Aesthetic Development in Male Students in Iran

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Abstract

In this study we examined aesthetic development in 75 male students in Iran from 5 age groups (7–9, 9–11, 11–13, 13–15, and 15–17 years old). Students were presented with 8 paintings (2 from each of the 4 different styles). Paintings were presented one at a time and students were asked to explain in writing what they thought about each painting. Responses were coded and the results suggested that participants from different age groups had different ways of describing aesthetic paintings. Responses of the first three groups (ages 7–9, 9–11 and 11–13) reflected Objectivism, the responses of Group 4 (ages 13–15) reflected Story-Telling, and Affectivism was reflected in the responses of only the oldest students (ages 15–17). These findings are quite similar to those found in female students in Iran and may provide support for a developmental progression of aesthetic development.

Keywords: aesthetic development, student, art, painting, Iran

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The notion of aesthetic development has yielded several theoretical conceptualizations and practical studies recently that highlight the importance of examining this concept. Despite some theorizing, there are still questions about the nature of aesthetic experience: is it cognitive, moral, or philosophical, or is aesthetic experience a combination of all of these elements (Parsons, Johnston & Durham, 1978)? Whichever definition one accepts, "the aesthetician is primarily concerned not with the artworks, but with the way we think about them" (Parsons et al., 1978, p. 7). Fechner's 1876 book, *Vorschule der Aesthetik* [The Elements of Aesthetics], was one of the pioneering pieces in the field of experimental aesthetics. Subsequently, Baldwin (1906-1911) developed a cognitive developmental framework of aesthetic development that preceded Piaget's (1957) cognitive developmental theory by several decades (Parsons, 1980), highlighting the utility of cognitive developmental frameworks across domains other than school performance.

In this paper, we review three developmental conceptualizations of aesthetics: Housen's (DeSantis & Housen, 2009; Housen, 1980, 2002, 2007), Parsons' (Parsons, 1980, 1986, 1987a, 1987b, 1994; Parsons et al., 1978), and a recent Iranian model introduced by Rashid, Worrell, and Kenny (2014). We then examine aesthetic development in a sample of male students in Iran in light of these three conceptualizations, which are cognitive-developmental in orientation and have empirical support in the extant literature.

Extant Theories of Aesthetic Development

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Parsons' theory. Parsons' (1987a, 1987b) approach is rooted on Kant's (1790) view about human cognition. Parsons believed that cognition has three basic divisions: the empirical (or outer world of nature), the moral (or social world), and the aesthetic (or inner world of needs and desires), and he assumed that these three aspects of cognition were different because they focus on three different worlds. Based on this premise, Parsons (1986) contended that individuals' responses to artwork are different from their responses to other kinds of objects, as aesthetic experience differs from moral experience and scientific thought. Parsons (1986) also claimed that changes in aesthetic development paralleled changes from the initial state of egocentrism to a stage of autonomous sociality, and he used this developmental framework to guide his study of aesthetic development based on students' actual interpretations and understanding of artworks.

In Parsons' (1987a, p. 38) view, the understanding of paintings "develops through a sequence of interrelated assumptions and that each successive set of assumptions provides a more adequate way of understanding paintings than the previous one." Based on semi-structured interviews, Parsons (1987b) identified five stages in aesthetic development based on directive interviews with individuals from preschool to adulthood. In Stage 1 (*Favoritism*), individuals' responses reflect lack of awareness of others' experiences. Their focus is on of the subject of a painting, but conceptualized as simply a collection of colors and things. In the *Realism and Beauty* stage (Stage 2), individuals assume that a painting has the same qualities as its subject. For example, "a painting is better if the subject is attractive" (Parsons, 1987a, p. 22). Individuals in this stage focus on visual qualities of the artwork (Parsons, 1987b).

