



**Samarah:** Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam  
Volume 7 No. 3. July 2023  
ISSN: 2549 – 3132; E-ISSN: 2549 – 3167  
DOI: 10.22373/sjhk.v7i3.9125

## **An Implementation of the Joint Inheritance Division of Ethnic Groups in Lampung, Indonesia**

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**Abstract:** Lampung is a distinct, diverse, and multi-ethnic province. Lampung's multi-ethnicity is worth investigating regarding inheritance distribution, specifically the inheritance of joint property. This study examines the implementation of ethnic group inheritance in Lampung and how it contributes to the paradigm shift of joint property. This investigation is field research in which data is gathered from informants and analyzed using a cultural approach. According to the analysis, implementing the division of joint property inheritance of ethnic groups in Lampung could be classified into multiple categories. First, the majority of joint inheritance property is distributed straight to offspring (both male and female. Second, only daughters are given the joint property inheritance. Third, only the son receives joint property inheritance. Fourth, if one of the parents passes away, some joint property inheritance is granted to the mother and father. Because the Lampung community is nearly entirely unfamiliar with joint property (*gono gini*), the joint property inheritance is promptly distributed into the four categories listed above. Although the cultural practice considerably influences the distribution of inheritance in connection to the family system and social protection factors, it has begun to shift with less to no influence by religious and social factors.

**Keywords:** Joint property; inheritance; ethnicity.

| Submitted: March 08, 2021 || Accepted: July 12, 2023 || Published: July 14, 2023

<http://jurnal.arraniry.ac.id/index.php/samarah>

**Abstrak:** Lampung merupakan provinsi yang unik, heterogen dan multi etnik. Multi etnik di Lampung menarik untuk diteliti terkait pembagian kewarisan, dalam hal ini kewarisan harta bersama. Tulisan ini akan meneliti dan menelaah secara mendalam terhadap implementasi harta waris suku bangsa yang ada di Lampung dan kontribusinya terhadap pergeseran paradigma harta bersama. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian lapangan dengan menggali beberapa data dari informan sehingga dapat dianalisis dengan pendekatan kultural. Berdasarkan penelitian lapangan ditemukan setidaknya implementasi pembagian harta waris bersama suku bangsa di Lampung dapat dikelompokkan menjadi beberapa hal. Pertama, harta waris bersama sebagian besar langsung diberikan kepada anak (laki dan perempuan). Kedua, harta waris bersama hanya diberikan kepada anak perempuan. Ketiga, harta waris bersama diberikan hanya ke anak lelaki. Keempat, harta waris bersama ada yang diberikan kepada ibu dan bapak jika salah satu meninggal. Pembagian harta waris bersama tersebut disebabkan masyarakat di Lampung hampir keseluruhan tidak familiar dengan harta bersama (*gono gini*). Mereka langsung membagikan sebagaimana dikelompokkan ke dalam empat kelompok di atas. Meski pengaruh adat sangat kuat dalam pembagian waris terkait dengan sistem kekeluargaan dan faktor proteksi sosial, sistem adat juga mulai bergeser, meski tidak terlalu banyak dipengaruhi faktor agama dan sosial.

**Kata Kunci:** Harta bersama, warisan, etnisitas

## Introduction

Every community or culture is known to experience change, partly or entirely.<sup>1</sup> A culture is a combination of the old and the new, as fragments of traditional features appear to be left behind.<sup>2</sup> An actual illustration of change is the shift in kinship groups and the role of *Mamak* in Minangkabau. In the past, the *paruik* was regarded as the most important, which is a kinship group that counts three or four generations above and one generation below it,<sup>3</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> Linda Firdawaty and Ahmad Sukandi, "Husein Muhammad's Thoughts on Gender Equality in Islamic Inheritance Law," *Al-'Adalah* 19, no. 2 (2022): 223–244.

<sup>2</sup> Helwan Kasra, "Prospek 19 Wilayah Hukum Adat Dilihat Dari Menguatnya Sistem Keekerabatan Parental Bilateral Dalam Bidang Hukum Keluarga," *Doctrinal* 1, no. 1 (2016).

<sup>3</sup> Abdul Qodir Zaelani, "Kedudukan Ahli Waris Pengganti (*Plaatsvervulling*) Dalam Kompilasi Hukum Islam Dan Pemecahannya," *ADHKI: Journal of Islamic Family Law* 2, no. 1 (2020): 91–105.

they usually dwell in a *gadang* house.<sup>4</sup> Syahrizal and Sri Meyenti's research, the *gadang* house is progressively being abandoned, and each member of the communal group constructs their own house for their small family.<sup>5</sup> This shift indicates that members of their tribes are rapidly abandoning matrilineal customs in their hometowns.<sup>6</sup>

Cultural shifts also arise in patrilineal cultures, such as Bali. In Balinese culture, customary law has arisen in which daughters inherit property from their parents. Because earlier, Bali followed or was subject to Hindu tenets that favored the male lineage (*purusa*). However, there has been a development of the inheritance system in Bali's customary law community, particularly in Denpasar, since the publication of the ruling of the Main Village Pakraman Council Number 01/KEP//PSM-3/MDP BALI/X/2010 concerning the Results of Psamuhan Agung III MUDP Bali. According to the ruling, women inherit rights from their parents or heirs.<sup>7</sup>

After identifying these two facts, patrilineal and matrilineal civilizations in their respective regions have shifted. What about those who migrate to work in other people's villages? Throughout history, numerous ethnic groups in Indonesia have developed the habit of migrating to other areas outside their home regions. Migrants from Minangkabau, Bugis who are famous as sea explorers, to Acehnese who migrate outside the region and other countries, such as Malaysia or other Southeast Asian countries. They stay there until their offspring grow.

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<sup>4</sup> Romlah, "Pembaruan Hukum Keluarga Islam Di Indonesia Tentang Keabsahan Akad Bagi Wanita Hamil," *Al-'Adalah* 13, no. 1 (2016): 23–38.

