



Sapikul Sagendhongan: The Value of Javanese Traditional Heritage in The Practice of Islamic Heritage Distribution in Klaten Community Indonesia

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Abstract. This study examines the value of Javanese customary heritage in inheritance distribution in the Jatinom community, Klaten, focusing on applying customary law and its conformity with Islamic heritage law. The research analyzes the “Sapikul Sagendhongan” inheritance system and explores social and cultural factors affecting inheritance distribution. This study utilized a socio-legal approach and employed qualitative analysis through in-depth interviews with four respondents and examination of related legal documents. Results show that the Jatinom community consistently implements an inheritance distribution system that gives a more significant portion to male heirs than women, with a 2:1 ratio, primarily due to the perception that men have greater family responsibilities. While Javanese customary law remains dominant, there is an adaptation to Islamic law principles in inheritance distribution. Cultural factors, such as family values and cooperation traditions, play a significant role. The Jatinom community is committed to maintaining cultural values while respecting religious provisions. This study provides new insights into the interaction between local traditions and broader legal norms in Javanese society, confirming that Javanese customary law and Islamic law can operate harmoniously in inheritance distribution, ensuring cultural preservation without violating religious principles. The research contributes to understanding the complex dynamics of inheritance practices in Indonesia, highlighting the importance of considering local customs in legal frameworks.

Keywords: Customary Heritage Law, Gender-Based Heritage Distribution, Islamic Heritage Law, Javanese Tradition, Sapikul Sagendhongan System.

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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country governed by many laws, each of which regulates various aspects of life. One of them is related to the distribution of inheritance. In Soepomo's view, the inheritance law contains regulations that regulate the process of bequeathing and bequeathing property and intangible goods (*Immateriele goederen*) of human power (*generatie*) to its derivatives (Soepomo, 2003). This process started when the parents were still alive. Since his parents have died, the process does not become “acute.” The death of the father or mother is an essential

event for the process but does not radically affect the process of handing over and transferring property and non-material (Nur, 2020). The law of inheritance is concerned with allocating a person's inheritance to his family members. In Indonesia, there are three different inheritance laws: customary law, the drafting of Islamic law, and the Civil Code (BW). All three have different characteristics and regulations (Nur, 2021).

In Indonesia itself, the majority of people adhere to Islam and, of course, are inseparable from the diversity of cultural customs, carrying out the practice of dividing inheritance following customary ways, especially people living in rural areas who still adhere to cultural customs and highly respect the customs left by their ancestors for generations. In addition, customs are the primary basis for establishing relationships between individuals or groups (Lestari et al., 2023). For example, Klaten Regency, whose population is dominated by Javanese and the majority of Muslims with a population of 1,275,850 people, still carries out several Javanese customs, including in the distribution of inheritance, but those who use Islamic law in the distribution of inheritance are no less numerous (BPS Klaten, 2022)

The Customary Law of Heritage contains several rules that govern the process of succession, property transfer, and intangible goods from the generation of humans to their descendants (Alie, 2016). Regional characteristics and family traditions greatly influence the implementation of Heritage Customary Law in Indonesia. Each region has its characteristics in the process of inheritance distribution because it has different kinship and inheritance traditions. Likewise, what happens to the Javanese people in passing on wealth to the next generation? Even though it is a gift, the issue of inheritance sometimes causes polemics within the family related to when it is divided, who is entitled to the inheritance, and how much the heirs share (Fikri & Wahidin, 2016).

Studies on inheritance law based on local customary law in Indonesia are still relatively rarely discussed by researchers, even though they have high relevance in understanding the diversity of inheritance practices in various regions. The customary inheritance law not only regulates the distribution of property but also reflects the cultural and social values of the local community. Each area in Indonesia has unique characteristics that affect the implementation of inheritance law, such as the kinship system, traditions, and applicable norms (Hadikusumo, 1991). In many regions, including Java, customary inheritance law often interacts with Islamic law and other favorable laws, creating complex dynamics in the distribution of inheritance. For example, in Klaten Regency, the community is still implementing the "*Sapikul*

