Parental Influence on Child Art Learning: Examining Habitus and Social Trajectories in Taiwanese and U.S. Cultural Contexts

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study examines how parental habitus in Taiwan and the United States shapes their views on the role of art in child development. Drawing on the social ecological systems framework and habitus theories, it explores parental influences on art education practices. Using a dual-case, cross-cultural approach, the study analyzes interviews, observations, and artifacts from 26 parent-participants with children aged four to seven in art programs. Findings reveal cultural, social, and educational factors influencing parental decisions. Despite cultural differences, both groups prioritize active involvement in their children's artistic development, emphasizing art's intrinsic value for fostering creativity, well-being, and character. The study highlights the importance of parent education and advocates for integrating parental perspectives into art education policies. This research enhances understanding of parental influences in children's art education, emphasizing the need for collaborative efforts to promote art as integral to holistic child development.

KEYWORDS: Parental Support, Parental Involvement, Habitus, Cross-Cultural Study, Early Childhood Art Education, Parent Education

This study investigates how the habitus of Taiwanese and U.S. parents shapes their views on art's role in child development, offering insights for educators and researchers striving to engage diverse parental perspectives. Employing an ecological systems framework[1] (Bronfenbrenner, 1989), the research delves into the nuanced dynamics of this cross-cultural study, exploring how parents' social trajectories

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1   Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory provides a framework for understanding human development within the context of various influencing environments. It consists of several interconnected systems that shape an individual's development: the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem.

influence their habitus[2] (Bourdieu, 2010) and their approaches to parenting. This study utilizes a dual-case, cross-cultural qualitative approach, incorporating interviews, observations, and artifact collection. It investigates two distinct locations: a Saturday art program at Northern Illinois University (NIU) in the United States and an afterschool art program at the National Taipei University of Education (NTUE) in Taipei, Taiwan. Thirteen parents from each site participated in interviews for this research.

The results reveal the pivotal role of resource accessibility, community dynamics, and market competition in both a rural US college town and Taipei. Moreover, parental educational backgrounds contribute to their cultural and social capital, guiding their parenting approaches, while social networks, particularly through social media, shape their parenting philosophies. Despite differences, both US and Taiwanese parents prioritize active involvement, empathy, and transparency in fostering positive parent-child interactions, reflecting a shared belief in the intrinsic value of art in children's development. This study underscores the enduring impact of social trajectories on individuals' perspectives of art education and advocates for increased art learning opportunities in schools and communities.

Context of The Study

Support from parents and engagement with art during early developmental years play a pivotal role in shaping children's habitus and social trajectories. According to Martin et al. (2013), parental support and interactions between parents and children have a greater impact on children's learning experiences than factors associated with schools and communities. Furthermore, parents act as the primary decision-makers in shaping their children's opportunities for artistic learning (Hsiao & Kuo, 2013; Hsiao & Pai, 2014; Parsad & Lewis, 2009). The parent-child interplay and its impact on child development, learning, and behavior are central themes of study for numerous researchers (e.g., de Oliveira & Jackson, 2017; Pino-Pasternak et al., 2010). The influence of parents on their children molds children's values, their sense of artistic identity, their perspectives on art, their interests in art, and the opportunities they have for learning about art outside of school settings (Hsiao & Kuo, 2013; Hsiao & Pai, 2014; Parsad & Lewis, 2009). Children's development of habitus and social trajectory, as posited

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2   Bourdieu describes habitus as both a structuring and structured element that organizes practices and perceptions of the social world through logical classes. It embodies an accumulated cultural and social position influenced by various social trajectories, such as family, school, and life experiences.

by Bourdieu (2010), is significantly influenced and molded by their parents. Examining the habitus and social trajectories of culturally diverse parents sheds light on the intricate interplay among cultural influences, parenting styles, approaches, and their impact on children's art learning experiences.

Researchers exploring parenting styles in the United States identified six distinct patterns: authoritative, authoritarian, permissive, traditional, indulgent, and indifferent (Baumrind, 1987). However, this research predominantly focused on European American families, potentially overlooking non-Western and American ethnic minority parenting models. One researcher argued that, in contrast to individualistic Western beliefs, non-Western societies like Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea tend to reflect collectivist cultural values in their parenting (Heath, 2013), but a study comparing child-rearing values in Taiwan and the United States found that mothers in both groups embraced a mix of individualist and collectivist values (Wang & Tamis-LeMonda, 2003). To gain a more comprehensive understanding of these populations, in-depth descriptions, and case study analysis are crucial. Such an approach not only illuminates the research topic but also fosters cross-cultural reflexivity, flexibility, and sensitivity to multicultural issues among researchers.