<sup>5</sup> Syahrizal and Sri Meyenti, "Sistem Kekerabatan Minangkabau Kontemporer: Suatu Kajian Perubahan Dan Keberlangsungan Sistem Kekerabatan Matrilineal Minangkabau," *Prosiding the 4th International Conference on Indonesian Studies: Unity, Diversity dan Future* (n.d.).

<sup>6</sup> Abdul Qodir Zaelani, Syamsul Hilal, and Abdul Hanif, "Pattern of Inheritance Distribution of Gono Gini's Assets Among Residents of Bandar Lampung City," *Al-'Adalah* 18, no. 1 (2021): 175–192.

<sup>7</sup> Wahyu Satrian Wana Putra Wijaya, Agung Basuki Prasetyo, and Triyono, "Perkembangan Kedudukan Ahli Waris Perempuan Dalam Sistem Kekerabatan Patrilineal Di Denpasar-Bali (Pasca Keputusan Nomor 01/KEP//PSM-3/MDP BALI/X/2010 Tentang Hasil-Hasil Psamuhan Agung III MUDP Bali)," *Diponegoro Law Review* 5, no. 2 (2016).

It can be argued that migratory culture can occasionally dilute the culture in which migrants are born, including the socio-cultural consequences, such as modifying local customary norms and religion.<sup>8</sup>

Many studies have been conducted on Lampung customary inheritance law, including those by Ismail, Habib, Hasyim Asy'ari, and Agus Setiawan, "The Inheritance Rights of the Oldest Male Child in Lampung Pepadun Customary Law from Gender Perspective (Study in Tegineneng, Pesawaran Regency)."<sup>9</sup> Annisa Tunjung Sari investigated the position of the oldest son as a result of levirate marriage in the Lampung Pepadun community's customary inheritance law (case study in Terbanggi Besar village, Terbanggi Besar Lampung Subdistrict, Central Lampung Regency).<sup>10</sup> Yenni Oktavia investigated a related topic, namely the process of Coastal (*Pesisir*) Lampung customary inheritance division from the perspective of Islamic inheritance law (case study in Talang Padang District, Tanggamus Regency).<sup>11</sup> There has been no extensive research on the joint property of Lampung customary society among the many studies.

The locals' (and other Easterners') laws are heavily affected and determined by their religion as long as there is no other evidence to suggest otherwise. It happens because accepting and adhering to a religion entails accepting its laws. If there is proof to the contrary or "an exception" in the specific laws, the exception must be viewed as a "deviation" from the religious law recognized as *complexu*.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Agustan Sopian Tamrin, "Merantau: Studi Tentang Faktor Pendorong Dan Dampak Sosial Ekonomi Terhadap Aktivitas Merantau Di Desa Sijelling Kecamatan Tellu Siattinge Kabupaten Bone Program" (Universitas Negeri Makassar, 2017).

<sup>9</sup> Habib Ismail, Hasyim Asy'ari, and Agus Setiawan, "Hak Waris Anak Laki-Laki Tertua Dalam Hukum Adat Lampung Pepadun Perspektif Gender (Studi Di Tegineneng Kabupaten Pesawaran)," *Al Hurriyah: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 4, no. 1 (2019): 56–67.

<sup>10</sup> Annisa Tunjung Sari, "Kedudukan Anak Laki-Laki Tertua Dari Hasil Perkawinan Leviraat Dalam Hukum Waris Adat Masyarakat Lampung Pepadun (Studi Kasus Di Kampung Terbanggi Besar Kecamatan Terbanggi Besar Lampung Pemerintah Kabupaten Lampung Tengah)" (Universitas Diponegoro, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Yenni Oktavia, "Proses Pembagian Warisan Adat Lampung Pesisir Perspektif Hukum Waris Islam (Studi Kasus Di Kecamatan Talang Padang Kabupaten Tanggamus)" (IAIN Metro, 2020).

<sup>12</sup> Idham, Efa Rodiah Nur, and Agus Hermanto, "Dynamic Development of Family Law in Muslim Countries," *Al- 'Adalah* 19, no. 1 (2022): 161–178.

Muslims regard Islamic law as the living law. Van den Berg's theory was founded on his conviction that "Islam has been well accepted by most, if not all, local Muslims." The theory of Van den Berg eventually came to pass by Dutch Colonial Government Regulation number 152 of 1882.<sup>13</sup>

Van den Berg was not the first to claim that Islamic law applied to Muslims in Indonesia. This recognition can be found in several provisions of the *Reglement op het beleid der Regeering van Nederlandsch Indie (R.R.)*, *Stbl.* Number 129 of 1854 and Number 2 of 1855, particularly articles 75, 78, and 109. During the reign of Daendels and Raffles, Islamic law was the applicable law for Indonesian Muslims.<sup>14</sup>

It is noteworthy to research when referring to the facts stated above and contextualized on ethnic groups in Lampung. Lampung is a distinct, diverse, and multi-ethnic province. This province is like a miniature of Indonesia. Multi-ethnicity or ethnicity in Lampung is an intriguing topic to research regarding inheritance distribution, specifically the inheritance of joint property. Inheritance of joint property occurs when the married couple is separated owing to death.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, the community understands that the divorce procedure frequently connotes joint property as if joint property is only created upon a divorce. Generally, people only consider joint property when having problems with their divorced spouses. Thus it is understandable that the general public believes that joint property is solely tied to divorce or exists only if there is a divorce.<sup>16</sup> In contrast, article 96 paragraph (1) of the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) specifies that in the event of a divorce by death, half of the joint property becomes the entitlement of the spouse who lives longer.