In Stage 3, *Expressiveness*, individuals begin to interpret the meaning of paintings based on their prior experiences and the experiences of others. In Stage 4, *Style and Form*, the meaning of the painting is social rather than individual. Parsons (1987a) contended that the artwork's meaning is constructed when individuals look at and *talk* about it. The final stage (Stage 5) is called *Autonomy*. In this stage, judgments are personal as well as social. On the one hand, judgment relies on the one's own experience. On the other hand, it is important to talk with others about the work to come up with an appropriate interpretation of the painting. Thus, interpretation in Stage 5 involves both the individual's point of view and the points of view of others (Parsons, 1987a).

Housen's theory. Subsequent to Parsons' (1986, 1987b) studies, Housen (2001, 2002) developed the Aesthetic Development Interview (ADI) as another way of assessing what individuals think as they watch a painting. The ADI uses an open-ended, think-aloud protocol with individuals as they look at artwork and can be described as a non-directive monologue. The interviewer begins with a single question, "What is going on here," and can also ask a follow-up question, "Is there anything else?" In response, participants describe everything that they see and think as they look at a piece of art. Based on interviews with a diverse sample consisting of regular museum goers over 15 years old, although differing in age, educational level, expertise in art, ethnicity, and nationality (Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Russia, and the United States), Housen (2001) identified five stages of aesthetic development ranging from novice to expert. The stages are not dependent on the age of the respondent; rather, they reflect the length of exposure to art (DeSantis & Housen, 2009).

Participants in Stage 1 are called *Accountive* viewers and are described as storytellers and list-makers. These viewers identify objects and other phenomena from their life experiences and develop a story about the painting related to the associations that the painting bring to mind. Their evaluation of the artwork is based on their prior knowledge and whether they *like* the piece (DeSantis & Housen, 2009). In Stage 2, *Constructive* viewers take a slightly more distant view of artwork. Although they also use their perception and knowledge, they also apply social, moral and conventional values in interpreting works of art, using both realism and appropriateness to determine value.

Stage 3 viewers are labeled *Classifying* viewers, and this group brings a more analytic style to their interpretation, akin to art critics. They categorize artwork using their knowledge of "place, school, style, time and provenance" (DeSantis & Housen, 2009, p. 11). In Stage 4, *Interpretive* viewers "seek a personal encounter with an artwork" (DeSantis & Housen, 2009, p. 11). Like the Classifying viewers in Stage 3, this group also

brings analytical skills to bear, but these skills are used alongside feelings and intuitions, as this group attempts to uncover underlying meaning and symbolism that the artwork represents. They gain new insights from a piece of art with each subsequent viewing. Finally, individuals in Stage 5, who Housen (2001, 2002) called *Re-Creative* viewers, represent the highest level. These individuals had considerable experience, having viewed and reflected upon artworks for a long time. Consequently, they had learned how to integrate their personal experiences with more universal concerns in their analysis of artwork.

An analysis of the two models. An examination of Parsons' (1987a, 1987b) and Housen's (2001, 2002) work reveals both similarities and differences, both in conceptualizations and method. Both theorists accept the notion that aesthetic development is similar to cognitive development in that it occurs in stages characterized by re-organized mental structures, and both of them use participants' responses to artwork as primary data for their models. Parsons' approach was more structured than Housen's approach, although Housen's scoring system was more elaborate and likely to yield more reliable responses (Pariser, 1988). The work of these two researchers leaves several questions unanswered. First, is the developmental progression in response to artwork generalizable to cultures beyond Europe and the United States? Second, would a non-directive approach such as the one used by Housen result in identifiable stages in individuals who are not frequent viewers of artwork.

An Iranian Theory

Both of these questions were addressed in a recent study conducted in the Middle East. In 2014, Rashid, Worrell, and Kenny examined responses to artwork in a group of students in Iran ranging in age from 7 to 17. All of the students attended public schools in Tehran, and had no formal training in or exposure to art. Given the cultural and national context—that is, single-gender schools—the study was conducted with female students in Iran. Participants were asked to respond to eight paintings using an open-ended prompt. They asked students to respond in writing to several pieces of art and analyzed the responses by coding them for "meaningful units with similar content" (Rashid et al., 2014, p. 476). Interrater agreement for a subsample of responses was 86%. They identified seven categories of responses.

