**LIST OF FIELDWORK MATERIALS**The James C. Hormel Gay and Lesbian Center, San Francisco Public Library

The Harvey Milk Papers – Susan Davis Alch Collection (GLC 19)

Harvey Milk Letters to Joe Campbell, 1961- [1971] (GLC 20)

Harvey Milk Archives - Scott Smith Collection (GLC 35)

Daniel Nicoletta Photographs Collection (1976-2000) (GLC 36)

Randy Shilts Papers, 1955-1994 (GLC 43)

San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

San Francisco Ephemera collection

GLBT Historical Society:

Kevin Burke sound recordings

Oral history collection

GLBT Historical Society newsletters

Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club Records, 1977-1983

Herb Caen Magazines & Newspaper Center (SFPL)

San Francisco Chronicle: 1975-2011 from indexed listings

San Francisco Examiner: minimal (Bancroft/UC Berkley processing)

Chronicle/Examiner: Some articles appear in joint-publication period

Sentinel: Scrolled issues & anniversary search: 1974-1995

Bay Area Reporter: Scrolled issues & anniversary search: 1971 -

Bay Guardian: anniversary search

San Francisco Progress: anniversary search

San Francisco Independent: anniversary search

San Francisco Bay Times: anniversary search

Formal Interviews (20):

May/June 2012:

Gerard Koskovich – historian (GLBT Historical Society / Museum)

Anne Kronenberg (2) – cofounder of HMF

Jenni Olson – independent filmmaker (*575 Castro St.*)

Daniel Nicoletta (2) – photographer

Susan Schwartzberg – fine artist (HMRC HM installations)

Jeffrey Taylor – SFGMC / HM Legacy event 2013

Tim Wilson – Archivist, SFPL, Harvey Milk Archives

people in Castro (2)

volunteer docents at GLBT Museum (3)

May/June 2013:

Kathy Amendola – Owner/Tour Guide - Crusin' the Castro tours

Marjorie Bryer – Archivist, GLBTHS

Brian Campbell – Castro Ambassadors

Alex Cherian – Archivist, Bay Area Television Archives

Strange de Jim – Book Author, web blogger, local character

November 2013:

Randy Alfred – GLBT journalist

Public Events/Exhibitions (36)

(Image/sound documentation when allowed or field notes, 23 directly Milk-related and 13 as part of larger events or times of Milk)

May/June 2012:

Harvey Milk Day plaque re-dedication

HRMCA benefit screening of *Milk* at Castro Theatre

HMF fundraiser fashion event

Harvey Milk LGBT Democratic Club/Milk Club - Harvey Milk birthday bash

Harvey Milk Day in the Castro

GLBT Museum – Harvey Milk Day extras

“Royal Families of the America’s” photography exhibit (Int’l Court System)

Vince Emery – author event at HM SFPL (“The Harvey Milk Interviews”)

Gilbert Baker / Cleve Jones – speaking engagement GLBT Museum

Gilbert Baker meet/greet event

Annual Pride Concert / Harvey Milk Contata (w/panel discussion)

6 x walking tours: Cruisin the Castro, City Hall, Harvey Milk's City Hall, SFPL-Castro, Foot Comedy Tour of the Castro, GLBT History Museum audio walking tour

Pink Saturday in the Castro

SF Pride Parade & Celebration (TV broadcast and celebration event)

May/June 2013:

Harvey Milk Day GLBT History Museum tour

Harvey Milk Day in the Castro

City Hall walking tour

"An Archive of Hope" book event 1: SFPL w/authors; Daniel Nicoletta

"An Archive of Hope" book event 2: Books Inc., w/authors; Frank M. Robinson

Harvey Milk LGBT Democratic Club – annual Harvey Milk birthday celebration

"Remember Them: Champions for Humanity" sculpture dedication, Oakland, CA

David Talbot lecture on SF in the '70s – San Francisco Historical Society

Valencia filmmaker panel at GLBT History Museum / SF history of the 1990s

FAIR panel as part of Frameline Film Festival

Nicoletta photography exhibition

DOMA / Prop 8 decision celebration in Castro – Cleve Jones, Bruce Cohen

speeches

"I Am Harvey Milk" Andrew Lipka/SFGMC world premiere (2 performances)

Cleve Jones – reading at Faetopia exhibition

SF Pride Parade & Celebration

November 2013:

City Hall – Harvey Milk/George Moscone memorial event

35th Annual Memorial Candlelight March and Vigil for Milk and Moscone

Memorials, Public Art, Legacy-named Buildings, Graffiti (20+)

Harvey Milk Civil Rights Academy

Eureka Valley/Harvey Milk Memorial Branch of the San Francisco Public Library

Harvey's restaurant in the Castro, 500 Castro Street

Harvey Milk Plaza

- Harvey Milk Plaza Plaque
- Photographic tribute (various photographers)

San Francisco Landmark #227: Castro Camera

Mural on Front of Castro Camera – Harvey in window (Norris)

Commemorative Plaques (2) at 575 Castro Street Recognizing Harvey Milk

Mural inside of HRC Action Store / Castro Camera (Baden)

Harvey Milk Center for the Recreational Arts

Harvey Milk Photo Center (Davis & Schwartzberg)

Bio/Obscura (Davis & Schwartzberg)

The American Dream: A Tribute to Harvey Milk (Davis & Schwartzberg)

Harvey Milk Mural (commemorative plaque w/image) (Poethig)

Harvey Milk bronze memorial bust in City Hall

(Daub, Firmin, Hendrickson Sculpture Group)

San Francisco Renaissance mural inside the Monadnock Building lobby (1986-88)

(Evans and Brown Co.)

Into the Light – mural in James C. Hormel LGBTQIA Center, SFPL

(Evans & Brown Co.)

Graffiti: Milk Would Have Marched for Manning, Harvey Milk Lives, Harvey Milk face
stencils (throughout San Francisco)

Remember Them: Champions for Humanity Monument, Oakland CA

California Hall of Fame, California Museum, Sacramento (2010: 4th class of inductees)