Based on the aforementioned problems, it is appropriate to conduct in-depth research on joint property inheritance for different Indonesian ethnic groups in Lampung. Thus, the researchers looked into how the joint property inheritance division of Indonesian ethnic groups is implemented in Lampung Province? What cause drives the implementation of joint property inheritance division among Indonesian ethnic groups in Lampung?

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<sup>13</sup> Ahmad Rajafi, "Hukum Keluarga Islam Di Indonesia: Dari Orde Lama Hingga Orde Reformasi," *Al-'Adalah* 14, no. 2 (2017): 311–332.

<sup>14</sup> Muhammad Jayus, "Menggagas Arah Baru Studi Hukum Islam Di Indonesia," *Al-'Adalah* 11, no. 2 (2013): 257–264.

<sup>15</sup> Dahlia Haliah Ma'u, "The Law Contruction of Good Divorce in the Border of Indonesia and Malaysia Communities," *Al-'Adalah* 20, no. 1 (2023).

<sup>16</sup> Arin T. Muljana, "Harta Bersama Dalam Waris Menurut Hukum Positif Di Indonesia," [http://sttlegal.com/index\\_htm\\_files/Harta Bersama Dalam Waris.pdf](http://sttlegal.com/index_htm_files/Harta_Bersama_Dalam_Waris.pdf).

This research employed the qualitative method with field research design. The primary data sources were interviews, observation, and documentation. Furthermore, the secondary data sources were book studies and various scientific articles that cover the issue. The complex theory was utilized to assess this research, which takes a cultural perspective in the context of a specific community.

### **The Implementation of Joint Property Inheritance Division of Ethnic Groups in Lampung Province**

Several facts were discovered regarding the division of inheritance of the joint property of ethnic groups based on the interviews with elders of ethnic groups in Lampung Province. At the very least, it can be divided into various categories.

#### **1. Inherited by either Man or Woman**

When a person dies, whether husband or wife, the property is passed down to sons and daughters, like the Sundanese practice.

“Islamic law is incorporated into Sundanese custom where the child receives the inheritance. For example, if my uwak (grand parents) died, one party may desire to pass the property directly to the child, but because the parents are still alive, the parents are entitled to one-sixth of the property under Islamic law.”<sup>17</sup>

The Bengkulu ethnic group also distributes the inheritance to sons and daughters. The inheritance is distributed before both parents (husband and wife) die. M. Damrah Khair states that:

“Inheritance funds if I am in Lampung. Both I and my wife belong to Bengkulu ethnic group. So, if we pass away, everything is already distributed.”<sup>18</sup>

This is also typical of the Aceh ethnic group in Lampung. The law of inheritance in Aceh is 100% similar to Islamic law, with just a little variance when divided. Priority is given to women over men in housing because if a woman is left behind or divorced by her husband, the house belongs to her. As stated by Muhammad Iqbal:

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<sup>17</sup> Bustomi, The Chief of Pasundan Association of Lampung Province, *Interview*, 20 September 2020.

<sup>18</sup> M. Damrah Khair, The Chief of Bengkulu Community association of Lampung Province, *Interview*, 23 September 2020.

“Law is similar to a substance, and traits are akin to substances. Law and custom cannot be separated. It means that sharia law and Acehese customs are inextricably linked. It is simply a distribution mechanism. A house is always favored for the daughter in Acehese culture. For instance, I own a single house and have two children, a son and a daughter. This house of mine, it's our custom to present it to the daughter on the grounds that if my daughter is ever abandoned or divorced by her husband, this property will be hers.”

Muhammad Iqbal also stated that farms, rice fields, and other immovable properties are specifically for sons, and dividing them is the same as in Islamic law. The shares of the sons, daughters, father, and mother follow Islamic law. It is just that movable property, such as gold, is prioritized for the sons. As It is stated:

“The property acquired will be counted. Rice fields and land will be counted as inheritance rights that my mother got because my father had died. When it comes to the law of inheritance rights, the system of inheritance rights in Aceh is identical and 100% the same as the law of faraidh, which is the same value and content as ordered by the Quran. So it is not different. The only thing that is different is that, according to Acehese custom, houses are reserved for daughters. But farms, land, rice fields, and fields will be inherited by sons. However, if the daughter is deemed to be entitled to the rice fields or farms, she also gets a share.”<sup>19</sup>

The distribution of inheritance to all male and female children, based on the interviews, was also done by Adi Rahmadi,<sup>20</sup> Ngafwan Khoiri<sup>21</sup>, Sri Haryati<sup>22</sup>, Suparman<sup>23</sup>, Amartia Nuraini<sup>24</sup>, Isaura Astiningsih<sup>25</sup>, Kiki Ayu<sup>26</sup>, Lihin<sup>27</sup>, and Resti Mestika Sari<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> Muhammad Iqbal, The Chairman of the Lampung Province Aceh Citizens Association, *Interview*, 23 September 2020.

<sup>20</sup> Adi Rahmadi, Javanese-Lampung ethnicity, resident of Tega Lega Subvillage Karang Anyar Village, Jati Agung Subdistrict, South Lampung Regency, *Interview*, 23 September 2020.

<sup>21</sup> Ngafwan Khoiri, Javanese, resident of Taman Sari, Ketapang Subdistrict, South Lampung Regency: However, 1/3 of the property is still the right of parents who have not died, *Interview*, 23 September 2020.

<sup>22</sup> Sri Haryati, a resident of Cimarias Village, Bangunrejo Subdistrict, Central Lampung Regency, is a Javanese ethnic woman: It's just that sometimes in these

## 2. Inherited by the Son

According to Lampung custom, the inheritance will go to the first male son due to a male's enormous responsibility. Because men will bear hardships and joys, women are not obliged to bear them. Gufron, a community religious leader in West Lampung, conveyed this statement.

