

Abhakte as Everyday Pedagogy: Qualitative Insights into Filial Piety, Family Learning, and Islamic Education in Madura

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Abstract

This article examines abhakte ka oreng towa, the Madurese expression of filial devotion, as an everyday pedagogy of family learning and Islamic education. While filial piety is often discussed as a normative religious or moral obligation, this study approaches abhakte as a qualitative educational practice embedded in daily life. Based on interviews, observation, and documentation in Madurese Muslim communities, the article explores how children learn filial piety through family modelling, refined speech, embodied respect, mushalla-based Qur'anic learning, pesantren discipline, ritual participation, and kinship obligations. The findings show that abhakte is transmitted through three interrelated pedagogical processes: modelling and habituation in the family, religious repetition in mushalla and pesantren contexts, and social recognition within the wider community. These processes make filial piety a lived curriculum that connects Islamic teaching, Madurese cultural values, and moral personhood. The article contributes to qualitative studies in education by showing that education occurs not only in formal classrooms but also in everyday relational, linguistic, religious, and affective practices through which children learn how to become socially recognised moral subjects.

Keywords: *abhakte; filial piety; family learning; Islamic education; Madura; everyday pedagogy; qualitative research; moral education*

A. Introduction

An everyday scene can illustrate the educational significance of filial respect in Madura: before leaving for afternoon Qur'anic recitation, a child pauses at the family doorway, bends slightly, kisses the mother's hand, and receives a reminder to speak gently to the Qur'anic teacher. This illustrative scene draws attention to learning embedded in ordinary interaction. Learning through participation in culturally organised activities provides a useful perspective for understanding the educational significance of such encounters.¹ Within this perspective, gestures of respect can be examined as ways of communicating how to approach an elder, associate learning with parental blessing, and connect religious study with respectful conduct. They invite an educational question: how do everyday family practices introduce children to moral and religious expectations?

¹ Barbara Rogoff, *The Cultural Nature of Human Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

This article approaches that question through the Madurese concept of abhakte ka oreng towa, understood here as filial devotion to parents. Closely related to the Islamic teaching of birrul walidayn, abhakte provides a way of examining how religious obligations acquire meaning through family and community life. Its educational significance can be explored through respectful speech, bodily comportment, hand-kissing, service, prayer, family visits, and the maintenance of kinship ties. This article uses everyday pedagogy to describe ordinary, repeated, and relational practices through which moral expectations are communicated, enacted, corrected, and socially evaluated. From this perspective, filial devotion concerns both the values children are expected to recognise and the practices through which those values are introduced.

This focus builds on scholarship that understands education beyond formal institutions, classroom instruction, and measurable learning outcomes. Situated learning and communities of practice perspectives emphasise participation in social practices and the relationship between learning and identity formation.² Scholarship on embodied dispositions and household knowledge further highlights the educational significance of everyday practices and the resources available within families and communities.³ Cultural approaches to learning also direct attention to people's histories of participation rather than treating learning patterns as fixed attributes of cultural groups.⁴ Together, these perspectives provide a foundation for examining how moral and religious learning is organised within family life. In the context considered here, speech, gestures, prayer, reminders, and shared activities offer a means of investigating how Islamic values become part of children's everyday educational environments.

Filial piety can be examined in terms of obligation, respect, intergenerational authority, and moral responsibility. Within an Islamic framework, birrul walidayn gives religious significance to children's relationships with their parents. A pedagogical inquiry extends this concern by asking how such obligations are communicated and practised. How are children taught to recognise harsh speech or disrespectful gestures? How do visits to relatives become expressions of responsibility towards parents? How is parental happiness presented as a valued aim of conduct? The analytical problem addressed in this article is the relationship between

² Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511815355>; Etienne Wenger, *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511803932>.

³ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511812507>; Norma González, Luis C. Moll, and Cathy Amanti, eds., *Funds of Knowledge: Theorizing Practices in Households, Communities, and Classrooms* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2005)

⁴ Kris D. Gutiérrez and Barbara Rogoff, "Cultural Ways of Learning: Individual Traits or Repertoires of Practice," *Educational Researcher* 32, no. 5 (2003): 19–25, <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X032005019>.

filial devotion as a moral expectation and the everyday processes through which it is taught. Examining that relationship brings family interaction and community participation into the study of Islamic education.