Furthermore, research indicates issues within the parent-child relationship and parental attitudes can profoundly impact a child's development during middle childhood (Gavron, 2013). Additionally, children's engagement in home-based literacy and numeracy activities is closely linked to their interactions with parents and their interest in exploration and art-related pursuits, as highlighted by Lukie et al. (2014). Moreover, Chang and Cress (2014) argue that visual art can serve as a means of promoting oral language development by encouraging communication between parents and young children. In essence, engaging children in art and related activities is a significant aspect of their developmental journey.

Envisioning art education as a garden, the improvement of parent education can be likened to cultivating a healthy and fertile soil ecosystem, essential for the successful growth of an individual's artistic experiences, much like nurturing seeds. This research highlights the issue of insufficient cross-cultural, parent-related research within the domain of art education and illuminates parents' educational philosophies and perspectives concerning art education. Therefore, this research aims to explore how the habitus of Taiwanese and U.S. parents shape their perceptions of the role of art in enhancing child

development. This research offers a valuable resource and approach for art educators, individuals involved in art programs, and researchers looking to facilitate effective communication with parents from diverse cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, this study strongly advocates for the significance of parent education within the field of art education.

Theoretical Foundation

To gain a deeper understanding of the nuances in this cross-cultural dual-case study, I utilize ecological systems framework (Bronfenbrenner, 1989) to examine how parents' social trajectories shape their habitus (Bourdieu, 2010), presented in Figure 1. This integration enables me to elaborate on the intricate interplay among Taiwanese and U.S. parents' contextual influences, parenting philosophy, and perspectives on children's experiences in art learning.
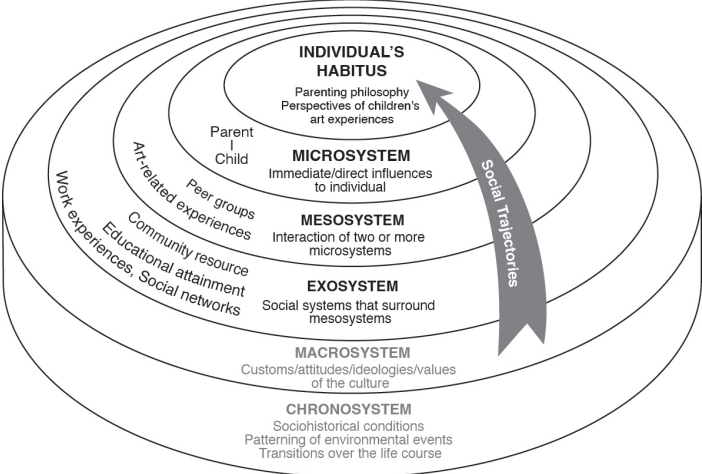

Figure 1: *Integration of Ecological Systems Framework, Social Trajectories, and Habitus (Bronfenbrenner, 1989)*

According to Bourdieu (2010), the habitus both organizes practices and perceptions of practices as well as functions as a structure, categorizing perceptions of social interaction. Specifically, habitus refers to an accumulated cultural and social position influenced by various social trajectories, encompassing social interactions and life experiences. Furthermore, the habitus influences individuals' behaviors and preferences in various contexts, serving as "the intersection of objective social conditions and the set of propensities or tastes that constitute

a lifestyle" (Bogart, 1987, p. 132). Individuals' social trajectories encompass various subfields such as family, school, social networks, and the workplace, each characterized by its unique rules. As Nairz-Wirth and Feldmann (2019) state, one's primary habitus is initially shaped within the family, and their secondary habitus is cultivated by school experiences. Within this context, parents' views on their children's art experiences may be influenced by factors like their cultural and educational backgrounds, social networks, and community structures. Bronfenbrenner's (1989) ecological systems theory offers a framework to understand the complexities of parents' social trajectories. His theory visualizes the ecological environment as nested structures—microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem. The microsystem involves immediate influences like the home, affecting individuals through face-to-face interactions. The mesosystem highlights interactions between two or more microsystems, such as those involving teachers, parents, and children. The exosystem includes external social systems, like parents' work and social networks. The macrosystem encompasses cultural norms, political ideologies, and global/national factors shaping development. The outermost layer, the chronosystem, considers the impact of time and sociohistorical conditions on an individual, including life transitions and environmental events.

