Continuity vs. Discontinuity: A Case of Home Language and Literacy Socialization in Indonesia

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Abstract

The present study explores the language and literacy socialization (LLS) of Indonesian children from low- to middle-income families. The Indonesian government has never truly involved home and family as the base for literacy socialization in its programs, affecting the nation-state’s low rank in literacy proficiency. This paper aims to describe the LLS of low- to middle-income Indonesian families and examine how the language used by caregivers and parents stimulates the issue of continuity or discontinuity between home and school literacy practices. The study used an ethnographic approach in which the researchers observed the LLS events of 6 families in Surabaya, Indonesia. Conversations between caregivers/parents and children during literacy events were recorded. The findings suggest that every family has different patterns of literacy practices depending on their beliefs and culture at home and that parents’ or caregivers’ language and style of communication may facilitate or hinder children’s access to literacy. Two socialization patterns were identified, including reference to past experience and collaborative negotiation of meaning. It is argued that not only the background of education but also caregivers’ literacy culture and educational beliefs play a role in their strategy of language and literacy socialization at home.

INTRODUCTION

Like many other developing countries, literacy has become a very important issue in Indonesia. First of all, it is because literacy correlates with poverty and the socioeconomic status of society (Buckingham, Wheldall, & Beaman-Wheldall, 2013; Dolean et al., 2019). The cycle of poverty continues as people from low socioeconomic status tend to have low literacy. On the other hand, literacy is necessary for it contributes to the economic development of a country. Secondly, a low level of literacy can lead to negative issues, including the number of suicidality and dropping out of school (Daniel et al., 2006).
Therefore, to decrease these potential problems, the responsible institutions, as well as the government, need to ensure an increase in literacy.

Several programs have been organized by the Indonesian government to improve literacy in Indonesia. In the 1990s, the government raised a policy to put down the number of illiterates among Indonesian adults by setting up courses such as *Kejar Paket A*, *B*, and *C* (a set of equivalency programs in Indonesia dedicated to accommodating students who do not pass the national exam at the end of elementary, junior high, and senior high schools, respectively). In 2004, The President of Indonesia launched the "Literacy Movement" to promote the importance of literacy to all stakeholders, including schools, local government, community leaders and organizations, and religious leaders (Jalal & Sardjunani, 2005). Back in 2014, the second big city in Indonesia, Surabaya, proclaimed itself as "*Kota Literasi*" (the City of Literacy), followed by its literacy movement program to improve its human development index (Ginanjar, 2019). With all these commitments, the government attempts to confirm the provision of opportunities and facilities for literacy development in society.

Unfortunately, the Indonesian government's programs on literacy have yet to achieve their ultimate goals. Despite all the government's effort to increase literacy, Indonesia still ranks 70th of 81 countries based on results of OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment conducted in 2022 (OECD, 2022). This assessment puts students' literacy as one of its core components. In addition, The World Bank (2021) suggests that over half of Indonesian children at a late primary age are not proficient in reading. It is arguably because the government's programs on increasing literacy rate are yet to address the underlying problem. The problem of literacy in Indonesia is related to the building of literacy habits through literacy socialization. Sterponi (2012) stated that doing literacy socialization is actually establishing a literacy habitus or setting “a set of historically contingent and culturally situated organizing principles that shape individual involvement with text.”

Historical contingency in the building of habitus suggests that literacy never comes from an empty space. Before going to school, in which they learn more to develop their literacy, children and other individuals must have a background of early literacy in a place where they start their lives, such as at home. Sénéchal (2011) argues that parents attempt to encourage their children’s development of literacy and language skills through informal and formal literacy activities. Informal literacy activities focus on the meaning of printed words and typically include activities, such as parent-child book reading, building children’s vocabulary and comprehension skills (Aramamneh, Saqr, & Areepattamannil, 2023; Kleeck, 2008; Sénéchal, 2011). Formal literacy activities focus on the form of printed words and often include parents’ attempts to directly teach or support their children’s acquisition of literacy knowledge related to spelling, such as how to write or read words (Burgess, 2011). Due to the enormous influence of home literacy, it is important for the government to take into consideration what exactly happens at home literacy before initiating any programs.