Madura provides a setting in which to explore the connections among religious values, family relationships, language, and social respect. These connections should not be taken to imply that Madurese Muslim life is uniform or unchanging. Rather, they direct attention to the local idioms and relationships through which moral expectations are expressed. The idiom *bhupa'*, *bhabbu'*, *ghuru*, *rato* identifies father, mother, teacher, and ruler as figures of respect. Read pedagogically, it raises questions about how children encounter different forms of authority and learn the conduct associated with them. Similarly, *andhap asor*, understood as respectful humility, draws attention to the ways moral expectations may be expressed through speech and bodily behaviour.

Within this relational setting, parents can be understood as early guides to language, conduct, and religious practice. Teaching short prayers, encouraging gentle speech, and demonstrating respectful behaviour towards grandparents are practices through which filial values may be introduced. Rogoff's concept of guided participation helps explain the educational relevance of such activities: children participate in culturally valued practices with guidance from more experienced people.⁵ Applied to *abhakte*, this perspective directs attention to how adults connect everyday conduct with gratitude for parental care, religious responsibility, and respect for others. It also encourages a distinction between the values adults seek to transmit and the meanings children themselves may develop.

The family's educational role can also be examined in relation to *mushalla*, *madrasah*, *pesantren*, and *majelis taklim*. These settings provide opportunities for religious instruction, prayer, moral storytelling, and the cultivation of *adab*. Their relationship with family learning is therefore central to understanding how filial expectations may be reinforced across different social spaces. Prayers for parents, instruction in *akhlak*, and expectations of respectful conduct towards teachers can connect religious learning with responsibilities first introduced at home. The extent and character of this continuity require examination, including whether different settings communicate similar expectations or place different emphases on respect, service, and obedience.

Language, bodily practices, and kinship participation provide further points of entry into this inquiry. A reminder to lower one's voice, an invitation to accompany parents on a family visit, or an explanation of appropriate conduct towards elders can each carry pedagogical

⁵ Rogoff, *The Cultural Nature of Human Development*.

significance. Such practices make moral expectations perceptible through words, gestures, and relationships. The local terms discussed in this article help specify these concerns: andhap asor refers to respectful humility; mabhunga to making parents happy; nyambhung bhala to maintaining kinship relations; and amoljaaghi to honouring parents and preserving their dignity. These terms are approached as context-sensitive categories for examining moral learning, while allowing for variation in their interpretation and practice.

The transmission of abhakte also raises questions about continuity and adaptation. Digital communication, migration, educational demands, and changing patterns of family interaction provide a context for examining how opportunities for intergenerational learning may change. These developments should not be assumed to weaken filial devotion automatically. Instead, they invite attention to how families sustain, reinterpret, or negotiate expectations of respect under changing circumstances. This perspective allows the discussion to consider both the persistence of filial values and possible changes in the practices through which they are communicated.

Accordingly, this study aims to examine abhakte ka oreng towa as an everyday pedagogy within Madurese Muslim family and community life. Specifically, it seeks to explore the meanings attached to abhakte, analyse the practices through which filial values are communicated and reinforced across family and religious settings, and consider their significance for moral, religious, and social formation. It also considers the challenges that social change poses for the continuity and adaptation of these practices. Through these objectives, the study seeks to clarify the relationship between Islamic filial ethics, Madurese cultural expressions, and learning beyond formal schooling.

B. Research Methods

This study adopted a qualitative ethnographic approach to examine abhakte as an everyday educational practice in Madurese Muslim communities.⁶ It reanalysed material from a broader investigation of birrul walidayn, focusing on how filial values are communicated, practised, and socially recognised. Fieldwork covered Bangkalan, Pamekasan, Sampang, and Sumenep. Participants included community and religious leaders, family elders, women's majelis taklim leaders, and educators associated with pesantren, mushalla, and Qur'anic learning. Selection was based on their knowledge of family education, religious practices, and local moral traditions.

Data collection combined semi-structured interviews, observations, and documentation. Interviews addressed the meanings of abhakte, family and religious education, respectful

⁶ John W. Creswell and Cheryl N. Poth, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 2018).

speech, parental happiness, and perceived social change. Observations focused on gestures of respect, family visits, and religious activities, while documentation concerned local expressions and educational practices. These materials were examined to understand how filial expectations were articulated and enacted, without assuming that adults' accounts directly represented children's experiences.