To analyze how participants' experiences and primary social trajectories influence the construction of their habitus, this research focuses on three aspects[3] of the ecological systems theory: participants' exosystem, mesosystem, and microsystem. The exosystem involves the systems that play a role in shaping participants' cultural and social capital. Individuals' habitus is molded by the capital they possess, including economic, social, and, notably for this study, cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2010). Cultural capital shapes how individuals perceive suitable cultural norms, behave in diverse environments, and make choices related to art preferences. This research delved into four key elements within participants' exosystems: educational attainment, community resources, social networks, and work experiences. The second focus, the mesosystem, comprises two sub-components: art-

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3   The macrosystem encompasses broader aspects of the social ecological system, including the social norms, attitudes, ideologies, and cultural values that individuals are part of. The chronosystem incorporates the element of time, addressing transitions and shifts throughout an individual's lifespan, such as sociohistorical conditions that reflect developmental patterns and socio-historical changes. Analyzing participants' macrosystem and chronosystem requires a larger scope and longitudinal data collection to accurately describe these phenomena. Therefore, this research focuses on smaller-scale aspects of the ecological systems that directly connect to participants' daily lives, including the microsystem, mesosystem, and exosystem.

related experiences and peer groups, emphasizing the interplay among various settings participants engage in. Regarding art-related experiences, I examined both participants' formal and informal learning experiences, emphasizing the interactions among people involved. Peer groups played a significant role in participants' mesosystem. My attention was directed at the peer groups with whom they had the closest and most frequent interactions, as these dynamics often reflect participants' values and ideologies. The third area of focus, the microsystem, involves the immediate and direct interactions between parents and their children. These interactions encompass how parents respond to their children, the support they provide, and the resulting power dynamics. The support offered by parents plays a crucial role in enhancing children's self-regulation, influencing aspects such as cognitive awareness, task management, and motivation to learn (Heath, 2013).

Examining the participants' exosystem, mesosystem, and microsystem provides insights into their social trajectories, ultimately leading to an analysis of their habitus. As per Bourdieu (2010), individuals carry their habitus, consisting of attitudes and predispositions that influence their judgments and perceptions, when they enter a particular field. This research focuses on two dimensions when analyzing participants' habitus: their parenting philosophy and their perspectives of children's art experiences.

This study delved into two locations: one in Taiwan and one in the United States. The habitus of Taiwanese and U.S. parents encompasses not only their influence on an individual's development but also the changes in their environment over time. The study examines the contexts of parents to illustrate how social trajectories, including their previous educational experiences, cultural and family backgrounds, and community relationships, impact their habitus. Additionally, this research delved into how parents' habitus shapes their viewpoints on their children's experiences in art education. Through an examination of parents' social paths at each cultural site, this research unveiled characteristics and interconnections between the two cultural settings, initiating discussions on the importance of parental education in the realm of art education.

Literature Review

Parents' habitus influences various aspects of child development and contributes to individual differences (Mermelshtine, 2017). Parenting styles and parental involvement profoundly impacts children's

rapid cognitive development (Obradović et al., 2016). Research on topics related to parent-child interaction sheds light on how parents' habitus influence children's learning and development. This includes exploring themes related to parents' attitudes and behaviors, parental involvement, and parenting within cross-cultural contexts. Moreover, parental cultural and economic capitals, as well as community engagement and accessibility to community resources, are significant factors that influence children's art learning opportunities.

Parental Attitudes, Behaviors, and Involvement

Parental attitudes and behaviors significantly shape children's responses and well-being, with studies like Rasmussen et al. (2016) and de Oliveira and Jackson (2017) demonstrating the impact of critical media thinking and dispositional empathy. Active parental involvement enhances learning capabilities and fosters gradual progress toward learning independence (Eisner, 2002). Maternal sensitivity, as highlighted by Posada et al. (2016), is crucial for early childhood attachment security, while Pino-Pasternak et al. (2010) found that positive parental socioemotional behaviors correlate with reduced negative behaviors, impacting children's self-regulated learning. Social dynamics also contribute to the emergence of self-regulatory behaviors in children, emphasizing the association between parents' attitudes and the quality of parent-child interaction.