The study of literacy socialization at home is part of the paradigm of language socialization. According to Schieffelin and Ochs (2003, p.180-181), literacy socialization study's focus is "on the relationship among attitudes, values, beliefs, and skills that are culturally transmitted to learners." Furthermore, they said the study "pays close attention to the structure of discourse in family and school settings to understand the ways in which literacy socialization may be facilitated." In addition, Schieffelin and Ochs (2003, p.181) suggested that "researches comparing the ways of using language learned at home and school or literacy socialization addressed the effects of discontinuity or mismatch (between
There have been many studies on language and literacy socialization (LLS) at home and on how the socialization may present continuity or discontinuity with what happens at school. Heath's study (1983) on the Black community of Trackton and the White community of Roadville shows, on the one hand, distinctive patterns of the ways language and literacy are used, which are in contrast with what happened at their schools and that it hindered children's access to mainstream literacy. On the other hand, her observation of the mainstream White community of Maintown presented similarities between parents' instruction and the model of teaching and learning at school, resulting in the children's excellent academic performance. Heath's study suggests that discontinuity of literacy instruction at home and school is most likely to happen in minority and low-income societies. The result of the study has been confirmed by some scholars (Halpern, 2003; Ndijuje & Benguye, 2023; Sperry et al., 2019), highlighting how influential the continuity and discontinuity of school learning at home toward the children's literacy and academic performance. Monique Sénéchal & LeFevre (2014) suggest that the willingness of parents/caregivers to understand the children's needs during literacy learning at home is also important to the successful learning outcome.

Furthermore, issues of educators' or facilitators' beliefs should be taken into account as some studies (Gilakjani & Sabouri, 2017; Gorter & Arocena, 2020; Haukås, 2016) pointed out their influence on the practices of teaching and learning activities. Educators or facilitators at home can be attributed to parents or caregivers who facilitate children in their learning activities. Thus, their beliefs in teaching or facilitating the children's learning may affect the outcome or the run of the learning to some extent. This research aims to fill a distinguished gap in the context of the use of the school book as a learning media that mediates LLS practices at home and school.

The present study aims to elaborate on and explain the pattern of LLS among low- to middle-income families in Surabaya, Indonesia. It attempts to explore what really happens in the conversation of parents or caregivers and their children during a literacy event and how it may present continuity or discontinuity of literacy practices at home and school, taking into account the background of the parents or caregivers as the ones who socialized literacy to the children. Based on this main objective, the research addresses two main questions: 1) What are the parents' and caregivers' strategies in dealing with the school book to socialize literacy to the children? 2) How do the patterns of LLS implemented at home ratify what happens at school? The findings contribute to a better understanding of the real problem in literacy development and to provide new information on the factors that may facilitate or hinder literacy development.

2. METHOD

The participants of the study consisted of six children enrolled in one of the public elementary schools in Kampong Jagir, Surabaya, and their parents or caregivers. The number of participants was considered adequate as it already provided data needed for the study, and each participant was considered representative of the families within the targeted socioeconomic class. The parents or caregivers consented to participate in the research along with their children. The children were at first grade during the research. All participants come from low- and middle-low-income families with various educational and social
backgrounds. Three of the caregiver/parent participants graduated from elementary school, while the other three graduated from junior and senior high school.

Interactions between parents and children were audio- and video-recorded during the LLS event, namely learning situations at home using a thematic book, which was part of the implementation of Indonesia’s 2013 curriculum. A mix of Javanese and Indonesian were the languages of instruction during parent or caregiver-child interaction. The result of the recording was transcribed orthographically. Following Heath (1983) and Sperry et al. (2019), parents or caregivers were then interviewed in depth to acquire a more elaborate understanding of the socio-historical track of children’s literacy acquisition as well as parents or caregivers’ values and beliefs on literacy socialization for children. A more recent study undertaken by Ndijuye and Benguye (2023) also confirms the usefulness of such a technique in clarifying the findings from observation. Other activities of literacy socialization at home and in the family were also examined to gain an understanding of the overall literacy distribution.

The orthographic transcription of parent/caregiver-child interaction was analyzed using micro-level analysis of language to be later related to the macro socio-cultural background of the community. This model of analysis is based on the (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2019) concept on the idea that “people’s lived experiences, […] locating the meanings people place on the events, processes, and structures of their lives and […] connecting these meanings to the social world around them”. Patterns of language socialization and strategies used by parents were identified based on the micro-level analysis of the conversational discourse. In this, paper pseudonym is used to maintain the ethical consideration. The following is descriptive information about the participants involved in the present study.