Category 1, *Objectivism,* referred to individuals who only provided descriptions of paintings (e.g., yellow flowers). *Story-Telling* was the second category, and was used to describe participants who made up a narrative about the painting. The third category was labeled *Evaluating*; responses in this category consisted of evaluating the paintings in terms of beauty and appropriateness. *Affectivism* was Category 4, and participants in this category expressed their feelings about the artwork, using aspects of the paintings "as symbols of happiness, sorrow, pain, and so on" (Rashid et al., 2014, p. 477). Category 5 was labeled *Symbolizing*, as participants in this group used the painting as a symbol related to beliefs, attitudes, or thoughts that were not directly expressed in the paintings. The sixth category, *Philosophizing,* was assigned when the paintings were described in terms religion or supernatural phenomena. Finally, Category 7, *Stylism*, was used when the participants classified paintings in terms of an artistic period or style.

Rashid et al. (2014) also reported that the seven categories were related to the ages of the participants. All of the responses of the 7 to 9 year olds and 9 to 11 year olds were in the first three categories, with decreasing numbers in the higher categories. Eleven to thirteen-year olds had responses in the first four categories, and 13 to 15 year olds had responses in the first five categories, but only the 15 to 17 year olds had responses in all seven categories. The modal responses by age group are as follows: 7 to 9 (Objectivism), 9 to 11 (Objectivism), 11 to 13 (Objectivism and Evaluating), 13 to 15 (Evaluating and Affectivism), and 15 to 17 (Evaluating and Symbolizing). Only 8%, 5%, and 5% of the 15 to 17 year olds' responses were in Objectivism, Philosophizing and Stylism, respectively.

The seven categories were also compared to Housen's (2001) and Parsons' (1986) stages. As can be seen in Table 1, although there are some similarities, there are also differences. As can be seen, although Parsons' first three stages had approximate equivalents in the Rashid et al. (2014), there was no equivalent for

Stages 4 and 5, as the social aspects of Parson's last two stages was not manifested in the Iranian students. Housen's first three stages also had approximate equivalents in the Iranian data; however, Housen's first stage spanned two Iranian categories, and as with Parsons, there was no equivalent for Stages 4 and 5. Thus, both of these models did not match the Iranian data well.

Thus, Rashid et al. (2014) proposed a new developmental model with three stages encompassing the five categories of the total seven identified ones. The first stage consisted of Category 1 responses and shared the same name with the category, Objectivism. In this stage, participants simply describe what they see in the artwork, and these types of responses were most common in the 7 to 11 age group. Stage 2, Abstractivism, encompasses the categories, Story-Telling, Evaluating, and Affectivism, where responses to the paintings involve going beyond the description to providing some type of interpretation, be it affective, narrative, or evaluative. These responses were most common in the 11 to 15 age group. The final stage, Symbolizing, was only evident in the 15 to 17 year olds; these responses went beyond "factual descriptions" and "first-level inferences" to the "symbolic or latent level" (Rashid et al., 2014, p. 480).

The Current Study

A primary limitation of the Rashid et al. (2014) study was that it only included females. Thus, a study was conducted with male students to see if the findings generalized across genders. The goal of the study was to assess the responses of male students to ascertain if there is support for the aesthetic development framework found in Iranian female students. The researchers used the same methodology reported by Rashid et al. in a sample of male students of the same age. It was hypothesized that a framework with similar categories and stages as the girls would be evident in the responses of the boys.

Method

Participants

Participants consisted of 75 male students aged 7 to 17, with 15 students each drawn from five different age groups: 7-9, 9-11, 11-13, 13-15, and 15-17 years old. The sample was obtained using a stratified sampling procedure in the 22 educational districts that are present in metropolitan Tehran. One district in each of Tehran's three regions—south Tehran, central Tehran, and north Tehran—was selected at random, and three schools at each level (one elementary, one junior high, and one high school) in each of the three districts were randomly selected for a total of nine schools. Twenty-five students consisting of five boys in each of the five age groups in each region were selected randomly. The two lower age groups were selected from the elementary school, the middle age group was selected from the middle school, and the two upper age groups were selected from the high school. Thus, 10 students were selected from each of the three elementary schools, 5 students from each of the three middle schools, and 10 students from each of the three high schools. The age ranges paralleled those used by Parsons et al. (1978).

