Family Education and the Regeneration of Belief Communities in a Multicultural Society

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Abstract

Civil rights recognition of *Penghayat Kepercayaan* (adherents of Indigenous belief systems) in Indonesia does not automatically ensure community sustainability, because regeneration remains a challenge in a multicultural society dominated by a majority religion. This article analyzes how Penghayat families internalize belief values, the obstacles they face, and strategies for strengthening regeneration. This multi-year qualitative study in Banyumas Regency used in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation with nine informants from five *paguyuban* (belief associations) in 2025. The findings were validated in an August 2026 focus group discussion with 17 participants from Penghayat organizations, young Penghayat, and local government. Data were analyzed using the Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña interactive model, the frameworks of Berger and Luckmann, Durkheim, and Ballantine, and multiculturalism theory. Three patterns of family education emerged: handing down, accompanying, and granting freedom of choice, enacted through role modeling and family and communal rituals. Regeneration is hindered by stigma, bullying, the dominance of majority-religion symbols in schools, reluctance to change administrative identity, and weak educational institutions within the paguyuban. Strategies formulated with stakeholders align with Indonesia's Social Restoration policy. Family education functions as an adaptive moral pedagogy for minority communities, but its continuity requires support from paguyuban, schools, and local government.

Keywords: family education; multicultural society; Penghayat Kepercayaan; regeneration; value internalization

I. INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian state's recognition of *Penghayat Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan Yang Maha Esa* (adherents of Indigenous belief systems, hereafter Penghayat) has expanded significantly over the past decade. Constitutional Court Decision No. 97/PUU-XIV/2016 opened the way for belief affiliation to be recorded in the religion column of identity cards (KTP) and family cards (KK), while Minister of Education and Culture Regulation No. 27 of 2016 guarantees belief education services in schools. The 2023 Cultural Statistics recorded 176 Penghayat organizations in 15 provinces, with Central Java hosting the largest number at 53 organizations (30.11%) (Sambodo & Rizky, 2023). Legal recognition, however, does not automatically ensure community sustainability. Studies of Penghayat recognition show that administrative recognition has not eliminated social marginalization at the grassroots level (Hannan, 2022; Viri & Febriany, 2020), and structural violence against Penghayat students is still found in schools (Surur et al., 2024).

Banyumas illustrates this challenge clearly. Data from the Banyumas Regency National Unity and Political Affairs Agency (Kantor Kesbangpol Kabupaten Banyumas, 2019) recorded 2,994 members in 10 Penghayat organizations, whereas 2024 population registry data record only 135 people in the "others" category among 1,868,446 registered residents, 98.5% of whom are Muslim (BPS Kabupaten Banyumas, 2025). This gap probably

reflects the difference between members of the paguyuban and residents who dare to register their beliefs officially, because the stigma of being labeled "atheist" or "PKI" remains strong. The leadership of the Majelis Luhur Kepercayaan Indonesia (MLKI, the Supreme Council of Indonesian Belief) in Banyumas Regency recorded at least 15 incidents of discrimination between 2012 and 2025 in education, employment, death rites, civil registration, and social life (personal communication, MLKI Banyumas Regency, 5 September 2025). In a multicultural society that is demographically dominated by one religion, Penghayat communities occupy a minority position and must negotiate their identity every day.

Conceptually, the term "multicultural society" in the title of this article refers to the distinction between the fact of cultural diversity (*multicultural*) and the normative response to it (*multiculturalist*) (Parekh, 2006). Multiculturalism, in this view, is not merely the numerical plurality of cultural groups, but an effort to create and guarantee spaces in which each community can grow at its own pace, while building a public space where these communities interact and enrich one another (Kanpol & McLaren, 1995). This distinction matters because Banyumas society is factually multicultural, with various Penghayat paguyuban living among a predominantly Muslim population; yet, as the Results section will show, the space that would allow Penghayat to grow at their own pace is not yet fully available.

The concept of recognition (Taylor, 1994) is also relevant. Taylor argues that identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence (*misrecognition*), and that nonrecognition or misrecognition can be a form of oppression that imprisons a person in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being. This principle helps in reading the experiences of Penghayat children in formal schools, whose stigmatization as "atheists" or "PKI" can be understood as a form of misrecognition that contributes to their experience of subordination.