Thematic analysis focused on recurring patterns of modelling, habituation, correction, respectful speech, ritual reinforcement, and social recognition.⁷ Madurese terms were interpreted contextually to preserve their analytical significance: *mabhunga* was examined in relation to parental happiness as a moral aspiration, while *andhap asor* was considered in relation to humility and self-restraint. Comparisons across interviews, observations, and documents were used to assess the consistency and variation of interpretations.⁸ Key local terms were retained in English-language reporting to reduce the loss of meaning through translation.

Ethical measures included informed consent, respect for religious settings, and the protection of personal narratives. Interview excerpts were identified by participants' roles and locations rather than names. Interpretation remained attentive to the limits of adult accounts in explaining children's learning and to the contextual character of the findings, which were not intended to represent all Madurese Muslim families.

C. Results and Discussion

1. Abhakte as a Moral Orientation in Family Education

The accounts presented in this study describe *abhakte* as a moral orientation encompassing respect, service, affection, and attentiveness to parents' feelings. Its meaning extends beyond particular expressions of politeness to expectations about how children should maintain their relationships with their parents. A community leader from Bangkalan explained:

"In Madurese understanding, abhakte is not merely respecting parents as commonly understood. Its meaning is much wider. It includes respect, obedience, service, affection, protecting parents' feelings, and making them happy."
(Community leader, Bangkalan)

This account brings together behavioural expectations and affective responsibilities. Respect and service concern how children act towards their parents, while affection and concern for parental feelings concern the quality of that relationship. Obedience appears within this broader constellation of responsibilities rather than

⁷ Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology," *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3, no. 2 (2006): 77–101, <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>.

⁸ Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1985).

exhausting the meaning of abhakte. The account therefore provides a basis for understanding filial devotion as an orientation towards maintaining a caring and respectful relationship with parents. It expresses the qualities adults consider desirable, although it does not establish how children themselves interpret or negotiate those expectations.

The educational significance of abhakte lies partly in the purposes it assigns to family upbringing. Within the account above, bringing up a child involves encouraging attentiveness to others, appropriate conduct, and an awareness of responsibilities arising from family relationships. These expectations provide a moral reference for parental guidance and the evaluation of children's behaviour. Abhakte can therefore be interpreted as an organising value in family education: it connects everyday expectations of conduct with an understanding of what it means to become a good child. Its relationship with *birrul walidayn* places these responsibilities within the article's wider concern with Islamic filial ethics and their expression in local family life.

A related expression, *mabhunga*, makes the affective purpose of filial devotion particularly explicit. In the account of a women's religious leader from Sampang, making parents happy or proud constitutes an important aspiration:

"Mabhunga means making parents happy. In our community's view, the main purpose of a child is not only to fulfil personal needs, but also to try to make parents feel happy and proud." (Women's religious leader, Sampang)

This statement presents personal aspirations in relation to responsibilities towards parents. The phrase "not only" is significant because it places parental happiness alongside the fulfilment of personal needs rather than explicitly excluding those needs. *Mabhunga* can thus be interpreted as a relational criterion through which conduct and achievement acquire moral significance. What matters in this account is how a child's actions are understood to affect the people to whom the child has continuing responsibilities. The statement does not specify a single way of making parents happy, leaving open how that aspiration may be expressed under different family circumstances.

This interpretation brings the findings into dialogue with Biesta's argument that educational evaluation requires explicit consideration of educational purposes, rather than relying solely on measurable outcomes.⁹ The relevance of that argument here lies in the question of what family education is expected to accomplish. The accounts of abhakte and mabhunga identify respectful relationships and concern for parents as valued

⁹ Gert Biesta, "Good Education in an Age of Measurement: On the Need to Reconnect with the Question of Purpose in Education," *Educational Assessment, Evaluation and Accountability* 21, no. 1 (2009): 33–46, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11092-008-9064-9>.

purposes. They do not demonstrate that academic achievement or economic success is unimportant. Instead, they suggest that such achievements alone do not capture the moral expectations articulated by the speakers. The contribution of this perspective is to make those expectations visible as part of the discussion of educational success.