Effective learning environments require fundamental parental involvement and collaboration, as indicated by research studies. Gündüz (2018) found that parental coaching through social networks enhances interactions between teachers, parents, and children, leading to improved academic achievement. Lukie et al. (2014) emphasized the significance of children's interests and collaborative parent-child interactions in shaping literacy and numeracy exposure at home. Positive parent-child collaboration on joint tasks enhances relationships and encourages open expression. Obradović et al. (2016) demonstrated the importance of maternal scaffolding in toddlerhood as a predictor of children's cognitive development, affecting verbal intelligence, performance intelligence, and executive function skills in four-year-olds. Additionally, Szechter and Liben (2007) highlighted the role of parent-child dynamics and home environments in shaping children's aesthetic understanding of art and long-lasting cognitive development.

Parenting in Cross-Cultural Contexts

Various studies offer insights into parent-child interactions and their

influence on child development across different cultures. Posada et al. (2016) found that maternal sensitivity fosters trust in children regarding their mother's responsiveness. Conversely, Bornstein et al. (2008) observed differences in emotional availability (EA) across regions and countries, with Italian mothers displaying higher sensitivity than their Argentine and American counterparts. Nevertheless, both studies underscore the positive impact of maternal sensitivity on parent-child interactions and child development. In a different vein, Cheung and Pomerantz (2015) discovered that parental involvement directly contributes to children's values related to school achievement in both the United States and China. Crane and Fernald (2017) highlighted the influence of cultural factors on speech patterns in parent-child interactions. Additionally, Roopnarine et al. (2014) found that ethnic socialization mediated the link between parenting practices and prosocial behaviors, emphasizing the role of social context factors in childhood development. Bornstein et al. (2008) also highlighted regional and gender differences in EA, suggesting that EA varies early in childhood and plays a crucial role in understanding child development, parenting, and the family system.

Influence of Parental Cultural and Economic Capital on Children's Art Learning Opportunities

Parental cultural and economic capital impact children's out-of-school art learning choices. Hsiao and Kuo (2013) revealed that parents with higher socioeconomic status are more likely to invest in out-of-school art programs for their children. Their research tied parents' decisions to factors like socioeconomic status and education level. Hsiao and Pai (2014) noted that urban parents had greater satisfaction with art education in preschool settings. The influence of socioeconomic status on art learning choices may vary. Parks' (2017) research in low-income rural settings showed positive parental engagement and satisfaction with children's learning, emphasizing the need for further in-depth investigations.

Community Engagement and Community Resources

Community engagement enhances public resources. Research by Eckhoff et al. (2011) in an afterschool setting showed that art programs enriched experiences. Parks (2017) found that parental involvement in rural schools, with other factors, empowered parents and supported children's learning. Casto's (2016) research in a rural elementary school highlighted challenges of isolation and lack of partners. Parks' study emphasized parent roles in bridging school and community.

These studies collectively underscore the significance of community engagement and relationships as intangible resources for a higher quality learning environment both in and out of school.

Research Methodology

This study is a dual-case, cross-cultural, qualitative study (Seidman, 2013) using interviews, observations, and artifact collection as the data (Merriam, 2009; Seidman, 2013). This research attempts to answer this question: how the habitus of Taiwanese and U.S. parents influence their perceptions regarding the role of art in enhancing child development. A case study approach was chosen to ensure a deep and contextual exploration of the participants' experiences and beliefs, aligning with the principle of being "anchored in real-life situations" (Merriam, 2009, p. 51). This method offers valuable insights into how individuals interpret their experiences and assign meaning to their experiences (Merriam, 2009). By examining parent-participants' parenting philosophy, parent-child interactions, views on children's art experiences, social networks, and community resources, this approach aims to uncover the attributes of their habitus and understand its construction.

Erickson (1986) argued that individuals who regularly interact with each other have the capacity to create cultural norms governing their social environment. This viewpoint aligns with the qualitative approach advocated by Bogdan and Biklen (2006), which places significant importance on everyday life and human interactions. Erickson (1986) further described this as the "distinctive microculture" (p. 128), highlighting how specific local cultures and traditions develop as a result of daily life experiences and interactions within the community. To explore parents' habitus and their viewpoints on the role of art in promoting child development, researchers need to conduct a comparative analysis of the social ecology in both locations (Erickson, 1986).