Materials

Materials consisted of copies of eight paintings from four different styles (see Table 2 for the list of paintings). Two educational psychologists who study aesthetic development and two methodologists reviewed the paintings and determined them to be acceptable for assessing aesthetic development in children and youth. Prior to conducting the study, the paintings were shown to 15 middle school (11-13 years old) students twice (15 days apart) and the students' aesthetic development category was calculated based on coding of their responses by two coders. Inter-rater agreement for coding of the responses of these 15 students was .86, and the correlation between scores on the two trials was .83.

Procedure

The study used procedures that were similar to those used by Housen (1980, 2001, 2007). Each of the eight paintings was presented to the students one at a time and the order of presentation was random. Before presenting the first painting, the following instructions were read aloud to the students:

> "Please use the pen and paper to write down your opinions and thoughts about these paintings. Imagine that you are a teacher and you want to introduce these paintings to your students. Please write down on the paper whatever points you see in the paintings and/or whatever you comprehend that you would like your students to know. Provide all the details that you feel are necessary."

Students had an unlimited amount of time to respond to each painting, and on average, students took about 30-40 minutes to respond to all eight paintings.

Results

All data were analyzed by lead author. First, the smallest meaningful word groups (or units) of student responses were identified. Then, each meaningful unit was assigned to a category according to its content or meaning. Categories consisted of meaningful units with similar content and were named based on the content of the units. After assigning the meaningful units to categories, the frequencies of the units in each category were counted. Some students' responses contained multiple interpretations, and these were each coded separately.

Classification of Responses

Six categories were identified. They were labeled Objectivism, Story-telling, Evaluating, Affectivism, Symbolizing, and Philosophizing. The first category, Objectivism, was used to classify participants' descriptions of actual objects in the paintings, such as people, colors, animals, things, or trees. For example, after watching the Renoir's *Young Woman With a Guitar,* one participant wrote, "A girl in a white dress is playing a guitar." Category 2, Story-Telling, was used when participants created a narrative about the painting in addition to reporting on what they saw. For example, one participant responded to *The Café Terrace*, "On a beautiful night, all of the people came out of houses to make some nice moments." In Category 3, Evaluating, viewers made evaluative statements about the paintings. In response to *The Cafe Terrace*, one student wrote, "In general, it does not look like a good painting. Some parts of the colors are awkward, especially the fence and the people."

Participants responses that reported feelings about the paintings were classified as Affectivism (Category 4). In these responses, participants saw a section of a painting or the entire paintings as an affective symbol. For example, in response to *Young Woman With a Guitar*, one participant wrote, "After cutting off the relationship with her best friend, she feels sad and her heart is broken. Playing the guitar makes her feel better." Category 5 was labeled Symbolizing, and this category was assigned when the comments could be interpreted as symbolizing a thought, belief, or attitude that was not present in the painting. For example, one participant responded to *The Café Terrace* in this way: "The moon and the blue sky show peace and calmness." In the sixth category, Philosophizing, the respondents related the symbols in the painting either to religion or supernatural phenomena. For example, when comments such as "The power of God" were used by participants in writing about the paintings, they were coded as Philosophizing.

Relationship of Categories to Age Groups

To examine the relationship of the categories to participants' ages, we classified the number of responses by age group. These results are reported in Table 3. As can be seen in the second row of percentages in the table, all but one of the responses of the two younger groups (7 – 9 and 9 – 11 year olds) were in the first three

categories, Objectivism, Story-telling and Affectivism. The older boys had responses in these three categories as well, but in lower proportions, and the older groups also had responses in other classes, with the 11-13 year olds having responses in five categories, including Evaluating and Symbolizing, and the 13-15 and 15-17 year olds having responses in all six categories.