Sagendhongan,” which gives a more significant portion to male heirs than women. This phenomenon shows how gender values and family responsibilities affect inheritance-sharing practices. More in-depth research on inheritance law based on local customs is essential to explore differences and similarities in inheritance practices in various regions. This study will better understand the interaction between customary law and formal law and help formulate more equitable policies that follow the community’s cultural context. Thus, this study can be a foundation for understanding the differences in the implementation of inheritance law in each region and its contribution to preserving local cultural values.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous Research

Research by Zulvyanita & Handoko (2023) at Diponegoro University shows that the role of notaries is beginning to be needed in the distribution of customary heritage, especially for land. Conflicts often arise due to a lack of clarity in the division of land inheritance, which makes people need socialization from notaries to avoid disputes between heirs. Research on the dualism of the inheritance system in Mukomuko was conducted by (Dewi & Jaya, 2022), highlighting the dualism of the inheritance system between customary law and civil law. Societies use customary systems to divide inheritance, especially in patrilineal systems. However, sometimes, it is necessary to turn to civil law for specific situations or conflicts between heirs. In contrast, research by *Sapikul Sagandhangan* in Klaten focuses on implementing one specific customary system, namely a 2:1 portion for men and women. The system is implemented consistently without formal integration with civil or notary law.

Research by Rondonuwu (2019) shows that ethnically and culturally diverse Indonesian societies often use customary or civil law, depending on their social context and kinship. Rondonuwu emphasized that consultation with heirs and notaries is essential to ensure a fair division and maintain family harmony.

The main difference between the research in Klaten and the previous research above is the emphasis on the method of distributing inheritance in a traditional way *that* is specific to the Klaten community, where this method is applied consistently without notary formalities or other legal interventions in contrast to other studies that show efforts to integrate customary law with formal law.

Traditional Javanese Heritage

Javanese customary heritage is part of customary law regulating the distribution of the deceased's inheritance to his heirs. Customary inheritance law in Java has characteristics different from other inheritance laws, such as Islamic or Western inheritance laws. According to Soepomo (1980), Javanese customary law is greatly influenced by the Javanese people's cultural values and traditions, which are intense with family values and cooperation. The definition of Javanese traditional heritage must be distinguished from Western, Islamic, and Indonesian heritage law because of the difference in substance, even though they are in the same field. Ter Haar (Narmawan & Horna, 2016) defines customary heritage as a collection of legal regulations governing the process of handing over inheritance and transferring material and immaterial wealth from one generation to the next. Soepomo added that inheritance customary law includes regulations regulating forwarding and transferring property, property, and intangible goods to descendants (Soepomo, 2003).

Customary inheritance law includes all customary rules and guidelines regarding the transfer and continuation of inheritance and its consequences, whether as long as the heir is alive or after death. In contrast to Western law, which recognizes the concept of "absolute part," customary inheritance law does not recognize this concept because its purpose is to ensure that property is maintained and preserved in the hands of heirs. Customary inheritance law includes three main elements: the subject of inheritance law (heirs and heirs), the time and manner of inheritance transfer, and the object of inheritance law itself (Arif, 2022).

Using customary heritage is very important in distinguishing customary heritage from Western, Islamic, and Indonesian inheritance law. Customary heritage condition is due to the difference in the substance of the discussion related to the three terms, even though they are in the same field. Therefore, several opinions have been put forward to understand customary inheritance law more deeply. Some of them include (Soepomo, 2003):

Ter Haar, in his book "*Beginnelsen en stelsel van het Adatrecht*" which translates to "Principles and Structures of Customary Law," defines customary heritage as a set of legal rules related to the essential and ongoing process of inheriting heritage as well as the transfer of material and immaterial wealth from one generation to the next (Ter Haar, 1939). Soepomo also stated that inheritance customary law includes regulations that regulate the process of handing over and transferring property, property, and intangible goods (*immaterial geoderen*) from one generation to their descendants (Soepomo, 1980).

Customary inheritance law includes all customary rules and guidelines governing the transfer and continuation of inheritance and all its consequences, whether done while the heir is alive or after death. In contrast to Western law, which recognizes the concept of “absolute part” (legitimate portie), customary inheritance law does not recognize this concept because, in customary inheritance law, the transfer or transfer of wealth from heirs to heirs aims to ensure that the property is maintained and preserved in the hands of heirs (Kahramandika *et al.*, 2024).