Critical approaches to multiculturalism also offer an important caution (Kanpol & McLaren, 1995): multiculturalism must not stop at acknowledging difference, but should examine how power relations historically and institutionally shape that difference. This perspective is relevant for analyzing how the structures of formal education and civil registration contribute to the subordinate position of Penghayat, rather than treating it as a matter of neutral cultural difference.

In the Indonesian context, the concept of "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika multiculturalism" has been proposed (Sugeng et al., 2023), namely a process of recognizing, valuing, and promoting cultural diversity in which Pancasila and the national motto Bhinneka Tunggal Ika function as a *social imaginary* that unites national identity amid plurality. The same study notes that the constitutional rights of Penghayat were affirmed through Constitutional Court Decision No. 97/PUU-XIV/2016, yet their implementation on the ground is still overshadowed by stereotypes, prejudice, and unequal access. At the policy level, Minister of Social Affairs Regulation No. 22 of 2017 on Social Restoration (*Restorasi Sosial*) is also relevant as a state framework for strengthening diversity values, social capital, and the role of social institutions, with families, educational institutions, and community groups as its targets of strengthening (Kementerian Sosial RI, 2017). This framework is used again in the Discussion to interpret the strategies for strengthening regeneration that were formulated with stakeholders in the 2026 FGD.

Amid these pressures, regeneration has become an existential issue. A study in Baturraden District notes that the existence of Penghayat communities is vulnerable to fading because of low regeneration (Anisatuszahra, 2024), and a study of Kejawen finds an existential crisis caused by modernization (Setianingsih et al., 2022). This problem cannot be solved by schools alone, because belief education services run only at certain levels and are not yet supported by teachers or a uniform curriculum within the paguyuban. In everyday parenting, the family is the first place where children encounter teachings, values, and rituals. A review of the literature reveals three tendencies in studies of Penghayat. The first concerns civil rights and state recognition (Hannan, 2022; Siregar et al., 2020; Surur et al., 2024; Viri &

Febriany, 2020). The second concerns teachings and rituals (Ariyanti, 2015; Arroisi et al., 2021). The third concerns administrative problems and community adaptation, such as the registration of marriages (Rais, 2021) and adaptation strategies in the era of globalization (Dyani et al., 2022). Studies of value internalization, on the other hand, generally take place in schools or places of worship, for example the internalization of Pancasila values through mosques (Asmaroini et al., 2020) or local *Sunda Wiwitan* wisdom in elementary schools (Fadhilah et al., 2022). There is also a study of regeneration within a single paguyuban, namely Sapta Darma in Yogyakarta (Turido, 2018), but studies that compare patterns of family education across paguyuban and connect them to the local multicultural context remain limited.

The international literature on intergenerational religious transmission offers a useful point of comparison for this study. For example, a study in Canada found that talking about religion with family members and the presence of religion in the home during childhood positively affect religiosity, but not strongly enough to reverse the intergenerational trend of secularization (Legault-Leclair, 2025). A study in the United States likewise confirms the influence of parents on children's religious beliefs, attitudes, and practices (Gemar, 2023). Both studies start from established religions. The Penghayat case differs because their supporting institutions are limited, their teachings are rooted in Javanese wisdom, and their practice is often personal and does not involve spreading the teachings to others.

To interpret these processes, this article draws on three frameworks: Durkheim's view of education as the transmission of collective morality (Durkheim, 1973); Berger and Luckmann's account of how the reality of belief is constructed through externalization, objectivation, and internalization (Berger & Luckmann, 1991); and Ballantine and Spade's positioning of the family as the primary agent of socialization (Ballantine & Spade, 2007). Together, these frameworks allow Penghayat families to be read as informal educational institutions operating under the pressure of a majority environment.

This article is part of a multi-year study in Banyumas Regency. The first-year data (2025) were obtained through in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation with nine informants from five paguyuban, using snowball sampling (Mintarti et al., 2025). In the second year (2026), the findings were validated through a focus group discussion (FGD) with 17 participants, 10 men and 7 women. They were informants from the first year of the study together with representatives of MLKI, GEMAPAKTI (the Penghayat youth organization), the Education Office, and the Office of Youth, Sports, Culture, and Tourism (Dinporabudpar). Data were also collected through observation of two community activities in July 2026. This article addresses three questions: (1) How do Penghayat families internalize belief values in their children? (2) What obstacles hinder regeneration? and (3) What strategies have been formulated with stakeholders to strengthen it?

