



Culture as capital in higher education: Toba Batak families' interpretations of *Hamoraon*, *Hagabeon*, and *Hasangapon*

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ABSTRACT

While higher education is widely recognized as a pathway to social mobility in Indonesia, structural and economic explanations often overlook the role of cultural values in shaping educational aspirations. This study examines how Toba Batak families in Greater Jakarta interpret and mobilize the values of *hamoraon* (wealth), *hagabeon* (lineage), and *hasangapon* (honor), collectively known as the 3H philosophy, in relation to higher education. Drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of cultural and symbolic capital and Weber's theory of social action, the study employed a qualitative case study design within an interpretive paradigm. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, observations, and document analysis involving 12 informants, including parents, students, and traditional leaders, and analyzed using the Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña interactive model. The findings indicate a reinterpretation of the 3H values in the context of higher education. *Hamoraon* has shifted from an emphasis on physical assets toward education-based well-being; *hagabeon* increasingly emphasizes the educational achievements of descendants rather than their number; and *hasangapon* is expressed through academic credentials that confer social recognition and family prestige. These findings suggest that the 3H philosophy functions as a dynamic cultural resource through which Toba Batak families negotiate traditional values, educational aspirations, and the demands of contemporary urban life.

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INTRODUCTION

Higher education plays a strategic role in enhancing human capital and expanding opportunities for social mobility. In Indonesia, however, participation in higher education remains uneven across social groups and regions. Data from Badan Pusat Statistik indicate persistent disparities in access to higher education, particularly across different economic and geographical backgrounds (Badan Pusat Statistik Indonesia, 2025). Previous studies have similarly identified economic constraints, limited institutional access, and structural inequalities as important factors affecting participation in higher education (Abdullah & Gani, 2022; Gibson et al., 2022). While these structural and material factors are important, an exclusive emphasis on them may overlook the role of cultural values in shaping educational aspirations and family decisions.

Within Indonesia's diverse sociocultural context, education functions not only as a pathway to economic mobility but also as a medium through which cultural values are preserved and transformed. Previous studies suggest that local values can motivate families to prioritize education as part of a collective strategy for improving their social position (Rahmawati et al., 2021; Salim & Aprison, 2024). Educational attainment may also represent honor, family pride, and intergenerational

achievement (Muzakkir & Yunanda, 2021; Simatupang, 2025). From this perspective, decisions concerning higher education are shaped not only by individual aspirations but also by collective expectations and commitments to inherited cultural values.

The Batak are among the ethnic groups in Indonesia commonly associated with a strong orientation toward education. Data from the Central Statistics Agency (Badan Pusat Statistik Indonesia, 2025) indicate that 18.02% of the Batak population have completed a bachelor's degree, representing the highest proportion among the ethnic groups reported in the dataset. Previous studies have also shown that Batak families tend to invest substantial resources in their children's education, sometimes involving considerable economic sacrifice (Hutahaean & Agustina, 2020; Sagala, 2021; Sibarani et al., 2023). Within Batak families, educational achievement may therefore be understood not merely as an individual accomplishment but also as an expression of family and collective success. Academic credentials can function as symbols of social recognition and contribute to family prestige within the community (Mahaswa & Syaja, 2025; Tambunan, 2018). This strong orientation toward higher education is closely related to a cultural value system that emphasizes effort, achievement, and the pursuit of well-being.

Within Toba Batak culture, conceptions of life goals and well-being are closely associated with three core values: *hamoraon* (wealth), *hagabeon* (lineage), and *hasangapon* (honor), collectively referred to as the 3H philosophy. These values provide normative orientations for individual and family aspirations (Dalimunthe & Lubis, 2019; Simamora et al., 2015; V. A. Sinaga, 2025; Situmorang, 2021). Traditionally, *hamoraon* refers to material prosperity and the possession of assets such as houses, agricultural land, and other forms of property; *hagabeon* refers to the continuity and prosperity of one's lineage through children and grandchildren; and *hasangapon* denotes dignity, honor, and social respect. In contemporary urban contexts, however, the meanings attached to these values appear to be undergoing reinterpretation. Higher education increasingly provides a social arena in which aspirations related to prosperity, generational continuity, and social recognition can intersect.