Research Sites and Participants

This research encompassed investigations at two sites. The first location pertains to a Saturday art program associated with Northern Illinois University (NIU) in the United States. The second site corresponds to an afterschool art program affiliated with National Taipei University of Education (NTUE) in Taipei, Taiwan. I examined the unique cultural and social contexts of each site and their impact on parents' decisions to enroll their children in the art programs. In this study, I employed purposive sampling to choose participants, as defined by Fraenkel,

Wallen, and Hyun (2011) as the deliberate selection of individuals due to the study's particular objectives. The participant pool consisted of 13 parents from the Taiwanese site and 13 parents from the US site, all of whom had children between the ages of four and seven, participating in the arts programs between November 2018 and Spring 2020.

Data Collection

This research utilized a semi-structured, in-depth interview approach, aimed at understanding the lived experiences and meanings attributed by participants (Seidman, 2013). These interviews described individuals' perceptions, behavior, viewpoints, and attitudes about their surroundings (Merriam, 2009; Seidman, 2013). The interview questions encompassed topics like parents' educational backgrounds, family backgrounds, social networks, and children's art education perspectives. Interviews lasted one to two hours, with some participants engaging in follow-up interviews.

Data Analysis Procedures

The data analysis procedure included two phases. The initial phase of this research, inspired by Saldana's (2009) first cycle coding, involved concurrent data collection and analysis, emphasizing the inseparability of these processes. I used open and structural coding to categorize data into four dimensions: exosystem, mesosystem, microsystem, and habitus. The exosystem included social influences on parents and their cultural/social capital, the mesosystem focused on art-related experiences and peer impacts, and the microsystem examined direct interactions with family members. Habitus encompassed parents' accumulated cultural and social positions influenced by various social trajectories. This approach provided comprehensive insights into the ecological factors shaping parents' perceptions of the role of art in enhancing child development.

In the in-depth analysis phase, drawing from Saldana's (2009) second cycle coding, I synthesized multiple codes from the initial analysis into major themes or narratives using pattern coding to identify relationships and develop new second-level codes. This process entailed analyzing social networks and patterns within participants' relationships, ultimately resulting in the formulation of major themes. Moving to the integrated analysis, I conducted a cross-case analysis comparing results from the two research sites, aiming to build abstractions across cases. This involved re-examining coded categories, identifying related themes, and ensuring consistency across sites while

avoiding stereotyping or overinterpretation. I carefully examined the original data and narrative contexts to accurately reconstruct patterns and themes across the datasets.

Research Findings

Parent-Participants' Exosystem

Community Resources Impact Out-of-School Learning Choices for Children

Community resources influenced parents' choices for their children's out-of-school art learning opportunities. The identification of the US site as a college town further contributed to positive perceptions of the university, fostering a favorable environment for the sole university-supported art program (CW, in-person interview, February 18, 2019). In contrast, the Taipei metropolitan area had a high density of art programs, creating a competitive market that necessitated various advertising approaches (SH, in-person interview, July 15, 2019). Moreover, within the community structure, resource accessibility and the district's atmosphere directly influenced family resource allocation. Resource accessibility, denoting affordable and approachable educational resources, shaped parents' choices. In Taipei, the prevalence of afterschool art classes and focus on English learning and STEM programs reflect parental preferences, driven by the competitive environment (JL, in-person interview, July 11, 2019).

Educational Background and Social Networks Form Parents' Cultural/ Social Capital

The influence of parent-participation's cultural capital was evident in their narratives, particularly among those with educational and developmental backgrounds working in educational facilities. Their knowledge influenced the rationales for the selection of children's out-of-school learning opportunities and their parenting approaches (BG, in-person interview, February 8, 2019). Additionally, parents' social capital, comprising social networks and peer groups in the exosystem and mesosystem, respectively, encompasses a broad array of interactions, including social media, traditional media, and friends. US site participants' social networks included local organizations, workplaces, churches, and homeschool groups (CH, in-person interview, February 26, 2019), while Taipei participants mentioned workplaces, school peer groups, and parent groups (IC, in-person interview, July 12, 2019). Aside from in-person social networking,

social media emerged as the primary information platform for both parent groups, influencing information dissemination and replacing some in-person interactions (JH, in-person interview, February 17, 2019; SL, in-person interview, July 22, 2019). Virtual interactions on social media also served as a repository of information within various groups, shaping collective ideologies in parenting.