Heirs in Javanese customs

The heir in the Javanese tradition is the individual from the next generation who has the closest relationship with the heir, usually the biological child. All children, both boys and girls, have the same right to their parent’s inheritance. However, some regions in Central Java have implemented a *Sepikul Segendong* system, where boys get twice as much as girls. This phenomenon shows the diversity of customs and traditions in Java’s heritage distribution (Lestari *et al.*, 2023).

In a bilateral society, biological children, both boys and girls, have equal rights to their parents’ inheritance. The division of inheritance is based on each heir’s needs, suitability, and conditions, not the same amount. Biological children are considered the next generation of parents, so the inheritance is passed on to them as the successors of the family property. This principle aligns with the philosophy of marriage in Indonesia, which aims to pass on the offspring (Vela, 2015).

The inheritance system carried out during the heir’s life is often called “unilateral giving” or “*Ngalor ngidul*.” In contrast, the inheritance system after the heir dies is known as “customary giving” or “*gawe-rancangan*”. These two systems have differences in the arrangement and process of inheritance, so in-depth research is needed to understand the legal and customary aspects associated with each of these inheritance systems (Kahramandika *et al.*, 2024).

The principle of inheritance in indigenous peoples depends on the kinship system used, such as the bilateral or patrilineal system. In Javanese indigenous people, family regeneration is essential, with family wealth being the material basis for the next generation’s lives. Therefore, children are considered the successors of the family property, and the distribution of inheritance is based on the needs and conditions of each heir. (Kahramandika *et al.*, 2024).

The law of inheritance has two main properties, namely *Regelend Recht* or *Aanvullend Recht* (optional legal provision) that can be chosen, and *Dwingen Recht* (compelling legal provision)

(Saint *et al.*, 2024). Contrary to popular belief, the inheritance process is not limited to the time after a person dies. Succession and transfer of inheritance can occur at any time, even while the heir is still alive. In Javanese customary law, inheritance can occur during the heir's lifetime. This phenomenon shows that Javanese customary inheritance law has high flexibility but is still binding (Kahramandika *et al.*, 2024).

Umransyah Alie also clarified that in Javanese customary inheritance law, the distribution of inheritance to heirs can be done while the heirs are still alive, in contrast to Islamic inheritance law, which stipulates that the distribution of property is when the heirs die. There are no definite provisions for the Javanese indigenous peoples regarding when the distribution of inheritance should be carried out. The division can be made after the heir's death after deducting funeral expenses, debts, and survival expenses for up to a thousand days after the heir's death (Alie, 2016). In some areas, the division of inheritance can be determined based on how long the heir has died. For example, in some areas such as Bandung, Ciamis, Cikoneng, Kawali, Banjar, Indramayu, Kerawang, and Pandeglang Regencies, the distribution of inheritance is usually carried out on the 40th or 100th day after the death of the heir. Generally, the distribution of inheritances is done after the thousand-day rescue ceremony (Astutik, 2019).

An heir is an individual who is entitled to receive an inheritance from someone who has passed away, depending on the family relationship or marriage with the heir. A biological child is considered the primary heir in customary inheritance law. However, if there are no biological children, the inheritance can be passed on to other heirs such as parents, siblings, spouses, adopted children, or stepchildren, considering family priorities and considerations. In Javanese society, there is a concept of a substitute heir who will replace the primary heir if he dies before the distribution of inheritance. This concept is common in almost all regions in Java and is usually associated with heirs who die before heirs (Lestari *et al.*, 2023).

There is no way to divide in customary inheritance law using mathematical calculations. Each legacy system has a different way of distribution. In Javanese indigenous peoples, the principles of individuality and balance are the basis for the distribution of inheritance. Boys and girls get equal rights and equal shares. However, the division of inheritance is not always the same among heirs. Some divide the inheritance with a handful of *sepikul*, which is the boy's share twice the girl's part, or by way of *dum-dum kupat*, which is the boy's share is equal to the girl's share (Hamzan Aryaputra & Aliffio Yudhistira, 2023). Sometimes, the heir gives

more share to the youngest child or the child who takes care of the heir in his old age. This example is a consideration for the heirs giving a share of the inheritance.

Javanese traditional heritage has a strong foundation in principles that uphold the family's values of togetherness and social balance. These principles serve as guidelines in the distribution of inheritance and as a binding reference to cultural values passed down from generation to generation. This tradition emphasizes the importance of maintaining harmony in the family and fairness in every decision related to inheritance so that every family member feels valued and accommodated (Wantaka *et al.*, 2019).

