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Popular culture icons are physical objects of everyday use that make the everyday meaningful. They are ideas, both old and new, that are at the mercy of its viewer, meaning whatever the viewer desires whenever the viewers desires it. Celebrities with iconic images are global figures worshipped by the public. Their images appear to the public through the media and have their images transmitted globally through the media. No research currently examines the characteristics used to describe the idea of the icon in media. Research studies the use of stereotypes to depict women, racial minorities, as well as sporting individuals. The characterization of sporting individuals is frequently related to their gender or race. This research examines the differences in characterization of eight individuals with iconic images from the entertainment and sports industries in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines. The eight individuals (Muhammad Ali, Babe Didrikson, Michael Jackson, Marilyn Monroe, Elvis Presley, Wilma Rudolph, Babe Ruth, and Oprah Winfrey) were selected based on the number of appearances they made in icon literature listing individuals as icons. Gender, race, and occupation differences are analyzed as well as trends in characterization over time. The individuals are also examined to determine which individuals have the most iconic images. Content analysis was conducted of magazine articles about the eight celebrities. The articles provide narratives about them as an ideal as opposed to them as a people. Results indicate that Whites, males, and entertainers have images that generally average more characteristics used to depict them to the public than Blacks, females, or sportsmen and women. The results

also suggest that only four of the individuals have images that truly embody iconic qualities. This research illustrates the prevailing preference for people with iconic images to be Whites, males, or entertainers, questioning the place of the public in the attitudes and biases the eight iconic images represent.

CHARACTERIZATION OF POPULAR CULTURE ICONS
IN *LIFE* AND *TIME* MAGAZINES

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As the twentieth century drew to a close, the media in the United States found itself revisiting cultural icons. Those icons, be it monuments, people, or places all represent values that North Americans hold dear. Wrapped in different meanings for different people, an icon simply draws us all (Hall & Hall, 2006). From Elvis Presley and Marilyn Monroe, to Michael Jackson and Oprah Winfrey, these famous individuals hold iconic images that represent American culture. The celebrity as icon draws our attention because we want to be like them. They represent the small glimmer of hope that one day we will be able to do what they do or mean what they mean (Browne & Fishwick, 1978). But, it is not them personally that we want to be like, it is their images that stun and startle us into worship. What about their images make us want to emulate them? What qualities or characteristics do they have that draw us to them? The following research examines the iconic images of eight celebrities in U.S. culture by analyzing how they are characterized in the popular magazines *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines. By performing content analyses of articles on a selection of eight individuals, I will be able to see how they are characterized in the media and if there are any common characteristics that mark their representations to the public.

To be an icon is to be a representation or symbol. In order to rise above concrete meanings and relationships and to become objects of everyday use, icons must have

certain qualities (Besky, 1997). Aaron Besky (1997), Dennis Hall, and Susan Hall (2006) provide a collection of qualities that separate icons from other cultural products. Icons are created, and usually done so with the help of marketing and advertising. Product promotion expands an icon's visibility to multiple audiences (Besky, 1997, Hall & Hall, 2006). Icons capture the public's attention, presenting themselves as so amazing, so phenomenal that the public cries "wow!" (Besky, 1997). They are charismatic and draw strong reactions from the public. The reactions may be positive or negative (Hall & Hall, 2006). Watching Muhammad Ali may elicit admiration and awe over his skill from one person, but disgust from another for his refusal to fight in Vietnam. Icons communicate widely, exploiting their status as symbols with no concrete interpretations. This allows them to connect different cultures. Icons are physically beautiful, used in a variety of ways, and have the ability to be reshaped within its own image. Icons also represent values and are products of historical sources (Besky, 1997; Hall & Hall, 2006). Actress Marilyn Monroe captures all of these qualities. Her image projects incredible beauty and allows her to be both a well used entity and a model to be imitated and copied. How many stars have physically imitated Monroe's hair, dress, or mannerisms? How many teens have posters of her on their walls or shirts baring her face? Monroe's image represents values about sexuality and beauty that cannot be divorced from the 1950s (Hall & Hall, 2006). Yet, this same sexuality and beauty has enabled her image to remain in the public eye to this day.

Because of the fluid nature of popular culture icons, an all encompassing list of qualities is unlikely. I propose that there are more qualities involved in creating the icon

in the United States than those explored by Besky, Hall, and Hall. Some of the new qualities can be gleaned from the content of popular magazines. If examined over time, the narratives about the eight individuals may allow us to identify text driven trends regarding the icons' characterizations in popular media. The text may describe facets of the icon's life, but more importantly, it presents the icon as an ideal to the public. Specifically, I am interested in what characteristics are mentioned, if the characteristics vary due to gender, race, occupation (entertainment and sports), and time, and which characteristics occur more frequently.

I intend to answer these questions by examining the careers of eight individuals with iconic images: Muhammad Ali, Babe Didrikson, Michael Jackson, Marilyn Monroe, Elvis Presley, Babe Ruth, Wilma Rudolph, and Oprah Winfrey in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines. These eight individuals are considered to be popular culture icons. These individuals are those that appeared most frequently in books on icons. The books were selected by searching the United States Library of Congress. After selecting the eight, I searched for articles about them in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines. The magazines reported the highest circulation to the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC). The magazines are also the longest running magazine publications that consistently reported to the ABC. *LIFE* magazine originally ran as a weekly magazine beginning in 1936, but ceased publication in 1972. In 1978, it returned to publishing as a monthly magazine until 2000 ("Background", 2007). Although there is a six year gap in the 1970s, *LIFE* magazine still has one of the longest circulation durations of all magazines published in the United States. *TIME* magazine has been in publication since 1923. It boasts of setting the

standard for leadership, authenticity, and authoritative journalism (“Time Magazine: U.S.”, 2007). Magazines with long publication histories increased the likelihood of collecting articles on all of the icons – the more magazines published the more articles available. This factor is important because the eight individuals’ careers cover different decades. The long publication years also allow me to track the icons’ visibility over time. A grounded theory approach allowed me to observe both previously established iconic qualities as well as commonly occurring emergent characteristics that might augment Besky, Hall and Hall’s work.

The eight individuals with iconic images reflect the attitudes of the cultures they inhabit. If one is truly invested in understanding the culture of a country then one must look to its icons as a step. It is not enough to assume that values a country promotes are the values it lives. Analyzing the way the eight individuals are presented to the public allows us to understand how we attribute certain qualities to certain groups of people. Icons are ideas and images. How we describe those ideas and images warrant a greater understanding if they are to still be useful to society. It is imperative to understand the characterization not only as a understanding of one country, but as a projection of that country to the rest of the world.

As the world becomes increasing global through improvements in media and communication, the images projected from country to country rely on the ability to connect with differing publics. Icons are those images that, as Hall and Hall (2006) have noted, connect different cultures. If icons bridge different cultures, then their qualities

and characterization becomes crucial as lens that color the conversations of the larger public.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

No research literature discusses trends in the description of individuals considered to be icons in magazines or other forms of media. Literature primarily focuses on the function, history, and purpose of popular culture icons. Celebrity icons are often presented through their biographies which offer the icon as the finished product. Celebrity literature discusses status hierarchy based on visibility (Rein, Kotler, & Stoller, 1997). Literature pertaining to media representations of men, women, and racial minorities primarily focuses on stereotypes. The literature is all status inclusive and does not account for various statuses. This review of literature seeks to synthesize information about icons, celebrities, icon qualities, collective memory, media stereotypes, and occupational studies in order to broaden the scope of icon literature.

The idea of celebrities as icons seems to be a relatively new or at least an under-researched topic. Browsing for books on icons through the Library of Congress catalogue revealed that the literature focuses on religious as opposed to non-religious human icons. Although this work is not intended to discuss religious or other icons (architectural or inanimate cultural icons), a short discussion of religious and general, non-religious cultural icons provides reasonable background for the study of celebrity icons. The general non-religious cultural icons specifically seem to be a most worthy building block for analyzing celebrities as popular culture icons.

Popular Culture Icons

A general consensus exists regarding the basic definition and purpose of the term “icon”. Marshall Fishwick (Browne & Fishwick, 1970) defines “icons” as images and ideas converted into three dimensions. As physical, tangible objects, they become admired artifacts, external expressions of internal connections, and everyday things of everyday use. Combining admiration with constant use, yields icons as substances that make the everyday meaningful. (Browne & Fishwick, 1970; Besky, 1997). Icons are also cultural ciphers that help people unlock attitudes and assumptions. They can be approached at objective levels, but admiration causes icons to operate on emotional levels for many people (Browne & Fishwick, 1970). One emotional level may be of loss. Icons depend on those who are so divorced from material work and a sense of continuity in time and space that they need an alternative material reference point that allow them to place themselves in the present and giving them a sense of control. Functioning at an emotional level, icons awaken desires that reflect abstract shapes and ceaseless activity (Besky, 1997). Because icons operate at these levels, they present us with the unrepresentable. Icons’ material form put into physical form a force or forces that we cannot see, becoming objects of adoration, or of fetish (Besky, 1997).

Despite their physical nature, icons stand for many things at the same time. Representing the things we cannot see makes them subject to varied interpretation. They are so dense that they become abstract and commonplace. Therefore, icons of everyday use resist classification, value engineering, and any other reductionist removal of meaning. In order to maintain resistance, icons ultimately elaborate a basic form, function,

message, or association (Besky, 1997). The icon is essentially whatever we want it to be at a given time.

Traditional icons and popular culture icons differ in that traditional icons represent permanence and fixity, while popular icons represent flux and fluidity (Fishwick, 1970). Lack of faith contributes to the loss of traditional icons, icons that were once “unapproachable, semi-divine apparitions [...]” (Besky, 1997, p. 22). Distance between the public and the icon allowed traditional icons to become permanent, but with traditional icons having disappeared, popular icons fill the void (Besky, 1997).

As fluid entities, popular icons are new and old; their fluid nature allows them to balance both states. They are then omnipresent and familiar symbols that continue to be used well after their first appearance in popular culture. Given that icons are omnipresent, they are seen so much that their importance can be forgotten. Fishwick (Browne & Fishwick, 1970) illustrates the exposure of icons through the example of the telephone. He claims that “we are so used to seeing the telephone, and the bell symbol for the Bell system, that we forget the iconic importance of a revolutionary device” (Browne & Fishwick, 1970, p.7). Due to their ability to be forgotten, icons may alter and lose meaning. Over time, icons may represent different ideas or images. The flexibility ultimately helps us make sense of the world in the context of time, place and belief (Browne & Fishwick, 1970).

Popular culture icons are the best know artifacts of the contemporary world. This is partly due to their fluidity or flexibility and their ability to jump national borders with ease. An icon does not belong to just one country, but to the world (Browne & Fishwick,

1978). Famous people as icons are global personalities who transmit their fame abroad (Taborelli). Their ability to translate to different countries and cultures reflect their commonness (Browne & Fishwick, 1970).

Functions of Icons

Icons do more than just represent everyday use. Gregor Goethals (Browne & Fishwick, 1978, pp. 24-25) claims that there are three residual functions of the icon or “sacred image” in contemporary culture. Icons provide us with images as: symbolizations of order, evocations of questions and resolutions, and concrete models of heroic human experience. These three functions give popular culture icons power.

Images as symbols of order return the icon to its traditional religious roots. Icons present the faithful with sacred images that symbolize a concrete meaningful world. These images allowed for the faithful to participate in the larger events that transcend their own private and particular moments in time. Contemporary icons function in the same way, still linking the individual to larger symbolic orders (Browne & Fishwick, 1978).

Images as evocations of questions and resolutions present the icon as questions of and the answers to moral questions. Traditional icons evoke questions, but Goethals (Browne & Fishwick, 1978) claims that people can use traditional icons to answer moral questions by simply contemplating the images they are presented with. Contemporary icons function the same way. Goethals (Browne & Fishwick, 1978) points to products as representing this ability. The existence of dandruff shampoo poses the question of whether people want less dandruff. If yes, then the answer to the problem is the dandruff

shampoo. The icon promotes itself by asking questions that directs the viewer back to the questioner for the answer (Browne & Fishwick, 1978).

The last function, images as concrete models of heroic human experiences, allows us to better understand the celebrity as icon. Goethals (Browne & Fishwick, 1978) claims that the heroic human experience, like the first function, allows for us to see ourselves in the symbolic order. The icon's embodiment of hope is key to the heroic human experience. We can live vicariously through icons. Their feats provide comfort and inspiration to our relatively dull existence. The experience allows for opportunities of likeness. Likeness fosters the belief that what the individual wants is in fact possible (Browne & Fishwick, 1978). If icons foster belief or hope to be like the icon, then it is possible to conclude that if an icon is a celebrity, then that status too becomes possible for the rest of us.

Icons, dead or alive, serve another function. Icons supply more than concrete meanings, questions, answers, and hope; they supply the public with beauty, happiness, and success (Worrell, 1988). Icons are the objects that we can project memories, and senses of self. We need icons as objects to hang on to (Besky, 1997). Because icons have the magic powers of supplying us with beauty, happiness, memories and more, they become examples for the public (Browne & Fishwick, 1978; Worrell, 1988). So desirous of these goods, we are willing to give icons money and publicity (Worrell, 1988).

Iconology and Physical Appearance

Beauty, as Worrell (1988) attributes as a function of the icon echoes Roland Barthes's (1972) work regarding the importance of physical appearance and iconology.

Using apostle Abbé Pierre as an example, Barthes (1972) states that the physiognomy played an important role in created in the ideal apostle. By titling Pierre an icon, Barthes proposes a connection between physical appearance and iconic status. Pierre's hair is a "neutral equilibrium between short hair [...] and unkempt hair [...]", becoming the archetypical image of a saint (Barthes, 1972, pp.47). Pierre's beard augmented his iconic status, making the apostle appear "freer, a bit of an independent [...]" (Barthes, 1972, pp. 48). His appearance, complete from the beginning, allows Pierre, and possibly icons in general, to begin the journey towards legendary status (Barthes, 1972).

Barthes (1972) continues exploring physical appearance and iconography by examining actress Greta Garbo. Garbo offers a "Platonic Idea of the human creature", yet remains sexually undefined (Barthes, 1972, pp. 56). Despite the effects of time, Garbo's face remains perfect. If as an icon, Garbo's physical appearance represents perfection then what of other beauties? Barthes (1972) discriminates between iconic beauty and individualized beauty, comparing Garbo to Audrey Hepburn. Garbo "assures the passage from awe to charm" (Barthes, 1972, pp.57). Hepburn, however, is too specified and complex to be iconic. She represents the woman-child and woman-kitten themes, thus moving away from the essentialness of Garbo. Barthes (1972) asserts that Garbo is an "Idea" while Hepburn is an "Event" (pp. 57). Through the two examples, Barthes separates the type of celebrity based on physical appearance. Taborelli (1999) contradicts Barthes earlier statements regarding the icon as "idea" versus "event", but does not connect this with physical appearance. He claims that the celebrity icon is a concept. A star, however, is an "idea". There appears to be less consensus regarding

definition of the celebrity or famous person as icon. Regardless of the essence, Barthes's point is clear: physical image is important to the making of an icon.

The Celebrity as Icon

Compared to religious and inanimate icons, the celebrity as icon is one of the latest additions to the world of icons. Barthes (1972) and Browne and Fishwick's (1978) collection of essays provide some of the earliest observations about famous people or celebrities as icons. In Browne and Fishwick's later volume, Howard Rabinowitz, Phyllis Z. Boring, and Ralph Brauer (Browne & Fishwick, 1978) supply essays on George Washington, Shirley Temple, and the Beatles, respectively that provide insight into the celebrity as icon. Rabinowitz attempts to map George Washington's evolution as an icon by analyzing Washington's biography through history, punctuated with questions about controversial issues such as his relationship with his slaves and his hope for gradual emancipation. Boring examines Shirley Temple's popularity during and after the Great Depression, including short analyses of her films. He also explores her lasting influence on generations of children, and her ability to succeed beyond being a child star. Brauer provides the most insightful view of celebrities as icons. When analyzing the Beatles, Brauer draws on Max Weber's concept of charisma to describe a crucial characteristic of popular icons. Brauer theorizes that charismatic leaders function against and beyond bureaucratic society just as icons function against and beyond popular norms. The Beatles possessed a charisma that allowed them to become a revolutionary force that changed American culture and popular music. Brauer also compares the Beatles to other popular culture figures such as James Dean and Charlie Chaplin to illustrate the charisma

and comedy the Beatles had that helped them emerge as icons (Browne & Fishwick, 1978). The early icon as celebrity literature focuses on the biography and achievements of the icon, ignoring outside influences of media characterization. Washington, Shirley Temple, and the Beatles' descriptions as icons allude to icon qualities constructed later by Besky (1997), Hall, and Hall (2006).

Current celebrity as icon literature still includes the biography in its framework but also examines relations between fame, the public, and death. Giorgio Taborelli (1999) provides the most comprehensive discussion of people as icons since Otto Friedrich. Taborelli (1999) also includes biographies but emphasizes the role of the masses (public) in the creation of icons. Celebrities as icons are earthly beings with temporary immortality. They become myths of the day, having their individual traits replaced and purified. Their new pure forms give them a type of clarity that needs no explanation. The lack of a need for explanation gives icons finality (Taborelli, 1999).

Icons are figures of lay worship; they are for the people as a whole. Being so prevents icons from being traditional icons. Instead of being banished to the heavens, icons live with humanity. Icons enter our homes in their pure forms, yet are able to vanish like a breeze, replaced by other icons (Taborelli, 1999).

History, media, and collective imagination work together to turn the famous into icons. The icons included in Taborelli's (1999) work who seem insignificant or less memorable compared to others; he (1999) explains their placement by claiming that the world recognized in them values it shared. Therefore, icons are not "high culture"; their legitimacy comes from the masses (Taborelli, 1999).

Famous figures are not automatically icons. If they were worshipped by particular nations or elites, they cannot be global personalities and figures of lay worship, therefore, they are not icons. Heroes cannot be icons since heroes mirror the society that worships it and is not global. Icons can however, hold heroic virtues, thus continuing the connection between the icon and the hero started by Goethals's heroic human experience (Taborelli, 1999; Browne & Fishwick, 1978).

Celebrity icons die; that reality plays an important role in iconography. Otto Friedrich (Worrell, 1988) proposes the idea of a religion of success as a possible way to understand celebrity icons uneasy negotiation of death and the public's desire for them to be alive. The semi-religion needs and breeds its own icons and does not tolerate the death of icons well. Friedrich (Worrell, 1988) notes the constant rumors of Elvis Presley being alive as proof the semi-religion's need for live icons. Unable to accept death, celebrity icons continue living long past their natural lives. We can conclude from Browne and Fishwick's (1978) discussion of general icons that celebrity icons function just like other non-celebrity icons. They are fluid and exist long past their original use. Death prevents self-interpretation; therefore celebrity icon deaths allow icons to become myths (Taborelli, 1999).

Taborelli's description of celebrity icons differ from descriptions of general icons. General icons as discussed by Browne and Fishwick (1978) and Besky (1997) remain long after their use. The authors do not explain if there are fundamental differences between general icons and celebrity icons. If fundamental differences are not currently discussed within the world of icons, there leaves the possibility for differences to be

found in celebrity literature. The differences in celebrity literature may be applied to icons and celebrity icons specifically.

Icons in the Celebrity Hierarchy

Celebrities are not created equally. Rein, Kotler, and Stoller (1997) present a theory on the hierarchy of celebrity visibility. The authors measure “well-knownness” over the dimensions of space and time. Together, Rein, Kotler, and Stoller (1997) claim, well-knownness, space, and time make at least twenty types of high visibles. Their section on international celebrities is of interest. Rein, Kotler, and Stoller (1997) describe international celebrities as major celebrities who have reached international prominence. Though, they do not include the word “icon” explicitly, one can imply that the authors are discussing icons as well as other celebrities. Icons are, however, mentioned by name as “one generation celebrities”, those who enjoy the visibility of a whole generation (Rein, Kotler, & Stoller, 1997, p. 100). They are included with heroes, movers, shakers, and idols without differentiation, among those being Henry Ford, Elvis Presley, Charles Heston, Bob Dylan, Jane Fonda, and John Travolta. They note that the one-generation celebrity can stretch his or her visibility to future generations by changing his or her style or content (Rein, Kotler, & Stoller, 1997). Including icons in this category echoes Taborelli’s claim that icons are replaceable. As one-generation celebrities, icons visibility depends on time; once the time has passed so has the icon. Changing times change the icons. The authors also mention the ability for celebrities to rise from local celebrity to national celebrity, saying that they do not climb the ladder but crossover (Rein, Kotler, & Stoller, 1997). From the examples presented, one sees that despite

changing styles or content the celebrity does not change occupation. More research might reveal if different types of celebrities can jump or cross-over into the other levels of celebrity, if there are requirements for entry, or if the celebrities can fall from levels.

Rein, Kotler, and Stoller (1997) assert that legends inhabit the top of the celebrity hierarchy, remaining famous beyond their time and seeming like gods or demi-gods. The legend's visibility is built upon fictions and fact that cannot be separated. Rein, Kotler, and Stoller (1997) claim that the lack of separation does not even matter. Rein, Kotler, and Stoller's description of the legend sounds more like a description of the icon, pointing to connections to gods or demi-gods and myth just as Fishwick (Marshall & Fishwick, 1970), Besky (1997), Goethals (Browne & Fishwick, 1978), Grass (Taborelli, 1999), and Friedrich (Worrell, 1988) contend for icons.

Icons and Celebrity Sustainability. If visibility is essential to celebrity and the type of celebrity can be measured by visibility, being able to sustain visibility must also affect the type of celebrity, separating one level from the other. Rein, Kotler, and Stoller (1997) also provide a look at trends in celebrity sustainability. Though not providing an analysis of content, their exploration of exposure may provide a back drop for icon making. A standard celebrity life cycle pattern measures the amount of celebrity visibility with the celebrity's age (energetic, growth, maturity, and decline). The standard shape is a bell curve, growing as age increases, reaching its peak around age thirty, then declining as age continues to increase. This may vary by the occupation of the celebrity, but the various is not discussed. From this, several different patterns of celebrity sustainability are discussed, exemplified by James Dean, Macaulay Culkin, Cybil

Shepherd, and Gloria Steinem. Two patterns seem most reflective of the exposure for celebrity icons: James Dean and Gloria Steinem. Dean's career is described as very short, but his durability is very high because of his "youthful, dramatic, story-intense death leading to legend status" (Rein, Kotler, Stoller, 1997, p. 300). Steinem's career is very long, but marked by diminished leadership in the women's movement. Her durability is permanent because of her "successful long-term, legend-building strategies" leading a life as a "revered symbol of another age" (Rein, Kotler, & Stoller, 1997, p. 301). The two examples seem opposing, but the key similarity is perceived legend status that the authors describe earlier.

The flip side of exposure is decline. Rein, Kotler, and Stoller (1997) reflect on the causes of decline for celebrities, listing ten causes: unplanned obsolescence, lack of adaptation, de-linking, physical aging, declining ability, poor performance, venue erosion, uncontrollable ego, self-destruction, and scandal (1997). Icons differ from celebrities by being able to adapt as Fishwick (1970) and Hall and Hall (2006) point out. This ability allows them to rise above the other causes of decline for the regular celebrity and continue to have high visibility.

Icons and the Maturation Process. Taborelli (1999) further highlights the tenuousness of visibility when discussing the relationship between the icon and its admirer. He claims that the popular culture icon can disappear and can be replaced by another icon quite like Friedrich's views of the religious icons. He attributes this with maturation of the worshipper, though an unsatisfied adult may return to his or her previous icon (Taborelli, 1999).

However, Taborelli's own list does not include individuals that have been replaced by others. Taborelli's work covers multiple decades, including individuals from certain occupations for each decade. For example, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, and Bill Clinton are all former presidents of the United States included in Taborelli's work. Did any of these presidents as icons replace other presidents once considered to be icon? Or are these presidents replacing each other? Their occupations are the same, but their contributions and biographies represent vastly dissimilar men. The same is true for Elvis Presley, the Beatles, and Michael Jackson (Taborelli, 1999). Their inclusions represent those contributions as well as differences in time; they do not represent disappearances nor replacements or icons. The Beatles have not replaced Elvis, nor has Michael Jackson replaced the Beatles. The idea of disappearance based on the maturation of the worshipper and the dissatisfaction of the adult is flawed at best. What Taborelli's own list seems to represent is an assemblage of icons whose memberships grows over time. Icons may share occupations, but their use of them is unique, warranting membership.

Icon Selection

Rein, Kotler, Stoller (1997) and Taborelli's (1999) work raises an important question. How do we know who is an icon? If icons arise from the history, media, and the public, then how exactly are the icons that appear in the media chosen? Most books on celebrity icons do not discuss how the icons printed where chosen Barbara Cady (1998) provides the most concentrated methodology of people as icons, but gives a superficial definition of icons. She describes icons as people who have defined the past

century. Icons are cultural touchstones that draw a crowd or disturb the “magnetic field” (Cady, 1998, p. ix). Their images appear everywhere, their faces, names, and words permeating through our institutions. Her work includes visionaries, cult figures, revolutionaries, tyrants, trendsetters, and opinion-makers.