“Men are expected to assist their parents. If parents are unable to work, men are obligated to assist them, even if they are away from their hometown. For example, if I die, my older son takes my place, and the inheritance passes to him. I mean, the eldest son will get two rice fields, two farm fields, and a house on the farm. However, the most he can give his other children is one rice field, if not one farm field. The remainder will be given to the eldest son. If the eldest son has younger siblings, he is expected to fill in for his parents. The responsibility falls on the eldest child”.

He also argued that it was his mother's responsibility if she was still alive. According to custom, the firstborn son has a very demanding duty. If there is a ritual in his village, such as the Sebatin custom, he must donate the greatest money, and his younger siblings must follow his first brother. As stated in his statement:

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communities, which are predominantly Javanese and Sundanese, in addition to dividing equally to sons and daughters, the inheritance is also made into charity, *Interview*, 25 September 2020.

<sup>23</sup> Suparman, a resident of Napal Raya, Bulok, Tanggamus, is Sundanese: It's just that for the first and last child the inheritance share is more than the middle child, *Interview*, 23 September 2020.

<sup>24</sup> Amartia Nuraini, a resident of Sumberrejo, Tanggamus. Most areas are distributed equally because there is a proverb in the area: Men carry and women carry. But if the child is a female, then male nephews and nieces receive 1/4 of the inheritance, *Interview*, 15 September 2020.

<sup>25</sup> Isaura Astiningsih, a resident of Sukabanjar Village, Sidumulyo, South Lampung, *Interview*, 20 September 2020.

<sup>26</sup> Kiki Ayu, resident of Purworejo, Pasir Sakti, East Lampung, *Interview*, 21 September 2020.

<sup>27</sup> Lihin, resident of Pesawaran: women and men share equally. For example, A gets 20%, so the others must also get the same 20%, unless someone receives only part of the 20% because he wants to help his relatives who are in trouble, *Interview*, 22 September 2020.

<sup>28</sup> Resti Mestika Sari, a resident of Trisnomaju, Negerikaton, Pesawaran, *Interview*, 22 September 2020.



“If I give Rp.700,000 to Rp.1,000,000, my younger siblings would follow me. The third child gives Rp.500,000, the third child gives Rp.400,000, and so on until the youngest. It makes the first child duty difficult. For example, if my brother is in town and can't come home, sometimes it's me who has to pay.”<sup>29</sup>

Sodri, Raja Cukuah, Batu Brak area of West Lampung also admitted this condition. He stated that Lampung inheritance is usually passed to the eldest son.

“So usually customary that property goes to the son as well as the tribal title. The others, such as rice fields, houses, and farms, usually go to the son but although sometimes there is a policy if he has younger siblings, they will also get a share. However, if, for example, he has two plots of farms, it will be divided.”<sup>30</sup>

If a family has only daughters and no sons, the Lampung community will take sons by practicing *semende* or *pinjam raga*. As stated by Mawardi Hariyana:

“If there is no son, the family usually looks for or takes a son from another family and marries him off to the daughter. This practice is called *semende*. In Pepadun, they usually practice *pinjam raga*. Later, this customary heritage will pass down to them”<sup>31</sup>.

Bertha, a resident of Bakhu village in Pesisir Barat, stated that the property goes to the son because the eldest son is responsible for his family or *minak muakhi*. The eldest son contributes the most to assisting the *minak muakhi* in the event of marriage, death, circumcision, and birth of the *minak muakhi*. Therefore, the eldest son who inherits the most is accountable for his younger siblings and *minak muakhi* (extended family & core family from ancestors to the current line that the kinship must be kept and not be disrupted).<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Gufon, Religious Figure of West Lampung Community, *Interview*, 6 September 2020.

<sup>30</sup> Sodri, Raja Cukuah of the Batu Brak region of West Lampung, *Interview*, 15 September 2020.

<sup>31</sup> Mawardi Hariyana, Chairman of the Lampung Customary Council, and Organizer of Lampung Sai, *Interview*, 13 September 2020.

<sup>32</sup> Residents of Bakhu village, Pesisir Barat, *Interview*, 23 September 2020.

The fact that the oldest son inherits the property was also conveyed by respondents interviewed in various regions in Lampung, namely Aulia Gustina.<sup>33</sup>, Berli<sup>34</sup>, Rini Novita Sari<sup>35</sup>, Heki Wanarta<sup>36</sup>, Nofri<sup>37</sup>, al Haidir<sup>38</sup>, Saypudin<sup>39</sup>, Rizki Idsam Matura<sup>40</sup>, Richard Arman<sup>41</sup>, Aprilia Liyana<sup>42</sup>, Rifki Ilyas<sup>43</sup>, Fikri Adeil Kamali Mughni<sup>44</sup>, Sapitri Veronica<sup>45</sup>, Mila Riyanti<sup>46</sup>, Dahlan<sup>47</sup>, Jumilia<sup>48</sup>, Andrian<sup>49</sup>, and Sasqia Fitri Mulyani<sup>50</sup>.

### 3. Inherited by the Daughter

Daughters inherit according to Minangkabau custom. As Zainal indicated, daughters inherit heirloom property. Heirloom property refers to the descendants of grandmothers' property, such as rice fields, land, and farms, passed down from generation to generation.

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<sup>33</sup> Aulia Gustina, a resident of Kurungan Nyawa, Umbul Pelem Subvillage, Lampung, *Interview*, 25 September 2020.

<sup>34</sup> Berli, a resident of Mulang Maya, Ngaras, Pesisir Barat, *Interview*, 26 September 2020.

<sup>35</sup> Rini Novita Sari, a resident of Suk Makmur Marang Village, Pesisir Selatan, Pesisir Barat, *Interview*, 17 September 2020.

<sup>36</sup> Heki Winarta, a resident of West Lampung, *Interview*, 17 September 2020.

<sup>37</sup> Nofri, a resident of West Pesisir: He stated that his area still adheres to Lampung customs, *Interview*, 15 September 2020.

<sup>38</sup> Al Haidir, a resident of Waj Jaha RT 01/01, Pugung, Tanggamus, *Interview*, 15 September 2020.