The relationship between cultural values and educational aspirations is not unique to the Indonesian context. Research on other cultural and diasporic communities also illustrates how education can become intertwined with family obligations, social mobility, and the reproduction of cultural values. In Confucian heritage cultures, for example, academic achievement has been associated with moral cultivation, filial responsibility, and obligations toward the family and future generations (Hun, 2025; Luong et al., 2026; Rosidi, 2015). These orientations provide a useful comparative context for understanding *hagabeon* and *hasangapon*, particularly the emphasis placed on generational achievement and family honor. Research concerning Jewish diasporic communities likewise illustrates how families may prioritize long-term investment in education and other resources as strategies for maintaining socioeconomic stability and mobility (Binhas & Jayusi, 2025; Niculescu, 2025). Although these cultural contexts are distinct and should not be treated as equivalent, they demonstrate more broadly how inherited values can interact with educational strategies and socioeconomic aspirations. In this sense, cultural traditions may operate not merely as passive norms but as resources that families interpret and mobilize in response to changing social conditions.

From the perspective of the sociology of education, this relationship is particularly relevant because cultural values can function as social resources that shape educational orientations and practices (Soekanto & Sulistyowati, 2017). Higher education may generate forms of cultural and symbolic capital that contribute to a family's social recognition and legitimacy. At the same time, decisions to pursue higher education can be understood as social actions involving both value-oriented commitments and goal-oriented considerations. This perspective highlights how families negotiate cultural obligations alongside pragmatic concerns related to education, employment, and social mobility.

Although previous studies have acknowledged the importance of Batak cultural values in shaping educational orientations, much of the existing literature has approached culture primarily as a source of motivation for educational attainment. Less attention has been given to how the 3H philosophy is interpreted, negotiated, and mobilized as a cultural resource in family decisions concerning higher education. Consequently, a conceptual gap remains in understanding how Toba

Batak families reinterpret *hamoraon*, *hagabeon*, and *hasangapon* not simply as inherited cultural values but as forms of cultural and symbolic capital that shape their educational strategies.

Addressing this gap, the present study examines how Toba Batak families interpret and mobilize *hamoraon*, *hagabeon*, and *hasangapon* as forms of cultural and symbolic capital in shaping decisions concerning higher education. The study focuses on Toba Batak families in Greater Jakarta, a multicultural urban setting in which families negotiate the demands of contemporary social life while maintaining connections to their cultural identity.

Theoretically, this study seeks to contribute to the sociology of education by extending discussions of cultural and symbolic capital to locally rooted cultural values and examining how these values are reinterpreted within contemporary educational contexts. Practically, the findings may provide insights for policymakers and educational practitioners seeking to understand how culturally embedded family values influence educational aspirations and decision-making. By examining higher education through this cultural lens, the study positions educational participation not only as a pathway to socioeconomic mobility but also as a social arena in which cultural values are reproduced, negotiated, and transformed.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative case study design within an interpretive paradigm to examine how Toba Batak families construct and interpret the meanings of *hamoraon*, *hagabeon*, and *hasangapon* in relation to higher education. An interpretive approach was considered appropriate because the study focused on participants' subjective meanings and the ways in which these meanings are constructed through social interactions and lived experiences. The case study design enabled an in-depth examination of these cultural values within a bounded social context, namely Toba Batak families residing in Greater Jakarta who had experience with children pursuing higher education (Yin, 2003).

The study was conducted in Greater Jakarta, a multicultural urban setting in which Toba Batak families live and interact with diverse ethnic communities. The setting was selected because it provides a relevant context for examining how culturally embedded values are interpreted and maintained within contemporary urban life. Data were collected over four months, from December 2025 to March 2026.

Participants were selected through purposive sampling based on their relevance to the phenomenon under investigation. The study involved three groups of informants: (1) Toba Batak parents whose children were pursuing or had completed higher education at the bachelor's degree (S1) level or above; (2) Toba Batak children who were current university students or bachelor's degree graduates; and (3) traditional or community leaders with knowledge of the values and cultural practices associated with the 3H philosophy. A total of 12 informants participated in the study, comprising five parents, five children, and two traditional or community leaders. Participant recruitment continued until the data showed recurring patterns and no substantially new categories emerged, indicating data saturation.

Data collection was conducted in three stages. The pre-field stage involved reviewing relevant literature, developing the interview guide, and obtaining the necessary research permission. During the fieldwork stage, data were collected through in-depth interviews, observations, and documentation. The final stage involved data analysis and verification, which proceeded concurrently with data collection. Consistent with the qualitative design, the researcher served as the primary research instrument in collecting and interpreting the data.