Cady (1998) details the extensive work completed in order to determine which individuals were to be included in the book. The process, involving mailings, ballots, a board, and statistical analysis, reflects Cady’s desire to involve public opinion in determining icons. It also reflects Taborelli’s claim that icons indeed belong to the people.

Icon Qualities

Icons appear to embody certain characteristics that separate them from other entities. Besky (1997) and Hall and Hall (2006) explore qualities of icons, providing several qualities or characteristics with short explanations. Besky does not refer to his qualities than Hall and Hall. Hall and Hall’s (2006) work give specific details as to how the characteristics or qualities were decided. Hall and Hall (2006) claim to have engaged in testing, scholarly research, studying of conference programs, and have attended conferences on popular culture and related fields to realize that icons cause strong reactions. They do not state if the same processes also yielded the remaining icon qualities.

One characteristic of icons regards the claim that icons are made not born. Since icons are repositories of meaning, what contributes to the making of an icon varies from time to time and from place to place (Besky, 1997).

Icons are also subject to marketing and advertising. Together with corporate public relations, advertising influences who becomes an icon (Besky, 1997). Icons must be mass produced and successful in commerce. Advertising agencies and corporations hope to create or become the next icon (Hall & Hall, 2006). Icons can influence movies, music, and fashion. More importantly, they can promote different brands, such as Peter Fonda and Dennis Hopper's biker film *Easy Rider*. Though one cannot prove how much revenue the film contributed to Harley-Davidson, the film gave them exposure and brand recognition (Lim, 2005). The same is can be said for Clos du Bois winery's use of Jerry Garcia's art to promote the wine J. Garcia even though the man himself had no taste for wine (Lim, 2005). Though Lim's work studies the use of icons in advertising and brand consumption, it's hard to determine what the difference is between celebrities and icons or if Lim thinks there are any differences at all.

Another characteristic refers to the icon's ability to grab attention immediately. The "wow syndrome" represents the moments that elicit said word (Besky, 1997, p.28). It is the ability of the icon to create strong responses from people. The wow syndrome is similar to the charisma factor discussed by Brauer (Browne & Fishwick, 1978) nearly twenty years before. The wow syndrome reflects a positive reaction. Icons can illicit more than just a positive reaction. Icons can cause an array of reactions from positive to negative. Strong reactions from the public either identifying with icons or against them also contribute to their iconic status. What divides the opinion of the public often relates to generational differences (Hall & Hall, 2006).

Icons also create communication. Here, Besky (1997) discusses language more than communication and gives a thin theory of the importance of both in the making of icons. We can glean from the text a few substantial points. Icons protect against interpretation by starting as symbols but remaining after use is made of them. The icon reaches beyond the one-to-one relationship. The emphasis on communication is explained in another layer of thin detail by Hall and Hall (2006). The icon communicates widely, often bridging ideas of popular or high cultures. The patchwork quilt at once symbolizes popular and high art (Hall & Hall, 2006).

The appearance of icons must draw the public's attention. Different from the wow syndrome, the icon must physically catch your attention and awaken all attendant associations just by the way it appears. Icons do not have to be the most popular or the most pervasive objects—they are the most beautiful. Use of the word beautiful implies subjectivity and slipperiness in their definition (Besky, 1997). Beauty as a requirement makes perfect sense. Barthes (1972) previously explained how physical appearance affected the iconography of Abbé Pierre and Greta Garbo.

An icon also represents a group of values or things. John Wayne is used to illustrate ideals of traditional masculinity and conservative politics (Hall & Hall, 2006). Taborelli also discusses reflections of values in the icon (1997).

Icons are products of historical sources. They reflect events or forces in time. The log cabin exemplifies a certain historical time; for most, the colonial history of the United States (Hall & Hall, 2006).

The icon can be reshaped within its own image by others. Icons yield countless imitators and adaptations. The railroad as well as other technological icons, can be enhanced by technology or represent the nostalgic retreat from it (Hall & Hall, 2006). One could assume that the imitations and adaptations also keep the icon visible. If the icon can be shaped differently it may have another use, sustaining its everyday usability (Besky, 1997).

In addition to the previous qualities, the icon can be used in a variety of ways across a variety of mediums. Their appearances, using Mount Rushmore or Ernest Hemingway, add meaning to the text in which they appear (Hall & Hall, 2006).

The qualities presented by Besky, Hall, and Hall provide a good foundation for understanding what contributes to the making of an icon. The qualities, however, are vague. The authors do not identify levels achievement. Some of the questions the qualities raise surround how Besky, Hall, and Hall define and measure their qualities. How can one determine who has the “wow” syndrome? How does Besky measure beauty? Who applies the values to icons? Do they endorse them first or are the values applied to the icons by others? Who determines the individual’s beauty? How do Besky, Hall, and Hall define success in commerce? How many products must an individual endorse in order to be considered an icon? How do Hall and Hall define strong responses? Some of these questions may be answered through the examination of media content and the collective memory.

Icons, Media, and the Collective Memory

Taborelli (1999) discusses the use of media in creating icons. Media reports stars' movements, creating the "only mythological system of our time" (Taborelli, 1999, pp. 10-11). The icon completes the media transformation of the star. It is the media's creation, a luminous, weightless, shadow that collides with us. Taborelli (1999) points to television influences a stars path toward icon status as does the internet. Media reinforces the icon in collective memory. Having the ability to interrupt the public's everyday routine, media makes way for the icon, a creation of the media, to mark mental landscapes, thus becoming part of the collective memory. As parts of the public's mental landscapes, we are allowed to encounter the icons over and over (Taborelli, 1999).

Though Taborelli seems to be connecting icons and collective memory well, the connection would benefit with a better understanding of the collective memory. Collective memory pioneer, Maurice Halbwach (Fowler, 2007) suggests that the collective memory recreates events within topographies of sanctified places. More importantly, it enhances individual memories. Similar to descriptions of icons, Patricia Leavy (2007) describes the collective memory as a "repository of shared cultural images, narratives, and visions or the past" (Leavy, 2007, p. 7). Collective memories are reductions of lived history. If the collective memory provides individuals with enhanced memories, how are collective memories created? James V. Wertsch (2007) distinguishes between the two competing cultural tools used to remember the past in *Collective Memory*. He notes that collective memory scholars are divided over the use of explicit linguistic forms, such as narratives, and the use of more embodied practices. Many

accounts of collective remembering prefer narratives or other linguistics as basic tools. However, Paul Connerton (Wertsch, 2007) argues that assuming recollection is inscribed in limiting. Connerton claims that if social memory exists, it is found in performative commemorative ceremonies. The ceremonies must be based in habit (Wertsch, 2007). Middleton and Brown (2007) expand on the need for commemorative activities, noting that the telling of poems, stories, legends, and folklore shape the way people access their own history. Commemoration allows the public to settle what happened in the past as much as it does the present (Middleton & Brown, 2007). With the two options (narratives and commemorative ceremonies) available what Taborelli discusses makes sense. Media provides the public with narratives; the narratives reflect events, including those that commemorate individuals.

Besky, Hall, and Hall underestimate the role media plays in icon creation. Taborelli alludes to the role, but it remains as a concluding factor. Since icon studies mostly ignore media influence, the next avenue to determine how media affects icon creation, thus characterization, is to look at how media shapes celebrity.

Media and Celebrity Text. The majority of research regarding the media and celebrity focus on how celebrities influence people's actions or perceptions or their influence in advertising (Bush, Martin, & Bush, 2004; Brown, Basil, & Bocarnea, 2003; Fraser, & Brown, 2002; Austin, & Freeman, 1997; Seno & Lukas, 2007; Basil, 1996). Little research illustrates how the media characterizes celebrities. Joshua Gamson (1992) provides insight into trends in media text regarding celebrities. He (1992) stresses the importance of how media texts influence how celebrities are seen and notes that there are

two intertwining histories present in American celebrity text. The first history surrounds the first half of the twentieth century, underlining the celebrity's deserving rise to the top. The second history, more present in the second half of the century, claims that celebrities are artificially manufactured with more power being given to the audiences. Gamson (1992, p. 7) focuses on the celebrity as entertainer and claims that early texts promoted a closer public-celebrity relationship by emphasizing the celebrity's ordinariness or "real lives". Early texts also emphasized that greatness was a characteristic that the celebrities were innately responsible for, "Greatness is built in; it is who you are" (Gamson, 1992, p.9).

Celebrity text in the latter half of the twentieth century emphasized four factors: mechanisms for capturing images increased, the acceptance of the celebrity as a commercial enterprise, the invitation of the audience to increase its knowledge and power, and an increasing amount of self-consciousness and irony of celebrities (Gamson, 1997). Celebrity becomes more of a process than a gift. The celebrity becomes more of an amusement itself than the star of the earlier half of the century.

Though insightful, Gamson's research ignores the role of race in entertainment as well as any analysis of gender related trends in characterization. The research spans celebrity text over the course of the twentieth century, but excludes minority celebrities. The majority of Gamson's research pertains to female entertainers' interactions with the media, yet does not discuss if gender affected the text during the twentieth century.

Due to the lack of research regarding icon characteristics and the lack of celebrity research including an examination of gender and race, the following sections examines race and gender characteristics through the use of media stereotypes.

Media Stereotypes

The function of media that Besky (1997), Hall and Hall (2006), Taborelli (1999), and Rein, Kotler, and Stoller (1997) discuss illustrate the connection between exposure and iconic status. This section of the review of literature is intended to explore content analyses of icons in magazine articles over time. Previous research focuses on celebrities in general without regard to race or gender. The following sections provide short discussions about racial and gender stereotypes as well as stereotypes regarding how minority sports figures are depicted in the media. This section is not intended to explore print advertising in magazines, but the historical accounts. Perhaps insight into how icons are described over time can be fused from how celebrities and groups of North Americans have been described over time by the media.

Racial Stereotypes

Research discussing how racial minorities are characterized in the media as opposed to racial majorities point to a lingering bias against racial minorities. Wilson and Gutiérrez (1985) note how the portrayals of Native Americans, Blacks, Asians, and Latinos have been dominated by stereotypes in the entertainment and news media throughout American history. The authors focus on the effects of media, film and television, advertising, and newspapers, but one can use the general claims to understand

magazine portrayals. Their historical overviews reveal that although the stereotypes dominate media, social, political, and economic realities affect the level of negative portrayals. The negative portrayals have never left, but some portrayals may seem more positive than others at different times (Wilson & Gutiérrez, 1985).

Wilson and Gutiérrez, (1985) describe how Blacks were shown as lazy, slow-witted, having loose morals, and fond of alcohol in early American media. Jane Rhodes (Dines & Humez, 1995) also notes the change from Blacks being described as the benign, happy slave before the Civil War to sinister brutes bent on raping White women after the Civil War. Black women were depicted as complacent mammy-servants or scheming wicked jezebels. Rhodes focuses of racist depictions in films as opposed other media forms. Rhodes concludes that the patterns of description from generations past replicate themselves in present culture (Dines & Humez, 1995).

A study conducted at the University of Rochester found that press coverage of 18-23 year olds in magazines *Newsweek*, *Time*, and the *U.S. News and Report* and newspapers *Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, *Buffalo News*, *The Democrat & Chronicle*, Blacks were underrepresented and when represented, done so negatively. Blacks were often depicted as criminals, crime victims, and gang bangers, exemplifying Rhodes's claims. College students and athletes were also lesser depicted categories. The study also found that opportunities for high achievement for Blacks were different from Whites. Black achievement was based in the athletic field while White achievement was based in the business field (Leflore, 1995).

Wilson and Gutiérrez (1985) point out that Native Americans have gone from being treated as vanquished savages to an overburdened, problematic group in American media. Their characterizations in media functioned as a form of entertainment, but became reality for those who only encountered Native Americans through the media (Wilson and Gutiérrez, 1985). A study conducted by the Native American Journalists Association (Himebaugh, 1994) illustrates Wilson and Gutiérrez's claims. The study revealed continued negative reporting of Native Americans in the news media. Respondents reported the use of caricatures, racist language, and photographs in news media (Himebaugh, 1994). S. Elizabeth Bird (1999) provides historical overview of Native Americans in popular media. Bird (1999) notes that Native Americans were often depicted as caricatures, men represented as doomed warriors, wise-men, and women presented as princesses or squaws. Bird (1999) spends considerable time discussing how Native American men were either over-sexualized or desirous of White women. Jeffrey Hawkins (2005) alludes to the possibility of a new stereotype about Native Americans emerging based on the acquisition of casinos. The new stereotypes have appeared in text books as well as general media (Hawkins 2005).

Wilson and Gutiérrez (1985) also detail the representation of Latinos and Asians in the media, finding that like Native Americans and Blacks, Latinos and Asians were depicted negatively. When discussing Latinos, Wilson and Gutiérrez (1985) only discuss White America's feelings toward Mexicans without reference to the different nations whose citizens may be called Latino. This may reflect the United States' false identification of Latino as synonymous with Mexican. Since the authors discuss White

America's relationship with Mexico specifically, my use of the term Mexican will reflect White America's relationship with Mexico, but not the Latino population as a whole. Wilson and Gutiérrez (1985) explain how Mexicans were described as lazy, ignorant, and dirty throughout history. Mexican women's virtues were often contrasted with American women's virtues. While negatively depicted values of Mexicans, Americans also disliked Mexican ethnicity, disdainfully referring to them as "mixed races". After World War II, Mexicans' images in entertainment shifted to the "Latin Lover" still present in today's culture (Wilson & Gutiérrez, 1985). Marie C. Bernadette (2006) notes the continuing use of Mexican stereotypes in media, examining a tuxedo store television commercial that mocked Mexicans. Though Bernadette was not surprised at the use of stereotypes, the continued use of stereotypes in the media left Bernadette feeling vulnerable.

Asians fared no better. Popular literature referred to Chinese and Japanese persons as devious and vicious. Intermarriage was warned against, and Asian men were charged with desiring White women (Wilson & Gutiérrez, 1985). These stereotypes were quite similar to stereotypes used against Blacks and Native Americans in media. Wilson and Gutiérrez, (1985) note that after World War II, Asians were continually shown as small role players on television. Doobo Shim (1998) explores the use of "yellow peril" stereotypes, model minority stereotypes, and the return of "yellow peril" stereotypes in the media during the twentieth century. Shim (1998) asserts that although the extent of discrimination against Asian Americans has lessened in its severity, the stereotyping of Asian Americans today is quite similar to the stereotypes of decades past.

If racial stereotypes still exist in the media, then it raises a few important questions. Are icons still subject to racial stereotypes or have they risen among depictions used to characterize generalized racial categories?

Media Stereotypes: The Intersection of Race, Gender, and Sports

The world of sports offers a more specific avenue to investigate race and gender in media accounts. Kane and Parks (1992) discuss the ways in which male and female athletes are portrayed differently in the media. They echo the research performed by others, noting the emphasis on physical ability and athleticism for males and femininity and attractiveness of females. Kane and Parks (1992) also discuss how females and athletics have been made to seem antithetical by over-emphasizing feminine qualities or by overemphasizing comparisons to male competitors. When analyzing sports magazines, Kane and Parks found that gender stereotypes were present just as previous research suggested (Kane & Parks, 1992). Neil Blain's (Bernstein & Blain, 2003) findings reflect Kane and Parks work, but add that at 1996 Olympics less gender bias was found in the media. The descriptors used for female athletes contained more commentary about their physical appearance than the descriptors used for male athletes (Bernstein & Blain, 2003). Wanye Wanta (Raney & Bryant, 2006) notes that *Sports Illustrated* tended to describe female athletes in terms of domestic roles. Stories in the magazine focused on the emotions of female athletes. Descriptions of women's clothing choices and how the women's personal lives affected their athletic performances were also included (Raney & Bryant, 2006).

The intersection of race and sport also provides insight into how sporting icons may be depicted in magazines. Davis and Harris (Wenner, 1998) narrow their discussion of race to discussing Black athletes. They discuss research classic stereotypes of Black athletes such as their success depending on their natural ability as opposed to White athletes' work ethic and the Black athletes' inability to lead teams as opposed to White athletes. The authors continue discusses stereotypes of Black male athletes as deviants, and the types of stereotypes that appeal to Whites, claiming that Black male athletes are often depicted as uncontrolled, and excessive. The descriptions of Black athletes as hip or expressive were found to appeal to Whites (Wenner, 1998).

Grainger, Newman and, Andrews (Raney & Bryant, 2006) suggest that much research has been completed regarding the amount of coverage minorities receive in the media, but not the content. The authors add to Davis and Harris's work and take up the challenge and explore race and content. However, when discussing race, the authors focus their attention on Black athletes, mostly Black males like Davis and Harris. What they find supports previous work about race in general and the media. Black athletes have received more media time over the years, but it is laced with stereotypical portrayals emphasizing the good-bad Black dichotomy. Black women athletes receive much less media coverage than Black men (Raney & Bryant, 2006). Davis and Harris (Wenner, 1998) make one note, short but significant, that Asian athletes are covered in voyeuristic manners. The authors do not expand the idea, but provide a short section on other minorities in sports, noting that Latino athletes were subject to less criticism, but their physical characteristics were emphasized. Also described as hot tempered, Latinos were

shown as athletically skilled and covered because of their competitive success (Wenner, 1998).

Davis and Harris (Wenner, 1998) contend that Asian-Americans female athletes were also covered for their competitive success, but were also depicted as obsessive competitors, hard workers, and well disciplined along with their male counterparts. These stereotypes were reinforced by unemotional and machine-like portrayals (Wenner, 1998). David Tokiharu (1999) suggests that journalistic portrayals of baseball players Hideo Nomo and Hideki Irabu by sporting magazines reinforce stereotypes explored by Davis and Harris. Davis and Harris (Wenner, 1998) found that Native American athletes have been largely ignored by the media unless the coverage concerns sports mascots. Available research notes that Native American female athletes were covered for their competitive success like Latino and Asian athletes (Wenner, 1998).

Occupational Literature

Occupational research on icons and celebrities is connected to advertising or marketing (Keller, J. 2004; Choi, S. M., Rifon, N. J. 2007). Research discussing the ability of a celebrity to graduate from one status to another is connected to the ability to extend promotion. Promotion is not necessarily connected to the celebrities' professions. As Rein, Kotler, and Stoller (1997) note, Charlton Heston extended his celebrity through his profession (film) and through being a spokesman for conservative causes. He does not need to be in the process of acting to promote the conservative causes or to promote himself. Icons and celebrities are not professions, but levels of personality. Once one becomes an icon, however, their professions become smaller branches of their appeal.

Living icons, like Muhammad Ali, no longer need their professions to spread their appeal or to reflect any of the icon qualities. Ali no longer needs to box to continue being a public figure, though the public knows him through boxing. Rein, Kotler, and Stoller (1997) do not require icons to have occupations. They, as Besky (1997) asserts, need only to be of everyday use.

There appears to be no requirements for advancement. Marketing is often used, but its methods vary and are hard to measure. While Rein, Kotler, and Stoller (1997) discuss the differences between levels of celebrity as due to ranges in visibility, they do not determine a measure of visibility equal to that of other professions. Professions such as dentistry or teaching demand achievement in specific levels of development before one can move to the next level of professionalism. Dentists and other medical professionals require higher education and certification as at least two of the requirements. Teachers must have some form of certification before teaching. Even those in positions of less prestigious positions require some form of certification to advance from level to another.

Celebrities, however, do not have any set requirements to meet with tangible satisfaction or certification to acquire to move from celebrity to star, hero, or icon, only assumptions. Icons from the entertainment world do not have a certain number of achievements to garner or requirements to meet in order to be considered icons. Icons in the film industry do not have to make a certain number of films in order to be considered icons. Rein, Kotler, and Stoller (1997) discuss film icon James Dean and follow his career. Dean is considered an icon, but had only made three films. Marilyn Monroe, another film icon, had completed many more films than Dean, but is also an icon.

Winning awards for contributions to film also does not lead to being considered an icon.

Neither Dean nor Monroe has significant awards from the film industry.

Together, this short review of literature points toward trends in celebrity characterization in the media as well as the continued stereotypical portrayals of minorities. Although icons are defined as abstract entities (Browne & Fishwick, 1970; Besky, 1997) their characterizations in the media may not be. More research is needed to determine if the trends presented by celebrities and media stereotypes can be applied specifically to icons. The following research explores characterization of icons in popular magazines *LIFE* and *TIME*. The main question is: Do gender, race, occupation, and time affect how icons are presented to the public? Findings will be used to verify whether icons are characterized in the magazines using the current icon qualities as well as to find more possible qualities. The findings will also be used to determine if stereotypes are used in magazine articles to depict popular culture icons in the same manner the general population is depicted in the media.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In order to determine possible characteristics in the descriptions of entertainment and sportsmen and women in the popular *TIME* and *LIFE* magazines, I used grounded theory. The total investigation included three steps: identifying icons to study, identifying popular magazines and coding relevant articles. Taking these three steps allowed me to discover what characteristics surfaced in the articles, and how the characteristics may vary across gender, race, occupation, overtime. The steps also allowed me to determine which icon is most iconic and from there, which individuals have truly iconic images.

Identifying Iconic Individuals

To begin this quest, I first conducted wide literature searches, using the Library of Congress catalogue to find books specifically listing individuals as icons. I used the keyword search of “icon” and excluded books which listed icons only as religious, architectural, computer, fashion, and inanimate objects. To identify the population of individuals with iconic images, I consulted books in which the authors listed celebrities with iconic images. I chose books as the definitive source by reasoning that this type of media offers more coherent and in-depth explanations for inclusion. From the

individuals included, I sought those considered entertainment and sportsmen and women (see Appendix A).

In order to determine how race and gender may affect trends in characterization, I created four categories to guide my selection of a quota sample of entertainment and sportsmen and women. Gender (male and female) and race (White and non-White) defined the four categories. I wanted to include in this research one White male entertainer and one White male sportsman, one non-White male entertainer and one non-White sportsman, and so on. All of the individuals were weighted equally, as there was no way to distinguish priority of one over the other. In order to select the individuals, I separated the individuals that appeared most often in the books according to the categories. After tallying the number of times each individual was listed in the books, I was able to begin selecting the eight individuals for this research.

In one case, two people in the same given racial and gender categories were listed in books the same number of times. For this, I used a coin toss to break the tie because there was no ranking of individuals to help separate them. The tie occurred involving the Black female athlete category. Rebecca Adams, my thesis committee chair, witnessed the coin tossing. The coin toss allowed me to select an individual for the Black female athlete category. Wilma Rudolph represented heads and Althea Gibson tails. Wilma Rudolph won the coin toss, thus representing the Black female athlete category. Once the coin toss settled the tie break, I had completed my quota sample of eight individuals (see Table 1). Each cell contains the appropriate individual.

Table 1

Selected Individuals	Entertainment	Sports
White Male	Elvis Presley	Babe Ruth
Non-White Male	Michael Jackson	Muhammad Ali
White Female	Marilyn Monroe	Babe Didrikson
Non-White Female	Oprah Winfrey	Wilma Rudolph

Identifying Popular Magazines

After I selected the sample of eight individuals, I sought out print media accounts from popular magazines to use in my analysis and descriptions. The purpose of using articles was not to gather characterizations of the individuals as biographical analyses, but to analyze the ideas created through the media. True, many articles print snippets of the individuals' biographies, but the articles as a whole are not printed just to discuss the biography of the individuals, but to showcase the individual to the public. The articles provide the textual and figurative representation of that individual instead of the historical person. I decided which popular magazines to use by examining a combination of audience and circulation figures gleaned from *The World Book Almanac and Book of Facts*. I picked a sample of almanacs covering the years of 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000. From these, I looked at general audience magazines that consistently reported circulation to the Audit Bureau of Circulation, then those who had the highest circulation during each of the selected years, and finally, those with the longest running circulations. *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines best fit the requirements. Though by the same publisher, the magazines have different foci. *TIME* magazine is more textual based than

LIFE magazine, preferring text over photographs. It did not mean that *TIME* did not print photographs with its articles, only that the text was the main focus for the magazine. The opposite is true for *LIFE* magazine. The magazine prefers photojournalism to text. *LIFE* magazine ceased publication in 2000 and suffered a publication break during the mid to late 1970s, so articles were not available after 2000 and during the mid to late 1970s. I collected articles about each individual from each magazine based on subject matter and whether or not the individual was the main focus of the article. I excluded book reviews, reviews of films, and shorts (sections that combined various small articles under one heading). I began data collection with the first articles in which the individuals were the main focus of the article and continued to the year 2006. Some articles ended in years earlier than 2006 and some continued after 2006. Only those published in or before 2006 were included. This process allowed me to follow the individual's characterization in each magazine over time.