This relational interpretation can be further examined through I'anah's conceptual discussion of *birr al-walidain*, which emphasises reciprocal responsibilities and the participation of both parents and children in maintaining the quality of their relationship.¹⁰ Read alongside this perspective, *mabhunga* directs attention to parental happiness while also raising the question of how that aspiration is understood within a relationship involving the needs and responsibilities of both generations. This provides a reason to avoid treating parental happiness as an exhaustive measure of a child's moral development. The accounts presented here articulate adults' expectations of filial conduct, but they do not establish whether parents and children share the same understanding of happiness, responsibility, or appropriate obedience. I'anah's discussion therefore offers a conceptual basis for interpreting *abhakte* relationally, without implying that reciprocal understanding has been demonstrated in the families represented in this study.

Taken together, *abhakte* and *mabhunga* connect the expected conduct of children with the quality of their relationships with parents. *Abhakte* articulates a broad orientation of respect, care, and responsibility, while *mabhunga* highlights parental happiness as one aspiration within that orientation. Their educational relevance lies in the purposes they provide for family guidance and the meanings attached to being a good child. Understanding these purposes establishes the basis for examining the everyday practices through which families seek to communicate and sustain filial values.

2. Teaching *Abhakte* through Everyday Family Practices

The accounts presented in this study locate the teaching of *abhakte* within everyday family interaction. Parents and elders communicate expectations of filial respect through examples, repeated routines, and corrections to speech and conduct. These practices give practical expression to the moral orientation discussed in the preceding section. They show how adults describe the teaching of respect through situations in which children encounter relationships between generations.

Modelling is particularly evident in a community leader's recollection of how his father treated older family members:

¹⁰ Nur I'anah, "Birr al-Walidain Konsep Relasi Orang Tua dan Anak dalam Islam," *Buletin Psikologi* 25, no. 2 (2017): 114–123, <https://doi.org/10.22146/buletinpsikologi.27302>.

“In the past our parents did not give long lectures. Education was carried out through example. We directly saw how our father respected our grandfather and grandmother. When meeting older people, father used refined language, spoke in a low tone, and put their interests first.” (Community leader, Bangkalan)

This recollection identifies parental conduct as a reference for understanding respectful behaviour. Refined speech, a lowered voice, and attentiveness to elders make an otherwise abstract expectation observable. The account also shows that parents occupy more than one generational position: while guiding their children, they demonstrate how they themselves behave as children towards their own parents. In this way, intergenerational relationships provide occasions through which the meaning of abhakte can be communicated.

This interpretation is consistent with situated learning, which directs attention to learning through participation in social practices.¹¹ In the family setting described here, children encounter expectations of respect while accompanying and observing more experienced family members. The recollection suggests that such involvement was understood by the speaker as educational. However, it remains a retrospective account of learning through example and does not establish that children necessarily reproduce every behaviour they observe.

Habituation provides a further means through which filial expectations are introduced. A religious teacher from Pamekasan described the connection between early religious instruction and routines of respect:

“Usually when a child begins to speak, parents teach the shahada, short prayers, and good words. At the same time, children are taught to kiss their parents’ hands when leaving or returning home. Small habits like this become the foundation of abhakte education.” (Religious teacher, Pamekasan)

The significance of this account lies in its association of religious expressions with recurring family interactions. Leaving and returning home become occasions for practising a gesture of respect, while early speech provides an opportunity to introduce prayers and appropriate words. In the teacher’s explanation, these routines constitute a foundation for filial education. This is a claim about their intended pedagogical role; the account does not independently establish when children understand their religious meaning or how consistently they continue these practices.

¹¹ Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511815355>.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus provides a useful perspective for interpreting the relationship between repetition and embodied dispositions.¹² Applied to the practices described here, it draws attention to how gestures and ways of speaking may become familiar through recurrent participation. The accounts also include deliberate instruction: adults teach words, demonstrate gestures, and remind children how to behave. The material therefore suggests an interaction between repeated practice and explicit guidance, rather than providing grounds to assume that filial dispositions develop automatically through repetition.

Language is an important medium through which this guidance becomes concrete. A community leader from Bangkalan explained:

"Language is a reflection of respect. In Madurese society there are language levels used to show respect to older people. From childhood, children are taught to use more refined language with parents, teachers, and community figures."
(Community leader, Bangkalan)

Here, the educational significance of language extends to the relationships expressed through its use. Choosing a speech form signals how a speaker is expected to address another person. The concept of *andhap asor*, discussed in the accounts as respectful humility, helps situate these expectations within a broader concern with appropriate conduct. Tone, vocabulary, listening, and bodily gestures become ways through which respect is made perceptible. Nevertheless, linguistic refinement should not be treated as sufficient evidence of moral sincerity: the account establishes its recognised significance, rather than a direct correspondence between polite speech and inner disposition.