2.1. Descriptive Information of Participants’ Education and Literacy Culture

The six parents or caregivers come from a range of low- to middle-income families. They have different educational backgrounds. While three of them are elementary school graduates, the other three are junior to senior high school graduates. Those of elementary school graduates are traders. They sell food, fish, and vegetables. The two participants who graduated from junior high school are a storekeeper and a freelancer, while the one who graduated from senior high school is a banquet server at a four-star hotel in Surabaya.

Another point to note is their literacy culture. The first three parents and caregivers did not have a specific literacy culture. They rarely read. The only activities of reading that they did was reading bills or invitation letters. They also did not watch television much. When they watched television, they chose drama or comedy. Because they were already busy with their job and domestic responsibilities, they also never joined any social or religious organization in their neighborhood. They got information about daily life and important news from their conversation with neighbors.

The first three parents or caregivers admitted that they never exchanged book-reading when their children were in preschool years. When they told stories to their children, they did it orally without reading any book. They did not buy books for their children, nor did they read for them. Interaction with their children by the media of books happens when their children start to enter school. Before books, one of these parents, Zein’s mother, stated that she has taught Zein about alphabet since he was three years old. While the other two
mothers, i.e. mothers of Louis and Zein, stated that they had not had the chance to teach alphabet to their children when they were in preschool years.

The second group of parents or caregivers had a different pattern of literacy habitus. The first caregiver of this second group, Puri’s cousin, graduated only from junior high school. However, she routinely joined a lot of religious lessons from Pondok Pesantren (Islamic boarding school) near her house. She did not read newspapers or watch television, but she sometimes read religious books and the Quran. Every time she faced a problem in her life, she came to the Pondok Pesantren leader, known as Bu Nyai, to seek information and advice on the matters. It is Puri’s cousin who will advise the other members of the family regarding their daily life problems.

The second parent from the second group of parents or caregivers was Radit’s father. The father only graduated from junior high school. He is a storekeeper. Despite his lack of education, he developed a good reading habit. He liked to read religious books every time he finished his job. His favorite book was the book about the Islamic prophets. He also liked to tell stories of prophets to his children. Besides the father, Radit’s mother could be described as a religiously active person. Besides selling groceries at home, she also routinely joined religious teaching at the mosque near her rented house.

The last parent from the second group was Fey’s father. He was a banquet server at a four-star hotel in Surabaya. He did not read a lot, but he liked to watch educational programs on television. He always asked his son to join him watching the program and asking him to retell about what he watched. He also liked to listen to religious Islamic teaching from the radio together with his son. He liked to meet people and gather information from them. He also regularly joined training and workshops for employees in the company where he worked.

Table 1
Parent or Caregiver Participants’ Profiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children participants (pseudonyms)</th>
<th>Parents/caregivers</th>
<th>Educational background of parents/caregivers</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Literacy activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Obby</td>
<td>Caregiver</td>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>Trader</td>
<td>No books for storytelling used the child during preschool years; comedy and drama on TV; rarely read.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>Trader</td>
<td>No books for storytelling used the child during preschool years; comedy and drama on TV; rarely read.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zein</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Elementary school</td>
<td>Trader</td>
<td>No books for storytelling used the child during preschool years; comedy and drama on TV; rarely read; storytelling without book assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puri</td>
<td>Cousin</td>
<td>Junior high school</td>
<td>Freelancer</td>
<td>Sometimes read religious books and Holy Books; no exposure to TV and newspapers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radit</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Junior high school</td>
<td>Storekeeper</td>
<td>Regularly read religious books</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fey</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Senior high school</td>
<td>Banquet server</td>
<td>Rarely read; watch educational TV programs; listen to religious programs on the radio; invite the child to join him in watching TV and listen to the radio; ask the child to retell the TV programs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. RESULTS

The results of the research are presented through explanation about strategies employed by parents or caregivers in making meaning from the book as media of learning to socialize literacy were depicted and explained. There are at least two major strategies related to LLS used in our data: referring to past experience and collaborative negotiation of meaning. Some excerpts are provided to clearly illustrate the strategies employed.