<sup>39</sup> Saypudin, a resident of Bangun Negara, Pesisir Selatan, Pesisir Barat, *Interview*, 16 September 2020.

<sup>40</sup> Rizki Idsam Matura, a resident of Jalan Simpang, Menggala, Kota Agung Timur, Tanggamus, *Interview*, 22 September 2020.

<sup>41</sup> Richard Arman, a resident of Krui, Pesisir Barat, *Interview*, 24 September 2020.

<sup>42</sup> Aprilia Liyana, a resident of West Lampung, *Interview*, 25 September 2020.

<sup>43</sup> Rifki Ilyas, a resident of Bandar Pugung, Lemong, Pesisir Barat, Lampung, *Interview*, 10 September 2020.

<sup>44</sup> Fikri Adeil Kamali Mughni, a resident of Pekon Balak Padang Cahya, Balik Bukit, Lampung Barat: He stated that the inheritance goes to the son because the eldest son is the keeper of the house (*Lamban Tuha*), *Interview*, 10 September 2020.

<sup>45</sup> Sapitri Veronica, a resident of Padang Cahaya, balik Bukit, West Lampung, *Interview*, 12 September 2020.

<sup>46</sup> Mila Riyanti, a resident of Pekon Gedung, Cukuh Balak, Tanggamus, *Interview*, 12 September 2020.

<sup>47</sup> Dahla, a resident of East Lampung, *Interview*, 16 September 2020.

<sup>48</sup> Jumilia, a resident of Pakuan Ratu, Waykanan, *Interview*, 11 September 2020.

<sup>49</sup> Andrian, Warga Gunung Sugih, Central Lampung, *Interview*, 12 September 2020.

<sup>50</sup> Sasqia Fitri Mulyani, a resident Pekon Muta Alam, Wai Tenong, Lampung Barat, *Interview*, 13 September 2020.

“Men exclusively supervise the property or heirlooms. Men can utilize it as well, but the system must not obey the woman, such as his wife's nephew. Only female descendants can inherit the property, not male descendants.”<sup>51</sup>

Zainal stated that wealth or heirloom property cannot be given to sons, only daughters. Perhaps in the past, they were neglected because the female child was weak. The heirloom property was used if the daughter did not get married. The mother was embarrassed that the daughter did not have a husband, very embarrassed, so the Minang tribe tried to find a match. If they need money, they can sell the property. As he stated:

“For a man, property can be used if he is a poor young man who cannot even eat and is therefore embarrassed. He may be picked up and may use the property. The property can be sold and the proceeds can be used to cover the cost of picking up the man”.

On the other hand, livelihood assets are following Islamic teachings. Thus, the joint property does not contradict the teachings of Islam.

“The joint property is divided according to the Islamic system. For example, my property (Zaenal Iskandar) in Lampung, the original livelihood property is passed down to my children. In accordance with Islamic law in the division of property, sons and daughters get an appropriate share”.

This issue was also conveyed by Sidi Ritaudin, a figure from the Semendo tribe. Usually, inheritance is given to daughters, so there is no gono gini property. The inheritance property is given to women because women are considered more able to protect the inheritance property. Women are only entrusted; there is no right to sell. If she wants to sell, then a big meeting is needed. All families are called to find a solution. As in her statement:

“In Semende custom, usually the land and house left by deceased parents are inherited to the first daughter. If there is no daughter, then the property is given to the youngest child. This practice is called *tunggu tubang*. The daughter has the right to use the property until it is exhausted but without the right to sell it. Consequently, she must take the place of her parents. Women are responsible when there are

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<sup>51</sup> Zainal Iskandar, Advisor of the West Sumatra Family of Lampung Province, *Interview*, 13 September 2020.

gatherings. If there are other assets, then they are divided among the other children”.<sup>52</sup>

This practice is also done by Kurnia, who is Semendo. She said that *tunggu tubang* must take care of her parents' inheritance. If her younger siblings are not well-off, she must support them from the property. If the younger siblings are already established, then the proceeds from the parents' inheritance are divided equally. For example, inheritance in the form of rice fields and farms, then the harvest of rice fields and farms is divided annually. If there is a house as an inheritance, it will be occupied by *tunggu tubang* and used as a gathering place or stopover for her siblings. The *tunggu tubang* must be the oldest daughter to care for her younger siblings and act as a substitute for both parents.<sup>53</sup>

The same phenomenon happened to people in Sumber Alam, Air Hitam, West Lampung, who are Semendo tribe, namely Ahdan Haris and Aldi Kurniawan.<sup>54</sup>

#### 4. Inherited by the Husband or Wife if One of Them Is Alive

*Gono gini* property or joint property is not shared. If the husband dies, then the property is owned and processed by the wife, as stated by Mawardi:

“There is no division of joint property in Lampung. If the husband dies while the wife is still alive, she fully uses the property. But if he has died, his son will receive the property. Therefore, the division of joint property never occurred.”<sup>55</sup>

This phenomenon was also recognized by Miftahus Surur, General Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council of West Lampung Regency. He stated that if the husband dies, the inheritance is given to the wife (mother of the children).

“In Javanese communities, the distribution is generally not given immediately. If the mother is still alive, then it is considered her property, not immediately distributed to her children. I did not see

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<sup>52</sup> Sidi Ritaudin, Semendo Figure, *Interview*, September 2020.

<sup>53</sup> Kurnia, a resident of Talangpadang, Tanggamus: The same thing happened to the people in Gunung Megang, Pulau Pangung, Tanggamus, *Interview*, 14 September 2020.

<sup>54</sup> Aldi Kurniawan, a resident of Ulu Semong, Tanggamus, *Interview*, 14 September 2020.