Coding Methods

In order to ascertain what characteristics *TIME* and *LIFE* magazines used to describe the eight individuals, I performed content analysis on the text of the articles from the two magazines. The total data set consisted of 228 articles: 73 *LIFE* magazine articles and 155 *TIME* magazine articles). Academic One File and Readers Guide Retrospective online databases provided *LIFE* magazines articles. I obtained the full texts of these articles from library bound copies. *TIME* magazine online archives supplied full texts articles. I analyzed the magazines through an open coding method, using the following guiding criteria: the use of titles, references pertaining to profession,

the individuals' private lives, global events and influence, and iconic qualities discussed by Aaron Besky (1997) and Dennis and Susan Hall (2006). Line-by-line analysis of text determined the presence of characteristics. Although I used a grounded theory approach to coding the articles, I used the literature to code for several specific characteristics: qualities and characteristics of icons discussed by Besky, Hall, and Hall, the physical description of the icons discussed by Barthes, various forms of media the individuals may be represented in as alluded to by Taborelli, and stereotypes discussed multiple authors as a preliminary list of codes. They functioned as guiding criteria to analyze the media accounts (*a priori*). The remaining characteristics were emergent (*a posteriori*) and coded for as they appeared in the articles. For each new characteristic, I went back through the previously coded articles and looked for the new characteristic.

Initially, a spreadsheet held the data in raw qualitative form. I recorded the exact words or phrases found in the articles. Next, I made a new spreadsheet to contain the words and phrases recoded numerically into 0s and 1s, zeros representing no words or phrases found in the articles and ones representing the words or phrases found in the articles. Once all of the articles for each of the individuals were coded, 15 categories developed from the characteristics: iconic qualities from Besky, Hall and Hall, different types of media the eight individuals may appear in, the celebrity status given to them, stereotypes used to describe the individuals, their physical descriptions, personality presentations of the individuals, references related their private lives, references to their professions, events the individuals may have attended, the places the individuals may have traveled to, the influence they may have over different populations, references

to the their family, the figurative language used to describe the eight individuals, basic demographic references used to characterize the individuals, and references to potential and clarifying qualities (clarifies Besky, Hall, and Hall's qualities),. I calculated the total number of appearances of characteristics found in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines in each category for the eight individuals.

After determining the number of appearances of characteristics for each of the individuals, I calculated the number of articles written on the eight individuals by gender (male and female), race (White and Black), and occupation (entertainment and sports) to see if there were preferences based on the three factors. After determining the general make up of the sample, I averaged presence of characteristics by gender, race, and occupation and compared the averages. This allowed me to see if gender, race, or occupation affected how the icons were characterized in the two magazines.

I also examined how the characteristics appeared in the articles over time by eyeballing the presence of characteristics. I combined all of the articles placed them in chronological order. Doing so allowed me to witness even or skewed distributions of appearances per characteristics. The distributions also allowed me to see which characteristics were common in early articles as opposed to later articles, as well as the characteristics that remained common throughout all of the articles. I placed each grouping into separate tables for easier navigation.

As a final part of the research, I determined which individuals had the most iconic images or are true icons by comparing the eight individuals against each other. I totaled each individual's number of appearances for the 15 categories and selected those who

had the highest totals from each category to represent the most iconic or the true icons.

Visibility was also be used to determine the most iconic of the eight individuals.

Visibility was be decided by observing the total number of articles written about each individual and by the span of time the articles in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazine cover.

The multi-step process allowed me to research several questions regarding the characterization of icons in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines. I compared the presence of characteristics by gender, race, occupation, and time to see if these factors influenced characterization. I also analyzed the occurrences of characteristics by individuals, while taking into account high or low visibility to determine which individuals had the most iconic images.

CHAPTER IV

ICON BIOGRAPHIES

The following chapter provides biographies of the eight individuals whose images are considered in the research: Muhammad Ali, Babe Didrikson, Michael Jackson, Marilyn Monroe, Elvis Presley, Wilma Rudolph, Babe Ruth, and Oprah Winfrey. The purpose of the following is to familiarize the audience with the flesh and blood representations of the iconic images. The biographies include events that shaped their lives and careers. The biographies provide information about each individual's early life, including information about their families, their early careers, career peaks, post career life, death (if applicable), and legacy. Some of the events found in the biographies may also be covered in the articles used in this research. Career information may also include absences from the occupations as well as returns to the occupation. The legacies of the individuals offer slivers of the ideal image that an icon represents. Chapter Five will examine the articles from *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines that contribute to the creation of the iconic images and the ideas explored by their legacies.

Muhammad Ali

Birth: January 17, 1942

Birth name: Cassius Clay Jr.

Parents: Cassius Clay Sr. Odessa (Grady) Clay

Siblings: Rahaman Ali (birth name - Rudolph Valentino Clay)

Occupation: Boxer

Early Life

Muhammad Ali was born Cassius Marcellus Clay Jr. in Louisville, Kentucky to Cassius Clay Sr. and Odessa (Grady) Clay. The Clays had two children, both sons: Cassius Jr. (the oldest son) and Rudolph Valentino Clay. The family lived in a middle class neighborhood in Louisville where Cassius Clay Sr. worked as a sign painter and muralist and Odessa Clay worked as a domestic. Sundays were dedicated to worship at Mount Zion Baptist Church. The Clay children attended school at DuValle Junior High and Central High School in Louisville (“Muhammad Ali”, 2000).

When Clay was twelve years old, his bike was stolen. Determined to punish the person who stole his bike, Clay reported the incident to police officer Joe Martin. Martin also trained boxers and advised Clay to take up the sport. Young Cassius soon began training with Martin and Fred Stoner, where he developed speed and grace. Clay progressed and soon made his first television appearance on Martin’s *Tomorrow’s Champions*. (“Muhammad Ali”, 2000).

Early Career

While training with Martin and Stoner, Clay developed a boxing style that would become his trademark. Instead of only blocking blows from opponents with his body, Clay ducked, dodged, and leaned away from them, causing his opponents to swing at air.

(“Muhammad Ali”, 2008). Clay continued to progress with Martin and Stoner, winning 100 of 108 amateur fights. Clay also won the Kentucky Golden Gloves six times, as well as winning the national Golden Gloves twice, and the American Athletic Union championships twice (“Muhammad Ali”, 2008). Clay’s amateur career culminated in a trip to the 1960 Olympics, held in Rome, Italy. At eighteen years of age, Clay won the light heavy weight title and sharpened his skill for taunting his opponents (“Muhammad Ali”, 2000).

Upon returning to the United States, the glimmer of gold soon wore from his medal: disgusted by racism in the States, Clay threw his hard earned medal into a river. He soon signed with the wealthy Louisville Sponsoring Group, a 12 member assemblage of millionaires who offered Clay the most lucrative contract in boxing history. (“Muhammad Ali”, 1998).

Clay immediately set his sights on becoming heavyweight champion of the world. Clay was something new to the boxing world. He was witty, quick, and strong-willed, using rhymes and press-grabbing claims to bring interest to boxing and to promote himself (“Muhammad Ali”, 1998). By 1964, at twenty-two years old, all of Clay’s self promotion paid off. He fought then heavyweight champion Sonny Liston and won the heavy weight title (“Muhammad Ali”, 2008).

Peak of Career

Shortly after winning the title, Clay announced that he had changed his name to Muhammad Ali and was a member of the Nation of Islam. His conversion to Islam and changing his name infuriated many White and Black Americans (“Muhammad Ali”,

2008). In 1965, the newly named Ali won a rematch with Sonny Liston, proving that his title was not a fluke. In the bout, Ali knocked out Liston with a stunning right hand (“Muhammad Ali”, 2006).

Over the next two years Ali successfully defended his title, beating seven challenges (including Floyd Patterson and Ernie Terrell). The fights with Patterson and Terrell were marked by Patterson’s attempt to return the title to America and Terrell’s refusal to call Ali by his Muslim name. Patterson’s comment implied that the title in Ali’s hands meant the same it being in a foreigner’s hands (Hauser, 1991). During this time, Ali caused great controversy by refusing to join the armed forces. Ali claimed to be a conscientious objector, and therefore exempt from combat. In 1967, the World Boxing Association and the New York State Athletic Commission stripped Ali of his heavyweight title (“Muhammad Ali”, 2006). Ali’s passport was also revoked, denying him the ability to fight overseas. After Ali’s title had been taken away, a federal court found Ali guilty of draft evasion, refusing to grant conscientious objector status, and sentenced him to five years in prison and 10,000 dollars worth of fines (“Muhammad Ali”, 2008).

Absence

Due to a series of appeals, Ali did not serve the five year prison sentence. From 1967 to 1970, Ali made a living by giving speeches at universities, rallies, and Muslim gatherings. The speeches allowed Ali to stay in the spotlight despite the sentence. In doing so, Ali broadened his fame. During this time, he even starred in a Broadway musical, *Buck White* (“Muhammad Ali”, 2008).

Return to Boxing

Ali returned to boxing before the Supreme Court overruled Ali's sentence. His first fight was with Jerry Quarry. Ali beat Quarry, silencing some doubts about his ability to return. Ali also beat Oscar Bonavena, proving that he was ready to return (Hauser, 1991).

Ali suffered his first loss in his professional career to Joe Frazier in 1971. The fight was billed as one of boxing's greatest bouts. The following year, Ali beat Frazier, paving the way for a title fight with champion George Foreman. In 1974, Ali and Foreman signed to fight in Kinshasa, Zaire. Boxing experts predicted Ali's defeat; Foreman was younger and more powerful than Ali. However, the fight proved to be an upset. Ali defeated Foreman to become heavy weight champion for a second time. In the following years, Ali defended his title, beating boxers with questionable skill as well as proven title contenders. In 1975, Ali defeated Joe Frazier for a second time in the "Thrilla and Manila" (Hauser, 1991). Ali successfully defended his title until 1978 when he was defeated by Leon Spinks. The two met again later that year. In the rematch, Ali defeated Spinks and won the title for a third time ("Muhammad Ali", 2000).

During Muhammad Ali's second reign as heavy weight champion, he starred in two films, *The Greatest* (1976) and *Freedom Road* (1978) ("Muhammad Ali Biography", 2007). In *The Greatest*, Ali played himself (Hauser, 1991).

The next year, Ali retired from boxing, only to return in 1980. Attempting to win the World Boxing Council title, Ali faced Larry Holmes. Holmes won by a technical knockout after Ali could not answer the bell for the eleventh round. The next year, Ali

lost again, this time to Trevor Berbick. Ali retired for the final time after the loss (“Muhammad Ali”, 2000).

Post Career

In 1980, Ali supported Jimmy Carter and the Democratic Party and worked the floor at the Democratic National Convention. Years of boxing, however, seemed to take its toll on Ali. In 1982, Ali began treatment for Parkinson’s disease. In 1985, functioning as a lay diplomat, Ali attempted to secure the release of four kidnapped Americans in Lebanon. Also that year, Ali joined leaders from the Soviet Union and Africa to found the World Organization for Right, Liberty, and Dignity (“Muhammad Ali”, 2008).

In 1996, Muhammad Ali lit the Olympic torch at the Atlanta Olympic Games. The next year, Ali received the Arthur Ashe Award from ESPN and a Living Legend Award from *Essence*. In 1999, Ali appeared on the cover of a Wheaties box, becoming the first boxer to do so. During the early 2000s, Ali devoted much of his time to raising funds to build the Muhammad Ali Center in Louisville, Kentucky (“Muhammad Ali”, 2000). In 2005, the center opened. Also that year, Ali was honored with the Presidential Medal of Freedom (“Muhammad Ali Biography”, 2007). Today, Ali lives in Berrien Springs, Michigan with wife Yolanda and adopted son Asaad Amin (“Muhammad Ali”, 1998).

Babe Didrikson

Birth: June 26, 1911

Death: September 26, 1956

Birth name: Mildred Ella Didrikson

Parents: Hanna Marie Olsen, Ole Didrikson

Siblings: Sixth of seven children

Occupation: Golfer

Early Life

Mildred “Babe” Didrikson was born in 1911 to Hanna Olsen and Ole Didrikson. Her parents encouraged athleticism in the family, as Hanna had been an accomplished ice skater and skier in Norway and Ole a carpenter and furnisher with a great interest in athletics. Thus, the Didrikson family stressed physical fitness. Young Mildred played sports with her brothers, soon earning the nickname “Babe” for her ability to hit homeruns out of the neighborhood sandlots like baseball giant, Babe Ruth (Porter, 2000).

Early Career

As a high school student, Babe played basketball for Beaumont High. Her talent sometimes displayed itself in incredible ways: while helping her team win, Babe could outscore the opposition’s entire team. After high school, Didrikson played for Dallas’s Golden Cyclones and in the process won three All American honors (1930, 1931, and 1932) (Porter, 2000).

Didrikson also excelled at track and field. While attending the 1932 Olympic trials, she won five out of eight events and set world records in the 80-meter-hurdle, the javelin throw, and the high jump. However, the Los Angeles Olympics saw Didrikson compete in only three events, two of which she won (Porter, 2000).

After the Olympics, Didrikson turned professional and toured in 1933 and 1934 as one of three members of the Babe Didrikson All-American basketball team. She also played for the House of David baseball team. In 1934, Didrikson played in a spring training baseball game for the St. Louis Cardinals. Pitching against the Philadelphia Athletics, Babe threw for one shutout inning (Porter, 2000).

Despite Didrikson's feats, her athletic abilities were stereotyped and degraded in the press. Sportswriters frequently dismissed the seriousness of women's athletics. Babe detested the assumptions claiming somehow she was "... a strange, unnatural being..." (Porter, 2000).

Peak of Career

Babe began taking golfing lessons in 1933. Within two years she had won her first tournament. Over the next ten years, Babe participated in professional tournaments but declined monetary prizes. The mid forties and early fifties witnessed Babe performing at her best. From 1946 to 1947, Didrikson won seventeen consecutive golfing tournaments. In 1947, Babe won six events in six weeks. In the same year, she became the first American woman to participate in the British Amateur tournament. The Ladies Professional Golf Association, formed in part by Didrikson in 1948, gave Didrikson a new avenue to display her prowess. Didrikson earned nearly \$40,000 from

1948 to 1951. Playing against the best women on the golfing circuit, Babe won three titles in 1948, two more titles in 1949, six in 1950, seven in 1951, and three more in 1952 (Porter, 2000). Perhaps jealous of Didrikson's prowess, many of her opponents detested her. Some college physical education departments even warned women against emulating her. Didrikson did not let the criticism keep her from winning, nor did she change her still. Didrikson remained cocky and tough, shocking her audiences with her direct style ("Babe Didrikson", 2000).

Sickness and Death

Colon cancer surgery kept Didrikson from competition in the spring of 1953. She recovered well and returned to competition that summer by winning another title. The following years seemed to trumpet the successful comeback; Didrikson tallied five victories including her third U. S. Open in 1954 and two more in 1955. However, in 1955, Didrikson was informed that the cancer had reoccurred (Porter, 2000). Though married to George Zaharias, Didrikson's companion was Betty Dodd, a young golfer. The two met in 1950. At the time Dodd was nineteen, and Babe in her forties. Though the two never publicly acknowledged a relationship, friends of the two were aware of the relationship. Not long after meeting, Dodd moved in with the Zahariases and remained until Babe's death in 1956 ("Babe Didrikson Zaharias", 1997).

Legacy

Babe Didrikson remains an American sports hero. She challenged assumptions about women's sporting ability and regularly broke world records. Didrikson's life continues to inspire young women to this day ("Babe Didrikson", 2000).

Michael Jackson

Birth name: Michael Joseph Jackson

Birth date: August 29, 1958

Parents: Joseph Jackson, Katherine Scruse

Siblings: one of nine;

Primary Occupation: Singer

Early Life

Michael Jackson was born in Gary, Indiana to Joseph Jackson, a heavy equipment operator, and Katherine Scruse, a sale clerk. Both parents loved music: Joseph played guitar in a local group, and Katherine loved country music (“Michael Jackson”, 2006). Katherine also sang folk songs and spirituals to the children. The young children sang along with their mother; the oldest boys sharpening their harmonies (“Michael Joe Jackson”, 1998).

Early Career

Under Joseph’s careful training, the five older boys soon formed the Jackson 5 and began performing in local arenas and throughout the Midwest. The group soon caught the attention of singer Gladys Knight and pianist Bobby Taylor. Shortly after their meeting, the Jackson 5 signed with the Motown label. Knight and Taylor were not credited with discovering the Jackson 5. The honor went to Diana Ross (“Michael Joe Jackson”, 1998).

With young Michael on lead vocals, the Jackson 5 charted several number one hits, including “ABC”, “The Love You Save”, and “I’ll Be There” (“Michael Joe Jackson”, 1998). While recording albums with his brothers as a part of a group, young Michael also recorded solo albums. A few of his solo hits included “Got to Be There” and “Ben” (“Michael Jackson”, 2006).

Though the success of the Jackson 5 continued to grow, their father Joseph believed that his sons should write their own material. Motown refused to meet Jackson’s demands. As a result, the group left Motown and signed with CBS’s Epic label in 1976. One of the brothers, Jermaine, stayed with Motown. Shortly after their departure, Motown sued the group over the name “Jackson 5”. Motown won and the brothers became The Jacksons. As The Jacksons, the group added youngest brother Randy. The group scored several hits such as “Blame It On The Boogie” and “Shake Your Body.” Unlike at Motown, various Jackson brothers participated in writing songs for the group (“Michael Jackson”, 2006).

While part of The Jacksons, Michael began to work on solo projects. In 1978, he played the Scarecrow in *The Whiz*, which starred close friend Diana Ross as Dorothy. Jackson met Quincy Jones on the set. Jones would mastermind a production style for Jackson that showcased his vocal talent the next year with Jackson’s *Off The Wall*. The album produced four Top Ten singles (“Michael Jackson”, 2006).

Career Height

Jackson’s next project with Jones produced the phenomenally successful *Thriller*. The album appealed to various audiences, a feat that no American had accomplished in

years. The album spawned such hits as “Beat It” and “Billie Jean.” The album generated seven Top Ten singles, and also stayed atop *Billboard* magazine’s sales charts for thirty-seven weeks. At its peak, *Thriller* sold half a million copies a week (“Michael Jackson”, 2006).

During this time, Jackson began to display his dance skills. For the music video for “Billie Jean”, Jackson performed his signature dance move, the Moonwalk. Jackson also began wearing a glove covered in rhinestones on one hand (“Michael Jackson”, 2006).

The success of *Thriller* propelled Jackson to a higher level of stardom. The new level brought more fame, but it also isolated Jackson and conflicted with his religion. As a Jehovah’s Witness, Jackson often walked door to door promoting the religion. After *Thriller*, Jackson wore masked to hide his identity. Jackson eventually renounced his membership after the music video “Thriller” caused controversy with the group (“Michael Jackson”, 2004).

Jackson finally left The Jacksons after the release of *Victory* and a tour. After signing a contract with Pepsi, Michael and his brothers began shooting a commercial for the company. During filming, an accident occurred, causing Michael’s hair and scalp to catch fire. Jackson made a full recovery (“Michael Jackson”, 2006).

Jackson did not release another album until 1987. In the meantime, he co-wrote the international famine-relief anthem “We Are The World.” The song, released in 1985, became one of the biggest-selling singles of all time. The album *Bad* followed *Thriller*. Although the album sold 22 million copies, it could not match the success of *Thriller*.

The album produced five number one singles, including “I Just Can’t Stop Loving You”, “Bad”, and “The Way You Make Me Feel.” Four years later, Jackson released *Dangerous*. Working with Teddy Riley, the album also sold over 20 million copies (“Michael Jackson”, 2006).

Post Career Height

After Jackson’s success in the 1980s, more attention focused on his personal life. Rumors circulated about Jackson supposedly bleaching his skin. In a 1993 interview, Jackson admitted that he suffered from the skin disease vitiligo. Also that year, a far more damaging claim accused Jackson of molesting a thirteen year old boy. The case never made it to court and was settled privately for an undisclosed sum of money. The controversy cost Jackson an endorsement with Pepsi-Cola (“Michael Jackson”, 2006). In 1994, Jackson married Lisa Marie Presley, the daughter of Elvis Presley. Many assumed the marriage was an attempt to improve his public image. The two divorced less than two years later. In November of the same year, Jackson married close friend Debbie Rowe. The couple had two children together before their divorce in 1999. Jackson soon had another son, but the mother of the child has not been revealed (“Michael Joe Jackson”, 1998).

Jackson struggled to remain relevant to music audiences and the music industry. From 1995 to 2003, Jackson released several albums, but none matched the success of his 1980s work. During this time, Jackson also attempted to launch entertainment complexes, but these plans never saw fruition (“Michael Jackson”, 2006).

In 2003, Jackson was accused for the second time of child molestation. The case did go to court and Jackson was found innocent of all charges. The effects of the trial took their toll of Jackson. He fled to the Middle East for refuge and recuperation, but trouble soon followed him there. Former wife Debbie Rowe sued Jackson for not upholding his part of their divorce agreement. Rowe also considered suing for custody of the two children she had with Jackson, fearing for their well-being. California authorities closed Neverland Ranch due to nonpayment of employees and failing to provide workers' compensation insurance ("Michael Jackson", 2006).

After the lengthy absence, Jackson appeared in public for the World Music Awards in late 2006. He accepted as award commemorating the 25th anniversary of *Thriller* ("Michael Joe Jackson", 1998).

Legacy

Despite the personal problems Michael Jackson has faced, millions of fans support the entertainer. Jackson remains peerless, achieving career heights few artists can claim ("Michael Jackson", 2006).

Marilyn Monroe

Birth: June 1, 1926

Death: August 5, 1962

Birth Name: Norma Jean Mortensen

Parents: Gladys Monroe Baker Mortensen; father unknown

Siblings: half sister, half brother

Occupation: film actress

Early Life

The woman who would become Marilyn Monroe was born Norma Jean Mortensen to Gladys Monroe Baker Mortensen in 1926. Her father was never positively identified. A single mother, Gladys made a living as a film cutter. Young Norma Jean did not live with her mother for long. As she was growing increasingly unstable, Gladys soon placed Norma in foster care (Henriksen, 2000). When Norma Jean was seven years old, Gladys was diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia and hospitalized (“Marilyn Monroe”, 1998). Over the next sixteen years, Norma Jean shifted from foster homes to guardianships, to orphanages where she was subject to sexual abuse. After turning sixteen, Norma Jean married James Dougherty in 1942. While Dougherty served as a merchant marine during World War II, Norma Jean worked for the Radioplane Company. An Army photographer noticed her, snapping Monroe’s first posing photographs (Henriksen, 2000). Monroe enrolled in a three month modeling course, where she

became aware of her potential to become a film star. With this in mind, Norma Jean divorced Dougherty in 1946 (“Marilyn Monroe”, 1998).

Early Career

After the divorce, Norma Jean had her first screen test and signed a contract with 20th Century-Fox. While signed with 20th Century-Fox, Norma Jean adopted the stage name “Marilyn Monroe”. Over the next several years, Monroe received few roles. It has been suggested that Monroe exchanged sexual affairs to gain some of these roles. By 1950, Monroe’s work finally landed on screen. Monroe played roles in *Asphalt Jungle* and *All About Eve*. Though often playing stereotypical “dumb” roles, Monroe demonstrated a darker sexuality in *Clash by Night* (1952) and *Niagara* (1953). Roles like these, however, were outnumbered by more domesticated portrayals in such films as *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953) and *There’s No Business Like Show Business* (1954) (Henriksen, 2000).

Career Height

Monroe’s popularity grew throughout the mid-fifties. In 1954, Monroe married baseball hero Joe DiMaggio. The highly publicized marriage was short lived. That year, Monroe escaped a potentially career ending controversy. She had posed nude for a calendar in 1952. When the calendar came to light, she fended off controversy by explaining at the time she was a starving artist. The controversy died and Monroe emerged as a more sympathetic, waif-like figure (Henriksen, 2000).

Monroe's film roles continued to exploit her sexual appeal, shaping her into the quintessential sex symbol. In 1956's *The Seven Year Itch*, Monroe played a character named "The Girl". The image of Monroe standing over a subway gate with air billowing up her white skirt created a lasting impression of Monroe in viewers' minds. After shooting the scene, Monroe was reportedly beat by then husband DiMaggio. The display had incensed DiMaggio, who had never accepted Monroe's career or status as a sex symbol (Henriksen, 2000).

After completing *The Seven Year Itch*, Monroe broke with 20th Century Fox. Tired of playing stereotypical roles, in 1954, Monroe moved to New York City to at the Actors Studio. While at the studio, Monroe studied under Paula and Lee Strasberg. The next year, Monroe formed her own studio, Marilyn Monroe Productions, and re-negotiated a contract with Twentieth Century Fox ("Marilyn Monroe", 1998). While under contract, Monroe made only five more films before her death in 1962. The films showcased a more serious Monroe. In 1956, she married famed playwright Arthur Miller. Monroe stood by Miller throughout his troubles with the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings. The marriage, however, ended in 1961 (Henriksen, 2000).