This article is expected to contribute in two ways. Empirically, it presents three patterns of family education (handing down, accompanying, and granting freedom of choice) that have been validated across stakeholders. Conceptually, it reads family education as an adaptive moral pedagogy for minority communities with limited institutional support, thereby adding to studies of the family in multicultural societies.

II. METHOD

This study used a qualitative approach with a case study design within a multi-year research project in Banyumas Regency, Central Java. This approach was chosen because it can capture informants' subjective meanings of religious experience and parenting within the family, which are difficult to measure through quantitative approaches. The research site was selected because Banyumas has a relatively large number of Penghayat paguyuban in Central

Java and, at the same time, illustrates the challenges of regeneration arising from social pressure in a society dominated by a single religion.

Data collection in the first year (2025) used in-depth interviews, observation, and documentation with nine informants from five Penghayat paguyuban in Banyumas. Informants were selected through snowball sampling, beginning with the leadership of MLKI in Banyumas Regency, who then recommended other informants based on closeness of relationship and intensity of interaction within the organization. The interviews focused on parenting practices, the instillation of values, and experiences of facing a plural social environment.

In the second year (2026), the initial findings were validated through an FGD held in August 2026 with 17 participants, 10 men and 7 women. FGD participants included informants from the first year of the study as well as representatives of MLKI, the Penghayat youth organization Generasi Muda Penghayat Kepercayaan (GEMAPAKTI), the Education Office, and the Banyumas Regency Office of Youth, Sports, Culture, and Tourism (Dinas Pemuda, Olahraga, Kebudayaan, dan Pariwisata, abbreviated Dinporabudpar). The FGD aimed to validate the three patterns of family education identified in the first year and, at the same time, to jointly formulate obstacles and strategies for strengthening regeneration. The data were also supplemented by observation of a Penghayat community event, the "Workshop on the Javanese *Petungan* Tradition: From Birth to Death" (Workshop *Tradisi Petungan Jawa: Dari Kelahiran sampai Kematian*), held in Banyumas on 9, 11, and 12 July 2026, with the *Slametan Suran* (a communal ritual meal marking the Javanese new year) as one of its series of activities; *petungan* refers to the Javanese system of calculating auspicious days. This observation aimed to examine the transmission of values in the context of community rituals.

The research instruments were a semi-structured interview guide and an observation guide, developed from the three research questions stated in the Introduction, as well as an FGD guide summarizing the first-year findings for discussion with participants. All data were recorded in field notes and, with informants' permission, partly audio-recorded to facilitate transcription.

Data analysis followed the interactive model (Miles et al., 2014), which consists of data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing carried out simultaneously and iteratively throughout the research process. Interview and FGD data were transcribed and then coded thematically to identify patterns of family education, the values being internalized, and obstacles to regeneration. The analysis was interpreted through Berger and Luckmann's social construction framework, Durkheim's moral education, and Ballantine and Spade's sociology of education.

Data trustworthiness was maintained through source and method triangulation, namely by comparing the results of interviews, observation, and documentation across informants and *paguyuban*, and through member checking at the 2026 FGD to confirm the accuracy of the first-year findings. In terms of research ethics, informants' consent in the first year (2025) was obtained verbally before the interviews, whereas in the 2026 FGD participants gave written consent through informed consent forms. The identities of all informants and FGD participants are disguised in this article using initials to protect confidentiality, given the relatively small size of Penghayat communities in Banyumas and their vulnerability to stigma. Interview excerpts, originally in Indonesian and Javanese, were translated into English by the authors, and key local terms are retained in italics.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

A. Result

3.1. Patterns of Family Education in the Internalization of Belief Values

The first-year (2025) findings show that the internalization of belief values in Penghayat families in Banyumas takes place through three patterns: handing down (*menurunkan*), accompanying (*mendampingi*), and granting freedom of choice (*membebaskan*). These three patterns were validated again in the 2026 FGD, where participants agreed that they describe actual practices that vary with the subjective conditions and dynamics of each family.