Correction connects these expectations with particular interactions. The accounts describe reminders concerning harsh speech, interruption, and gestures regarded as disrespectful. Such interventions can be interpreted as attempts to clarify the boundaries of acceptable conduct. Their educational significance lies in drawing attention to how words and actions affect relationships. The available material does not establish whether these corrections consistently produce emotional self-restraint or how children experience them.

Taken together, the accounts suggest that family teaching gives *abhakte* practical form through examples, recurring routines, and guidance about speech and behaviour. Language and bodily gestures are integral to these processes because they provide visible

11. ¹² Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511812507>.

and audible expressions of respect. The contribution of this analysis is to identify how adults describe the communication of filial values within ordinary family life, while distinguishing those educational efforts from demonstrated learning outcomes. These practices also provide a point of connection with the religious and community settings in which expectations of respect are further articulated and reinforced.

3. Reinforcing Abhakte through Religious and Community Life

The accounts presented in this study describe religious and community life as settings in which expectations of abhakte are reinforced beyond the household. Mushalla learning, pesantren education, and kinship gatherings provide different occasions for communicating respect and responsibility. Their educational significance lies in connecting the values introduced within families with religious instruction and participation in wider social relationships. This connection does not imply that all settings communicate identical expectations, but it suggests that filial education is understood as a responsibility shared across several areas of everyday life.

The role of the mushalla is particularly apparent in an account linking Qur'anic learning with prayers for parents. A religious teacher from Pamekasan explained:

“There they do not only learn to read the Qur'an. Qur'anic teachers usually also teach prayers for both parents, stories of the prophets, and the importance of respecting father and mother. When children read the prayer ‘My Lord, forgive me and my parents and have mercy on them as they raised me when I was small,’ they are being taught to remember their parents’ sacrifice. The prayer is repeated continuously until it becomes part of their consciousness.” (Religious teacher, Pamekasan)

The teacher presents repeated prayer as a means of directing children's attention towards parental care. In this account, religious instruction connects the learning of words with an intended moral meaning: remembering the people who have raised and supported the child. The statement about prayer becoming part of consciousness expresses the teacher's understanding of its educational purpose. It should not be taken as independent evidence that repetition necessarily produces gratitude or internal acceptance. What the account demonstrates more directly is how filial responsibility is incorporated into the explanation of religious learning.

Pesantren education is described as another setting for reinforcing respectful conduct. A community leader from Bangkalan emphasised the place of adab:

“Pesantren have a very large role. In pesantren, santri do not only learn religious knowledge. They also learn adab. Many kiai emphasize that adab is more important than knowledge. Santri are accustomed to respecting teachers, serving kiai, maintaining politeness, and controlling behaviour.” (Community leader, Bangkalan)

This account associates pesantren education with expectations concerning how students relate to teachers and others. Respect towards kiai is not identical to filial devotion towards parents, but the speaker identifies practices that resemble those valued in family education: politeness, service, and restraint. The relationship between these settings can therefore be interpreted as an overlap in educational expectations. The available account does not establish whether conduct learned in the pesantren is consistently transferred to family relationships after students return home.

Wenger's perspective on learning through social participation helps interpret this relationship between practices and expectations.¹³ Respect becomes meaningful within relationships in which particular forms of conduct are demonstrated, encouraged, and evaluated. In the present material, the connection between family and religious education is best understood as a possible continuity of practices rather than evidence that home, mushalla, and pesantren constitute a single, uniform community of practice. Their participants, forms of authority, and everyday routines may differ, even when they articulate related moral concerns.

Kinship activities provide a further setting in which filial responsibility extends beyond direct interaction with parents. The discussion of nyambhung bhala associates devotion with maintaining relationships involving relatives and people connected to the parents. Family visits, Eid gatherings, weddings, funerals, and tahlil are described as occasions for participating in these relationships. Their educational relevance lies in the opportunities they provide to encounter expectations of greeting, attentiveness, and appropriate behaviour towards others. Participation makes the relational scope of filial responsibility visible: maintaining a relationship with parents may also involve sustaining the connections that matter to them.