Throughout the last years of her life, Monroe struggled with anxiety, drug, and health problems. Her health problems may have contributed to numerous failed pregnancies (Henriksen, 2000).

Death and Legacy

Originally considered an overdose, Monroe's death in 1962 has been surrounded with controversy. Two other scenarios suggest that Monroe was murdered by the Mafia or suffered an accidental drug overdose (Henriksen, 2000). The cause of her death notwithstanding, Monroe's seductive clothing, light blond hair, and breathless voice epitomized sexuality ("Marilyn Monroe", 1998). She remains a sex symbol, suggesting femininity, vulnerability, and a desire to please. Her death only increased her popularity, and highlighted her vulnerability. Today, Monroe's image can be found on posters, paintings, T-shirts, coffee mugs, martini glasses, and post cards ("Marilyn Monroe", 2000).

Elvis Presley

Birth Date: January 8, 1935

Death: August 16, 1977

Birth Name: Elvis Aaron Presley

Parents: Vernon Elvis Presley, Gladys Love Smith

Siblings: twin brother, stillborn

Occupation: Singer

Early Life

Elvis Presley was born to Gladys Smith, a seamstress, and Vernon Presley, a truck driver, in 1935. Originally a twin, Elvis's brother was stillborn, causing Gladys to become overprotective of her surviving child. Vernon Presley, however, cared little for the child.

Young Elvis attended church with his mother daily at the fundamentalist Parkertown Church of God and Prophecy. There, the congregation learned that lack of good fortune on earth meant the promise of glory in the afterlife. This comforted the Presleys, who suffered from debt and received welfare assistance (Pierce, 2000).

After Vernon Presley's conviction for check forgery in 1937, Gladys left the Parkertown church to attend Tupelo's First Assembly of God. The new church supported Gladys with friends and family, and young Elvis soon began singing in the choir (Pierce, 2000).

Despite the new church environment, Gladys and Vernon continued to struggle. Elvis grew so close to his mother that other children called him a sissy and a mama's boy. Distant from peers, Elvis turned to comic books for companionship (Pierce, 2000).

As a young boy, Elvis listened to a variety of music, from rhythm and blues to jazz. He practiced guitar and played well enough to accompany his own singing. As Presley grew older, he continued to develop his singing ability. He busied himself by watching movies and listened to music radiating from the Black Sanctified Church of Tupelo. To earn extra money, Presley ran errands for Black truckers in exchange for food and clothing. After Vernon Presley ran into trouble bootlegging in 1942, the family moved to Memphis, Tennessee (Pierce, 2000).

As a teenager, Elvis experimented with his looks. Forgoing the popular crew-cut, Presley grew his hair longer than most, slicking it back with rose oil. He preferred bright, flashy clothing, combining with his hair to create a "greaser" look. The style would become popular in the upcoming years; in the meantime, however, Presley's look caused many students to avoid him ("Elvis Presley", 2000).

Early Career

After graduating from high school in 1953, Presley worked for various industrial companies. Later that summer, he recorded two songs at Sam Phillips's Memphis Recording Service. Phillips happened to be looking for a White singer who sounded Black. Phillips found that singer in Presley. Elvis signed his first contract with Phillips and began recording shortly thereafter (Pierce, 2000).

By the next year, Presley's popularity soared, highlighted by performances at the Grand Ole Opry. His on-stage demeanor also earned the nickname "Elvis the Pelvis". That year, Elvis made enough money to buy gifts for his family, included a Cadillac for his mother (Pierce, 2000).

Career Height

In 1955, Presley signed with "Colonel" Tom Parker. Parker, an aggressive, abrasive man, negotiated a deal with RCA Records, obligating Presley to merchandising, television appearances, and films. The next year, Presley began recording a string of hits, including "Heartbreak Hotel", "Don't Be Cruel", and "Hound Dog". The following year produced more hits, including "All Shook Up", "Teddy Bear", and "Jailhouse Rock." Although Presley did not write his own material, Parker gave Presley writing credit on twenty-seven songs, allowing the singer to co-own publishing rights (Pierce, 2000).

With multiple hits under his belt, Presley wanted to be a serious actor like idols James Dean and Marlon Brando. Parker, however, did not care about Presley's acting ability. Parker saw films as another avenue to make a profit. Thus, all of Presley's films included him singing, as these films would increase record sales (Pierce, 2000).

Post Career Height

In 1958, Presley joined the Army. Presley's absence caused his mother to fall into a deep depression. Only four and a half months into his tenure with the Army, Gladys died. Elvis returned home to grieve, then continued his service in Germany. While stationed in Germany, Presley met fourteen-year-old Priscilla Beaulieu. The two

began dating. Presley returned from Germany in 1960, more conservative and well-mannered than fans expected. Presley continued making films and records, but much of Presley's glamour had faded. He married Priscilla Beaulieu in 1967 and shot a NBC-TV special "Elvis" in 1968, attempting to recapture his status as a rock and roll star (Pierce, 2000). Also that year, the Presley family celebrated the birth of their only child, Lisa Marie Presley ("Elvis Presley", 2000).

By the 1970s, Presley seemed out of touch with music fans. He met with President Nixon to discuss how he could serve the war on drugs. For many young rock and roll fans, music and drug use combined in the same experience. In the following years, bad press hurt Presley's image. Elvis and Priscilla divorced in 1973, Presley's drug use became public, and his health began to decline. Despite Presley's personal failings and health problems, he performed 130 times in 1976 and 56 times in 1977. In August, Presley died at his home in Graceland. The cause was contributed to cardiac arrhythmia (Pierce, 2000). Over 100,000 mourners attended Presley's wake. The white Cadillac limousine carried Presley's casket to the cemetery. Sixteen more white Cadillacs followed. A silver Cadillac led the procession ("Elvis Aron Presley", 1995). Since his death, numerous claims report Elvis's appearances (Pierce, 2000).

Legacy

The legacy of Elvis Presley endures, in part due to his bringing African-American music to the White mainstream. Presley's career includes many firsts, including being the first artist to have a record sell a million copies, and the first rock and roll star to appear on a U.S. Postal Service stamp (Pierce, 2000).

Wilma Rudolph

Birth date: June 23, 1940

Death date: November 12, 1994

Birth name: Wilma Glodean Rudolph

Parents: Edward and Blanche Rudolph

Siblings: One of nineteen

Occupation: track and field athlete

Early Life

In 1940, Wilma Rudolph was born to Edward and Blanche Rudolph in Bethlem, Tennessee (“Wilma Rudolph”, 2004). Arriving two months premature, Wilma weighed only four-and-a-half pounds and was a sickly child. She contracted pneumonia and scarlet fever, resulting in partial paralysis of her left leg. Young Wilma endured years of therapy and wearing a brace on her leg before, at age twelve, she was able to walk freely (Langs, 2000).

Early Career

As a high school student, Rudolph made the all-state basketball team four times. Over 25 games, Rudolph scored 803 points. Her talent drew the eye of Tennessee State University women’s track coach Ed Temple (“Wilma Rudolph”, 2004). While Wilma was still a high school student, Temple invited her to attend the university training camp, giving Wilma experience training at an advanced level (Langs, 2000).

In 1956, also while still a high school student, Wilma made the Olympic women's track and field team. As a member of the 400-meter relay, Rudolph won a bronze medal. After the Olympics, Rudolph returned to finish her last two years of high school. As a senior, she became pregnant and had a daughter. In order for Wilma to continue her track career, she refused to marry her boyfriend and her daughter was sent to live with a married older sister. The next year, Rudolph enrolled at Tennessee State on a track and field scholarship and began training for the 1960 Olympic Games (Langs, 2000).

Career Height

The 1960 Olympic Games, held in Rome, Italy, presented Rudolph with two troubles. The first was the temperature, which hovered at 100 degrees. The second, an ankle injury Rudolph had suffered a day before her first race. Despite the setbacks, Rudolph won three gold medals, becoming the first American woman to do so in a single Olympics (Langs, 2000). Rudolph's athletic achievement also won her the nickname "La Gazelle" from French fans ("Wilma Rudolph", 1998). After the Olympics, Rudolph and her teammates toured Europe, competing in various competitions. Rudolph did not lose her Olympic form, winning the European competitions. Suddenly a celebrity, crowds of admirers followed Rudolph wherever she went. She met President Kennedy at the White House and received parades, awards, and appeared on television. Her homecoming parade became the first racially integrated event in the history of her hometown. Rudolph had leveled an ultimatum beforehand, refusing to attend a segregated welcoming ("Wilma Rudolph", 2004).

The next year, Rudolph tied her own world record in the 60-yard dash at the formerly all-male Millrose Games. Rudolph became the first woman to compete at the prestigious New York Athletic Club competition, the Los Angeles Times Games, and the Penn Relays. Later that year, Rudolph also won the nation's top amateur award, the Sullivan Award. Rudolph married William Ward the same year, but the marriage dissolved after a year (Langs, 2000).

In 1962, Rudolph won the Babe Didrikson Zaharias Award, awarded to the most outstanding female athlete in the world. She competed in a meet held at Stanford University against Soviet Union. In a surprising win, Rudolph overcame a 40-yard deficit to win the women's 400-meter relay. After the competition, Rudolph retired (Langs, 2000).

Post Career

After her retirement, Rudolph returned to Tennessee State University and graduated with a degree in education. In 1963, Rudolph married high school boyfriend, Robert Eldridge, who was the father of her first child. She held several positions in the years following her retirement, ranging from teaching second grade to Goodwill Ambassador to French West Africa (Langs, 2000). In 1967, Vice President Hubert Humphrey invited Rudolph to participate in a program that trained inner-city youths in sports ("Wilma Rudolph", 2004). Rudolph and Eldridge divorced in 1976 after having another daughter and two sons. In 1982, Rudolph established the Wilma Rudolph Foundation. The foundation promoted educating and inspiring underprivileged children (Langs, "Wilma Rudolph"). The United States Olympic Hall of Fame and the National

Track and Field Hall of Fame both inducted Rudolph. Rudolph traveled frequently, giving motivational speeches to youngsters (“Wilma Rudolph”, 1998).

Death

In July 1994, Rudolph fainted while giving a speech. She was diagnosed with brain cancer and succumbed the same year at her home in Brentwood, Tennessee (Langs, 2000). Rudolph is survived by two sons and two daughters (“Wilma Rudolph”, 1998).

Legacy

Wilma Rudolph’s career remains remarkable due to the obstacles she overcame to become a successful athlete. Her athletic elegance mesmerized the international sporting world. Her courage to overcome her physical handicaps continues to inspire people today (“Wilma Rudolph”, 2004).

Babe Ruth

Birth: February 6, 1895

Death: August 16, 1948

Birth Name: George Herman Ruth II

Parents: George Herman Ruth, Kate Schamberger

Siblings: One of eight

Occupation: Baseball player

Early Life

George Herman Ruth was born to Kate Schamberger and George Herman Ruth in Baltimore, Maryland. Schamberger and Ruth operated a combination of a saloon and grocery store. His parents made little money despite running the store and worked long hours. Young Ruth spent much of his time on the streets, where he picked up swearing and stealing. Ruth's parents decided to send their truant son to St. Mary's Industrial School for Boys. The school, part orphanage, boarding school, and detention center, operated under the vigilance of the Xaverian Brothers, members of the Roman Catholic Church (Voigt, 2000). While at the school, Ruth modified his truant behavior to an extent. Ruth remained full of mischief and livelier than most other boys. An aggressive young man, he could be found shouting and constantly wrestling (Voigt, 1974). Over the eight years Ruth spent at the school, he returned home rarely. He also received family visitors, but the visits ended after his mother's death in 1912 (Voigt, 2000). George Herman Ruth Sr. died four years later (Voigt, 1974).

Early Career

While at St. Mary's Industrial School, Ruth experienced the discipline and structure he lacked at home. Under the tutelage of school disciplinary mentor, Brother Mathias, Ruth developed into a talented baseball player. He excelled at pitching and hitting. Growing to a muscular 6' 2", 150-pound eighteen year old, Ruth batted .537 in interscholastic competition. The next year, Ruth's talent grabbed the attention of Jack Dunn, the owner of the Baltimore Orioles of the International League. Dunn became Ruth's legal guardian and signed him to a \$600 contract. While an Oriole, Ruth acquired the nickname "Babe". The Red Sox soon acquired Ruth in a trade in 1914. That same year, Ruth married 18-year-old waitress Helen Woodford (Voigt, 2000).

While with the Red Sox, Ruth improved his pitching. His batting also improved. From 1915 to 1917, his batting average increased from .315 to .325. World War I shortened the 1918 season. Despite the shortened season, Ruth hit 11 home runs and the Red Sox won both the American League pennant and the World Series (Voigt, 2000).

Although Ruth excelled at pitching, the need for him to hit led him to play as an outfielder. Ruth excelled here as well, leading the American League outfielders in fielding average and assists (Voigt, 2000).

By 1919, the Red Sox faced financial troubles. The owner, Harry Frazee sent Ruth to the Yankees. As a Yankee, Ruth would reach heights unheard of previously. Young Ruth, still just 25-years old, garnered such nicknames as the "Bambino" and the "Sultan of Swat" from the New York press (Voigt, 2000).

The press equally praised Ruth and overwhelmed him. His previous educational and baseball experiences did not prepare him for the media attention he received as a Yankee. Ruth was now a celebrity. On the field, he occasionally seemed temperamental, but his hitting power seemed to overshadow his moods. Record crowds attended Yankee games. His exploits on the field helped distract attention from the 1919 Black Sox scandal. Off the field, Ruth lived an exorbitant lifestyle, including womanizing and lavish spending (Voigt, 2000). Many considered Ruth a drafter dodger, failing to participate in World War I (Voigt, 1974). Despite his behavior, Ruth adored children, and was generous and charitable (Voigt, 2000).

Career Height

Over the next five years, Ruth's performances varied. Poor hitting in 1922 contributed to the Yankees losing the World Series to the Giants. The next year, Ruth hit three home runs and led the Yankees to their first world championship. 1924 witnessed Ruth hitting 46 home runs. The next year, Ruth's weight fluctuated; he had surgery, and stayed in the hospital for seven weeks. The lay-off hurt Ruth's game. His batting average dropped to .290 and Ruth hit only 25 homeruns for the season. Ruth promised to play better and improve his image. After having lost thousands of dollars over the past five years, he entrusted Christy Walsh to manage his affairs. He married Claire Hodgson after his estranged wife, Helen, died in a house fire. Ruth adopted Hodgson's daughter and began to provide a stable environment for his new family. Ruth also tried to stay in shape, working with a physical trainer during the off season (Voigt, 2000).

The new Babe Ruth displayed his old brilliance. His income increased to \$200,000 in 1926, including salary and appearances. He won home run titles in 1928, 1929, 1930, and tied with Lou Gehrig in 1931 (Voigt, 2000).

Although the Great Depression firmly gripped the nation, Ruth commanded a salary of \$75,000, plus percentages for spring training games receipts. In 1932, Ruth hit his famous “called shot” during the World Series, causing much debate then and now. Ruth played his last season for the Yankees in 1934 and hit his seven hundredth home run. Later that year, Ruth joined a team of major league all-stars touring Japan. The team drew large crowds to their exhibition games. The Japanese fans loved Ruth, marking a Babe Ruth Day that continues to be celebrated (Voigt, 2000). Returning to the U.S. brought several disappointments. Ruth hoped to manage a major league baseball team, but no offers were forthcoming. Teams that were interested in him wanted to exploit his popularity. In 1935, after playing briefly for the Boston Braves, Ruth retired. In 1938, he served as a first base coach for the Brooklyn Dodgers, but resigned at the end of the season. Ruth left baseball without the much desired role of manager (Voigt, 2000).

Post Career

In 1939, Ruth joined the National Baseball Hall of Fame along with four other players. He played a role in the 1941 film *Pride of the Yankees*, honoring Lou Gehrig. During his last years, Ruth supported charitable causes. By 1947, Ruth underwent surgery for the throat cancer which would eventually kill him. That same year, Baseball Commissioner A. B. Chandler declared a Babe Ruth Day to be celebrated in all the parks

of organized baseball. Two months before his death, Ruth made his final appearance at Yankee Stadium celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the “House That Ruth Built”. Ruth died at the Memorial Hospital in New York. Two hundred thousand fans passed by Ruth’s bier as his body lay in state at the rotunda of Yankee Stadium. One hundred thousand fans also watched Ruth’s cortege pass by on its way to the Gate of Heaven Cemetery where Ruth was buried (Voigt, 2000).

Legacy

Babe Ruth remains one of baseball’s greatest players, if not the greatest. Ruth continues to be the most written about baseball player, amassing more biographies than any other baseball player (Voigt, 2000). Ruth’s hitting power forced baseball to change from an “inside” game to an “outside” game of power hitting that we see today (“George Herman Ruth”, 2004).

Oprah Winfrey

Birth: January 29, 1954

Birth Name: Oprah Gail Winfrey

Parents: Vernita Lee, Vernon Winfrey

Siblings:

Occupation: television show host

Early Life

Oprah Winfrey was born to Vernita Lee and Vernon Winfrey on a farm in Mississippi. Her parents, unmarried, drifted apart shortly after young Oprah's birth, leaving her to be raised by her maternal grandmother. By the time Oprah was two-and-a-half years old, she could read. By the time she was three, she was giving short speeches at her church ("Oprah Winfrey", 1992).

Young Oprah left her grandmother to stay with her mother, and she struggled to adjust. City life differed from quiet farm life and Winfrey's mother paid little attention to her. Several men, including a male cousin and her mother's boyfriend, took advantage of the lack of supervision, sexually abusing the young girl. Traumatized by the experiences, Oprah began acting out, running away from home and becoming delinquent. Vernita Lee gave young Oprah an ultimatum: either live with her father and stepmother or go to a juvenile detention center. Winfrey chose to live with her father, a barber and city councilman in Tennessee ("Oprah Gail Winfrey", 1998).

Life with Vernon Winfrey renewed Oprah's love of speaking and reading. As a high school student, Oprah worked for a local radio news station. Her oratory skills earned a scholarship to Tennessee State University. She majored in speech and drama. During her time at Tennessee State, Winfrey won "Miss Black Nashville" and "Miss Black Tennessee" ("Oprah Gail Winfrey", 1998).

Early Career

While still in college, Winfrey became Nashville's first African-American woman to anchor the evening news. She left the position after graduating to work as a reporter and an evening news co-anchor for a Baltimore television station. Urged to improve her appearance by her boss, Winfrey took an ill-fated trip to a beauty salon. The trip resulted in Winfrey losing her hair, an event that shattered her self-esteem, sending her into a depression. To ease the depression, she turned to food for comfort ("Oprah Gail Winfrey", 1998).

Winfrey continued working in Baltimore for eight years. She decided to relinquish her evening anchor duties to co-host the "People Are Talking" morning show. She hosted the show for seven years ("Oprah Winfrey", 1992). In 1984, Winfrey became the anchor for the morning talk show *A.M. Chicago*. The show consistently placed last in the rating. After changing the show's topic from traditional women's issues to more current and controversial topics, *A.M. Chicago* rose in the ratings, tying with a talk show hosted by Phil Donahue. Three months later, *A.M. Chicago* eclipsed *Donahue* to lead the ratings ("Oprah Gail Winfrey", 1998).

Career Height

In 1985, *A.M. Chicago* was renamed the *Oprah Winfrey Show* and was expanded to an hour. The same year, Winfrey starred in *The Color Purple*, her first major acting experience. Her performance won rave reviews, garnering an Academy Award nomination as Best Supporting Actress. However, the next year, Winfrey starred in *Native Son*, which was not well received. The *Oprah Winfrey Show* continued to draw in ratings while exposing the live and television audience to various topics and guests. In 1986, Winfrey received an award from the Chicago Academy for the Arts and was named Woman of Achievement by the National Organization of Women. The show also won several Emmys ("Oprah Gail Winfrey", 1998).

Over the next ten years, Winfrey balanced expanding her acting interests with social activism. She produced the miniseries *The Women of Brewster Place* (1989) and the regular series *Brewster Place* (1990). In 1991, Winfrey used her celebrity to shed light on topics such as child abuse and prison sentencing. Winfrey and former Illinois governor James Thompson proposed federal legislation to keep records on convicted child abusers ("Oprah Gail Winfrey", 1998). Winfrey celebrated her 40th birthday in 1994. By then, *The Oprah Winfrey Show* could be seen in 54 countries. In the United States alone, 15 million viewers watched the show a day ("Oprah Winfrey", 2000). In 1996, Winfrey started a book club, encouraging her live audience and television audience to read ("Oprah Gail Winfrey", 1998).

Winfrey continued to receive awards and honors, including being named by *Time* magazine as one of “America’s 25 Most Influential People of 1996” and one of ten most influential people in publishing by *Book* in 2001 (“Oprah Gail Winfrey”, 1998).

Among Winfrey’s many accomplishments, Winfrey started her own magazine, *O*, and opened a school in Johannesburg, South Africa for disadvantaged girls. Recently, Winfrey’s Harpo Productions Inc. produced the film *The Great Debaters* (“Oprah Gail Winfrey”, 1998).

Legacy

Winfrey continues to host *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. Winfrey is one of the most influential members of the media industry, able to touch audiences through multiple mediums (“Oprah Winfrey”, 2000).

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

This chapter describes the results of comparing the iconic images of the eight individuals (Muhammad Ali, Babe Didrikson, Michael Jackson, Marilyn Monroe, Elvis Presley, Babe Ruth, Wilma Rudolph, and Oprah Winfrey) by gender, race, occupation, over time, and the relative celebrity status of the individuals. After coding articles from *LIFE* and *TIME* magazine, I derived over 100 characteristics from the text (see Appendix B). The remainder of this thesis refers to the characteristics in groups of 15 categories. The first six categories reflect the current icon literature, including icon qualities from Besky, qualities from Hall and Hall, types of media the individuals may appear in relayed by *LIFE* and *TIME*, the celebrity status given to the individuals, stereotypes used to describe the them, the physical descriptions of their images, and the presentation of the individuals' personalities. The next eight categories reflect emergent characteristics, including references related the individuals' private lives, references to the their profession, events they may have attended, the places the individuals may have traveled to, the influence the iconic images may have over different populations, references to the individuals' families, the figurative language used to describe the individuals, and basic demographic references used to characterize the individuals. The last category reflects references to potential and clarifying qualities. The clarifying qualities provide greater explication of Besky and Hall and Hall's qualities.

Gender

Previous literature portends that males and females are characterized differently in the media. The iconic images of the eight individuals studied were analyzed by gender to determine if similar biases in characterization were found in the *LIFE* and *TIME* magazine articles.

Initial visibility in LIFE and TIME magazines

From a total of 228 articles covering the eight individuals from *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines, the four males whose images have become iconic received more coverage than the females whose images have become iconic. Over half of the articles pertained to the four males (67% of 228 articles). The greatest difference in the number of articles appeared with *TIME* magazine. Out of 155 articles in *TIME*, the majority, 70%, of articles pertained to the four males. The gender difference was smaller in *LIFE* magazine. Out of 73 articles, 60% articles concerned the four males.

Celebrity Status

In print articles, the four males with iconic images were more likely to be considered as icons, heroes, stars and other titles than the four female with iconic images, averaging much higher numbers of appearances for all of the characteristics related to celebrity status except for the use of other titles (legend, phenomena) to describe them. The cells of table 2 show the four males as having images with higher averages of characteristics than the four females, illustrating a gender differences regarding the individuals' respective statuses. Michael Jackson and Elvis Presley the only males

specifically called icons. Of the females, only Marilyn Monroe was specifically described as an icon. Over the course of the four males' exposure to popular media, all were called heroes, but no females were called heroines. Not only were the four males more likely to be described through other titles, they averaged over twice as many appearances (20.25) than the four female icons (9.5).

Table 2

Average Appearances of Celebrity Status in <i>LIFE</i> and <i>TIME</i> Magazines by Gender		
	Male	Female
Use of the word Icon	1.25	0.25
Use of the word Hero	4.25	0
Use of the word Star	6.25	6
Use of other titles	20.25	9.5

Icon Qualities

The iconic qualities described by Besky, Hall and Hall also appeared to be affected by gender. The four males dominated the qualities with higher average appearances in all but two of ten qualities (see table 3). The four females averaged higher number of appearance regarding iconic status being created and references to the “wow” syndrome. A noticeable difference occurs in the category “most beautiful”. The males averaged at least one reference to a superlative about the icons' physical appearance, even if it is Ali claiming he is the “prettiest fighter you ever did see” (“Wot larks!”, 1963). The females averaged less than one reference. Marilyn Monroe was described by *TIME* magazine as “the sexiest little number in the movies” (“The Dostoevsky Blues”, 1955). Initially, it would seem that the four females would dominate

the “most beautiful” category behind Marilyn Monroe, but the remaining three were less well known for their beauty than Monroe. Furthermore, of the four males with iconic images, three of the four were known for their physical beauty at some point in their careers (Ali, Jackson, and Presley).