Parent-Participants' Mesosystem

Transformation of Attention to Art

Both sets of parent-participants expressed a decline in their passion for art and the time dedicated to it after elementary school. Taiwanese parent-participants cited academic pressures as a reason for abandoning art in middle school (ML, in-person interview, July 14, 2019). Some felt constrained by school and parental interventions. In contrast, US parents noted increased middle school options like peer groups, school clubs, and activities that hindered their artistic pursuits (CW, in-person interview, February 18, 2019). Lack of regular art classes in some schools exacerbated this situation (JH, in-person interview, February 17, 2019). The decline in attention to art persisted into adulthood for both groups; however, participants emphasized that their passion for art, while dormant, had not vanished. Although they engaged less in artistic activities, they still viewed art as essential to human development. Their latent passion found outlets in house decor or supporting their children's artistic inclinations.

Influential Peer Groups in Parenting Perspectives

The parent-participants' peer groups, comprising close friends and family members, significantly influenced their social capital by directly interacting with and shaping their parenting perspectives. These peer groups played a pivotal role in exchanging information, fostering a shared sense of ideology and values (MG, in-person interview, February 21, 2019). For the US parent-participants, their peer groups from families and close friends provided direct support, including financial and childcare assistance. Similarly, the Taiwanese parent-participants relied on core friends for support, forming strong interpersonal connections and utilizing social media for timely communication (SL, in-person interview, July 22, 2019). While these supportive peer groups were valuable, they also introduced peer pressure, especially in competitive school districts. The competitive nature among parents in these groups influenced choices of programs and activities, leading to feelings of falling behind and information anxiety (IC, in-person

interview, July 12, 2019). Social media usage, often overlapping with social networks and peer groups, played a vital role in shaping shared identities and parenting philosophy, emphasizing the need to consider it in understanding how parents develop their social and cultural capital.

Parent-Participants' Microsystem

Parental Involvement: Presence, Empathy, Transparency, and Patience

Both US and Taiwanese parent-participants highlighted the importance of parents' presence as foundational for positive parent-child interactions. While the US parents emphasized being present for emotional support, the Taiwanese participants mentioned engaging in purposeful activities together. Both groups stressed the significance of listening and empathy, allowing parents to understand and respond to children's needs effectively (e.g., JL, in-person interview, July 11, 2019; YW, in-person interview, July 16, 2019). Positive reinforcement was identified as crucial for building children's confidence, particularly evident in art-related activities. Attentive communication and transparency were common factors contributing to positive dynamics, with some US parents emphasizing open discussions on social issues, history, and decision-making (CH, in-person interview, February 26, 2019), while Taiwanese parents focused on transparently communicating household decisions (IC, in-person interview, July 12, 2019). Overall, being present, empathetic, transparent, and patient emerged as key characteristics contributing to positive parent-child interactions, though specific practices varied between the US and Taiwanese participants.

Parent-Participants' Habitus

Parenting Philosophy Emphasis: Capability, Well-being, Empathy, and Physical Wellness

Both US and Taiwanese parent-participants shared parenting philosophies revolving around three dimensions (See Table 1). For the US parent-participants, the focus was on capability, well-being, and empathy. Capability emphasized the importance of children gaining problem-solving skills and learning from mistakes. Well-being centered on emotional development, with art seen as a means of non-verbal expression. Empathy highlighted the desire for children to be kind and contribute positively to the world. In contrast, Taiwanese parent-participants emphasized capacity, well-being, and physical

wellness. Capacity involved cultivating learning attitudes and interpersonal skills. Well-being shifted focus from self-expression to finding a spark for overcoming challenges. Physical wellness stressed the importance of exercise and a healthy diet. Although both cultures shared fundamental values, the emphasis and manifestation of these philosophies varied, with the US placing importance on external behavioral functions like capability, while Taiwanese parents focused more on internal behavioral functions, such as capacity and manners in interpersonal relationships.

US parent-participants [External-oriented behavioral functions]		Taiwanese parent-participants [Internal-oriented behavioral functions]	
Capability	Encouraging exploration	Capacity	Proper learning attitudes
	Developing critical thinking skills		Interpersonal relationship development
Well-being	Self-expression	Well-being	Finding "spark" in life
Empathy	Being kind	Physical wellness	Maintaining physical health
	Being virtuous		Consuming healthy foods