All the child participants in this study were first grade students. To study at school, they use thematic books designed to meet the convention from the Indonesian 2013 curriculum. The books are meant to provide more communicative and collaborative learning along with life skills necessary at the level of the student’s age (Indonesian Ministry of Education, 2014). Thus, it is not merely the ability to write or read aloud, but also the ability to make decisions based on the cases appropriate to the children. The special feature of the book is a certain component of instruction on projects to be carried out together by parents and children at home. The project is usually something related to the theme discussed formerly during lessons at school. With this feature, it is expected that there is an integration between home and school learning activities.

Based on the analysis, it can be noted that the good intention of the thematic books is not all comprehended well by the parents. Their experience, educational background, and literacy culture seem to influence their ability to utilize books as a medium of learning. The two groups of parents showed different strategies for coping with the book for the purpose of language and literacy socialization.

3.1 Referring to Past Experience: Dictation

The first group of parents tended to use the book only as sources to teach their children how to spell and read. They did not follow instructions in the book, nor did they read the reading materials in the book for their children. They did not pay attention to the specific feature for students and parents to complete a project together. They helped their children with projects from school only when it was instructed by the teacher. The following is an example from one of the caregivers and the children of the first group’s interaction in a literacy event.

Example 1
OB (Obby, 7.5 years); I (Obby’s caregiver)

(1) I : Ayo dikté nang kéné. (Let’s dictate here)
(2) I : Sayuran itu segar. (The vegetable is fresh)
(3) OB : Kéné? (Here?)
(4) I : He eh. (Uh uh)
(5) OB : S A sa. S A sa R. (practice spelling a syllable) …
(6) I : Pepaya itu manis. (Papaya is sweet)
(7) OB : I T U tu. Itu. (practice spelling a syllable)
(8) I : Manis. (Sweet)
(9) OB : Ma M A ma. N I ni. Manis. (practice spelling a syllable)
(10) I : [Manis] (Sweet)
(11) I : Manis maténi apa? (What letter is at the end of “sweet”?)
(12) OB : M A ma. N I ni S. (practice spelling the word sweet in Indonesian)
(13) I : [He em]. (Yes)
Obby learned to read and write with his aunt as his caregiver on a daily basis when his parents were working. The example shows the interaction between Obby and his caregiver using the thematic book volume 7 for first-grade students. However, it can be seen from the example that the book is not used as intended. The book was used by the caregiver to get inspiration to create a sentence to be dictated to Obby. In thematic book volume 7, there is a song entitled “Pepaya, Mangga, Pisang, Jambu” (Papaya, Mango, Banana, Guava). It is from this song the caregiver obtained the idea for the sentence “Pepaya itu manis” (the papaya is sweet) and “Sayuran itu segar” (the vegetables are fresh).

Based on the training of literacy given by the caregiver, Obby could eventually read and write sentences in Indonesian. However, he still found difficulties in following the teacher’s direction in class. Example 1 could provide evidence that there was a discontinuity between the way Obby learned literacy at home and at school. Obby’s caregiver utilized the thematic book to socialize literacy with Obby. Nevertheless, the book was not used as it was supposed to be used in class. The instruction in the book was overlooked. The caregiver did not give an example of reading aloud from the book, nor did she read the instructions in the book for Obby. The purpose of learning at home is to prepare students to follow instruction well at school.

Obby’s caregiver stated that dictating alphabets and words as well as sentences, and teaching calculation of numbers were the way she taught her own son. She did not know any other way. With this strategy, she believed that she could make Obby read and write well. Indeed, Obby learned how to read and write sentences. Yet, his writing was limited to his caregiver’s dictation as he did not receive any other instruction to deal with the meanings of other longer sentences.

Zein’s mother took up a similar strategy as Obby’s caregiver. She used the thematic book to take out sentences from the book to dictate her son. Zein has already shown adequate capability to read and write since his mother trained him to spell and read when he was in kindergarten. However, the mother maintained the same drill even though Zein had already shown progress in his ability to read and write.

3.2 Collaborative Negotiation of Meaning

A different pattern of language and literacy socialization was indicated by the second group of the participants. Puri’s caregiver always followed the design of learning from the thematic book. She set up a regular learning routine for Puri. During the learning event, she read the instructions in the book aloud for Puri to hear. Then, she also made Puri elicit responses and reactions to her questions concerning the theme in the book. This model provided Puri with examples of the model of learning at school, providing continuity between home and school and giving Puri easy access to literacy.