Data were analyzed using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, consisting of data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification (Qomaruddin & Sa'diyah, 2024). During data condensation, open coding was used to identify key themes related to the meanings of the 3H philosophy and higher education. The resulting codes and themes were subsequently categorized and organized to identify patterns linking cultural values with family educational strategies. The findings were then organized into systematic thematic narratives. Conclusions were developed iteratively and continuously examined against the data throughout the analytical process.

Several strategies were employed to enhance the trustworthiness of the findings. Source triangulation was conducted by comparing accounts from parents, children, and traditional or community leaders, while methodological triangulation involved examining evidence obtained through interviews, observations, and documentation. Member checking was conducted by reconfirming interview findings with informants to assess the consistency of the researchers' interpretations. Peer debriefing was also undertaken through discussions with colleagues to examine the consistency of the analytical process.

Ethical considerations were maintained throughout the study. The research was conducted under a formal research permit issued by the relevant faculty at Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (Permit No. B-1744/UN40.A2.1/PT.01.01/2026). All informants received information about the purpose of the study and voluntarily provided written informed consent before participation. They were also informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any time. To protect confidentiality and privacy, participants' identities were anonymized throughout data collection, analysis, and reporting.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

The findings indicate that *hamoraon*, *hagabeon*, and *hasangapon* have been reinterpreted in relation to higher education among Toba Batak families in Greater Jakarta. Rather than being understood solely according to their traditional meanings, the three values were expressed through families' educational aspirations, practices, and interpretations of their children's achievements. Evidence from interviews, observations, and documentation consistently showed that higher education had become an important context in which the meanings of the 3H philosophy were articulated and maintained.

Cultural Values and Educational Aspirations in Everyday Family Life

Observations of Toba Batak families in Greater Jakarta showed that cultural values and educational aspirations were transmitted simultaneously within everyday family interactions. Parents frequently used the Batak language and *umpasa* (proverbs) when advising their children, linking cultural messages with expectations concerning education and future success. These practices illustrate how cultural values continue to be transmitted within families despite their urban social environment.

Educational achievement was also visibly represented within the home. Graduation photographs were displayed prominently in living rooms or family rooms, reflecting parental pride in their children's educational accomplishments. In some households, these photographs were placed alongside parents' wedding photographs or photographs of ancestors, connecting educational achievement with family and generational continuity.

Visual and documentary materials provided further evidence of the importance attached to educational achievement. Some families maintained folders containing their children's diplomas, academic transcripts, and achievement certificates as important family records. During data collection, one parent showed the researcher a collection of the child's educational documents as an expression of pride and parental accomplishment. Family social media posts similarly featured graduation moments accompanied by expressions of gratitude, pride, and hopes that the child's achievements would bring honor to the family. Educational accomplishments were therefore represented not only in private family spaces but also in broader social spaces through photographs, documents, and social media.

Observations at Toba Batak traditional ceremonies and community activities in Greater Jakarta also showed the participation of the younger generation. Naposo (young people) were involved in organizing activities, including maintaining cleanliness and security and providing entertainment. Although their roles were relatively limited, their participation demonstrated their continued involvement in community-based cultural activities.



Figures 1 and 2. Naposo Participating in the Organizing Committees of Bonataon Ceremonies

Reinterpreting Hamoraon: From Material Assets to Education-based Well-being

Interview findings showed that *hamoraon* was no longer understood solely in terms of material possessions such as land, houses, or other physical assets. Parents increasingly associated it with their children's educational attainment, employment, and economic stability.

One parent (MS, 57 years old) explained:

"These days, it's no longer about owning vast tracts of land or a big house. If our child has a college degree and a steady job, that's already a source of pride for us."

This account reflects a shift from understanding wealth primarily through physical assets toward associating well-being with educational attainment and stable employment. Another parent (DS, 54 years old) similarly explained that opportunities to obtain decent employment were becoming increasingly limited without higher education, particularly within a competitive urban environment.

A similar understanding emerged among younger informants. A student (CO, 26 years old) described higher education as important not only for acquiring academic knowledge but also for developing the mindset, communication skills, and professional readiness required in the workplace. From this perspective, obtaining stable employment and income was also understood as a way of responding to parents' educational investments and expectations. These accounts indicate that, among the participating families, *hamoraon* was increasingly associated with well-being achieved through education and subsequent economic stability.