3.1.1 Handing Down the Teachings to the Younger Generation

The handing-down pattern is practiced mainly by Penghayat whose own belief was inherited across generations from their parents. Informant W explained, "So it is *tutur tinular* [oral transmission], passed down through the generations. My parents gave freedom: *monggo*, whichever one you like. But once we followed the belief, we were guided... introduced, then taught good character... and that is automatically instilled in my child too. Yes, adjusting it to the times." Informant T expressed a similar view: "I began to follow the belief mainly because of heredity, from my grandfather, passed down to my father, and then to me... Now I pass it on to my child, but I adjust to the present day. The old way of doing it simply doesn't work on children." These statements show that handing down is not rigid; parents adapt how they deliver the teachings to the context of the younger generation without changing the substance of the values being passed on.

3.1.2 Guiding and Accompanying

This pattern is practiced both by Penghayat who inherited their belief and by those who chose it themselves. Its hallmark is that parents do not force their children to follow their beliefs. Informant H, a belief extension worker (*penyuluh*) certified by the National Professional Certification Agency (BNSP), described his attitude toward his child's friendships with Muslim children: "'You may, go ahead. That is seeking knowledge.' But the instilling of doctrine (*akidah*)... I still do that. But I don't force it, I'm not too rigid about it." He still enrolls his child in the belief subject at school as a form of accompaniment. Informant A, who became a Penghayat of his own accord, instills values through role modeling and plural education: "from an early age I tried to instill values of tolerance in my child," sending his child to a religiously heterogeneous school. This pattern emphasizes open dialogue between parents and children without coercion.

3.1.3 Granting Freedom of Choice to Children

The third pattern is found among parents who leave the choice of belief entirely to their children. It occurs in families in which one or both parents converted from an officially recognized religion to become Penghayat. Informant S, from the Tri Tunggal Bayu paguyuban, stressed that the teachings of the paguyuban forbid influencing others, including one's own children: "Not to my child either. Well... if they ask, I give. It's just that they don't ask. I serve people who need it." A similar pattern, but with more explicit negotiation, was found with Informant SW, who left the choice of her child's belief up to her Muslim husband: "If you can still handle the religious education, go ahead. But when your child has wishes of her own, let it be." Informant SW's own spiritual journey has a complex background: she was raised by Penghayat parents who lived in a Muslim environment. She is married to a Muslim man who has even made the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*). Nevertheless, her husband comes from a traditional Muslim family that is familiar with practices typical of Penghayat. In the course of her spiritual journey, she, who had initially followed Islam, eventually settled firmly on becoming a Penghayat, following the path of her parents and older sister. She applied this pattern of granting freedom to her first child, a daughter, who initially also followed Islam but eventually chose to become a Penghayat of her own awareness from junior high school onward, following her mother's belief. This pattern of granting freedom stems from teachings that reject proselytizing or coercion, so that internalization takes place passively through role modeling rather than through direct instruction.

3.2 Values and Methods of Instillation Validated by the FGD

The 2026 FGD enriched the first-year findings by confirming that the instillation of values does not always begin when children start formal schooling. Several informants, for example Informant SW, reported that spirituality is already instilled while the child is still in the womb, through meditation (*semedi*) and devout prayer in the last third of the night. Informant SW applied this prenatal instillation of values to her second child, who was born quite a long time after the first; during the second pregnancy she was already firmly settled as a Penghayat, so the ascetic practices (*laku prihatin*) she undertook during pregnancy were aligned with her already established belief, unlike the situation when her first child was born, when her choice of belief was still a process of searching. Meanwhile, formal guidance at school generally begins only in grade 3 of elementary school. The main values instilled include good character and noble conduct (honesty, politeness, and filial devotion to parents), awareness of Javanese cultural roots, respect for others and tolerance, the principle of Belief in One Supreme God (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*), commitment and responsibility, and spiritual obedience. The methods of instillation include direct role modeling (*ing ngarsa sung tuladha*, "at the front, setting an example"), family ritual practices such as meditation, fasting, *wetonan* (observances tied to one's Javanese birth-day cycle), and *ngobong menyan* (burning incense) on certain days, as well as school and community education through the Belief Services (*Layanan Kepercayaan*) subject and paguyuban activities.