Table 3

Average Number of Iconic Qualities Appearances by Gender		
	Male	Female
Created	0	1.25
Advertising and marketing	3.25	2.75
Images Mass produced	3.25	2
“Wow” response	1	1.5
Strong Responses	5.75	3.5
“Most beautiful”	1	.75
Reflect values	1.5	0
Historical Sources	7.5	2
Reshaped over time	3.75	.75
Used in a various ways	.75	.50

Media

Like visibility and iconic qualities, the types of media the eight individuals appeared in differed based on gender. Gender appears to influence the types of media their physical images are reproduced in as well. The four males with iconic images averaged higher numbers of appearances for five of the characteristics, while the four

females with iconic images averaged higher numbers of appearances for four of the characteristics (see table 4). The four males were more likely to appear in books, newspapers, radio, television, and sound recordings. The four females are more likely than male individuals to appear in literature, magazines, film, and other media. Both groups were equally likely to appear in documentaries which may also promote the physical image.

Table 4

Average Appearances of Various Media by Gender		
	Male	Female
Literature	0.25	1
Books	3.25	1
Magazines	1.25	2
Newspapers	5.75	2
Radio	0.5	0
Film	2.25	7.25
Television	5.5	1.75
Sound recordings	8	1
Video	1.5	1.5
Other media	.5	1.75

Stereotypes

Depictions of the eight individuals through the use of stereotypes appeared in few articles. Of those present, the four males with iconic images averaged a higher number of appearances for racial stereotypes than the four females with iconic images (1.25 to 0) making them more likely to be characterized by racial stereotypes than the four females. Muhammad Ali was the male presented the most through racial stereotypes. The four females were more likely to be characterized by gender (1 to 0) and profession related stereotypes (0.5 to 0) than the males. Marilyn Monroe was the female presented the most through gender and profession related stereotypes; Didrikson and Rudolph were also presented through stereotypes (see Appendix D).

Physical Description

Excluding superlatives regarding the individuals' physical descriptions (a different category), the four males with iconic images averaged higher numbers of references pertaining to characteristics describing their physical appearances than the four females with iconic images. The four males were more likely to be depicted through physical descriptions in all but three categories (descriptions related to their hair color and the color of their eyes). The four females were more likely to be described using references to lightness (3.25 to 0) or darkness of hair color (0.25 to 0) and references to eye color (0.75 to 0). Males and females were equally likely to have their physical bodies compared to others (see Appendix D).

Personality Presentation

References to an individual's personality appeared to be influenced by gender. The four males with iconic images were more likely to have their personalities presented in all but two of the categories: stories of origin and values the icon holds. The four females with iconic images averaged 2.25 appearances related to their values, while the males average 1 appearance. Table 5 shows that the four males averaged higher appearances in several important qualities, including the use of nicknames to describe the individuals, the use to superlatives, and the opinions the individuals hold about themselves than the four females. The four males and four females were equally likely to be depicted through stories of origin.

Table 5

Average Appearances of Personality Characteristics by Gender		
	Male	Female
Personality	7.75	7
Stories of Origin	5	5
Nicknames	11.5	4.25
Negative Nicknames	9.75	3
Comparison to religious figures	0.5	0
Opinion/commentary by author about individual	7.25	3.5
Values the individual holds	1	2.25
Superlatives about personality/person	7.5	3.5
contradictions represented by individual	0.25	0
personality variations/changes	1.75	1.25
Criticisms of person	4.5	1

Opinions of person by others	9	5.25
Opinions of self	8	2.75

Private Life

Depictions of the private lives of the eight individuals were influenced by gender. The four males with iconic images were more likely to be characterized through references to their private lives than the females with iconic images in all areas except for the work performed outside of their careers. Here, the females averaged 2 appearances to .5 appearances for the males. Males and females were equally likely to be depicted through references to their education (2 appearances). References to religion were also more likely to be used to depict the four males (11 appearances) than the four females (3.25) (see Appendix D).

Profession

Like previous categories, the four males whose images have become iconic averaged more appearances related to profession than the four females whose images have become iconic. Of sixteen different characteristics found in the *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines, the four females averaged more appearances for only two characteristics: non profession related awards or achievements (1.5 appearances to 1 appearance) and contributions outside of the icon's profession (1.25 appearances to .75 appearances). The two characteristics actually oppose two other characteristics (profession related awards or achievements and contributions to the icon's profession) and may be considered non-

profession related, but will remain in this category. Both groups were equally likely to be depicted through anecdotes about their profession related feats, averaging 1.25 appearances each (see Appendix D).

Events and Travel

Out of the eleven characteristics regarding events and influence the four females with iconic images were more likely to be depicted as engaging in social and environmental events, averaging 0.5 appearances to zero appearances for social events and 0.25 to zero for environmental events. The four males with iconic images were more likely to be depicted engaging in cultural and global events, averaging 0.5 to 0.25 appearances for cultural events and 1.5 to .25 appearances for global events. The four males were also more likely to be presented through their travels, both across the United States (3.75 to 2) and globally (9 to 3.25) (see Appendix D).

Influence

The four male with iconic images were more likely to be characterized as having influence amongst specifically described countries (excluding the U.S.) as well as having general global influence than the four females with iconic images . The males averaged 2 appearances compared to 1.5 appearances for referring to foreign countries that were specifically described. They also averaged .5 appearances for referring to global influence compared to no appearances for the females. The four females were more likely to have their images characterized as having influence amongst gender groups (.75 to .25), and influence over Americans (.5 to 0). The images of both the males and females

were equally likely to be characterized as having influence over racial groups, averaging .25 appearances (see Appendix D).

Family

When looking at the eight individuals through references to their families, one interesting comparison arises. The four males were more likely than the four females with iconic images to be characterized through references to their mothers. The males averaged 3.25 appearances referring to their mothers compared to 3 appearances for the four females. The females with iconic images were more likely to be characterized through references to their fathers, averaging 3.5 appearances to 3.25. The four males were more likely to be characterized by either the absence of or the presence of their families (11.25 to 5.75) as well as through general descriptions of their families' skin color (0.75 to 0). The four females were more likely to have their relatives and significant others characterized through physical descriptions (1.5 to .25) as well as to have their physical bodies compared to others (0.25 to 0). The hair color of relatives or significant others (0.5 to 0.25), like hair color for the individuals, was more likely to be used to characterize the families of the four females over the four males (see Appendix D).

Figurative Language

The four males with iconic were more likely to be presented to the public through the use of figurative language, averaging higher numbers of appearances for all but two of the characteristics (see table 6). Similes, metaphors, comparisons to literary figures,

and the inclusion of literary works were all more likely to be used to present the four males over the four females. The four females, however, were more likely to be presented to the public through the use of archetypes and through comparisons to god-like figures.

Table 6

Average Appearances of Figurative Language Characteristics by Gender		
	Male	Female
Similes	11.25	5.75
Metaphors	3	1.75
Archetypes	0	0.25
Comparisons to God-like figures	0.5	1
Comparisons to literary figures	2.5	1.25
Literary allusions/references	3	1
Inclusion of literary works	0.75	0.25

Demographics

Race of the individuals as well as racial issues were more likely to be used to characterize the four male over the four females. The four males with iconic images averaged 5.75 appearances referring to the their race compared to 0.75 appearances for the females with iconic images and 6.25 average appearances for the males referring to racial issues compared to one appearance for the females. Most references to race were found in articles about Muhammad Ali. Gender markers and gender related issues were more likely to be used to characterize the four females over the four males. The females averaged 2.5 appearances referring to gender markers compared to .25 appearances for

the males. They also averaged 1.75 appearances referring to gender issues compared to no appearances for the males. The majority of references with specific gender markers were found in articles about Babe Didrikson. Nationality (American) as well as state of origin or residences was more likely to be used to present the four males over the four females (2.5 to 2.25) (see Appendix D).

Potential and Clarifying Qualities

Characteristics that seem crucial to icon creation or clarify previous qualities such as the real or figurative death of the individual and absences from his or her profession appeared to favor the four males with iconic images over the four females with iconic (see table 7). Specifically, references to controversy or crimes committed by the individuals heavily favored the four males. The same was true for references pertaining to their admiration by others.

Table 7

<u>Average Appearances of Potential & Clarifying Characteristics by Gender</u>		
	Male	Female
Death	5.75	4
Absence from profession	4.5	.25
Controversy/crime	11.75	2.5
Nostalgia	5.25	1.25
Imitators of icon	2.5	0.5
Admiration by others	7.25	2

Summary

Gender appeared to be one of the factors shaping the characterization of the eight icons in the *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines. The four males with iconic images had higher averages of appearances for the majority of the categories than the four females with iconic images (see table 8). The gender difference was largest in how visible the eight were initially in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines, their celebrity status, the iconic qualities they embodied, the media they appeared in, the presentation of their personalities, and references to their profession. The higher averages may contribute to more robust descriptions of males than females and may also affect which individuals are considered most iconic.

Table 8

Average Appearance of Characteristics in Categories by Gender		
	Male	Female
Celebrity Status	8	3.94
Icon Qualities	2.78	1.5
Media	2.88	1.93
Stereotypes	0.42	0.5
Physical Description	3.81	2.62
Personality Presentation	5.67	2.98
Private Life	5.14	3.28
Profession	6.54	3.19
Events	0.5	0.31
Travel	0.5	0.31
Influence	0.6	0.6
Family	2.44	2
Figurative Language	3	1.61
Demographics	2.95	1.65
Potential and Clarifying Qualities	6.17	1.75

Race

Like gender, previous literature addresses racial biases in the media. Specifically, stereotypes are used to characterize racial minorities in media. The eight individuals whose images have become iconic were analyzed to determine whether race affects their characterization in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines.

Initial Visibility in LIFE and TIME Magazines

Out of 228 articles, 120 articles were printed about the four Black individuals with iconic images, while the rest were printed about the four White individuals with iconic images. *TIME* magazine was more likely to print articles about the four Black individuals. However, *LIFE* magazine was more likely to print articles about the four White individuals. The important difference here lay in the photographic magazine *LIFE*. The difference promotes the visual visibility of the four White individuals over the four Black individuals.

Celebrity Status

Race affected the types of celebrity status used to present the eight individuals to the public. Table 9 shows that the four Blacks were more likely to be called heroes or other statuses as opposed to the four Whites that were more likely to called icons and stars.

Table 9

Average Appearances of Celebrity Status by Race		
	Black	White
Use of the word Icon	0.5	1
Use of the word Hero	2.75	1.5
Use of the word Star	5.25	7.5
Use of other titles	15.25	14

Icon Qualities

The four White individuals with iconic images dominated icon qualities. Table 10 shows that the four White individuals averaged higher number of appearances for all but one of the characteristics. The only characteristic that favored the four Black individuals was embodying values. Their likelihood to be presented as embodying values may contribute to their likelihood to be called heroes over icons or stars.

Several characteristics with considerable differences were advertising/marketing, mass production of image, and strong responses. The first two characteristics emphasized physical image. The four White individuals were presented over twice as many times as having these characteristics than the four Black individuals.

Table 10

Average Appearance of Iconic Qualities by Race		
	Black	White
Created	.25	1.25
Advertising and marketing	1.75	4.25
Images Mass produced	1	4.25
“Wow” response	.75	1.5
Strong Responses	2.75	6.75
“Most beautiful”	.75	1.00
Reflect values	1.25	.25
Historical Sources	4.25	5.25
Reshaped over time	1.75	2.75
Used in a various ways	.25	.50

Media

Average media appearances showed similar differences as the gender differences found in iconic qualities. Generally, the four White individuals whose images have become iconic averaged more appearances in the different forms of media than the Black individuals whose images have become iconic (see table 11). The four White individuals were more likely to appear in forms of media that emphasize visual images such as magazines and film than the four Black individuals. The four Black individuals, however, were more likely to be presented in television, an important visual medium, newspaper, and radio.

Table 11

Average Appearance in Media by Race		
	Black	White
Literature	0.5	0.75
Books	2	2.25
Magazines	1	2.25
Newspapers	4.25	3.75
Radio	0.25	0.25
Film	1.75	7.5
Television	5.5	1.75
Sound recordings	3.75	5.25
Video	0.25	2.75
Other media	.5	1.75

Stereotypes

Stereotypes were considered a likely characteristic for describing individuals with iconic images. However, stereotypes appeared in few numbers for both White and Black individuals. Of the few that appeared, the four White individuals were more likely to be presented through gender stereotypes than the four Black individuals, averaging one gender stereotype to zero gender stereotypes for the Black individuals. Predictably, the four Black individuals were presented through more racial stereotypes than the four White individuals. Here, the Black individuals averaged 1.5 appearances of racial

stereotypes compared to zero racial stereotypes for the White individuals. Both the White and Black individuals averaged .25 appearances of profession related stereotypes (see Appendix D).

Physical Description

References that pertain to the physical description of the eight individuals with iconic images favor the four White individuals. The four White individuals averaged just over 8 appearances reflecting general descriptions, compared to 5.5 appearances for Black individuals. References to the individual's physical attractiveness also favored the White individuals, averaging 5.25 appearances to 4.25 appearances for the Black individuals. The four White individuals were more likely to be presented through many of the characteristics that denote race, such as hair color and eye color, except for references to skin color. Here, the four Black individuals were more likely to be depicted through references to skin color, averaging 0.75 appearances to zero appearances for the four White individuals. The four White individuals were also more likely to be compared to animals than the four Black individuals. The four Black individuals were more likely to be presented through the remaining physical characteristics such as being described by their height and weight (see Appendix D).

Personality Presentation

In general, the four Black individuals with iconic images were more likely to be presented through their personality and personality related characteristics than the four White individuals with iconic images (see table 12). The four White individuals were

more likely to be presented to the public through only three characteristics (stories pertaining to their origin, values the individuals holds, and being compared to religious figures (excluding physical description)). The use of nicknames to describe the individuals yields interesting results. The four White individuals averaged more appearances of nicknames, while the Black individuals averaged more appearances of nicknames that were negative or disapproved of by them.

Table 12

Average Appearances of Personality Characteristics by Race

	Black	White
Personality	7.75	7
Stories of Origin	4.5	5.5
Nicknames	6.25	9.5
Negative Nicknames	9.25	3.5
Comparison to religious figures	0	0.5
Opinion/commentary by author about individual	6.75	4
Values the individual holds	1.5	1.75
Superlatives about personality/person	6.5	4.5
contradictions represented by individual	0.25	0
personality variations/changes	1.75	1.25
Criticisms of person	3.25	2.25
Opinions of person by others	8	6.25
Opinions of self	7.75	3

Private Life

The four White individuals were more likely to be presented by references to their private lives in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines. General references to their private lives favored the four White individuals, averaging 9.75 appearances to 8.75 appearances for the Black individuals. The Black individuals were favored in only three characteristics: charity work, performed outside of the icon's career work, religion. Both groups were equally likely to be presented through their education and unusual incidents they encountered (see Appendix D).

Profession

The four Black individuals averaged higher appearances of profession related characteristics and are more likely to be presented to the public by them. Notably, the Black individuals averaged 18 references to their professions, compared to 10 references to the professions of the four White individuals. A similar difference was seen regarding the use of superlatives to describe their skill. The four Black individuals averaged 8.25 references, while the four White individuals average 6.25 references. The four White individuals were more likely to be presented by few characteristics; these include non-profession related rewards, anecdotes about feats, and references to fame or celebrity (see Appendix D).

Events and Travel

In general, the four Black individuals with iconic images were more likely to be depicted through the various events they attended than the four White individuals. They

were equally likely to be depicted through social events and split depiction through travel. The four White individuals were more likely to be depicted through domestic travel than the four Black individuals while the four Black individuals were more likely to be depicted through foreign travel. Notably, the Black individuals averaged 8.5 references to foreign travel compared to only 3.75 references to the foreign travel of the White individuals (see Appendix D).

Influence

The four Black individuals whose images have become iconic were more likely to be characterized having national influence. The four White individuals whose images have become iconic were more likely to be characterized as having global influence. Both groups were equally likely to be characterized as having influence over gender groups and influence over specific nationalities (see Appendix D).

Family

The four White individuals were more likely to be presented to the public through references pertaining to their families (see table 13). Specifically, the White individuals averaged more references regarding the general absence or presence of their families than the Black individuals. The White individuals were also more likely to be presented through references to their fathers than the Black individuals. The Black individuals were more likely to be presented through references to their mothers than the four White individuals. Of the four Black individuals, only Oprah Winfrey was raised outside of a nuclear family. Of the four White individuals, Marilyn Monroe and Babe Ruth were

raised outside of nuclear homes. The four White individuals were more likely to be presented through anecdotes about their relatives or significant others. The four White individuals were more likely to be presented through the physical descriptions of their partners in all characteristics except through description of skin color. Both groups were equally likely to be presented through the personalities of their family and significant others.

Table 13

Average Appearances of Family Characteristics by Race

	Black	White
Presence/absence of family	7.75	9.25
Father	3	3.75
Mother	3.25	3
Physical description of relatives/significant others	0.25	1
Physical description of relatives compared to other humans	0	0.25
General description of skin color of relatives	0.75	0
Description of relative referring to hair color	0.25	0.5
Anecdotes about relatives/significant others	1.5	3.5
personality of relatives/significant others	0.75	0.75

Figurative Language

The four Black individuals were more likely to be presented through the use of figurative or imaginative language than the four White individuals (see table 14).

Specifically, the Black individuals averaged more appearances of literary elements than

the White individuals. The only characteristics in which the four White individuals averaged higher appearances were archetypes and comparison to god-like figures.

Marilyn Monroe was the only one to be presented through archetypes. Monroe, Ali, and Presley were presented through references to god-like figures.

Table 14

Average Appearances of Figurative Language Characteristics by Race

	Black	White
Similes	10.25	7
Metaphors	2.25	2
Archetypes	0	0.25
Comparisons to God-like figures	0.25	1
Comparisons to literary figures	2.25	1.5
Literary allusions/references	3	1
Inclusion of literary works	0.75	0.25

Demographics

The appearances of references pertaining to the race, gender, or nationality were split between the Black and White individuals with iconic images. References to race and racial issues were more likely to be used to present the four Black individuals as opposed to the four White individuals. The Black individuals averaged 6.75 references to their race and 7 references to racial issues. The White individuals averaged zero references to their race and only 0.75 references to racial issues. The four White

individuals were more likely to be characterized by their gender and nationality than the four Black individuals. The White individuals averaged 1.5 references related to gender and 1.25 references related to gender issues, while the Black individuals averaged 1.25 and .25 references related to gender and gender issues. The four White individuals averaged 3 references related to their nationality, while the four Black individuals averaged 1.5 references to their nationality (see Appendix D).

Potential and Clarifying Qualities

The four White individuals were more likely to be characterized by nearly all of the characteristics except references to controversy or crime. The four Black individuals were more than twice as likely to be presented through references to controversy or crime, averaging 11 references to only 2.75 references for the White individuals.

Death (real and figurative) showed the greatest racial difference. White individuals averaged 9.5 references to death compared to only 0.25 references for the Black individuals. The likely factor affecting the difference is that only one of the Black individuals is deceased: Wilma Rudolph. All of the White individuals with iconic images are deceased. Marilyn Monroe and Elvis Presley were two with high profile and storied deaths (see Appendix D).

Summary

Race played a large role in the way in the characterization of the individuals with iconic images in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines. Characterization favors the four White individuals over the four Black individuals (see table 15). The differences were most

telling in categories such as iconic qualities and media. Like with gender, this may lead to more robust presentations to the public for White individuals as opposed to the Black individuals. It may also influence who is considered most iconic and who is more likely to retain high visibility over time.

Table 15

Average Appearance of Characteristics in Categories by Race		
	Black	White
Celebrity Status	5.94	6
Icon Qualities	1.48	2.76
Media	1.98	2.83
Stereotypes	0.58	0.42
Physical Description	2.92	3.54
Personality Presentation	4.88	3.77
Private Life	4.53	3.89
Profession	5.81	3.93
Events	0.75	0.0
Travel	5.5	3.5
Influence	0.65	1
Family	1.94	2.44
Figurative Language	2.68	1.86
Demographics	3.35	1.3
Potential and Clarifying Qualities	3.13	4.79

Occupation

Occupation affected the way in which the eight individuals (Muhammad Ali, Babe Didrikson, Michael Jackson, Marilyn Monroe, Elvis Presley, Babe Ruth, Wilma Rudolph, and Oprah Winfrey) are presented to the public in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines.

Entertainers were favored in most of the categories. The individual characteristics also favored the entertainers.

Visibility

LIFE and *TIME* magazines appeared to favor presenting the four entertainers to the public rather than the four sportsmen and women. Table 16 shows that the two magazines printed more articles about the four entertainers than the four sportsmen and women. The difference in the printed articles reflects greater visibility for the entertainers than the sportsmen and women.

Table 16

Articles Published by Occupation			
	<i>TIME</i>	<i>LIFE</i>	Total
Entertainment	91	44	135
Sports	64	29	93

N=228

Celebrity Status

The four entertainers were also more likely to be presented as icons, stars, and other statuses than the four sportsmen and women. The entertainers averaged 1.5 references to the word “icon”, while the sportsmen and women were not called icons in any of the articles. The greatest difference was seen in the number of times the individuals are called stars. The entertainers averaged 11.25 appearances compared to only 1.5 appearances for the sportsmen and women. The four sportsmen and women,

however, were more than twice as likely to be presented as heroes than the four entertainers (see Appendix D).

Icon Qualities

In general, the four entertainers were more likely to embody icon qualities than sportsmen and women. Table 17 shows the four entertainers averaging more appearances for the majority of the qualities. The only characteristics in which the sportsmen and women averaged more appearances are individuals representing values and reshaping or updating of the icon over time. The entertainment and sportsmen and women were equally likely to be presented as causing strong responses from the public.

Table 17

Average Appearance of Iconic Qualities by Occupation		
	Entertainment	Sports
Fame Created	0	0
Advertising and Marketing	4.75	1.25
Images Mass Produced	4.75	.5
“Wow” Response	2	.25
Strong Response	4.75	4.75
Most Beautiful	1.25	.5
Reflect values	.5	1
Historical Sources	5.5	4
Reshaped Over Time	2	2.5
Used in various ways	.75	0

Media

The four entertainers dominated the media category. They were more likely to be presented to the public in all of the media characteristics except for one: radio. Here, the

entertainment and sportsmen and women were equally likely to appear on the radio, and average .25 appearances in the magazines. The greatest differences was seen between the two groups with film and sound recordings. The entertainers averaged 8.25 appearances in the magazines for films and 8 appearances for sound recordings, compared to only one appearance for film and one appearance for the sportsmen and women (see Appendix D)

Stereotypes

The average number of stereotypes being used to characterize the eight individuals did not overwhelmingly favor either of the two groups (see table 18). The four entertainers were more likely to be presented through gender stereotypes than sportsmen and women. However, the four sportsmen and women were more likely to be presented through racial stereotypes. Both groups were equally likely to be presented through profession related stereotypes.

Table 18

Average Appearance of Stereotypes by Occupation		
	Entertainment	Sports
Gender	0.75	0.25
Racial	0	1.5
Professional	0.25	0.25

Physical Description

Characteristics related to physical description were more evenly dispersed over the two groups. The four entertainers had higher averages of appearances in 7 of the 13 characteristics. The entertainers were only slightly more likely to be depicted through

general physical descriptions, averaging 7 appearances to 6.75 appearances for the sportsmen and women. They also averaged higher appearances (5.25) of references pertaining to the individual's physical attractiveness than the sportsmen and women (4.25) (see Appendix D).

Personality Presentation

In general, the four entertainers were more likely to be presented to the public through personality related characteristics than the four sportsmen and women. The four entertainers averaged higher number of appearances for characteristics such as the values the individuals hold, changes in their personalities, and the use of superlatives to describe the their personalities. The four sportsmen and women averaged higher number of appearances for the following four characteristics: nicknames, names other than what the icon desires, personality variations, and opinions of self (see Appendix D).

Private Life

The four entertainers were more likely to be characterized through nearly all of the private life related characteristics. The only differences appeared for religion, in which the four sportsmen and women average higher appearances of characteristics in which the two groups were equally likely to be presented to the public: references to their education and references to the their work completed outside their career. Both groups averaged 2 appearances related to education and 1.25 appearances related to work the individuals completed outside of their career. Entertainers averaged nearly twice as many general references to their private lives (12.25) than the sportsmen and women

(6.25). The entertainers were a little over twice as likely to be characterized by references to their peers, friends, or enemies as the sportsmen and women (see Appendix D).