Reinterpreting Hagabeon: From the Number of Descendants to Their Educational Achievement

Traditionally, *hagabeon* has been associated with having many descendants (Situmorang, 2021). This understanding was also reflected in the account of a traditional Siagian leader in Tangerang, who explained that *hagabeon* encompasses the expectation of having sons and daughters as well as male and female grandchildren. However, participants' accounts indicated that the contemporary meaning of *hagabeon* increasingly emphasized the achievements of descendants rather than their number.

One parent (RS, 55 years old) stated:

"People used to say that having many children was hagabeon. Now it's no longer about the number, but about how successful the children are and how high their level of education is."

For this parent, children's educational attainment had become an important marker of successful generational continuity. Higher education was associated with expectations that the next generation would attain improved social and economic circumstances.

This meaning was also evident from the perspective of younger informants. One participant (MA, 25 years old) described herself as the "family's hope," which motivated her to complete her studies as successfully as possible. She did not describe this expectation as a negative burden, but rather as an expression of her family's trust and responsibility placed upon her. These findings

suggest that, among the families studied, *hagabeon* was increasingly articulated through the educational achievements of descendants alongside its traditional association with lineage continuity.

Reinterpreting Hasangapon: Education as a Source of Family Honor and Social Recognition

Among the three values, *hasangapon* was particularly evident in participants' accounts of the relationship between educational attainment, family honor, and social recognition. Academic degrees were perceived as achievements that could enhance both individual and family standing within the community.

One parent (SS, 52 years old) stated:

"When our child has a bachelor's degree, others see us differently. There is a sense of pride and respect."

Observations during family gatherings and traditional ceremonies similarly showed that children's educational achievements frequently became topics of conversation. Such recognition extended beyond individual accomplishment, as participants associated academic achievement with the reputation and standing of the family.

Younger informants also described educational achievement as a means of maintaining the family's good name. Several participants perceived their academic success as evidence that their families had supported and raised them successfully. In this sense, *hasangapon* was expressed through the social recognition and family pride associated with higher education.

The Interconnected Meanings of the 3H Philosophy

Although *hamoraon*, *hagabeon*, and *hasangapon* were examined separately, participants' accounts and observational evidence showed that the three values were closely interconnected in everyday family life. Higher education was associated simultaneously with well-being (*hamoraon*), the achievements and continuity of subsequent generations (*hagabeon*), and family honor and social recognition (*hasangapon*).

The findings further indicate that decisions concerning higher education involved both economic considerations and commitments to cultural values. Parents described making financial sacrifices to support their children's education, while children interpreted educational achievement in relation to both their future opportunities and family expectations. Across interviews, observations, and documentary materials, educational achievement therefore emerged as a context in which the three values were expressed and reinterpreted within the contemporary urban lives of the Toba Batak families participating in this study.

Discussion

The findings show that *hamoraon*, *hagabeon*, and *hasangapon* are not simply preserved as static cultural ideals among Toba Batak families in Greater Jakarta. Instead, their meanings are reinterpreted in relation to higher education and contemporary urban life. Education provides a context in which aspirations for well-being, generational continuity, and social recognition are translated into family strategies and expectations. Viewed through Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital and Weber's theory of social action, this reinterpretation illustrates how inherited cultural values can remain meaningful while being adapted to changing social and economic conditions.

Reinterpreting Hamoraon, Hagabeon, and Hasangapon as Cultural and Symbolic Capital

Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital provide a useful framework for understanding how the 3H philosophy is reproduced and transformed within Toba Batak families. Habitus refers to historically formed dispositions through which individuals perceive and respond to their social world, connecting personal experience with broader social structures (Akram, 2023; Costa & Murphy, 2015). Rather than being innate, these dispositions develop through prolonged processes of socialization and become embedded in everyday practices. In the present study, family expectations concerning education can be understood as part of such dispositions: educational achievement

becomes meaningful not only because of its practical benefits but also because it is interpreted through culturally embedded understandings of prosperity, generational continuity, and honor.

Bourdieu's theory further distinguishes among economic, cultural, social, and symbolic forms of capital, each of which shapes an individual's or family's position and opportunities within a social field (Bourdieu, 1977). Cultural capital includes knowledge, competencies, and educational credentials, whereas symbolic capital refers to the recognition, prestige, and legitimacy attached to resources that are socially valued (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014; Huang, 2019). From this perspective, the findings suggest that the 3H philosophy provides a cultural orientation through which Toba Batak families assign meaning to educational investment and achievement.