The numbers of responses by age group (see the top rows of Table 3) are presented in graphical form in Figure 1. Whereas Objectivism in general decreased in frequency with age, the other categories either increased with age approximately, or were not present in the younger participants. Two categories—Affectivism and Symbolizing—occurred in substantially higher frequencies than the other categories in the 15-17 years old group. Chi square tests indicated that Objectivism was significantly higher in frequency than the other categories in the 7 – 9 year olds, $\chi^2(2) = 37$, $p < .001$, the 9 – 11 year olds, $\chi^2(2) = 23.36$, $p < .001$, and the 11-13 year olds, $\chi^2(2) = 11.66$, $p < .005$. There were no significant differences between Objectivism and Story-Telling for 13-15 year olds, $\chi^2(2) = 0.94$, $p > .05$, and among Objectivism, Story-Telling, and Affectivism for 15-17 year olds, $\chi^2(2) = 5.29$, $p > .05$.

Discussion

In this study, we examined the responses to paintings in a group of male students with no formal training in art attending elementary, middle, and high schools in Tehran. Based on participants' responses to eight paintings, their responses were classified into six different categories, with greater numbers of responses being classified in the lower categories than in the upper ones on average. In general, the data had a clear linear trend, with Category 1 responses becoming less frequent over the five age periods and the top two categories occurring in the three older groups of students. In general, Objectivism (Category 1) was the most frequent category in all age groups. We begin with a comparison of these findings to those obtained with female students in Iran. Then, we discuss the findings in the context of other work in this area (e.g., Housen, 2007; Parsons, 1994).

Comparison with Female Students in Iran

In a similar study of girls of the same age, Rashid et al. (2014) found results that were very similar to the results in the current study. In the 7–9 and 9–11-year-old groups, Objectivism and Story Telling were the most frequently coded categories, Objectivism declined over the age groups, and Affectivism, Symbolizing, and Philosphizing were only coded for the older groups, increasing in frequency with age. There were also some differences. For example, Stylism, which was only present in the responses of 5% of the 15–17-year-old girls, was not found in this sample of boys, and a greater percentage of females gave Evaluating responses at all age levels than males. Differences notwithstanding, the pattern of responses for the boys in this study was quite similar to the ones found in girls by Rashid et al.

Based on the framework proposed by Rashid et al. (2014), we grouped the six categories into the three classes of aesthetic development they proposed, Objectivism, Abstractivism, and Symbolizing. It is our contention that the three classes reflect *different* ways of describing and thinking about the paintings. Although Objectivism was the most frequent type of aesthetic judgment for all age groups, more than 60% of the responses of the three youngest age groups, were straightforward descriptions of the objects that were painted. The second class, Abstractivism, consisting of Story Telling, Evaluating, and Affectivism. Story Telling and Evaluating responses were present in the two youngest groups but increased over the next three groups, and Affectivism emerged at age 11 and was present at about the same levels through age 15. Taken together, these groups constitute a greater percentage of responses in the middle age groups than Objectivism, paralleling finding reported for Iranian girls of the same age. Finally, Symbolizing, which emerged at 11, showed a substantial increase in the last age group. Although the number of responses did not increase as dramatically as it had done for the females, the pattern mirrored their female counterparts.

Comparisons with Parsons' and Housen's Models

Parson's framework. As noted in the Introduction, in general, the results had some similarities to Parsons' (1987a, 1987b) five stages of aesthetic development (see Table 1). There was some overlap between the current categories and Parsons' first three stages. Parsons reported that people's views of paintings in his first stage, Favoritism, consisted of describing collections of items such as colors and things. These literal descriptions are in accord with the Objectivism category in this study, a category in which participants reported *exactly* what they saw in the paintings. Another aspect of Parsons' first stage, that is, the associations to the responses are similar to the story-telling category in this sample. In Parsons' Stage 2, the Realism and Beauty stage, his participants classified paintings as *good* or *bad* based on the painting's verisimilitude. This type of interpretation matches the third category in the current study, labeled Evaluating, which was characterized by evaluative statements about the paintings based on their attractiveness and similarity to real life. However, Evaluating also includes a focus on technical aspects of the paintings (e.g., color coordination and harmony), which is not present in Parson's Stage 2.