<sup>55</sup> Mawardi, Chairman of Penyimbang Adat Lampung, and Lampung Sai organizer, *Interview*, 14 September 2020.

and find joint property division in the people of West Lampung. This seems to be unfamiliar to the community. On the other hand, people are familiar with the concept of alimony. Generally, as I understand it, the inheritance left behind absolutely belongs to the heirs. The community seems to understand that the property absolutely belongs to the heir. He has never come across joint property division.”<sup>56</sup>

However, there are differences when the husband or wife dies in some cases. When the wife dies, her inheritance cannot be distributed to her children. The father has absolute power to hold the inheritance. But on the other hand, when the husband dies, the treatment of the inheritance will be different. As his statement:

“In my own village, when the wife dies, the property absolutely belongs to the husband and cannot be distributed to the children. But when the husband dies, the inheritance is distributed in several ways: the wife manages it, the children manage it, or it can be distributed directly”.<sup>57</sup>

This case also occurred in East Lampung, Sukadana. As stated by Andi Sanjaya, Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council of East Lampung Regency, if the deceased is a wife, then the estate is fully held by the husband, and vice versa.

For the Lampung tribe, inheritance is rarely divided according to Islamic law. The inheritance is usually given to the oldest son. For the Javanese, the inheritance is immediately divided if the father dies. However, if the mother dies, some joint property will be divided. The majority of people here do not apply the joint property system. For example, if a man owns several plots of land, they are divided among his children. Generally, if the wife dies, the inherited property is not divided because the property is still under the husband's control. Some of it is divided in Java, but there are few cases like this.

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<sup>56</sup> Miftahus Surur, General Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council of West Lampung Regency, *Interview*, 15 November 10, 2020. The same statement was also conveyed by Junaidi, most residents of Tajimalela Village, Kalianda, South Lampung, if the children are not married, then the inheritance is still owned by the surviving parents.

<sup>57</sup> Miftahus Surur, General Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council of West Lampung Regency, *Interview*, 15 November 2020.

### **The Factors that Inspire the Implementation of the Joint Property Inheritance Divisions of Lampung Ethnic Groups in Lampung Province**

According to the findings, ethnic groups in Lampung still practice their traditions occasionally. However, they occasionally leave their customs owing to various factors affecting their joint property. Because of the overwhelming impact of custom, most do not employ the joint property inheritance arrangement. They keep their customs, particularly the native ones, even while they are overseas.

According to several interviewed individuals, the influence of custom is very substantial in the inheritance system. Various variables contribute to the preservation of custom:

#### **1. The Factor Influencing Strong Kinship System in Custom**

The discussion is conveyed by Zainuddin in his statement:

“Despite having lived faraway for 45 years, I (Zenal Iskandar) continue to follow th custom. Three of my older brothers died and left me their inheritance, so everything went to me. But, being a Minang person, I didn't want to, so I gave it to my female nephews so they could use it. They must preserve and manage the land. As a result, the Minang people continue to practice these customs”.

Why do the Minang people continue to follow customs? According to Zainal, the KSB (West Sumatra Family) Lampung Province administrator, there is a very tight bond between parents and children who move away from home in Minang. Their children who live away maintain contact. As Minang people, migrants will return to Minang at least once a year to ensure their traditions are passed down. Returning home is a point of pride for the Minang people. Thus they do not want to abandon their traditions.

Zainal also stated that custom has a large influence on people's lives. Someone will be insulted if he leaves Minang customs. For example, if someone abandons their customs, they will be ashamed when they return to their family.

AN Lubis's statement related to the Batak ethnic group who still adhere to custom is as follows:

“Bataks who have left their homeland, in my opinion, are adhere to the traditional customs. Marriage and thanksgiving (syukuran) customs change when away from hometown. There, traditional marriage is not as complete and detailed as in the village. For me, the

system has to stay that way. The males' share cannot be divided equally".<sup>58</sup>

This issue was also expressed by Miftahus Surur, General Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council, West Lampung Regency. According to him, the kinship system influences the implementation of customary inheritance distribution:

"Maybe it has something to do with the kinship system in society. Kinship still dominates the order of life. The kinship system is not cut off in people's lives. It seems unlikely, disconnected from what he believes in society."<sup>59</sup>

Andi Sanjaya, General Secretary of the East Lampung Regency Indonesian Ulema Council, stated that the family system still survives. It is considered taboo for women to question inheritance because women realize that they will return to their origins, namely to sons who are the heirs to the family lineage, due to the Lampung philosophy known as the *batang anjak* factor.

"Lampungese will consider it taboo for a woman to question inheritance. According to Lampung custom, the inheritance is given to sons because of a philosophy in the Lampung known as *batang anjak*, which is to return to the place of origin. For example, if there is poverty, conflict, or a husband dies without leaving anything, the daughter will return to the first son. It is very taboo to question inheritance, even though women have rights in the inheritance system. Besides, there is also prestige for the family because if it is divided, all the inheritance will be lost. With *batang anjak*, at least, there is one child who looks after the inheritance and becomes a place for family to gather".<sup>60</sup>

#### 1. Social Protection Factors

Social protection protects the family from unfavorable aspects of the family's economic situation. The family obligation is entrusted to the surviving husband or wife to finance and sustain the family's survival.

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<sup>58</sup> AN Lubis, Chairman of Persadaaan Padang Lawas Lampung Province, *Interview*, 14 November 2020.

<sup>59</sup> Miftahus Surur, General Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council of West Lampung Regency, *Interview*, 15 November 2020.

<sup>60</sup> Andi Sanjaya, General Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council of East Lampung Regency, *Interview*, 16 November 2020.