A more sophisticated strategy of literacy socialization was displayed by Radit’s father. He did not only read the instruction and reading materials for Radit to hear and giving examples of sound and word chains, but he also discussed certain projects together with Radit, giving him the opportunity to develop his critical thinking and problem-solving ability which is important for the 21st century education. The following is an example of Radit and his father’s interaction during the learning situation.
The example shows interaction between Radit and his father. It is obvious that they discussed a project of making a frame from the thematic book, negotiating their understanding over the instruction. During the conversation, it was observed that Radit's father positioned himself as a partner for Radit to think and work together. This way, Radit did not hesitate to express his disagreement (lines 2, 5 and 11). In his disagreement, Radit seems to think critically and does not surrender to his father's saying. In lines 7, 8, and 10, Radit and his father thought collaboratively about how to make frame from cardboard. Several scholars (Gokhale, 1995; Lee, 2015; Santos-Meneses, Pashchenko, & Mikhailova, 2023) stated that collaborative learning provides opportunity for student to analyse, synthesize, and evaluate ideas cooperatively. This occurrence is in line 2, in which Radit evaluated his father's opinion. The father thought that the project was about making frame. However, Radit disapproved by saying “Ngawur” (how inconsequent). Yet, in line 3, he re-evaluated his own opinion and agreed to his father idea. In line 4, Radit's father interpreted the instruction from the book, i.e., making frame from cardboard. Next, in line 5, Radit added by saying collaboratively that the frame must be covered with a kind of gift-
wrap paper. Then, in line 6, Radit’s father continued by making an analogy between the former project and the present one. In lines 7 and 8, Radit classified the job of making frame. In line 9, Radit’s father gave him feedback to show his agreement. In this example, it is clear that Radit was very confident in his effort to solve the problem from the book. He was able to interpret instruction given to execute the making of cardboard frame. In this case, his literacy ability achieved beyond mere reading and writing. The collaborative learning practice provided by Radit’s father has developed his critical thinking and problem-solving abilities. The book was used as it was intended. The continuity between the model of literacy socialization at home and school afforded him access to a higher level of literacy ability.

A similar strategy was also implemented by the last participant from the second group. In addition to using the thematic book as access for Fey’s literacy acquisition, the father also provided access for Fey to obtain ability in narration and presenting instructional discourse. This emerged from literacy habitus that the father set up, including watching educational programs on television and listening to preachment from the radio.

4. DISCUSSION

The results indicated that at least two patterns of LLS were found in the data. The issues of continuity and discontinuity emerged with the tendency on specific groups of participants. Continuity happens when the LLS at school is also practiced at home with a similar strategy of socialization (Halpern, 2003; Heath, 1983; Verhoeven, Zijlstra, & Volman, 2021). It should be noted that the LLS was based on the thematic book used at the school of the child participants. The continuity of LLS at home was demonstrated by the second group, in which the instruction of the book was followed, allowing both the parents or caregivers and the children to collaboratively brainstorm for problem-solving. By looking at the tendency of this occurrence on the second group, it appears that continuity exclusively happened in the group where the parents or caregivers had more literacy culture and higher literacy skills which were displayed from their self-literacy practices. This finding supports some previous studies found that the literacy culture of parents or caregivers positively affects children's literacy (Halpern, 2003; Heath, 1983; Sperry et al., 2019; Verhoeven et al., 2021).

On the other hand, discontinuity appears to be exclusively in the first group. Based on the observation and interview, the discontinuity was more likely to be influenced by the parents’ or caregivers’ beliefs on how to facilitate children's learning on literacy. To understand LLS, the dimensions of attitudes, values, beliefs, and skills that are culturally transmitted to learners need to be taken into account (Ochoa, McWayne, & Melzi, 2023; Schieffelin & Ochs, 2003; Sperry et al., 2019). Instead of meaning-making, the literacy event happened in the first group could be categorized into formal literacy activities, including dictation and word spelling (Kleeck, 2008; Sénéchal, 2011). The parents or caregivers in the first group saw the goal of the LLS activities was simply to encourage the children to practice their accuracy in form of writing and reading word, overlooking the meaning. They based their belief on their past experience, in which they were taught mostly about dictation and spelling during the first grade. This is not in line with the LLS occurring at school and the book’s instruction, focusing on life skills and collaboration. At the same time, this finding is similar to Gorter and Arocena’s (2020) study in which, furthermore, the children’s literacy seems to be limited to form accuracy rather than expanding to meaning. Informal literacy which is characterized by meaning-related activities predict children’s reading acquisition indirectly by improving language development, whereas formal literacy, commonly
associated with code-related activities, predict reading indirectly by improving children’s early literacy skills (Alramamneh et al., 2023; Silinskas, Sénéchal, Torppa, & Lerkkanen, 2020).