Profession

Characteristics related to the individuals' professions favored entertainers over sportsmen and women (see table 19). The four entertainers were more likely to be presented through their professions such as references pertaining to general and specific discussions related to their professions than the four sportsmen and women. The four sportsmen and women were more likely to be presented to the public through superlatives about skill, profession related rewards, anecdotes about feats, past achievements, contributions to the profession, and references to fame or celebrity than the entertainers.

Table 19

Average Appearances of Profession Characteristics by Occupation		
	Entertainment	Sports
Discussion of profession	14.25	13.75
superlatives about skill	5.5	9
Profession related awards or achievements	2.75	6
Non-profession related awards or achievements	1.5	1
Comparisons to peers	3.75	3.5
Any profession specific peers	5.25	13.25
author's description about individual's ability/skill in profession	6.25	5.75
Criticisms of ability	2.5	2
Anecdotes about feats	0.25	2.25

Past achievements	3.25	10.25
future career opportunities	6.5	5.25
future goals	2.75	2
contribution to profession	2	2.25
contributions outside of profession	1.25	0.75
superlatives about wealth	1.25	1
wealth, income, wages	11.25	9.75
fame/celebrity	6	1.5

Events and Travel

Characterizations referring to the events the eight individuals attended favored the four entertainers. The four entertainers were more likely to be presented through social, environmental, and cultural events than the sportsmen and women, averaging 0.5 references to the eight individuals attending social events, 0.25 references to the individuals attending environmental events, and 0.5 references to the individuals attending cultural events. The four sportsmen and women averaged zero references to social or environmental events, and only 0.25 references to the sportsmen and women attending cultural events. The sportsmen and women, however, were more likely to be presented through global events, averaging 1.75 references compared to zero references for the entertainers. The sportsmen and women were also more likely to be presented through global travel than the entertainers (1.75 references to 0). The entertainers, however, were more likely to be presented to the public through their foreign travels (6.5 references to 5.75). The results may seem unusual at first, but one does not have to travel globally to be involved in global events (see Appendix D).

Influence

The four entertainers were more likely to be presented as having influence over different groups in all areas such as having influence over gender groups and national influence, except amongst racial groups (see table 20). The entertainers averaged more references pertaining to the individuals' influences than the sportsmen and women. The two groups were equally likely to be presented as having influence amongst racial groups.

Table 20

Average Appearances of Influence Characteristics by Occupation		
	Entertainment	Sports
Influence among racial groups	0.25	0.25
Influence among gender groups	1	0
National influence	0.5	0
Global influence	3	0.5
Influence amongst nationalities	0.5	0

Family

The four entertainers were more likely to be presented through references to their families than the four sportsmen and women. The entertainers averaged 12 references to the absence or presence of their families, while the sportsmen and women averaged only 4 references. The entertainers also averaged more references to their fathers (4.5) and mothers (5), compared to the sportsmen and women (2.25 and 1.25). Of the multiple characteristics, the sportsmen and women were more likely to be presented through

general physical description of their relatives or significant others (0.75 references) and descriptions of the relatives or significant others skin color (0.5), than the entertainers (0.5 and 0.25) (see Appendix D).

Figurative Language

The four entertainers averaged higher appearances of types of figurative languages for all characteristics except three: similes, the inclusion of literary works, and metaphors. Here, the sportsmen and women averaged 8.75 uses of similes, 0.75 inclusions of literary works, compared to 8.5 uses of similes and 0.25 inclusions of literary works for entertainers. The two groups were equally likely to be presented through metaphors (see Appendix D).

Demographics

The four sportsmen and women were more likely to be presented to the public through their race, race related issues, gender, and nationality than the four entertainers. Table 21 shows how the sportsmen and women dominate this category. Both groups were equally likely to be presented to the public through gender related issues.

Table 21

Average Appearances of Demographics Characteristics by Occupation		
	Entertainment	Sports
Race of individual	1	5.75
Racial issues	2	5.75
Gender	0.5	2.25
Gender issues	0.75	0.75
Nationality	2	2.5

Potential and Clarifying Qualities

The four entertainers were more likely to be presented through all of the potential new qualities than the four sportsmen and women (see table 22). The greatest difference in characterization lay in the number of appearances relating to the individuals' real or figurative deaths. A possible reason is due to the high profile deaths of entertainers Monroe and Presley. References related to the individuals being imitated by others showed less difference, with the sportsmen and women not being depicted by references to people imitating them.

Table 22

<u>Average Appearances of Potential & Clarifying Characteristics by Occupation</u>		
	<u>Entertainment</u>	<u>Sports</u>
Death	8	1.75
Absence from profession	2.75	2
Controversy/crime	7.5	6.75
Nostalgia	4.75	1.75
Imitators of icon	3	0
Admiration by others	5.25	4

Summary

LIFE and *TIME* magazines favored characterizing entertainers over sportsmen and women. The entertainers had higher number of appearances for most of the categories and characteristics (see table 23). Two noticeable instances in which the entertainers average fewer appearances in the categories are the use of stereotypes and references to their occupation. As with gender and race, the favoritism may affect which

individuals are considered more iconic as well as which individuals have the most visibility over time.

Table 23

Average Appearance of Characteristics in Categories by Occupation

	Entertainment	Sports
Celebrity Status	7.88	4.06
Icon Qualities	2.63	1.48
Media	3.63	1.18
Stereotypes	0.33	0.67
Physical Description	3.44	3.02
Personality Presentation	4.19	4.46
Private Life	4.92	3.5
Profession	4.49	5.25
Events	0.31	0.5
Travel	0.31	0.5
Influence	1.05	0.15
Family	3.06	1.33
Figurative Language	2.43	2.14
Demographics	1.25	3.4
Potential and Clarifying Qualities	5.21	2.71

Characterization Over Time

When combining all of the articles for the eight individuals and placing them in chronological order, trends in characterization can be observed. This research explored which characteristics became more or less common over time, as well as which characteristics were always common or are always less common. This section was also used to determine what, if any, characteristics can be added to Hall and Hall's iconic qualities or be used to expand their qualities.

Increase and Decrease Over Time

The increase in some of the individuals being presented as iconic images may reflect the shift from the dominance of traditional icons to popular culture icons. Many of the characteristics that help create myths such as comparisons to literary figures, allusions, nostalgia and historical events also became more common over time. Surprisingly, few of the iconic qualities (mass production of the iconic image, references to historical events, and references to the individuals advertising products) and media (books about the individuals) became common over time (see Table 24).

Also surprising was the decline in references used to describe the individual's physical appearance and the media used to present them over time. The characteristics related to physical description and media became less common over time. References to variations in the individual's personalities and references to strong reactions to the iconic images by the public also became less common over time. Since the physical appearance of an iconic image is crucial to their everyday use, one would expect to see it increase over time. A possible explanation could be the over-saturation of references to the individual's physical description earlier in time, resulting in little need to describe the appearance of individuals that the public is already familiar.

Table 24

More and Less Common Characteristics Over Time	
More Common Over Time	Less Common Over Time
Icon	Physical Attractiveness
Comparison to Literary Figures	Grooming
Literary Allusions	Weight
Racial issues	Personality variation
Contribution to profession	Strong reaction by public
Use of other names other than what the icon prefers	Magazines
Outside career work	Newspapers
Opinion by author about individual	
Nostalgia	
Mass production of image	
Historical events	
Product advertising	
Book	

Characteristics Which Were Always Common

The characteristics that were common throughout the entire period studied seemed to share a theme of relating the individual's basic biography to the reader. The public learns that these individuals are some level of celebrity, what they look like, and their family relations. The public also learns of their professions, their skill level (usually high and deserving of some award), the individuals compared to their peers (usually fairing better), their personalities, background, private life, the nicknames they were called, and about their deaths (see Appendix D).

Most Common Characteristics

The more commonly mentioned characteristics tended to refer to more specific types of figurative language, specific members of the individuals' families, specific types of media, feelings or opinions towards the individuals, and their travel. Despite the need for iconic images to be physically seen, references to the individuals being in film or television were only characteristics that are more common instead of being characteristics that are always referred to in articles. The characteristics that were more common appear to reflect the idea that the more specific the characteristics the less likely they were to appear in the articles (see Appendix D).

Least Common Characteristics

The remaining characteristics were always less common. They were more specific in nature compared to the always common and more common characteristics. Some of the notable less common characteristics were several of the iconic qualities: wow syndrome, superlatives about physical appearance, varied use outside of profession, representing of values, and reshaping of the icon's image. Other less common characteristics were stereotypes, specific physical descriptions of the individuals and the individual's family, and various types of influence. The lack of stereotypes may validate the idea of iconic images being purified objects. Such purity would not allow them to be characterized in the same ways as the average member of the public. For the full listing of less common characteristics (see Appendix D).

Summary

Trends in characterization over time reflected a preference for references that enhance the mythic quality of the individuals. Over the years, the eight presented in this work had been increasingly presented to the public through forms of figurative language. The preference for figurative language turns their real lives into stories. The characteristics that were always common in magazine articles tie together elements from their biographies and their professions to give the myths traceable substance. Because many of the individuals have died, references to their deaths also inflate mythic qualities. The characteristics that always appeared in the articles yield several potential iconic qualities: personality description of the eight individuals, controversy related to them, their figurative or literal deaths, and the need for the individuals to have nicknames.

The Most Iconic of Icons

When all eight individuals were compared against each other clear trends emerged. Keep in mind that the number of articles differed for each individuals. The difference reflected visibility and nonetheless affects the amount of characteristics available for each individuals. The research explored which individuals had the most iconic images by determining who had been depicted through the most characteristics, especially iconic qualities and media.

Visibility in LIFE and TIME Magazines

Ali, Jackson, Monroe, and Presley had the most articles printed about them in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines. This increased their visibility. Table 25 shows that not only

do these four individuals had the most articles printed about them, but they generally had longer engagements with the two magazines and therefore the public. The remaining individuals had many fewer articles and shorter engagements with the magazine and the public, ultimately decreasing their visibility.

Table 25

Number of Articles Written About the Eight Individuals	
Selected Individuals	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	62
Michael Jackson	38
Marilyn Monroe	41
Elvis Presley	39
Oprah Winfrey	17
Babe Ruth	14
Babe Didrikson	14
Wilma Rudolph	3

Characteristics and the Most Iconic Individuals

After observing the amount of characteristics given to each individual in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines, it quickly became obvious which individuals with iconic images were the most iconic. Muhammad Ali, Michael Jackson, Marilyn Monroe, and Elvis Presley had the longest durations of visibility and dominated nearly all of the 119 characteristics, including iconic qualities (see Appendix E). The other individuals broke the domination in only six of fifteen categories: stereotypes, demographics, physical description, discussion of profession, and influence. In doing so, usually only one or two of the other individuals actually broke through in each category at a time. Tables 26 and

27 show how Ali, Jackson, Monroe, and Presley dominated appearances of iconic qualities and appearances in various forms of media.

Table 26

Total Number of Iconic Qualities by Individual	
Selected Individuals	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	50
Michael Jackson	20
Marilyn Monroe	72
Elvis Presley	54
Oprah Winfrey	6
Babe Ruth	12
Babe Didrikson	14
Wilma Rudolph	4

Table 27

Total Media Appearances by Individual	
Selected Individuals	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	30
Michael Jackson	35
Marilyn Monroe	52
Elvis Presley	39
Oprah Winfrey	11
Babe Ruth	9
Babe Didrikson	6
Wilma Rudolph	1

Stereotypes and the Most Iconic Individuals

Although stereotypes were used sparingly to describe the individuals, Muhammad Ali and Marilyn Monroe had the highest number of stereotypes used to present them to the public. Three of the eight individuals (Michael Jackson, Oprah Winfrey, and Babe

Ruth) were not depicted through stereotypes at all. Table 28 shows the number of stereotypes used to present each individual.

Table 28

Total Number of Stereotypes by Individual	
Selected Individuals	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	6
Michael Jackson	0
Marilyn Monroe	4
Elvis Presley	1
Oprah Winfrey	0
Babe Ruth	0
Babe Didrikson	1
Wilma Rudolph	2

Summary

LIFE and *TIME* magazines favored presenting Muhammad Ali, Michael Jackson, Marilyn Monroe, and Elvis Presley to the public. It appeared that these four individuals were the most iconic of the eight. These individuals had more articles printed about them than the remaining four individuals. Also, they generally had the highest number of appearances of characteristics for the 15 categories, including stereotypes. Specifically, these four individuals also had the highest number of references pertaining to iconic qualities and media.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

The presence of characteristics found in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines differ based on gender, race, and occupation. Stereotypes rarely appeared in the articles, leaving room for different categories to emerge as predominant. Several characteristics that always appeared describing the individuals can be considered new qualities.

Characterization of the images of the eight individuals is affected by their gender. Combined, Muhammad Ali, Michael Jackson, Elvis Presley, and Babe Ruth average higher numbers of appearances of characteristics than Marilyn Monroe, Babe Didrikson, Wilma Rudolph, and Oprah Winfrey combined in nearly all categories. The higher numbers of characteristics reflect the greater attention paid by *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines to creating the images of the four male individuals. This bias may reflect lingering patriarchy in popular culture and also presents to the public a more robust picture of the four males than the four females. With less characterization, the images of the four females suffer from a lack of exposure. With less exposure, it is less likely that the images of the four females will be as developed as the images of the four males. Textual representation or narratives, like to photographic representation, allows the iconic images to become part of the mundane. Lacking textual exposure through characteristics, the four females, and perhaps the idea of iconic female images in general, become threatened with not being mundane, but ignored. Marilyn Monroe is the only female with a

comparable number of articles printed about her and a comparable number of characteristics used to present her to the public. The race of the eight individuals does not appear to affect the characterization of their images the same way that gender affects their characterization. True, race shapes the ways in which they are characterized. The iconic images of the four White individuals (Elvis Presley, Marilyn Monroe, Babe Ruth, and Babe Didrikson) averaged higher appearances of characteristics in nearly all of the categories than the images of the four Black individuals (Muhammad Ali, Michael Jackson, Oprah Winfrey, and Wilma Rudolph). Like with the gender differences, the differences in characterization by race reflect a greater presentation of the White iconic images over the Black iconic images, but this does not necessarily relate to how iconic one group is over the other. Muhammad Ali and Michael Jackson have comparable numbers of articles written about them as well as characteristics used to describe their images. Though race affects the characterization of the iconic images presented to the public, gender appears to have a greater influence.

When looking at the characterization of the iconic images of the eight individuals based on their occupations, it is clear that characterization favors the images of the four entertainers (Elvis Presley, Marilyn Monroe, Michael Jackson, and Oprah Winfrey). Their images averaged higher number of appearances in almost all of the categories than the images of the four sportsmen and women (Muhammad Ali, Babe Ruth, Babe Didrikson, and Wilma Rudolph). Muhammad Ali's image appears to be an augmenting factor for sportsmen and women. With articles and characteristics comparable to the entertainers, Ali appears to be keeping the average of appearances of characteristics

somewhat close to that of the entertainers. In this way, occupation appears to be as influential as gender.

Media Stereotypes

Previous literature regarding the ways women and racial minorities are characterized by the media pointed towards the reliance on stereotypes to present them to the public. My research shows that the eight individuals whose images have become iconic have for the most part, avoided being characterized by stereotypes. The lack of stereotypes may reflect the importance of Besky's "wow" syndrome. The images of the eight individuals mesmerize the public and may do so from the beginning of their careers. Marilyn Monroe's first article in *LIFE* magazine introduced her as "a spark of the kind that makes movie personalities" ("Hollywood topic a-plus", 1952). What a way to create an image! Muhammad Ali's first article in *LIFE* magazine was not about winning a title or even winning a bout, but about his unusual boxing technique and personality. The 19-year-old boxer practicing punching underwater, calling him "as cocky as he is unconventional" ("A wet way to train for a fight", 1961, p. 123). Years later, Monroe and Ali's images still drew awe from the magazine. A 1992 article from *LIFE* noted that thirty years after Monroe's death she was "as large a figure in our imaginations as when she was alive" (Meryman & Grant, 1992). In 1999, *LIFE* described Ali as "without a question, one of the most famous people in the world" ("Muhammad Ali", 1999, p. 69).

New Qualities

Characteristics describing the eight individuals whose images have become iconic to the public can be divided into several categories: characteristics that appear more common over time, those that appear less common over time, characteristics that are always commonly occurring in the articles, more common, and less common. The iconic qualities appeared dispersed haphazardly over the categories. The lack of consistency may result from the need for analyses of different media in addition to *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines. References to the different forms of media the individuals appeared in according to *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines also appeared distributed over the different categories. This also may be the result of the need for additional media.

Characteristics that always commonly appeared as depictees of the images of the eight individuals yielded new potential iconic qualities: personality description of the individuals, controversy related to the individuals, their figurative or literal deaths, and the need for the individuals to have nicknames. Personality descriptions as opposed to superlatives about the individuals' personalities, allows the public to be presented with a relatively consistent image of their personalities. This may form trademark personalities that the public associates with the image of the individual. Their personalities can elicit strong responses, but they do not have to. It is more likely that the individuals' actions cause the strong response as opposed to their personalities. Their personalities may also reflect a "wow" response, but like strong responses, the individual's actions are more likely to cause the "wow" response than the personality. Furthermore, the bare description leaves any possible responses entirely to the public with little mediation.

What the public is left with is just the image revisited over time until it becomes that branding or trademark. Many of these individuals have trademark personalities and are known by their personalities. Ali's cockiness, Monroe's vulnerability, and Presley's humbleness are traits that make up their endearing images to the public. The need for a trademark personality, more specific than the "wow" response, may be included as an additional quality.

References to the individual involved in some form of controversy also appeared as a characteristic that was always common. Controversy will garner public attention. That this is an always common characteristic raises two questions. One, does the image presented to the public need to be controversial at one point in time in order to be iconic? Two, if so, does the type of controversy matter? There are at least two types of controversy, one in which an individual continues to prosper in spite of the incident, and one in which the individual fails to regain past glory. Of the individuals that have committed controversial acts, all but one have recovered, regaining past glory or increasing it. Michael Jackson is the one individual in question. The public has yet to see whether or not the entertainer can recover from being accused of children molestation twice and going to court for it once. If not its own quality, controversy can at least be used to detail Hall and Hall's strong reactions.

The death (real or figurative) of an individual whose image is considered iconic may be included as additional qualities. The person does not have to die physically, although, the majority have, but to have died in a figurative manner. Muhammad Ali's

loss to Leon Spinks in 1978 was described as a type of death (Morrow, 1978). Taborelli (1999) alludes to this when discussing the deaths of Princess Diana and Grace Kelly.

The use of nicknames to describe the iconic images of individuals was also a characteristic that was always common in articles. The eight individuals are those of many names, whether it be titles or nicknames. Nicknames especially reflect feelings of closeness or familiarity towards the icon from the media and the public.

The Most Iconic Individuals

LIFE and *TIME* magazines presented the iconic images of Muhammad Ali, Michael Jackson, Marilyn Monroe, and Elvis Presley through the most characteristics, especially characteristics related to Besky, Hall and Hall's iconic qualities and through different forms of media. As previously established, characterization favored Whites, males, and entertainers so it was no surprise that Elvis Presley is one of the individuals whose image yields the most characteristics. It is less surprising that Michael Jackson (entertainer and male) and Marilyn Monroe (entertainer and White) also have images with the most characteristics. The surprising individual is Muhammad Ali. He is not an entertainer or White, but he is male. His image was often presented to the public as though he was an entertainer through his preflight antics as opposed to a sportsman. *TIME* magazine's "Greatest is gone" (1978) describes the young image of Ali as having "stirrings of a genius more valuable in a media age: a flair for public relations, for hype and self-aggrandizement", characteristics fit more for an entertainer than a sportsman. He also has the most articles in *LIFE* and *TIME* magazines.

Most work about icons present their images through biographical sketches (see Chapter 4 for biographies of the studied icons), but no work has attempted to take the biography out of the image or to at least include how the biography was shaped and simply study the ideal represented. The biography is the great summarizer, hitting the highlights and most influential events that occurred in an individual's life, not the everyday interaction between the individual, public, and media. This is where the ideal figure is formed.

By looking at specific types of media, the public is presented with more than one summation of a life, but the days in the life. As Besky has noted, icons are not born, but are created, thus icons cannot fully be explained through biographical sketches, but through the interactions with the media and public. An analysis of that interaction has been overdue and contributes to the current literature.

Hall and Hall (2006) sought to understand things iconic through providing people with lists of individuals with iconic images, searching for understanding, agreement, and so on. They surveyed scholarly research, studied programs, and attended workshops to understand what was iconic, but they did not turn to the media. They did not turn to the one thing that displays to the world things iconic. This research turned to that one factor that exposes us to the iconic image in the first place in order to see what the public was being exposed to exactly.

This research also takes Besky, Hall and Hall's qualities of icons and actually analyzes the test for the qualities. It provides an empirical backing to the literature provided by Besky, Hall and Hall. It would be inadequate to look for the qualities in

biographies because of their summary-style nature, but to find them as they are attributed to the iconic image in the media. Searching for them in this manner helped determine the accuracy of Besky, Hall and Hall's qualities. If iconic images generate strong responses and people are either for or against them, then this must be somewhere in the media. If iconic images are successful in commerce, then surely some article has brought this to the public's attention.

The biases illustrated in this research illustrate just how salient gender, race, and occupation are in US society. Goethals's analysis of the icon claims that icons represent the heroic human experience. Worrell (1988), Browne and Fishwick (1978) say that icons give the public beauty, success, happiness, and memories, yet all four authors fail to describe whose experience, whose beauty, success, happiness, or memories. We live vicariously through icons, but whose lives do we live? Our individuals with the most iconic images consisted of three males and one female, two Whites and two Blacks, and three entertainers and one sportsman. Even in our vicarious lives, we cannot escape gender and racial bias. Is it not unusual that this research shows beauty through a male's face and not a female's face? In the United States, beauty is a feminine quality, yet few of the females included in this research have physical images described as beautiful. So then is Marilyn Monroe's image so beautiful and so outstanding that women and men must imitate it? Is it not unusual that the images belonging to the four White individuals average more characteristics than the images of the four Black individuals, yet the individuals with the most iconic images consist of two White people and two Black people? Are the images of the two Black individuals too like Monroe and are so much

more enamoring and fantastic just to reach this level? What about comparisons by occupation? Athleticism is admired in the United States, yet the images of entertainers reap the most characterization than those of the sportsmen and women. Does this indicate that the public values success through lesser means of physical exertion or is there something lurking in the shadows that influences this bias? Sports are often team related, such as basketball, soccer, baseball, and so on. There may be individual stars, but the success of the team is not always contingent on the acquisition of a star.

Entertainers rarely act in groups as large as sports teams. Entertainers can perform their jobs on their own. Oprah Winfrey needs no co-host for her television show. Neither Elvis Presley nor Michael Jackson shared billing with other singers when they performed or toured. Marilyn Monroe may have performed with other talented actors and actresses in her films, but a box-set of her films promote only one name and only one image. Of the four sportsmen and women something similar can be seen. Only Babe Ruth played for a team. Ali, Didrikson, and Rudolph competed in sports in which the individual could shine. So, what the biases in characterization of the entertainment and sportsmen and women reflect is a preference for promoting an image of an individual. Icons are singular entities by nature, but so too are the paths taken to get there.

The implications of biases in the characterization of the iconic images of the eight individuals as well as the selection of the individuals with the most iconic images involve what images the public attaches its hopes, aspirations, and dreams of what could be to. Icons are supposed to be global images and representative of the masses, but this research shows that the images of the eight individuals are not representative of the masses as they

are so much representative of attitudes of the masses. They represent US culture before they represent the populous. US culture is patriarchal, White dominated, furthermore, race still defined in terms of Black and White, and individualistic, all of which are represented in the characterization of the eight iconic images. Where does this leave those who do not fit these groups? Marilyn Monroe has the most iconic female image; it projects: White, blonde, feminine, sexual, and vulnerable. Should young Black, Asian, Latina, and Native American girls pin their hopes and thoughts of beauty on this image or should they seek out their own icons? If they do, who? Is there an individual with an image representative of these girls who is of everyday use like Monroe?

Limitations and Future Research

The limitations of this research pertain to studying the appearances of characteristics, not the nature of the characteristics. Only the characteristics in which the nature is examined are nicknames: positive and negative and criticism of ability and of person. The research cannot determine if the appearances of certain characteristics are positive or negative.

Another limitation regards the lack of more racial or ethnic groups, more occupations, and the inclusion of foreign individuals considered to have iconic images. This thesis did not purposely avoid foreign icons. It attempted to use the individuals that appeared most often in books on icons. It resulted in an all American selection. This may say something about the salience of icons in American culture. Nonetheless, the addition of non-Americans would increase the ability of this research to be generalized to

the larger world of celebrity icons. Also, increasing the sample size of media may affect the appearance of different characteristics.