Khottab, Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council of Pesisir Barat Regency, declared:

“The obligation for managing the deceased's inheritance was given to his wife to carry on. Because of the duties of their children who are still in school and children who are not married, wives continue to doubt if the wealth are directly distributed to their children”.<sup>61</sup>

Ali, General Secretary of the Waykanan Regency Indonesian Ulema Council, also remarked that joint property assets do not exist in his area due to social protection concerns. Husbands or wives left behind by their spouses have the authority to manage the inheritance. As in his statement:

“There is no joint property if the husband or wife dies. People demand social protection. That is, they (husband or wife) will look after the children since they require funds. If someone is in charge, he has no real authority; it is up to the husband or wife to make the arrangements. Children's shares are managed by the parents who are still alive”.<sup>62</sup>

Based on the results of the interviews, the shifting of customs was caused by several factors:

#### 1. Religious Factors

Customary inheritance started shifting as a result of religious understanding. Busomi experienced this when dispersing his inheritance to his mother.

“Her mother received one-sixth and there was a disagreement at the time. Because there are people who follow customary law and those who follow Islamic law. If it is customary law, it is passed down to the child. When deliberating, we apply Islamic law, such that the mother receives one-sixth of the total. Customary law has long been disregarded. There are several Muslims in the Sundanese Association. Even if there are, relatively few have religions other than Islam and are therefore considered Muslims. Customary law has been abandoned since then. Concerning the events 30 years ago, the

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<sup>61</sup> Khottob, Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council of Pesisir Barat Regency, *Interview*, 17 November 2020.

<sup>62</sup> Ali, General Secretary of the Waykanan Indonesian Ulema Council, *Interview*, November 2020.



family initially applied customary law, but eventually realized and applied Islamic law.”<sup>63</sup>

The inheritance system based on Lampung custom is starting to be abandoned, as stated by Ghufron:

“Thank God there are 1 or 2 things that have changed. For example, I am from Lampung, my father and mother have passed away, but alhamdulillah, the inheritance was divided according to Islamic law”.<sup>64</sup>

Similarly, Muhammad Iqbal claimed about inheritance in Aceh:

“In Aceh, Islamic law still exists. Because Islam exists, Islamic Shari'a must be practiced, although it cannot be separated from customary law. Therefore, the Shari'a in Aceh Sultan and religious stakeholders have never been separated from generation to generation, for example, the *kanun* custom”.<sup>65</sup>

According to Hajuli, S.Pd., Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council of Tanggamus Regency, several are shifting in the distribution of inheritance based on custom.

“I handed it to the preachers at the MUI from the district to the sub-district levels so that Islamic law is employed in society's life, including the subject of inheritance. It's not easy, and you have to adjust things gradually. Some residents have moved away from adat along the road, while they have not totally followed religious law in terms of inheritance distribution. Previously, women had no say, but now they have an inheritance. Because it has also occurred, due to economic considerations and pressure, women who do not receive an inheritance want it. As a result, inheritance distribution becomes one of the sources of family dispute.”<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Bustomi, Chairman of Paguyuban Pasundan Lampung Province, *Interview*, 20 September 2020.

<sup>64</sup> Ghufon, a resident of Mapah Selatan, Itap Umboh, Lampung Barat, *Interview*, 6 September 2020.

<sup>65</sup> Muhammad Iqbal, chairman of the Lampung Province Aceh Citizens Association, *Interview*, 23 September 2020.

<sup>66</sup> Jahuli, Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council of Tanggamus Regency, *Interview*, 20 September 2020.

A similar sentiment was also conveyed by Khottab, Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council for Pesisir Barat Regency:

“On the Pesisir Barat, many Javanese ethnic groups embrace Islamic inheritance law. It has shifted for the Lampung tribe due to religious understanding. In the division of inheritance, the problem of joint property does not exist. In essence, the deceased is solely responsible for distributing assets to the family. The remainder is distributed to the spouse who is left without joint property.”<sup>67</sup>

The case of the shift from custom to religion, although not yet fully implemented, as stated by Damsid, a Lampungese resident of Margodadi, South Lampung:

“Generally, inheritances are dispersed in accordance with the rules. Sons get more than daughters in my family. I gave it to my first child because he was a man. I gave my second child, a girl, land. Women will follow their spouses even after they marry. We are looking for sustenance so that our children can prepare for the future. The goal is that by sharing it in this manner, they will be able to put it to good use and achieve a higher level of living than their parents”.<sup>68</sup>

Denasari, who belongs to the Lampung ethnic group, also indicated that in her village, males get two shares while females get one.<sup>69</sup> According to Desrianto, a Lampung ethnic group person, the allocation is given to sons and daughters owing to religious influence.<sup>70</sup> Setio also noted that in his area, where religion was more significant than custom, most Serang Javanese people chose religion above custom.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, because of the importance of religion in the area, most Bugis and Bantenese chose according to Islamic beliefs, according to Nurul Hidayati.<sup>72</sup> M Miftahul Huda also conveyed the

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<sup>67</sup> Khottob, Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council of Pesisir Barat Regency, *Interview*, 17 November 2020.

<sup>68</sup> Damsid, a resident of Margodadi, Jati Agung sub-district, South Lampung: This is also what Ade Afriansyah, a resident of Tanjung Dalom Village, Bumi Agung Sub-district, Way Kanan District, of Lampung ethnicity, stated: in Lampung Waykanan custom, men get a bit more, because of the influence of religion, *Interview*, 25 November 2020.

<sup>69</sup> Dena Sari, a resident of Tenumbang, Pesisir Barat, *Interview*, 17 November 2020.

<sup>70</sup> Desrianto, a resident of Pekon Pajar Bulan, Kuri, Way Krui, Pesisir Barat, *Interview*, 18 November 2020.

<sup>71</sup> Setio, a resident of Sripendowo, Sribhawono, Lampung Timur, *Interview*, 7 November 2020.

<sup>72</sup> Nurul Hidayati, warga Pantai Laut, pasar Madang, Tanggamus, *Interview*.

same statement.<sup>73</sup>, Sammenetim<sup>74</sup>, Mita Maulani<sup>75</sup>, Dio Sa Fallas,<sup>76</sup> Farizal Zukifli<sup>77</sup>, Nabilah<sup>78</sup>, Anisah Putri<sup>79</sup>, and Wiwik Susilowati<sup>80</sup>.