3.3 Obstacles to Regeneration

The first-year findings identified five main obstacles to internalization amid the problem of regeneration: (1) many young people prefer to learn an officially recognized religion because of its ease and the sheer scale of proselytizing, as expressed by Informant S, "Religion is the easiest. As for belief, it has to be earned through practice (*laku pinuku*), and the austerity it demands is great"; (2) social stigma toward Penghayat children, in the form of being called "atheist" or "PKI," experienced since elementary school, as recounted by Informant SW about the child who was mocked, "That's your *Mbah* [grandparent]... doesn't pray, that's PKI"; (3) the incomplete dissemination of civil registration services for Penghayat, including the religion column on official forms that does not yet accommodate belief; (4) the absence of a party ready to advocate for Penghayat when they face problems, including the case of Informant T, who was transferred to another post for fighting for the right to belief education for his students; and (5) the personal nature of the decision to become a Penghayat, which makes some Penghayat reluctant to proselytize their teachings even to their own children.

The 2026 FGD validated and extended these findings with more contextual data. Bullying turned out to occur from elementary school through vocational high school, carried out by both peers and some teachers. Pressure also arises from the dominance of majority religious symbols and routines in schools, such as the daily playing of *murotal* (recitations of the Qur'an), religious gatherings (*pengajian*), and *muroja'ah* (review of Qur'an memorization), which leave Penghayat children feeling pressured and alienated. The FGD also identified a "non-declare" group, namely residents who are already Penghayat in their spiritual practice but have not yet dared to change the religion column on their KTP/KK because of concerns about employment, social relations, and stigma. This finding helps explain the gap between the number recorded in the "others" category of official population data (135 people) and the larger estimated number of Penghayat. Institutionally, Penghayat paguyuban generally do not yet have structured and uniform educational institutions or curricula, nor an advocacy team ready to respond to cases of discrimination.

3.4 Strategies for Strengthening Regeneration

Based on validation and discussion with stakeholders, the 2026 FGD formulated three groups of strategies for strengthening regeneration. First, developing educational institutions and curricula within the paguyuban, including compiling structured educational guidebooks at the paguyuban level, strengthening the idea of establishing a "Traditional School" (*Sekolah Adat*) or "Independent School" (*Sekolah Mandiri*) for the regeneration of Penghayat children, and optimizing the inclusive use of the National Belief Curriculum in formal schools. Second, internalizing spirituality and self-philosophy, through the principle of *memayu hayuning bawana* (beautifying the harmony of the world), which stresses that the struggle to create harmony begins with improving the quality of oneself, and the "rainbow philosophy," which nurtures the mindset of young people so that they are proud of their identity, interpreting the diversity of beliefs as colors that enrich the nation's diversity. Third, institutional synergy and guaranteed public services, by strengthening coordination among MLKI, the Education Office, Dinporabudpar, and the Population and Civil Registration Office (Disdukcapil) to ensure protection, wide dissemination of civil registration services, and public services free from interference or discrimination for Penghayat residents.

B. DISCUSSION: Family Education as an Adaptive Moral Pedagogy

The findings above can be read through three complementary frameworks. From Durkheim's perspective, family rites such as *wetonan*, *sembah hyang* (worship), *tirakat* (ascetic practice), *ngasrep* (also called *mutih*, a fast in which one eats only unflavored food, typically plain white rice and plain water) (Az Zahra & Andriyanto, 2023; Latifah & Fathurrahman, 2025), and the *sarasehan tumpeng* (a communal gathering around a ritual cone of rice) function as *collective representations* that carry belief values while expressing group cohesion. The repetition of rituals, children's involvement in spiritual activities, and the habituation of good character indicate that the family performs the function of moral education: instilling discipline, building attachment to shared values, and cultivating moral awareness. However, the tendency toward declining regeneration and cases of children choosing the majority religious identity point to a weakening of the family's and the community's capacity to reproduce their collective morality, which in Durkheim's terms can be read as a form of *anomie*, that is, a situation in which collective norms lose their binding force for the next generation.

Berger and Luckmann's approach explains the mechanisms behind these patterns. Externalization appears when parents express the teachings through everyday actions, such as giving *pitutur* (moral counsel) and practicing *tirakat*. Objectivation is seen in the codification of rituals and the formulation of teachings, for example through a paguyuban's scriptures of teachings or the symbolic meaning of the *tumpeng* in the *sarasehan*. These values are then internalized by children through interaction, observation, and emulation. The three patterns of family education found—handing down, accompanying, and granting freedom of choice—illustrate the variety of family strategies in sustaining the construction of belief reality amid dominant external pressures. When the objectivation of Penghayat values is weaker than the objective structure of the majority religion, which is supported by formal educational institutions and the social environment, the internalization process in children becomes unstable and may drive a shift in identity, as reflected in the case of the pattern of granting freedom.