A far larger endeavor would be to analyze characteristics of individuals who do not have iconic images, but are of other celebrity statuses, such as heroes and stars.

Integrating different celebrity statuses would allow me to compare characterization across statuses to determine if characteristics differ from status to status.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

By literature accounts, all of the eight individuals are considered to have iconic images but when coding for Besky and Hall and Hall's iconic qualities specifically, the eight individuals become divided into three groups. Predictably, the first grouping of Muhammad Ali, Michael Jackson, Marilyn Monroe, and Elvis Presley embody the most appearances of iconic qualities. The second grouping of Babe Ruth and Babe Didrikson has fewer appearances of iconic qualities. The last grouping of Oprah Winfrey and Wilma Rudolph has the fewest appearances of iconic qualities.

Media, acting as a form of communication, also shows a similar division. Ali, Jackson, Monroe, and Presley have the highest number of appearances in media as well as iconic qualities. Together, these results suggest that there are either levels of iconic status just as there are for other celebrities in general or that the individuals with lower counts of iconic qualities may not actually have iconic images at all, but are heroes, stars, or some other type of celebrity lower in the hierarchy.

The images of Babe Didrikson, Wilma Rudolph, and to a certain extent, Babe Ruth have not remained in our everyday activities. They have not become elements of everyday use. After the ends of their careers (caused by retirement or death) the individuals disappear from visibility. Their images no longer appear in popular

media on a regular basis. Their inclusion in books on icons may speak to token additions or status confusion more than honest iconic status. The image of Oprah Winfrey, unlike Babe Didrikson, Wilma Rudolph, and Babe Ruth, is highly visible, but it also has less iconic characteristics like the images of Didrikson, Rudolph, and Ruth. Perhaps Winfrey's image is on its way to becoming iconic. The remaining four individuals have images that embody iconic qualities, communication through media, and have high visibility. Muhammad Ali, Michael Jackson, Marilyn Monroe, and Elvis Presley have iconic images in full form.

Perhaps these results were more predictable than imagined. Ali, Jackson, Monroe, and Presley are famous individuals, but an icon is more than famous. Influencing factors may have appeared in the selection process for the eight individuals. By using the frequency in which individuals appeared in literature listing icons, I was in effect looking for the most popular individuals. That does not mean that it would affect their characterization wholly, but the iconic status of their images may have already been somewhat compromised. But then again, all individuals were presented as equal in the literature. There were no tiers of iconic status or hierarchies discussed that would claim otherwise. Nonetheless, the top four individuals appeared in more books listing icons than the bottom four. Ali, Jackson, Monroe, and Presley appeared in three or more books, while Didrikson, Rudolph, Ruth, and Winfrey appeared in no more than two. Also, the books listed more entertainers than sportsmen and women. It was also difficult selecting females with iconic images. All of the males appeared in two or more books, while half of the females appeared in only one. The lack of representation for certain

individuals may have foreshadowed a similar lack of representation of those included in this research. As stated before, however, the individuals were presented to the public as equal with no hierarchy of iconic status.

The remainder of this work will focus on the four individuals with the most iconic images. They reflect iconic qualities, characteristics, and have high visibility. It is these four individuals whose images have endured long past their career heights, total careers, and in some cases the physical bodies. Due to their visibility and their embodiment of iconic characteristics, it is unlikely that the images of these four individuals will be replaced as Taborelli claims. They are not “ready to vanish at the first breeze” (Taborelli, 1999, p. 8). Nor are they images that wear out over time. Browne and Fishwick claim that icons can be forgotten, but perhaps, true icons are not forgotten at all. In fact, it has been decades since Monroe’s death and no other famous face has been able to replace her image in the public. The same can be said for Elvis Presley and Muhammad Ali’s images. Like Monroe, it has been decades since Presley’s death, yet his image lives in Graceland. It has also been decades since Ali’s last boxing bout, yet no other boxer has been able to project an image like Ali’s. Jackson, despite his problems, has remained one of the world’s most famous entertainers. Jackson’s troubles should leave him vulnerable for replacement, but surprisingly enough, there has been no entertainer to replace him. His image has endured better than the man himself.

Perhaps an influencing factor for the visibility of these four individuals’ images is technology. Taborelli (1999) compares Louis Armstrong to Michael Jackson, comparing the ways in which fans ingested the two entertainers – the radio age versus the visual age.

What Taborelli made be alluding to is the importance of technology and the reproduction of the physical image. Jackson's performances are as visual – visual age - as much as they are auditory which obviously increases his visibility. We may take this is to how changing technology affects the way the public enjoys images and how this may affect their visibility, thus the iconic status of the images. Technology can provide for the mass reproduction of images of the individuals. If the technology used during the time of their success is adequately transferable to future generations then those images will have increased visibility. The images of Babe Didrikson, Wilma Rudolph, and Babe Ruth to an extent, may suffer from the lack of visibility due to inadequate transfer of the images from generation to generation. They have not enjoyed the same transfer as Muhammad Ali, Michael Jackson, Marilyn Monroe, and Elvis Presley.

If we can gain anything about the images of these four individuals, we can gain that they do occupy a special place in the collective memory of the United States. Icons embody the collective memory through linguistic forms, especially narratives as well as embodied practices such as commemorative ceremonies. American society no longer depends on legends, orally passed down stories, or folklore as forms of commemoration as Middleton and Brown (2007) claim. Instead American society uses media as access to its own history. The internet, television, print media, and other forms of media are all mastered by the four icons. Over the years, each article printed in *LIFE* and *TIME* replenishes the public's memory. An interview with Muhammad Ali conducted over two decades after announcing his diagnosis of Parkinson's syndrome, refreshes our memory of an image of the boxer who was or maybe still is "the Greatest" (Winters, Michaels, &

Ali, 2004). *TIME* magazine blatantly pulled at our collective memories and perhaps developed a new-past memory for younger audiences, by printing an article about Elvis Presley's fledging career nearly fifty years after his first days in the studio. What good is this article if it does not cause us to remember or think we remember this event? The article is entitled "7/5/1954" (Tyrangiel, 2003). The title alone speaks to the audience's memory. In an article not included in this work due to its length and publication date, *TIME* magazine reviews "Thriller – 25th Anniversary Edition", describing the album to would be buyers (Corliss, R., Poniewozik, J., & Tyrangiel, J., 2008). The short review uses only a few characteristics to describe Jackson, but it accomplishes two tasks for the collective memory of Michael Jackson: it provides a narrative and a commemorative practice.

The *LIFE* and *TIME* articles also speak to the creation of myths and Goethal's (1978) heroic experiences. As each article regales the reader with past achievements, stories are created. It is not enough to communicate the individual's doings solely at the time in which they occurred. We are told about them constantly over the years. As we are reminded of their feats, myths form, lauding these accomplishments. These myths allow us to live vicariously through the four individuals. The public still enjoys imitations of these people and individuals enjoy being the imitations. The image is desirable and addictive. The high visibility of these four iconic images reflects Besky's (1997) claims. The images of Ali, Jackson, Monroe, and Presley are objects we hang on to. They have reached global audiences and are appreciated throughout the world. The projection and consumption of US culture lies with these iconic images, as well as with

others not included in this work. The characteristics used to present the images to the public supply us with exactly what Browne and Fishwick (1978) and Worrell (1988) claim – beauty, happiness, and memories.

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APPENDIX A

LISTS OF ICON BOOKS AND THEIR ICONS

1998. Cady, B. Icons of the 20th Century: 200 Men and Women who have made a difference

Entertainment	George Herman “Babe”
Woody Allen	Ruth
Louis Armstrong	Jim Thorpe
Fred Astaire	Babe Didrikson Zaharias
Josephine Baker	
Lucille Ball	
Brigitte Bardot	
The Beatles	
Ingemar Bergman	
Ingrid Bergman	
Humphrey Bogart	
Marlon Brando	
Maria Callas	
Charlie Chaplin	
Bette Davis	
James Dean	
Marlene Dietrich	
Walt Disney	
Bob Dylan	
Duke Ellington	
Federico Feline	
Aretha Franklin	
Greta Garbo	
Judy Garland	
Cary Grant	
Hugh Hefner	
Sports	
Muhammad Ali	
Roger Bannister	
Billie Jean King	
Jesse Owens	
Pelé	
Jackie Robinson	
Wilma Rudolph	

2006. Hall, D. and Hall, S. American Icons: An Encyclopedia of People, Places, and Things that have shaped our culture

Entertainment

John Wayne
Oprah Winfrey
Madonna
Ray Charles
Marilyn Monroe
Elvis Presley

Sports

Muhammad Ali
Babe Ruth
Tiger Woods
Walter Payton

1998. Knauer, K. (Editor). TIME: American Legend

Entertainment

Marilyn Monroe

Sports

Muhammad Ali
Jackie Robinson
Martina Navratilova

Althea Gibson

Mildred Didrikson
Mia Hamm

1992. Park, J. Icons: An A-Z Guide to the People Who Shaped Our Time

Entertainment

Woody Allen
Joan Baez
Lucille Ball
The Beatles
Chuck Berry
David Bowie
Boy George
Marlon Brando
James Brown
Lenny Bruce
The Byrds
Maria Callas
Johnny Carson

Ray Charles

Eric Clapton
The Clash
Sam Cooke
John Coltrane
Bill Cosby
Elvis Costello
Celia Cruz
James Dean
Robert De Niro
Bob Dylan
Jane Fonda
Aretha Franklin
Peter Gabriel

Marvin Gaye
Dizzy Gillespie
Bill Haley
Hugh Hefner
Jimi Hendrix
Jim Henson
Billie Holiday
Dennis Hopper
Michael Jackson
George Jones
Janis Joplin
B.B. King
The Kinks
Queen Latifah
Led Zeppelin
Spike Lee
John Lennon
David Letterman
Loretta Lynn
Jerry Lewis
Madonna
Bob Marley
Wynton Marsalis
Joni Mitchell
Thelonis Monk
Marilyn Monroe
Jim Morrison
Eddie Murphy
Yoko Ono
Roy Orbison
George Orwell
Charlie Parker
Dolly Parton
Iggy Pop
Elvis Presley
Prince
Richard Pryor
Public Enemy
The Ramones
Otis Redding
Cliff Richard
Little Richard
Max Roach
Paul Robeson

Smokey Robinson
The Rolling Stones
Sonny Rollins
The Sex Pistols
The Shangri-Las
Nina Simone
Frank Sinatra
Patti Smith
Sonic Youth
Phil Spector
Bruce Springsteen
Sly Stone
Talking Heads
Tina Turner
U2
Van Halen
The Velvet Underground
Muddy Waters
John Wayne
Orson Welles
The Who
Hank Williams
Brian Wilson
Stevie Wonder
Tammy Wynette
Lamonte Young
Neil Young
Frank Zappa
John Zorn

Sports
Muhammad Ali
Joe DiMaggio
Tom Hayden
Magic Johnson
Olga Korbut

1999. Taborelli, G. Icons of the Century

Entertainment

Louis Armstrong

Rudolph Valentino

Greta Garbo

Charlie Chaplin

Walt Disney

Rita Hayworth

Elvis Presley

Marilyn Monroe

The Beatles

Marlon Brando

Michael Jackson

Madonna

Sports

Pelé

Muhammad Ali

1988. Worrell, D. Icons; intimate portraits.

Entertainment

Madonna

Steven Spielberg

Bette Midler

Oliver Stone

Michael Jackson

Steve Martin

Paul Newman

Nastassia Kinski

Bob Dylan

David Lean

George Lucas

APPENDIX B

DEFINITIONS OF CHARACTERISTICS

“It” factor or “Wow” syndrome – references to being “it”, creating an awe response

Absence from profession - references regarding the icon being gone from the profession for more than a month

Admiration by others – references to the icon being adored or admired by the public

Age – references to the icon’s age in years or other measurements of time; ex. youth, old

Anecdotes about feats – stories outside of the focus of the article about the individual’s accomplishments

Anecdotes about relatives/significant others – stories included by the author about the icon’s relatives or significant others

Appearances in different forms of media – references to different forms of media not including books, newspapers, magazines, film, radio, sound recording, or video

Archetypes – author’s use of archetypes to describe the individual

Art/Theater – references to different forms of art, references to theater/theater productions made about the icon

Book – books written about the individual or in which the individual appears

Charity work – references to charity work or giving contributed to by the icon

Comparisons to god-like figures – general comparisons to god-like figures, includes god/goddess, royalty figures

Comparisons to literary figures – references comparing the icon to literary figures

Comparisons to peers – comparison of professional ability to peers

Comparisons to profession specific peers – Comparison to peers named specifically

Comparisons to religious figures – The icon compared to non-god-like, yet religious figures such as prophets or apostles.

Contradictions – references to conflicting images or proclamations presented by the icon

Contributions outside of profession – references to what the icon has contributed to outside of the profession

Contribution to profession – references to what the icon has contributed to the profession

Controversy/crime – references to the icon committing a controversy act, being suspected of a crime, or being convicted of a crime

Criticisms of ability – criticisms by individuals not including the author

Criticisms of person – author or others criticizing the icon as a person or the icon's skill

Cultural events non profession related – large scale, non exclusive gatherings in which the individual attends

Darkness of hair color – author's description of hair color of the icon emphasizing its darkness

Death – references to the icon's actual death or references to a figurative death

Description about individual's ability/skill in profession – references describing the icon's skill or ability in the profession

Discussion of private life – general discussions of the icon's private life by author or icon

Discussion of profession – general discussion of the individual at work or general discussion of the individual's profession not specific to the individual

Domestic travel – the individual traveling or plans to travel across the United States

Education – references to the amount of education the individual attained

Environmental events – events focused on environmental causes in which the individual attends

Eye Color – author’s description of the icon’s eye color

Fame/celebrity – general discussion of fame or celebrity not specific to the icon

Father – references to the individual’s biological father

Film – references to film in which the icon plays a role

Foreign travel - the individual traveling or plans to travel to foreign countries

Future career opportunities – opportunities related to work

Future goals – references to general goals, non-work specific

Gender – references to the icon’s gender, excluding he/she; ex. male, female, man, woman, Mr., Ms., widow, etc.

Gender influence – references to the individual’s influence amongst gender groups

Gender issues – references to issues regarding gender

Gender stereotypes – stereotypes related to the icon’s gender

Global influence – references to the individual’s worldwide influence

Global events – large scale events involving multiple countries

Grooming – author’s description of the icon’s grooming, clothing, upkeep.

Health – references to general health issues of the icon

Height – in measurements (feet or inches) or description (tall, short)

Historical events/eras – references to the time, specific events, or events that occurred in history

Imitators of icon – references in which individuals mimic or imitate the icon

Inclusion of literary works – the author's inclusion of quotes from or pieces of literary works

Individual's fame/status being made/created – references to the entertainment or sports industry helping establish the icon's fame; fame being manufactured

Individual representing values – references in which the icon is described as embodying morals or principles

Individual's varied use/use outside of profession – references to the icon being used in ways excluding profession, media and art; ex. Mugs bearing the likeness of an icon

Interests – references to hobbies or interests outside of the icon's profession

In the company of cultural/political figures – references to the icon being in the presence of cultural or political figures

Influence amongst nationalities – references to the individual's influence in specific nations

Lightness of hair color – author's description of hair color of the icon emphasizing its lightness

Lightness of skin color – references referring to the lightness of the icon's skin

Literary allusions/references – inclusion by the author of literary allusions or references to literature

Literature – poems, fiction works about the icon

Magazine – references to magazines with articles about the individual

Mass production of image – references to the icon’s physical image being reproducing in high volumes

Metaphors – author’s use of metaphors to describe the icon or the icon’s feats

Mother – references to the individual’s biological mother

National influence – references to the individual’s influence across the nation

Nationality – references to the individual’s nationality or state of birth or residence

Negative nicknames – names given to the author that are not supported or preferred by the icon

Nicknames – the icon being referred to by nicknames given by the author or other sources

Newspaper – references newspapers with articles about the individual

Non-profession related awards or achievements – references to awards or achievements the icon’s gained outside of the profession

Nostalgia – references to the author or the public missing or longing for the icon

Opinion/commentary by author about individual – the author commenting of the icon as a person

Opinions of person by others – general opinions of the icon by others not including the author

Opinions of self – the icon giving opinions of him or herself

Other titles/names – individual described as some other title, excluding icon, hero, or star; ex. legend, phenomenon

Outside work of career – references to jobs or other work the icon engages in outside of the icon’s profession

Past achievements – references to the individual’s accomplishments that occurred earlier than the publication of the current article

Peers/friends/enemies – references in general or by name of the icon’s peers (that demonstrate some form of friend-like interaction as opposed to purely profession related interactions), friends, or enemies.

Personality description – the author’s general description of the icon’s personality

Personality of relatives/significant others – references to the personality of relatives or significant others of the icon

Personality variations/changes – references to the icon’s personality changing over a given time

Physical appearance superlatives – positive or negative superlatives describing the icon’s physical appearance

Physical attractiveness – references to attractiveness or unattractiveness of the icon

Physical description – general physical description of the icon

Physical description compared to animals – the physical description of the icon compared to animals

Physical description of relatives/significant others – the author’s general description of relatives or significant others of the icon

Physical description of relatives compared to other humans – references describing the physical appearance of the icon’s relatives compared to other people

Presence/absence of family – references to the icon’s family or the lack there of

Product advertising/markets – references to the icon selling products or engaged in some form of marketing or commerce

Profession related awards or achievements – references to awards or achievements the icon’s gained in the profession

Profession stereotypes – stereotypes used related to the individual’s profession or occupation

Race/racial issues – references to issues regarding race

Race of icon – the icon’s race as defined by the author

Racial influence – references to the individual’s influence amongst racial groups

Racial stereotypes – related to the icon’s race

Radio – references to the individual being broadcast over the radio, and specific stations

Relatives’ hair color – references describing the icon’s relatives or significant other’s hair color

Religion – any reference to a religion

Reshaping or updating of individual over years – references in which images of the icon are altered by its adaptations, not including imitations

Similes – use of similes to describe the icon or the icon’s feats

Skill or ability superlatives – author’s use of superlatives to describe the icon’s skill or ability in the profession

Skin color – General description of the icon’s skin color that do not denote lightness or darkness

Skin color of relatives – general description of the icon’s relatives or significant others’

skin color that do not denote lightness or darkness

Social events non profession related – small scale, exclusive gatherings in which the individual attends

Sound recording – references to sound recordings such as records, tapes, CDs

Stories of origin – anecdotes relating to the icon’s background or life before celebrity

Strong reactions by public towards individual – references to general strong emotions, positive or negative, elicited by the public

Superlatives about personality/person – the use of superlatives to describe the icon’s personality or person

Television appearances – televised broadcasts in which the individual was featured

Unusual incidents – anecdotes included by the author that are out of the ordinary or strange

Use of the word hero – individual referred to as hero/heroine

Use of the word Icon – individual referred to as icon

Use of the word star – individual referred to as star/superstar

Values the individual holds – References to morals or principles that the icon independently holds

Video recording (VHS, DVD, etc) about individual – documentaries; biographical films with other actors playing the individual

Wealth – general references to the icon’s wealth, income, and wages

Wealth superlatives – author’s use of superlatives to describe the icon’s wealth or lack there of

Weight – author’s description of the icon’s weight in measurements (pounds) or description (ex. heavy, pudgy, ect.)

APPENDIX C

ARTICLES BY ICON

Table 29

LIFE and *TIME* Articles about Muhammad Ali

Title	Date	Publication
Wet way to train for a fight	Sept. 8, 1961	LIFE
Louisville Lip	Friday, Nov. 23, 1962	TIME
Ride on, you Lip of Louisville	February, 15, 1963	LIFE
The Dream	Friday, Mar. 22 1963	TIME
Wot Larks!	Friday, Jun. 14, 1963	TIME
'Gaseous Cassius' goes British	June, 14, 1963	LIFE
Murder on the BBC	Friday, Jun. 28, 1963	TIME
The Man, the Rabbit & the Boy	Friday, Aug. 02, 1963	TIME
With Mouth & Magic	Friday, Mar. 06, 1964	TIME
Liston turned on the evil eye, Clay didn't notice	Mar. 6, 1964	LIFE
Cassius X	Friday, Mar. 13, 1964	TIME
Playing Grownups	Friday, Nov. 13, 1964	TIME
Most subdued Cassius	Nov. 27, 1964	LIFE
Theater of the Absurd	Friday, Jun. 04, 1965	TIME
Sickening Spectacle in a Ring	Dec. 3, 1965	life
Lunch for a Lion	Friday, Dec. 03, 1965	TIME
Ali Up	Friday, Feb. 25, 1966	TIME
Speaking of Indignities	Friday, Apr. 08, 1966	TIME
All of the People all of the time	Friday, May. 27, 1966	TIME
Feats of Clay	Friday, Aug. 12 1966	TIME
Redemption of the Champion	Sept. 9, 1966	LIFE
How About That Whozis?	Friday, Sep. 16, 1966	TIME
Skinning the Cat	Friday, Nov. 25, 1966	TIME
The Mouth	Friday, Jan. 06, 1967	TIME
Hate & Love	Friday, Feb. 17, 1967	TIME
The Impossible Dream	Friday, Mar. 31, 1967	TIME
Gaseous Cassius	Friday, May. 05, 1967	TIME
K.O. for Cass	Friday, Jun. 30, 1967	TIME
Gaudy tragedy of a Black	Oct. 25, 1968	LIFE

champion/Muhammad Ali 'This is about me'		
The Super Fight	Monday, Jan. 19, 1970	TIME
Clay vs Marciano: The Superfight	Jan. 30, 1970	LIFE
Look out, Here Comes Ali!	Oct. 23, 1970	LIFE
Return of the Ringmaster	Monday, Nov. 09, 1970	TIME
Ali's Army	Dec. 18, 1970	LIFE
Two Down, One to Go	Monday, Dec. 21, 1970	TIME
Battle of the undefeated giants	Mar. 5, 1971	LIFE
Bull v. Butterfly: A Clash of Champions	Monday, Mar. 08, 1971	TIME
EGO Ali-Frazier Fight	Mar. 19, 1971	LIFE
And Then There Was One	Monday, Mar. 22, 1971	TIME
Winner If Not Champ	Monday, Jul. 12, 1971	TIME
Parting Shots: Fastest Gun in the Gym Grows Old	Jul.9, 1971	LIFE
Mountain to Molehill	Monday, Nov. 29, 1971	TIME
Big Fight	Dec. 31, 1971	LIFE
Muhammad on the Mountaintop	Monday, Nov. 11, 1974	TIME
Ali in Wonderland	Monday, Sep. 29, 1975	TIME
Battle for Supremacy in Manila	Monday, Oct. 13, 1975	TIME
Next Stop, Manila	Monday, Jul. 14, 1975	TIME
Doing it Just one more time	Monday, Oct. 11, 1976	TIME
To an Athlete Getting Old	Monday, Feb. 27, 1978	TIME
The Greatest" Is Gone	Monday, Feb. 27th 1978	TIME
Young Once Again at 36	Monday, Sep. 25, 1978	TIME
Ali's "Whipping"	Monday, Feb. 18, 1980	TIME
Unceremonious End of a great Champion	Jan. 1981	LIFE
Requiem for a heavyweight	Oct. 13, 1980	TIME
Ali fights a new round	Monday Oct. 1st 1984	TIME
Muhammad Ali: the boxing champ who declined to fight	Fall 1990	LIFE
An Olympian odyssey	Sept. 1996	LIFE
Ali take Inventory	Dec. 1997	LIFE
Muhammad Ali	Jan. 1999	LIFE
The Greatest	Monday, Jun. 14, 1999	TIME
An American Original	Monday, Dec. 24, 2001	TIME
Q&A Muhammad Ali	Friday, Dec. 17, 2004	TIME

Table 30

LIFE and *TIME* Articles about Babe Didrikson

Title	Date	Publication
Wonder Girl	Monday, Dec. 19, 1932	TIME
Didrikson Decision	Monday, Jan. 02, 1933	TIME
Golfer Didrikson	Monday, May 06, 1935	TIME
Western Women	Monday, Jul. 08, 1935	TIME
Babe at 30	Monday, Jul. 03, 1944	TIME
Whatta Woman	Monday, Mar. 10, 1947	TIME
Babe is a Lady Now	Jun. 23, 1947	LIFE
What a Babe	Jun. 23, 1947	LIFE
The Babe in Britain	Monday, Jun. 23, 1947	TIME
New Babe in Hollywood	Monday, Aug. 25, 1947	TIME
Big Business Babe	Monday, Jun. 11, 1951	TIME
Personality	Feb. 02, 1953	TIME
The Babe is Back	Monday, Aug. 10, 1953	TIME
Finally she had to lose	Oct. 8, 1956	LIFE