The reinterpretation of *hamoraon* is particularly illustrative. Traditionally associated with material prosperity, *hamoraon* was increasingly described by participants in terms of educational attainment, stable employment, and longer-term well-being. Families' willingness to invest economic resources in their children's education can therefore be understood as a process through which economic resources are directed toward the acquisition of cultural capital. At the same time, academic qualifications may acquire symbolic value when they become publicly recognized indicators of achievement and family success. In this sense, the contemporary meaning of *hamoraon* does not necessarily replace its economic dimension; rather, the pathway through which prosperity is pursued appears to have expanded from the accumulation of physical assets toward investment in education and professional capability.

The reinterpretation of *hagabeon* reveals a related transformation. Traditionally associated with the continuity and number of descendants, *hagabeon* was increasingly articulated by participants in terms of the educational achievements and future prospects of the next generation. This finding can be interpreted through Bourdieu's concept of social reproduction, in which families transmit dispositions, aspirations, and resources across generations. Education becomes one means through which parents seek to provide their children with opportunities to achieve social and economic positions that are considered desirable. The emphasis observed in this study is therefore not simply on maintaining a lineage but also on preparing descendants to navigate contemporary educational and occupational environments.

Hasangapon provides the clearest connection between educational achievement and symbolic recognition. Participants associated academic degrees with pride, respect, and the family's standing within the community. The prominence of graduation photographs in family homes and the recognition of educational achievements during family and community interactions further demonstrate how academic credentials acquire meanings beyond their formal educational function. In Bourdieuan terms, educational credentials can operate as institutionalized cultural capital that acquires symbolic value when recognized by others. The findings therefore suggest that higher education contributes not only to individual qualifications but also to forms of collective recognition associated with family honor.

This interpretation also draws attention to the potentially unequal consequences of attaching strong symbolic value to educational credentials. Bourdieu's concepts of misrecognition and symbolic violence provide a critical lens for considering how socially valued forms of achievement may come to appear natural or self-evidently legitimate. The present findings do not demonstrate symbolic violence directly; indeed, one younger participant interpreted family expectations as trust and responsibility rather than as a negative burden. Nevertheless, when academic achievement becomes closely associated with *hasangapon* and family recognition, differences in access to higher education may also shape opportunities to acquire culturally valued forms of recognition. This possibility is particularly relevant where educational opportunities remain unevenly distributed.

Taken together, the findings illustrate an interaction among habitus, cultural capital, and symbolic capital in the contemporary interpretation of the 3H philosophy. The shift in *hamoraon* toward education-based well-being reflects the growing importance of educational investment; the reinterpretation of *hagabeon* emphasizes the educational development of subsequent generations; and *hasangapon* highlights the symbolic recognition associated with academic achievement. These processes resonate with Bourdieu's broader account of how social distinctions are reproduced through the interaction of habitus and different forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1977). At the same time, the findings suggest that these processes should not be understood as deterministic. Further research

is needed to examine whether and under what conditions the educational mobilization of 3H values reproduces, mitigates, or creates new forms of social inequality among Toba Batak communities.

Higher Education as an Arena of Social Action

Weber's theory of social action offers a complementary perspective by drawing attention to the meanings that families attach to educational decisions. Social action refers to action endowed with subjective meaning and oriented toward others (Asmawati et al., 2025; Kurniawan, 2020). From this perspective, Toba Batak families' decisions to prioritize higher education can be interpreted as involving both instrumental rationality (zweckrational) and value rationality (wertrational). The former concerns actions oriented toward calculated outcomes, whereas the latter concerns actions guided by commitments to values considered meaningful in themselves.

Instrumentally rational considerations were evident in participants' association of higher education with employment opportunities, economic independence, and long-term stability. Zweckrational action involves selecting appropriate means to achieve desired outcomes (Fikria & Moefad, 2024; V. A. Sinaga, 2025). For the families in this study, higher education was viewed as a practical means of preparing younger family members to navigate an increasingly competitive urban labor market. Investment in education therefore reflected pragmatic expectations concerning employment, economic security, and social mobility.

At the same time, educational decisions were embedded in value-oriented commitments. Wertrational action is guided by adherence to values or principles considered intrinsically meaningful, including moral, cultural, or religious commitments (Asmawati et al., 2025; Fathiha, 2022; A. P. Sinaga, 2025). The meanings participants attached to *hamoraon*, *hagabeon*, and *hasangapon* demonstrate that higher education was not valued solely for its economic returns. Supporting a child's education was also connected to family responsibility, generational aspirations, cultural continuity, and honor. Education therefore acquired both instrumental and cultural significance.