A relevant comparison is provided by Ningsih's study of the Kupatan tradition in Bangkalan, which identifies visiting, maintaining social ties, and almsgiving as activities through which Islamic character values are expressed.¹⁴ Although Kupatan is not established as a fieldwork setting in the present study, that research provides a contextual comparison for understanding the educational significance attributed to communal traditions. The point of connection is the expression of moral expectations through shared activities. It does not establish that every gathering produces the same learning outcomes or that participation alone ensures the internalisation of those values.

¹³ Etienne Wenger, *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511803932>.

¹⁴ Tutuk Ningsih, "The Islamic Character Values of Kupatan Tradition in Bangkalan, Madura, East Java," *IBDA': Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya* 18, no. 2 (2020): 167–181, <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v18i2.3915>.

Community evaluation is also evident in the meaning attached to amoljaaghi. A community leader from Bangkalan stated:

“Amoljaaghi is related to maintaining parents’ honour. We are taught that a child must not do anything that damages the family’s good name. If a child does something wrong, the shame is not only his own but also his parents’.” (Community leader, Bangkalan)

This statement presents individual conduct as carrying implications for family reputation. Its pedagogical significance lies in the expectation that children consider how their actions affect others. At the same time, it introduces a distinction between concern for relationships and concern about public judgement. Avoiding conduct that brings shame may reflect commitment to family responsibilities, anticipation of criticism, or both. The account does not resolve these possibilities. Community recognition should therefore be understood as a form of moral evaluation rather than a reliable indicator of inner conviction.

The wider discussion also reports concerns about smartphones, social media, and reduced direct interaction between generations. These concerns identify conditions that participants regard as important for sustaining everyday guidance, but they do not demonstrate that digital communication causes a decline in abhakte. Hafidhoh’s discussion of pesantren education similarly addresses the relationship between maintaining established traditions and responding to changing circumstances.¹⁵ This provides a useful perspective for considering continuity as involving adaptation as well as preservation. Applied here, it raises the question of how families and religious educators can sustain opportunities for explanation, participation, and respectful dialogue as patterns of interaction change.

Across these accounts, religious and community settings reinforce abhakte through prayer, expectations of adab, kinship participation, and the evaluation of conduct. Their roles are related but distinct: religious teaching supplies explicit moral explanations, gatherings create occasions for participation, and community responses make expectations publicly visible. Together with the preceding sections, this analysis presents abhakte as an everyday pedagogy linking moral purposes, family practices, and wider relationships. The available material supports an interpretation of how adults articulate and seek to sustain filial education, while leaving children’s own understandings and the longer-term effects of these practices open to further investigation.

¹⁵ Noor Hafidhoh, “Pendidikan Islam di Pesantren antara Tradisi dan Tuntutan Perubahan,” *Muaddib: Studi Kependidikan dan Keislaman* 6, no. 1 (2016): 88–106, <https://doi.org/10.24269/muaddib.v6i1.161>.

D. Conclusion

This study interprets abhakte ka oreng towa as an everyday pedagogy connecting Islamic filial ethics with family and community life in Madura. The analysis identifies three interrelated dimensions. First, abhakte provides a moral orientation encompassing respect, care, service, and responsibility towards parents, with mabhunga expressing parental happiness as a valued aspiration. Second, these expectations acquire practical form through family modelling, habituation, and correction, including guidance concerning speech and bodily gestures. Third, religious and community settings reinforce filial values through prayer, adab, kinship participation, and the social evaluation of conduct.

The article's contribution lies in bringing these dimensions together to explain how filial devotion is articulated as an educational concern across everyday relationships. Within this interpretation, family education involves both communicating desirable conduct and providing occasions for its practice. Mushalla, pesantren, and community gatherings extend the settings in which related expectations are expressed, although their roles and forms of authority remain distinct. This perspective highlights the importance of examining educational purposes alongside the practices and relationships through which adults seek to sustain them.

These conclusions are bounded by the available material, which primarily represents adults' accounts of filial expectations and educational practices. Such accounts do not establish children's internal acceptance of these values, their longer-term effects, or their uniformity across Madurese families. Similarly, concerns about changing intergenerational interaction indicate perceived challenges rather than demonstrated effects of digital media. Further research should examine children's interpretations, differences between generations, and the ways filial responsibilities are negotiated in changing circumstances. For educational practice, the analysis suggests the value of connecting respectful conduct with explanation, care, and dialogue, while remaining attentive to the perspectives of both parents and children.

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