Emotional responses to the pictures constitute Parsons' (1987a) third stage, Expressiveness, and these are similar to Affectivism, the fourth category in this study. Similarly, the characteristic of interpreting meaning in Parsons' third stage is similar to Symbolizing in the current study, a category in which interpretations that are not evident in the pictures are inferred. As in the Rashid et al. (2014) study, Parsons' fourth and fifth stages, Style and Form and Autonomy, were not found in this study. With regard to Stage 4, although some participants referred to style, they did not refer to form, nor did they discuss constructing meaning with others. Similarly, there was no evidence for Parsons' Stage 5—interpretation based on both personal and social values—in this sample's responses. It is worth noting that Parson's used semi-structured interviews, which may have elicited input based on social and personal values in a way that the free responses that the current participants gave did not.

Housen's framework. As with Parsons' (1987a, 1987b) framework, the current study's results were similar to some aspects of Housen's (2007) theory (see Table 1). Characteristics of Housen's first stage—Accountive—are placed into three different categories in this study, Objectivism, Story-telling, and Affectivism, as we distinguished between describing real objects, story telling, and reporting feelings. It is possible that Housen did not distinguish among these groups as her samples were all over 15 years old. Thus, she may have assumed that her first stage extends from pre-school to adolescence (Pariser, 1988). Responses classified as Objectivism, the first category in the current study were similar to Housen's Stage 1 participants (Accountive), who described paintings in terms of stories, lists of familiar objects, and the emotions that they saw in the paintings (Housen, 2007). The characteristics of Constructive viewers, Housen's (2007) Stage 2, are closer to what we classified as Evaluating, the third category, with participants judging the paintings according to standards they are aware of, and not just based on personal likes and dislikes. Similarly, we categorized inferring or trying to understand the meaning of paintings as Symbolizing (Stage 6), although Housen classified this as characteristic of her third stage. In our sample, it was present primarily in the 15-17 years old.

As with Parsons' (1987a) stages, characteristics of Housen's (2007) fourth and fifth stages in were not present the current sample. Of course, the current sample consisted of students aged 7 to 17 in elementary, middle, and high schools, whereas Housen's sample consisted of regular visitors to museums and art galleries. Thus, the lack of the last two stages may be attributable to differences in the samples' ages or familiarity with looking at art, although the reason cannot be determined in this project.

Limitations and Conclusion

There are several limitations in the current study. First, the sample was all male and from a single urban area in one country. Thus, we cannot generalize these results without further study. Moreover, given Housen's

(2007) work, it is not clear if these results will apply to individuals who have had substantial exposure to or training in art. Although the findings of this study suggest that there are some broad similarities in the aesthetic development levels in keeping with those reported by Parsons (1987a) and Housen (2007), it is also important to remember that there were differences in the upper stages that seemed to be related to social interaction, something that the methodology of this study (i.e., written responses) did not elicit.

In summary, we classified students' aesthetic responses to paintings into six different levels representing three classes of responses, a finding that paralleled responses by Iranian girls in an earlier study. In spite of a general linear relationship between aesthetic development and age, many students in the upper age levels did provide responses across a range of categories, with the oldest providing responses across all six categories. The low frequency in the upper categories suggests that these categories may not be present in individuals younger than 17. The study highlights the need for future research on aesthetic development across a greater variety of participants and countries and with life-span samples from preschool to old age.