Table 31

LIFE and *TIME* Articles about Michael Jackson

Title	Date	Publication
He Hasn't Gone Crazy over Success"	Monday, Mar. 19, 1984	TIME
Why He's A Thriller	Monday, Mar. 19, 1984	TIME
Michael Jackson Grants Interview	Mar. 19, 1984	TIME
Laying the Glove on Michael	Monday, Jul. 02 1984	TIME
How we got an exclusive picture by, not of, Michael Jackson	Sept. 1984	LIFE
Shades Of Michael Jackson	Nov. 1984	LIFE
Sounds from the underground	Feb. 25, 1985	TIME
A thriller of a deal	Aug. 26, 1985	TIME
Will Michael call the tune?	Dec. 0, 1991	TIME
Peter Pan Speaks	Monday, Feb. 22, 1993	TIME
Michael in Wonderland	6/1/1993	LIFE
Who's Bad?	Monday, Sep. 06, 1993	TIME
Bubbles, can you spare a dime?	Sept. 20, 1993	TIME
Wacko Jacko and the beanstalk	Nov. 29, 1993	TIME
The Man in the Mire	Monday, Dec. 06, 1993	TIME

Facing the Music	Monday, Dec. 27, 1993	TIME
Jackson's Secret Deal with His Accuser	Monday, Jan. 31, 1994	TIME
The Price Is Right	Monday, Feb. 07, 1994	TIME
Goodbye, bachelorhood	Jul. 25, 1994	TIME
A Kiss is just a kiss	7/1/1995	LIFE
Did someone say divorce?	Aug. 28, 1995	TIME
Bad? Well, not good, anyway	Dec. 18, 1995	TIME
But What took them so long?	Jan. 29, 1996	TIME
Mike and Spike go to Rio	Feb. 26, 1996	TIME
Guess which one of them is Michael Jackson	Oct. 28, 1996	TIME
The king of pop's having a glove child	Nov. 18, 1996	TIME
Another plunge for Jacko	Nov. 25, 1996	TIME
Manchild has a boy child	Feb. 24, 1997	TIME
The king as "pop"	Dec. 1997	LIFE
Jacko's Adventure in the Arabian Magic Kingdom	Monday, Dec. 01, 1997	TIME
Topping 40	Aug. 24, 1998	TIME
The King of Pop and Schlock	Monday, Sep. 17, 2001	TIME
The Cuffed One	Monday, Dec. 01, 2003	TIME
Getting Michael's Ear	Monday, May. 10 2004	TIME
The Thriller Begins	Feb. 14, 2005	TIME
21 years ago in TIME: The eccentricities of Michael Jackson were only beginning to be apparent back in 1984, when his album Thriller was a hit and TIME put him on the cover	Apr. 4th, 2005	TIME
Jacko's Bad Day in Court	Mar. 21, 2005	TIME
Memories of Michael	Jun. 27, 2005	TIME

Table 32

LIFE and *TIME* Articles about Marilyn Monroe

Title	Date	Publication
Hollywood topic a-plus	Apr. 7, 1952	LIFE
Go Easy	Monday, Feb. 23, 1953	TIME
Merger of two worlds	Jan. 25, 1954	LIFE
Storybook Romance	Jan. 25, 1954	TIME

The Walker	Feb. 15, 1954	TIME
Marilyn on the town	Sept. 27, 1954	LIFE
Out at Home	Monday, Oct. 18, 1954	TIME
Last scene: exit unhappily	Oct. 18, 1954	LIFE
Life goes to a select supper for Marilyn	Nov. 29, 1954	LIFE
The Dostoevsky Blues	Monday, Jan. 24, 1955	TIME
The Winner	Monday, Jan. 16, 1956	TIME
To Aristophanes & Back	Monday, May.14, 1956	TIME
Wedding wine for Marilyn	Jul. 16, 1956	LIFE
Conquest	Monday, Jul. 30, 1956	TIME
Executive Sweet	Monday, Apr. 29, 1957	TIME
My wife Marilyn	Dec. 22, 1958	LIFE
Marilyn's movie lover	Aug. 15, 1960	LIFE
End of famous marriage	Nov. 21, 1960	LIFE
Popsie & Poopsie	Monday, Nov. 21, 1960	TIME
Marilyn's New Role	Friday, Feb. 17, 1961	TIME
They fired Marilyn: her dip lives on	Jun. 22, 1962	LIFE
Marilyn lets her hair down about being famous	Aug.3,1962	LIFE
The Only Blonde in the World	Friday, Aug. 10, 1962	TIME
Thrilled with Guilt	Friday, Aug. 17, 1962	TIME
Last long talk with a lonely girl	Aug. 17, 1962	LIFE
Growing cult of Marilyn	Jan. 25, 1963	LIFE
Marilyn, My Marilyn	Friday, May. 31, 1963	TIME
What really killed Marilyn	Aug. 7, 1964	LIFE
Behind the myth the face of Norma Jean	Nov. 4, 1966	LIFE
Gallery: young Marilyn Monroe before the wave	Jul. 23, 1971	LIFE
MM: Still Magic	Monday, Aug. 07, 1972	TIME
For Marilyn, a look back in adoration	Sept. 8, 1972	LIFE
The Last time I Saw Marilyn	Aug. 1982	LIFE
The Manufacture of Marilyn	Monday, Jan. 24, 1983	TIME
A Marilyn for all seasons	Jul. 1983	LIFE
MM.	5/1/1986	LIFE
MM Good	3/1/1988	LIFE
First Blush	6/1/1988	LIFE
My sister Marilyn Monroe	5/1/1994	LIFE
The Blond	Monday, Jun. 14, 1999	TIME
Marilyn Lost and Found	Friday, May. 25, 2001	TIME

Table 33

LIFE and *TIME* Articles about Elvis Presley

Title	Date	Publication
Teener's Hero	Monday, May. 14, 1956	TIME
Howling Hill Billy Success	Apr. 30, 1956	LIFE
Elvis, a different kind of idol	Aug. 27, 1956	LIFE
Ain't Nothing But A Hairdo	Mar. 25, 1957	LIFE
Lonely & Shook Up	Monday, May. 27, 1957	TIME
The Rock is Solid	Monday, Nov. 04, 1957	TIME
Private Presley's debut	Apr. 7, 1958	LIFE
Elvis Around the World	May. 26, 1958	LIFE
Farewell squeal for Elvis	Oct. 6, 1958	LIFE
Farewell to Priscilla, hello to U.S.A.	Mar. 14, 1960	LIFE
One of the Worst	Monday, May. 23, 1960	TIME
Forever Elvis	Friday, May. 07, 1965	TIME
Return of the Big Beat	Friday, Aug. 15, 1969	TIME
Elvis Aefernus	Monday, Jun. 19, 1972	TIME
Last Stop on the Mystery Train	Monday, Aug. 29, 1977	TIME
Ripping off Elvis	Monday, Sep. 19, 1977	TIME
G-Man Blues	Monday, Jul. 24, 1978	TIME
Elvis Rocks Again	Monday, Aug. 27, 1979	TIME
Junkie King	Monday, Jan. 28, 1980	TIME
The King's ransom	Aug. 1984	LIFE
Elvis in the looking glass	Mar. 1985	LIFE
So long on Lonely Street	Jul. 20, 1987	TIME
Amazing Graceland: a decade after Elvis died, business is booming at his mansion	Sept. 1987	LIFE
The King is Dead -- or Is He?	Monday, Oct. 10, 1988	TIME
Memphis The Mansion Music Made There's still good rockin' at Elvis Presley's Graceland	Monday, Dec. 19, 1988	TIME
Down at the end of lonely street	Jun. 1990	LIFE
Elvis Presley: the king of rock and roll led a teenage rebellion	Fall 1990	LIFE
Elvis Goes To College	Jul. 29, 1996	TIME
Time to be Elvish	Monday, May. 26, 1997	TIME
Love Me Legal Tender	Aug. 4, 1997	TIME
Graceland Gears up for Elvis Day	Friday, Aug. 15, 1997	TIME

Flashback	Aug. 25, 1997	TIME
Remembering "Presleymania"	Monday, Jun. 08, 1998	TIME
Do Not Return to Sender	Jan. 25, 1999	TIME
A King-Size Anniversary	Feb. 25, 2002	TIME
Long Live the King	Monday, Aug. 12, 2002	TIME
7/5/1954	Monday, Mar. 31, 2003	TIME

Table 34

LIFE and *TIME* Articles about Wilma Rudolph

Title	Date	Publication
The Fastest Female	Monday, Sept. 19, 1960	TIME
Wilma's home town win	Oct. 17, 1960	LIFE
Storming the Citadel	Friday, Feb. 10, 1961	TIME

Table 35

LIFE and *TIME* Articles about Babe Ruth

Title	Date	Publication
Swat	Monday, Oct. 10, 1927	TIME
Great Sensation	Monday, Sep. 10, 1928	TIME
A Babe in a Brewery	Monday, Jan. 22, 1934	TIME
Ruth to Boston	Monday, Mar. 11, 1935	TIME
Ruth Out	Monday, Jun. 10, 1935	TIME
Cobb v. Ruth	Monday, Jul. 07, 1941	TIME
Babe Ruth Day	May. 12, 1947	LIFE
Hello, Kid"	Monday, Aug. 23, 1948	TIME
Thousands stand in rain for Babe Ruth's funeral	Aug. 30, 1948	LIFE
The Babe Ruth Story	Monday, Aug. 30, 1948	TIME
Speaking of Pictures	Aug. 28, 1950	LIFE
25 years ago in Life	May. 12, 1972	LIFE
Ruth: The Game's Slugging Legend	Monday, Sept. 24, 1973	TIME
Babe Ruth: a dandy in pinstripes made baseball the national game	Fall 1990	LIFE

Table 36

LIFE and *TIME* Articles about Oprah Winfrey

Title	Date	Publication
Lady with a Calling	Monday Aug. 08 1988	TIME
Oprah springs eternal	Monday, Aug. 30, 1993	TIME
The Woman Who Almost Bailed	Dec. 1995	LIFE
Oprah Winfrey: talk show host	Jun. 17, 1996	TIME
Diving into the deep end	Oct. 7, 1996	TIME
Winfrey's winners	Dec. 2, 1996	TIME
Oprah Winfrey's Life In Books	Sept. 1997	LIFE
The TV Host	Monday, Jun. 08, 1998	TIME
Queen of all Media	Monday, Oct. 05, 1998	TIME
The Stories of O	Monday, Apr. 24, 2000	TIME
Life After Oprah	Monday, Mar. 25, 2002	TIME
Oprah Turns the Page	Monday, Apr. 15, 2002	TIME
10 Questions for Oprah Winfrey	Monday, Dec. 15, 2003	TIME
Oprah Winfrey	Monday, Apr. 26, 2004	TIME
Oprah Winfrey: How America Got With The Program	Apr. 18, 2005	TIME
Outraged Oprah	Jul. 4, 2005	TIME
Oprah Winfrey	5/8/2006	TIME

APPENDIX D.

ICON CHARACTERISTICS

Table 37

Articles Published by Gender

	Male	Female
<i>TIME</i>	109	46
<i>LIFE</i>	44	29
N=228		

Table 38

Stereotypes by Gender

	Male	Female
Gender	0	1
Racial	1.25	0
Professional	0	0.5

Table 39

Articles Published by Race

	Black	White
<i>TIME</i>	93	63
<i>LIFE</i>	27	45
N=228		

Table 40

Stereotypes by Race		
	Black	White
Gender	0	1
Racial	1.5	0
Professional	0.25	0.25

Table 41

Celebrity Status by Occupation		
	Entertainment	Sports
Use of the word Icon	1.5	0
Use of the word Hero	1.25	3
Use of the word Star	11.25	1.5
Use of other titles	17.5	11.75

Table 42

Media by Occupation		
	Entertainment	Sports
Literature	1	.25
Books	3.25	1
Magazines	2.25	1
Newspapers	3.75	4.25
Radio	.25	.25
Film	8.25	1
Television	4.75	2.5
Sound recordings	8	1
Video	2.75	.25
Other media	2	.25

Table 43

Average Appearances of Physical Description by Gender		
	Male	Female
Physical description	7.25	6
Reference to Individual's Physical Attractiveness	5.75	4
Grooming	7.5	5.75
Physical description compared to other humans	1	1
Physical description compared to animals	0.25	0
Reference to Skin Color in General of Individual	0.75	0
Description referring to lightness of skin color	1.25	0.75
Description referring to lightness of hair color	0	3.25
Description referring to darkness of hair color	0	0.25
Eye Color	0.25	0.75
Weight	6	4
Height	2.5	1
Age	17	7.25

Table 44

Average Appearances of Physical Description by Race		
	Black	White
Physical description	5.5	8.25
Reference to Individual's Physical Attractiveness	4.25	5.25
Grooming	5.5	7.75
Physical description compared to other humans	1	0.75
Physical description compared to animals	0	0.25
Reference to Skin Color in General of Individual	0.75	0
Description referring to lightness of skin color	1.25	0.75
Description referring to lightness of hair color	0	3.25
Description referring to darkness of hair color	0	0.25
Eye Color	0	1
Weight	5.5	4.5
Height	2	1.5
Age	12.25	12.5

Table 45

Average Appearances of Physical Description by Occupation		
	Entertainment	Sports
Physical description	7	6.75
Reference to Individual's Physical Attractiveness	5.25	4.25
Grooming	8.25	5
Physical description compared to other humans	0.5	1.25
Physical description compared to animals	0.25	0
Reference to Skin Color in General of Individual	0.25	0.5
Description referring to lightness of skin color	1.75	0.25
Description referring to lightness of hair color	3.25	0
Description referring to darkness of hair color	0	0.25
Eye Color	0.75	0.25
Weight	4.25	5.75
Height	1.25	2.25
Age	12	12.75

Table 46

Always Common and More Common Characteristics	
Always Common Characteristics	More Common Characteristics
Star	Fame/celebrity
Titles	Similes
Physical description	Father
Age	Mother
Family	Criticism of person
Discussion of profession	Admiration
Superlatives about skill	Film
Profession related awards	Television
Comparison to peers	Sound
Comparison to specific peers	Domestic travel
Author's description of ability	Foreign travel
Past achievements	Religion
Future career opportunities	
Wealth	
Personality description	
Origin	
Nicknames	

Always Common Characteristics
Opinion of person by others
Opinions of self
Discussion of private life
Peers/friends/enemies
Health
Charity
Superlatives about personality
Death
Controversy

Table 47

Personality by Occupation		
	Entertainment	Sports
Personality	7.5	7.25
Stories of Origin	6.75	3.25
Nicknames	4.5	11.25
Negative Nicknames	5	7.75
Comparison to religious figures	0.5	0
Opinion/commentary by author about individual	6.5	4.25
Values the individual holds	2.25	1
Superlatives about personality/person	6	5
contradictions represented by individual	0.25	0
personality variations/changes	0.5	2.5
Criticisms of person	3	2.5
Opinions of person by others	8.75	5.5
Opinions of self	3	7.75

Table 48

Average Appearances of Private Life Characteristics by Gender

	Male	Female
Discussion of private life	10.25	8.25
Peers/friends/enemies	6.25	4.25
Health	8.25	5.25
Education	2	2
Charity work	5	3
Work outside of career	.5	2
Unusual Incidents	1.25	0.75
Hobbies/Interest	1.75	0.75
Religion	11	3.25

Table 49

Average Appearances of Private Life Characteristics by Race

	Black	White
Discussion of private life	8.75	9.75
Peers/friends/enemies	5	5.5
Health	6.5	7
Education	2	2
Charity work	4.5	3.5
Work outside of career	1.5	1
Unusual Incidents	1	1
Hobbies/Interest	1	1.5
Religion	10.5	3.75

Table 50

Average Appearances of Private Life Characteristics by Occupation		
	Entertainment	Sports
Discussion of private life	12.25	6.25
Peers/friends/enemies	7.5	3
Health	7.5	6
Education	2	2
Charity work	5.25	2.75
Work outside of career	1.25	1.25
Unusual Incidents	1.25	0.75
Hobbies/Interest	1.75	0.75
Religion	5.5	8.75

Table 51

Profession Characteristics by Gender		
	Male	Female
Discussion of profession	20	8
Superlatives about skill	9.75	4.75
Profession related awards or achievements	5.5	3.25
Non-profession related awards or achievements	1	1.5
Comparisons to peers	4.5	2.75
Any profession specific peers	14.5	4
Author's description about individual's ability/skill in profession	7.75	4.25
Criticisms of ability	3.25	1.25
Anecdotes about feats	1.25	1.25
Past achievements	9.25	4.25
future career opportunities	7.25	4.5
Future goals	2.5	2.25
Contribution to profession	3	1.25
Contributions outside of profession	0.75	1.25
Superlatives about wealth	1.75	0.5
Wealth, income, wages	14	7
Fame/celebrity	5.25	2.25

Table 52

Profession Characteristics by Race		
	Black	White
Discussion of profession	18	10
Superlatives about skill	8.25	6.25
Profession related awards or achievements	4.5	4.25
Non-profession related awards or achievements	1	1.5
Comparisons to peers	4.5	2.75
Any profession specific peers	13.5	5
Author's description about individual's ability/skill in profession	6.5	5.5
Criticisms of ability	2.75	1.75
Anecdotes about feats	0.75	1.75
Past achievements	8.75	4.75
Future career opportunities	7.75	4
Future goals	2.5	2.25
Contribution to profession	2.25	2
Contributions outside of profession	1.75	0.25
Superlatives about wealth	2	0.25
Wealth, income, wages	10.5	10.5
Fame/celebrity	3.5	4

Table 53

Events and Travel by Gender		
	Male	Female
Social events non profession related	0	0.5
Environmental events	0	0.25
Cultural events non profession related	0.5	0.25
Global events	1.5	0.25
Domestic travel	3.75	2
Foreign travel	9	3.25

Table 54

Events and Travel by Race		
	Black	White
Social events non profession related	0.25	0.25
Environmental events	0.25	0
Cultural events non profession related	0.75	0
Global events	1.75	0
Domestic travel	2.5	3.25
Foreign travel	8.5	3.75

Table 55

Events and Travel by Occupation		
	Entertainment	Sports
Social events non profession related	0.5	0
Environmental events	0.25	0
Cultural events non profession related	0.5	0.25
Global events	0	1.75
Domestic travel	2.25	3.5
Foreign travel	6.5	5.75

Table 56

Influence by Gender		
	Male	Female
Influence among racial groups	0.25	0.25
Influence among gender groups	0.25	0.75
National influence	0	0.5
Global influence	2	1.5
Influence amongst nationalities	0.5	0

Table 57

Influence by Race		
	Black	White
Influence among racial groups	0.5	0
Influence among gender groups	0.5	0.5
National influence	0.5	0
Global influence	1.5	2
Influence amongst nationalities	0.25	2.5

Table 58

Family Characteristics by Gender		
	Male	Female
Presence/absence of family	11.25	5.75
Father	3.25	3.5
Mother	3.25	3
Physical description of relatives/significant others	0.25	1.5
Physical description of relatives compared to other humans	0	0.25
General description of skin color of relatives	0.75	0
Description of relative referring to hair color	0.25	0.5
Anecdotes about relatives/significant others	2.25	2.75
personality of relatives/significant others	0.75	0.75

Table 59

Family Characteristics by Occupation		
	Black	White
Presence/absence of family	7.75	9.25
Father	3	3.75
Mother	3.25	3
Physical description of relatives/significant others	0.25	1
Physical description of relatives compared to other humans	0	0.25
General description of skin color of relatives	0.75	0
Description of relative referring to hair color	0.25	0.5
Anecdotes about relatives/significant others	1.5	3.5
personality of relatives/significant others	0.75	0.75

Table 60

Figurative Language by Occupation

	Entertainment	Sports
Similes	12	5
Metaphors	4.5	2.25
Archetypes	5	1.25
Comparisons to God-like figures	0.5	0.75
Comparisons to literary figures	0.25	0
Literary allusions/references	0.25	0.5
Inclusion of literary works	0.75	0
Similes	3	2
Metaphors	1.25	0.25

Table 61

Demographics by Gender

	Male	Female
Race of individual	5.75	0.75
Racial issues	6.25	1
Gender	0.25	2.5
Gender issues	0	1.75
Nationality	2.5	2.25

Table 62

Demographics by Race

	Black	White
Race of individual	6.75	0
Racial issues	7	0.75
Gender	1.25	1.5
Gender issues	0.25	1.25
Nationality	1.5	3

Table 63

Potential and Clarifying Characteristics by Race		
	Black	White
Death	.25	9.5
Absence from profession	2	2.75
Controversy/crime	11	3.25
Nostalgia	1.75	4.75
Imitators of icon	.25	2.75
Admiration by others	3.5	5.75

Table 64

Less Common Characteristics Over Time				
Hero	Lightness of skin color	Superlatives about wealth	Imitators of icon	Art/Theater
Metaphors	Lightness of hair color	Contradictions represented by individual	Appearances in different forms of media	
Archetypes	Darkness of hair color	Anecdotes about relatives/significant others	Literature	
Comparison to god-like figures	Eye Color	Personality of relatives/significant others	Radio	
Inclusion of literary works: quotes or pieces	Height	Education	Video recording	
Gender stereotypes	Physical description of relatives/significant others	Unusual incidents	Social events non profession related	
Racial Stereotypes	Physical description of relatives compared to other humans	Hobbies/interests	Environmental events	
Profession	General description	Extended absence	Cultural events	

related Stereotypes	of skin color of relatives	from profession (more than a month)	non profession
Race	Description of relative referring to hair color	Individual's fame/status being made/created	Global events
Gender	Non-profession related awards or achievements	It" factor or "Wow" syndrome	Influence among racial groups
Gender issues	Criticisms of ability	Superlatives about physical appearance	Influence among gender groups
Nationality	Anecdotes about feats	Individual's varied use/use outside of profession	National influence
Physical description compared to other humans	Future goals	Values the individual holds	Global influence
Physical description compared to animals	Comparison to religious figures	Individual representing values	Influence amongst nationalities
Skin Color in General of Individual	Contributions outside of profession	Reshaping or updating of individual over years	In the company of cultural/political figures

APPENDIX E.

CHARACTERISTICS BY INDIVIDUAL ICON

Table 65

Titles by Icon

Icon	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	49
Michael Jackson	35
Marilyn Monroe	45
Elvis Presley	34
Oprah Winfrey	9
Babe Ruth	7
Babe Didrikson	7
Wilma Rudolph	2

Table 66

Figurative Language by Icon

Icon	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	46
Michael Jackson	21
Marilyn Monroe	28
Elvis Presley	11
Oprah Winfrey	8
Babe Ruth	6
Babe Didrikson	7
Wilma Rudolph	1

Table 67

Demographics by Icon	
Icon	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	46
Michael Jackson	7
Marilyn Monroe	6
Elvis Presley	5
Oprah Winfrey	7
Babe Ruth	1
Babe Didrikson	14
Wilma Rudolph	7

Table 68

Physical Description Characteristics by Icon	
Icon	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	105
Michael Jackson	27
Marilyn Monroe	85
Elvis Presley	53
Oprah Winfrey	14
Babe Ruth	13
Babe Didrikson	33
Wilma Rudolph	6

Table 69

Family-related Characteristics by Icon	
Icon	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	22
Michael Jackson	36
Marilyn Monroe	38
Elvis Presley	27
Oprah Winfrey	9
Babe Ruth	3
Babe Didrikson	20
Wilma Rudolph	3

Table 70

Profession-related Characteristics by Icon	
Icon	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	244
Michael Jackson	70
Marilyn Monroe	69
Elvis Presley	85
Oprah Winfrey	57
Babe Ruth	25
Babe Didrikson	72
Wilma Rudolph	10

Table 71

Personality Characterization by Icon	
Icon	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	161
Michael Jackson	54
Marilyn Monroe	78
Elvis Presley	52
Oprah Winfrey	25
Babe Ruth	24
Babe Didrikson	35
Wilma Rudolph	8

Table 72

Private Life Characteristics by Icon	
Icon	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	49
Michael Jackson	43
Marilyn Monroe	59
Elvis Presley	31
Oprah Winfrey	22
Babe Ruth	18
Babe Didrikson	17
Wilma Rudolph	7

Table 73

Potential or Clarifying Qualities by Icon	
Icon	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	42
Michael Jackson	27
Marilyn Monroe	33
Elvis Presley	51
Oprah Winfrey	5
Babe Ruth	10
Babe Didrikson	3
Wilma Rudolph	0

Table 74

Events and Travel Characteristics by Icon	
Icon	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	27
Michael Jackson	12
Marilyn Monroe	9
Elvis Presley	11
Oprah Winfrey	3
Babe Ruth	1
Babe Didrikson	7
Wilma Rudolph	2

Table 75

Influence Characteristics by Icon	
Icon	Number of Appearances
Muhammad Ali	2
Michael Jackson	3
Marilyn Monroe	4
Elvis Presley	7
Oprah Winfrey	7
Babe Ruth	0
Babe Didrikson	0
Wilma Rudolph	1