Meanwhile, Ballantine's sociology of education positions the family as the primary agent of socialization that works through a *hidden curriculum*: behavioral role modeling, ritual habituation, moral narratives, and everyday patterns of emotional interaction. Adjusting how children are educated to the needs of the times, for example through the dialogical approach in the accompanying pattern, reflects the family's adaptive function as an informal educational institution. However, Penghayat families do not operate in a vacuum. Structural

pressure from the demands of formal religious education, the strength of majority religious identity among peers, and social stigma generate *role conflict*, that is, tension between maintaining traditional values and meeting external social expectations. This tension helps explain why some patterns of internalization do not work optimally and why regeneration faces obstacles.

This reading can be sharpened through the framework of multiculturalism itself. Following the distinction between multicultural and multiculturalist societies (Parekh, 2006), Banyumas society is factually *multicultural*, but its degree of success as a *multiculturalist* society, one that actively guarantees space for Penghayat to grow at their own pace, remains limited, as reflected in the inadequacy of paguyuban educational institutions and civil registration services. The stigma of "atheist" and "PKI" experienced by Penghayat children can be read as a form of *misrecognition* in the sense used by Taylor (Taylor, 1994): the majority environment's mistaken recognition of Penghayat identity contributes to the experience of subordination they endure, rather than being merely a matter of neutral difference in belief. In this regard, the critical multiculturalist perspective (Kanpol & McLaren, 1995) is relevant as a reminder that strengthening regeneration cannot stop at the symbolic recognition of difference, but must also address the power relations that perpetuate this subordination, for example the dominance of the majority religious curriculum and symbols in formal school environments.

Interestingly, the three groups of strategies formulated by the 2026 FGD for strengthening regeneration—strengthening educational institutions, internalizing self-philosophy, and institutional synergy—align with the Social Restoration policy framework regulated in Minister of Social Affairs Regulation No. 22 of 2017, which targets the strengthening of diversity education and dialogue spaces among citizens, social capital, and the role of social institutions, with families, educational institutions, and community groups as its targets (Kementerian Sosial RI, 2017). This alignment shows that the strategies formulated with Penghayat stakeholders in Banyumas do not stand alone but can be synergized with an existing national policy framework, which increases their prospects for sustainability.

In the context of Banyumas's multicultural society, which is demographically dominated by one religion, Penghayat family education thus functions as an adaptive moral pedagogy: the family becomes the primary space for instilling values and, at the same time, a space for negotiating identity, because it must confront formal educational institutions and a social environment that dominate symbolically. The values that are internalized, especially tolerance and respect for others, become capital for young Penghayat to live side by side with the majority group without losing their belief identity. The problem of regeneration therefore cannot be understood merely as parents' failure to educate their children, but as the result of interaction among the weakening reproduction of values at the community level, the insufficient objectivation of belief values in the broader social structure, and competing socialization between Penghayat families on the one hand and educational institutions and the majority environment on the other. The strategies for strengthening regeneration formulated with stakeholders at the 2026 FGD—strengthening paguyuban educational institutions, internalizing self-philosophy, and institutional synergy—should therefore be read as efforts to strengthen the objective structure of belief values at the community and social levels, in line with the value education already practiced within families.

IV. CONCLUSION

This study shows that, in the multicultural society of Banyumas, which is demographically dominated by one religion, Penghayat families function as informal educational institutions that internalize belief values through three patterns—handing down, accompanying, and granting freedom of choice—carried out through role modeling and the

habituation of family and community rituals. These patterns are adaptive, adjusting to parents' spiritual paths and the context of the times, but their effectiveness is limited by social stigma, the dominance of majority religious symbols in formal schools, some residents' reluctance to change their administrative identity, and weak educational institutions at the paguyuban level. The strategies for strengthening regeneration formulated with MLKI, GEMAPAKTI, and local government at the 2026 FGD, which include strengthening paguyuban educational institutions, internalizing self-philosophy, and institutional synergy, align with the national Social Restoration policy framework, thereby opening greater prospects for the sustainability of Penghayat community regeneration. Family education can thus be understood as an adaptive moral pedagogy for minority belief communities, whose continuity depends not only on the family but also on strengthening the objective structure of belief values at the community, institutional, and public policy levels that better accommodate diversity.

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