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Table 1
Comparing Iranian Categories to Parsons and Housen's Models

Iranian Categories	Parsons' Stages	Housen's Stages
Objectivism	Favoritism (Stage 1)	Accountive (Stage 1)
Story-Telling	Favoritism (Stage 1)	Accountive (Stage 1)
Evaluating	Realism and Beauty (Stage 2)	Constructive (Stage 2)
Affectivism	Expressivism (Stage 3)	No equivalent
Symbolizing	No equivalent	Interpretive (Stage 3)
Philosophizing	No equivalent	No equivalent
Stylism	No equivalent	No equivalent
No equivalent	Style and Form (Stage 4)	Interpretive (Stage 4)
No equivalent	Autonomy (Stage 5)	Re-Creative (Stage 5)

Table 2
List of Paintings Used

Name of Painting	Year	Style	Painter
Jacqueline Aux Mains Croisees	1954	Cubism	Picasso
First Steps	1943	Cubism	Picasso
Girls at the Piano	1892	Impressionism	Renoir
Young Woman With a Guitar	1898	Impressionism	Renoir
The Potato Eaters	1885	Expressionism	van Gogh
The Cafe Terrace	1888	Expressionism	van Gogh
Farming in Tuscan		Realism	Kanise
Sunflower		Realism	Unknown

Table 3
Frequencies of Categorical Classification by Age Group (Males)

Categories	7 – 9	9 – 11	11 – 13	13 – 15	15 – 17
Objectivism	94 (24.7)	98 (25.7)	70 (18.4)	58 (15.2)	61 (16.0)
	(71.2)	(67.1)	(47.3)	(34.9)	(31.6)
Story Telling	27 (14.1)	41 (21.3)	35 (18.2)	48 (25.0)	41 (21.4)
	(20.45)	(28.1)	(23.6)	(28.8)	(21.2)
Evaluating	10 (10.4)	7 (7.2)	14 (14.4)	24 (24.7)	42 (43.3)
	(7.6)	(4.8)	(9.5)	(14.4)	(21.8)
Affectivism	1 (1.6)	0 (0.0)	23 (37.1)	23 (37.1)	15 (24.2)
	(0.75)	(0.0)	(15.6)	(13.9)	(8.0)
Symbolizing			6 (12.3)	10 (20.4)	3 (67.3)
			(4.0)	(6.0)	(17.2)
Philosophizing				3 (75.0)	1 (25.0)
				(2.0)	(0.4)

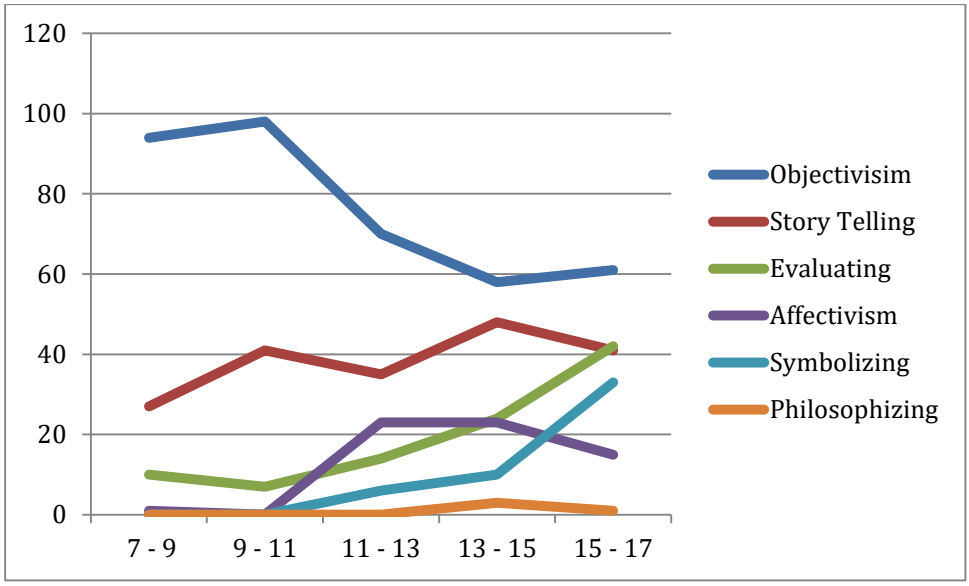

Figure 1. Graphic representation of frequencies by age group.