Importantly, these orientations were not necessarily experienced as contradictory. Parents' willingness to make economic sacrifices for their children's education illustrates how practical and value-oriented considerations can operate simultaneously. The expectation that children will achieve educational success can be understood both as an investment in their future economic opportunities and as an expression of responsibility toward the family. Rather than representing a simple opposition between tradition and modernity, these findings suggest an ongoing negotiation in which cultural commitments are reinterpreted through contemporary educational and socioeconomic conditions.

The younger generation's engagement with the 3H philosophy further illustrates this process. Their educational aspirations were connected to professional achievement and economic independence while remaining linked to expectations of maintaining the family's good name. This pattern is consistent with the broader observation that social and cultural resources can shape professional and educational orientations (Filipovic & Arslanagic-Kalajdzic, 2023). In this context, the reinterpretation of inherited values may be understood as a process through which traditional cultural orientations acquire meanings that remain relevant within contemporary urban life.

This interaction between instrumental and value-oriented considerations can be described as a form of hybrid rationality: educational decisions are simultaneously oriented toward practical outcomes and culturally meaningful obligations. Here, the concept is used descriptively to capture the coexistence of these orientations rather than to propose a new category of Weberian social action. Higher education consequently becomes an arena in which families negotiate economic aspirations, intergenerational responsibilities, and cultural identity.

The Weberian interpretation complements the Bourdieuan analysis by highlighting a different dimension of the same process. Whereas Bourdieu directs attention to historically formed dispositions and the accumulation and recognition of different forms of capital, Weber foregrounds the subjective meanings and orientations underlying social action (Aponno, 2025; Fathiha, 2022; Tandianga & Allolayu, 2022). Together, these perspectives help explain why higher education can simultaneously operate as a resource for socioeconomic advancement and as a culturally meaningful family project.

Overall, the findings extend discussions in the sociology of education by showing how locally rooted cultural values can be reinterpreted and mobilized within contemporary educational decision-making. Rather than functioning merely as motivational beliefs, *hamoraon*, *hagabeon*, and *hasangapon* provide cultural frames through which families understand educational investment, intergenerational responsibility, and social recognition. The findings therefore illustrate how higher education can become a site where cultural continuity and socioeconomic adaptation intersect.

The study also has practical implications, although these should be interpreted in light of its qualitative and context-specific design. Educational practitioners and policymakers may benefit from recognizing that aspirations for higher education can be embedded in family and cultural meanings rather than being exclusively individual or economic choices. Culturally responsive approaches to educational participation should therefore consider how families understand education within their own systems of values and social relationships. Further research across different Toba Batak communities and other sociocultural settings would help establish how far these patterns extend beyond the urban families examined in this study.

CONCLUSION

The findings demonstrate that Toba Batak families in Greater Jakarta reinterpret *hamoraon*, *hagabeon*, and *hasangapon* (3H) in ways that connect inherited cultural values with contemporary aspirations for higher education. *Hamoraon* is increasingly associated with education-based well-being and economic stability rather than primarily with the accumulation of physical assets; *hagabeon* extends beyond the continuity and number of descendants to encompass their educational achievement and future prospects; and *hasangapon* is expressed through the social recognition and family pride associated with academic attainment. These interconnected meanings suggest that higher education functions not only as a pathway to socioeconomic advancement but also as a culturally meaningful family project. From a Bourdieuan perspective, educational attainment can acquire cultural and symbolic value through family and community recognition, while a Weberian perspective shows how educational decisions combine instrumental considerations, such as employment and economic stability, with value-oriented commitments to family responsibility, cultural continuity, and honor. The 3H philosophy therefore remains relevant not by retaining a fixed meaning, but through its continuing reinterpretation within contemporary urban life.

These findings should be considered in light of the study's context and participant composition. The study was limited to Toba Batak families in Greater Jakarta and primarily involved families with experience of higher education; consequently, it does not capture the experiences of families facing greater economic or educational barriers, nor should its findings be assumed to represent Toba Batak communities in other settings. Future research could compare urban families with communities in North Sumatra to examine how the meanings of 3H vary across social and geographical contexts. Further studies could also investigate how digital environments and changing labor-market conditions shape the contemporary meaning of *hasangapon*, as well as examine the experiences of families with unequal access to higher education. Quantitative or mixed-methods research involving broader populations may further examine the relationships among cultural values, educational participation, and social mobility across different sociocultural groups in Indonesia.

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