Table 1. *US and Taiwanese Parent-Participants' Parenting Philosophy Components*

Parental Perspectives on Children's Art Exploration

Both US and Taiwanese parent-participants acknowledged the intrinsic nature of children's exploration and attraction to art creation. For the parents, art held intrinsic value, serving as a means for self-empowerment and fulfilling the essential need for self-accomplishment in young children. They viewed art creation as a tool to develop perseverance, courage, creativity, and problem-solving skills. Art, according to the parent-participants, elevated spiritual and cognitive demands (JL, in-person interview, July 11, 2019). Furthermore, they believed that art played a crucial role in enhancing emotional well-being, especially for young children (e.g., CH, in-person interview, February 26, 2019; VG, in-person interview, March 29, 2019; KY, in-

person interview, July 17, 2019; ML, in-person interview, July 14, 2019). Art was seen as a non-verbal communication approach and a means to appreciate and embrace cultural differences. Regarding out-of-school art learning opportunities, both US and Taiwanese parents aimed to provide outlets for cultivating their children's interest in art and skills. US and Taiwanese parent-participants shared reasons for enrolling their children in out-of-school art programs. Both groups underscored the importance of providing opportunities for their children to cultivate interests in art and develop valuable character traits, aligning with their perspectives on art's role in supporting emotional well-being. However, US parent-participants uniquely mentioned the perception of Saturday school as free babysitting, allowing them focused time for other tasks (MG, in-person interview, February 21, 2019). For the US parent-participants, the main motivations included the children's enthusiasm for art and the desire for professional and structured art instruction (MY, in-person interview, July 9, 2019). Regarding Taiwanese parent-participants, they sought out-of-school programs to supplement what they perceived as insufficient in-school art learning. They viewed professional instruction as essential and saw art as a means to enhance fine motor skills and provide broader, more in-depth learning beyond regular school experiences. Both groups emphasized the overarching goal of enhancing their children's development through art learning.

Limitations

This research explored the unique cultural and social contexts of two sites and their impact on parents' decisions to enroll their children in art programs. I acknowledge that several dimensions of these research sites need further exploration, leading to two major limitations. First, the small sample size may not fully represent the broader parent populations of each region. Additionally, due to the research design, this study did not include data on the macrosystem and chronosystem of each site, which would have provided a more in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the cultural contexts. Furthermore, while the two sites share some similarities, they also possess unique demographic and cultural characteristics, making direct comparison and contrast difficult and limiting certain aspects of the analysis.

Conclusion

The parents' exosystem significantly shapes decisions on art learning opportunities for their children. The contrasting environments of a rural US college town and Taipei highlight the impact of resource accessibility, community dynamics, and market competition. Parental

educational backgrounds contribute to rich cultural and social capital, guiding parenting approaches. Social networks are crucial for information exchange, with social media playing a dominant role. These virtual interactions shape parents' parenting philosophy and approaches, transcending traditional social networking limits. These factors underscore the interplay of community, education, and social dynamics in guiding parental perspectives on children's out-of-school art learning.

The mesosystem dynamics reveal a shared experience of declining attention to art among US and Taiwanese parents after elementary school. Both groups emphasized the persistent importance of art in human development. Peer groups emerged as influential in shaping parenting perspectives, providing support but also introducing peer pressure. The competitive nature in certain circles impacted program choices, creating negative feelings.

Both US and Taiwanese parent-participants prioritize active parental involvement, emphasizing presence, empathy, transparency, and patience for positive parent-child interactions. While specific practices vary, the shared values contribute to a supportive microsystem, fostering a nurturing environment for parent-child dynamics.

The habitus of US and Taiwanese parent-participants reflects distinct parenting philosophies. While US parents prioritize capability, well-being, and empathy with a focus on problem-solving skills, emotional development, and kindness, Taiwanese parents emphasize capacity, well-being, and physical wellness, giving importance to learning attitudes, overcoming challenges, and maintaining physical health. Both groups share a fundamental belief in the intrinsic value of art in children's exploration and development. In summary, the parent-participants perceived art as essential to humankind, developing character traits, fostering open-mindedness, and supporting emotional well-being. They advocated for increased art learning opportunities in schools and communities.

This study underscores two key themes in art education. Firstly, it emphasizes the critical role of parent education, stating that parental support and interactions significantly impact children's art learning experiences. The study highlights the need for enhanced parent education, likening it to cultivating a healthy soil ecosystem for individuals' lifelong art experiences to flourish. Secondly, the study addresses the long-term influence of individuals' social trajectories on art education. It contends that parents' social and cultural capital

shapes their children's art learning experiences and opportunities, potentially influencing whether art education can thrive in community settings.

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