## 2. Social Factor

Social factors also trigger the shift in customary law. As stated by Ali Nurdin Lubis:

“We show kindness to the family while we are still alive. As for me, I thank Allah for the blessing and have handed my fortune to my children without any inheritance division. I gave the inheritance to my youngest child and I gave it to my second daughter. Incidentally, I have one son. I also gave one house, so there was no division. This is because of social influence. Social influence means that we are given sustenance by Allah so that our family lives well. For example, if the youngest child gets married, he is given a share first, then the others are given a share when they get married, not all at once, but according to my ability.”<sup>81</sup>

Likewise, for Lampung customs, although not many, some have changed due to shifting social values. As stated by Mawardi:<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> M. Miftahul Huda, warga Dusun V Sadar Sriwijaya, Bandar Sribhawono, Lampung Timur, *Interview*, 26 November 2020.

<sup>74</sup> Banjaragung resident, RT 03, Jati Agung, South Lampung: usually people in Banjar Agung village distribute their inheritance when both have passed away. In the distribution of inheritance, there are usually parties who get half (1/2), a quarter (1/4), one-eighth (1/8), two-thirds (2/3), one-third (1/3), and one-sixth (1/6), *Interview*, 25 November 2020.

<sup>75</sup> A resident of Fajar Bulan Village, Way Tenong, West Lampung: usually the youngest child inherits the house left by their parents. The same was stated by Chtrya Dendy Perkasa Putra Suryono, a resident of Bauh Gunung Sari, Sekampung Udik, East Lampung, *Interview*, 25 November 2020.

<sup>76</sup> A resident of Jalan Palas Spontan, RT 03/012 Rejomulyo, Palas, South Lampung, *Interview*.

<sup>77</sup> A resident of Jalan Linta Barat Waykerap, Semaka, Tanggamus, *Interview*, 15 November 2020.

<sup>78</sup> A resident of Sukatiggi, Wiyono, Gedongtataan, Pesawaran, *Interview*, 15 November 2020.

<sup>79</sup> A resident of Central Lampung, *Interview*, 10 November 2020.

<sup>80</sup> A resident of 13 Village, Polos, Purwodari, Trimurjo, central Lampung: According to Mrs. Wiwik, people usually seek the opinion of local religious leaders to help calculate inheritance in accordance with Islamic law, *Interview*, 9 November 2020.

<sup>81</sup> H. Ali Nurdin Lubis, Chairman of Persadaan Padang Lawas Lampung Province, *Interview*, 11 November 2020.

<sup>82</sup> Mawardi, Chairman of Lampung Customary Council, *Interview*, 27 November 2020.

“If someone dies, the inheritance is divided equally but it still depends on the family's decision. This is generally the case. Because in this era, people generally look at wealth. So everything is open with material. Customary rights have begun to be abandoned except with certain people who can explain. There are still many families in the areas of East Lampung and Central Lampung who maintain the custom.”

Furthermore, the joint property inheritance division is not implemented in the community, besides the customary issue, because of a lack of religious understanding.

“The joint property is not divided, even though the people are from various ethnics, such as Lampung, Serang, Java, and Sunda, because it depends on the ethnicity. In Lampung, it is like a kingdom where the man reigns. Likewise, the joint property goes to the son. Serang Java divides inheritance according to Islamic laws. Furthermore, those who do not practice inheritance because they lack of religious understanding”<sup>83</sup>.

According to Andi Sanjaya, Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council for East Lampung Regency, most Palembang and Padang ethnic communities are already open to the outside world. He states:

“The Palembang and Padang ethnic groups have opened their eyes to Islamic religious teachings and implemented them in accordance with Islamic inheritance law. Some Javanese follow inheritance law, while others follow custom. Lampung has a higher number of people who do not apply Islamic inheritance law, or who use it sparingly”<sup>84</sup>.

Several people shared their experiences with what was mentioned by several figures above. Those who have undergone cultural inculturation or marriage, such as Afriana Susnan of Javanese-Lampung heritage, who resides in Waykanan and shares wealth equitably among her children<sup>85</sup>.

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<sup>83</sup> Hajuli, S.Pd., Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council of Tanggamus Regency, *Interview*, 4 November 2020.

<sup>84</sup> Andi Sanjaya, General Secretary of the Indonesian Ulema Council of East Lampung Regency, *Interview*, 5 November 2020.

<sup>85</sup> Afriana Susnan, a resident of Jl Raden Saleh, Gg Mawar 88, Waykanan. *Interview*, 17 November 2020.

Similarly, Roni Azi Syaputra<sup>86</sup> and Riris Ristinawati, both of Sundanese heritage, share the wealth equally in addition to going through religion for the surrounding community.<sup>87</sup> Niken Purnama Sari also remarked that due to the influence of current styles, the allocation of traditional heritage had begun to shift.<sup>88</sup>

## Conclusion

This study focuses on the execution of the division of inheritance of joint property by ethnic groups in Lampung Province and the factors that influenced its implementation. At least several factors can be classified based on the analysis. Firstly, most ethnic groups in Lampung directly pass on the inheritance to their children (both male and female). Secondly, inheritance is solely given to daughters. Thirdly, only sons receive the inheritance. Lastly, if one of the parents passes away, some of the inheritance goes to the mother or father.

Furthermore, joint property inheritance is nearly entirely unknown in Lampung. They instantly distribute the property among the four groups mentioned above. Culture greatly influences inheritance distribution in Lampung province since it is still linked to the family system and social protection factors. Nonetheless, the traditional structure has begun to evolve, albeit slowly. It is influenced by two aspects: religion and social factors.

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<sup>87</sup> Riris Ristinawati, a resident of Waykanan, *Interview*, 17 November 2020.

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