To achieve the literacy goal as planned in the Regulation of the Minister of Education and Culture (2014), parents or caregivers should support the children in learning beyond the language form. The goal itself was to obtain life skills, which can be obtained through the tasks included in the thematic books provided by the school. The dynamics of interaction for the LLS are not only determined by the educational background and literacy culture of the parents/caregivers but also by their belief in what the children are supposed to learn. What happens during the literacy learning event is pivotal to the outcome (Sénéchal & LeFevre, 2014). Therefore, parents and caregivers’ literacy need to do the utmost of their capability to attend to their children's literacy learning activities.

Unlike some studies focusing on ethnics and socioeconomic status (Halpern, 2003; Heath, 1983; Sperry et al., 2019; Verhoeven et al., 2021), the current study offers insight into the significant role of parents and caregivers’ cultural capital in interpreting learning goals of literacy lesson mediated by the thematic book for elementary school students, a problem that has never been addressed by former researchers in this area of study. Accompanying books for lessons at school is usually designed for teachers. It is commonly targeted to guide teachers in conducting a well-managed lesson. Rarely is it directed to help parents or caregivers in teaching their children at home. The results of the study bear an implication of the necessity for the school books’ authors to compose a manual for parents that supplement the school books with the aim of facilitating parents and caregivers in their effort to interpret the lesson for students’ learning at home.

5. CONCLUSION

This study focused on analyzing parents-children conversations during literacy events at home, which were mediated by the thematic school book. It also seeks to uncover whether the literacy event at home follows the concept of literacy teaching at school. The results of the analysis reveals that there are mainly two patterns of LLS strategy used by parents in their attempt to interpret the thematic school book when accompanying their children to study at home. The first strategy refers to past experience and dictation, and the second one is the collaborative negotiation of meaning. The former reflects the lack of ability on the part of the parents/caregivers in making the meaning intended by the thematic book resulting in a mere adeptness of the children in spelling words as well as reading and writing the text in the book. Meanwhile, the latter strategy evoked the children’s critical thinking and enabled them to come up with solutions for issues raised in the lesson inside the book. It should be noted that literacy is not only the ability to write letters or read aloud, but it is also about life skills and collaboration to solve issues surrounding the students. To achieve the goal of literacy and language development as intended by the government, there is a need for the school to collaborate with parents/caregivers. Parents/caregiver who do not keep up with the current curriculum goal and current information or has less literacy on the educational goal set up at schools have less capability in conveying continued systematic literacy practices between home and school, causing problems for the child’s literacy development. Hence, this type of parents or caregivers demonstrates the discontinuity of LLS practices at home. In contrast, parents or caregivers who keep themselves up to date by seeking and exploring more information from different formal and informal sources could increase the cultural capital that enables them to methodically guide the children to achieve
better literacy performance, hence, continuity of LLS practices. Thus, in Indonesia the determination to resolve literacy problem should not only focus on children, but also the parents and adult citizens who assist the students’ learning at home. The increase in parents' or caregivers' literacy predisposes their beliefs of what kind of literacy practices and habits they should socialize with their children. However, it is noteworthy that the results of the present study are limited to the LLS occurring in low- to middle-low-income families in an urban area. Further studies may explore other socioeconomic backgrounds or other social variables that may affect continuity or discontinuity of LLS practices.

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Authors’ Contribution
Layli Hamida worked on the project and the main conceptual ideas and wrote the manuscript. Aditya Nur Patria contributed to the descriptive analysis and enriched the conclusion part of the manuscript. Girindra Putri Ardana Reswari proofread the manuscript.

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