One of the main principles in Javanese traditional heritage is the principle of family togetherness, where the distribution of inheritance must consider the welfare and togetherness of all family members (Koentjaraningrat, 2004). Javanese traditional heritage means that the distribution of inheritance is not carried out only based on economic value but also by considering its impact on relationships between family members. This tradition emphasizes that the family is a harmonious unit, so any decision must maintain that harmony (Maharani & Latuny, 2022).

The principle of social justice is also one of the cornerstones of Javanese traditional heritage, where the distribution of inheritance must reflect balance and justice in the family (Sutiyoso., 1991). In this case, justice does not necessarily mean an equal share, but rather that each person receives a share according to their needs and role in the family. This approach allows for a more profound sense of justice, where each member feels treated fairly and with dignity.

In addition, the family principle in Javanese traditional heritage emphasizes the importance of deliberation and consensus in decision-making. According to Geertz, decisions regarding the distribution of inheritance are usually reached through deliberations of the extended family so that all parties feel heard and involved (Geertz, 1961). This process symbolizes the value of cooperation and togetherness in Javanese culture, prioritizing solving problems together and by consensus (Lestari *et al.*, 2023).

In Jatinom, Klaten, some local community members implement these principles in heritage practices. As part of the Javanese society, the Jatinom people still maintain traditional values in the implementation of heritage by adjusting to the existing social and economic dynamics. Based on research by Pranata (2015), the distribution of inheritance in Jatinom involves traditional leaders and village heads as mediators so that this process can run fairly and be

accepted by all parties. The presence of these figures as mediators shows respect for tradition and awareness of the importance of maintaining harmony in society.

Factors influencing the distribution of Javanese traditional heritage

The distribution of Javanese traditional heritage is influenced by various factors rooted in the local community's social and cultural system. One of the main factors is the kinship system, where the parental family or the bilateral system is the basis for the division of inheritance. This Javanese traditional heritage means that both boys and girls have the same rights to family inheritance, which illustrates the value of justice in Javanese society. This system differs from the more patriarchal view in other cultures, where boys often receive a larger share (Lestari et al., 2023).

In addition, dividing the inheritance involves an agreement between heirs. This agreement serves as a means to arrange a fair division and avoid conflicts within the extended family. This agreement can affect the size of the share received by each heir, depending on the consensus reached through deliberation. The principle of justice in this division is fundamental to creating balance in the family, especially in providing equal rights between boys and girls, per Javanese society's local values (Ramadhan & Firmansyah, 2023).

Education is also a factor that affects the distribution of heritage in Javanese society. The higher a person's level of education, the greater their awareness of the importance of fair distribution under customary law principles. According to research by Sinta *et al.* (2023), more educated societies tend to apply fair and wise division rules, thereby reducing the potential for conflict in the family. That way, education helps preserve the values of justice in the distribution of Javanese traditional heritage.

In addition, culture and tradition also play an essential role in influencing the way heritage is shared. Each region in Java has different customary rules regarding heritage distribution, depending on the prevailing cultural norms (Lestari et al., 2023). In Jatinom, for example, values such as cooperation, harmony, and mutual respect are the basis of the inheritance distribution process. This phenomenon reflects that Javanese people, in general, prioritize family harmony over just the material aspect in the distribution of property.

Family structure and economic conditions are also factors that are no less important in the implementation of the distribution of Javanese traditional heritage. Typically, older or respected family members have an important role to play in making decisions regarding

inheritance, while economic conditions can affect the utilization of assets such as inherited farmland. In families with stable economic conditions, inherited assets may be more focused on the productive aspect, while in families with less stable economies, inherited assets may be divided to meet basic needs (Furziah, 2023; Maharani & Latuny, 2022).

Although Javanese traditional heritage has different characteristics from modern inheritance law, this tradition remains relevant in the modern era. Javanese people seek to maintain traditional values as their cultural identity, even in the face of the challenges of ever-changing social values and the influence of more formal national laws. A study by Wignyosoebroto (2007) shows that despite changes in values, Javanese people tend to maintain customs as part of their identity.

Sapikul sagendhongan

The term “*sapikul sagendhongan*” literally refers to one pikul with one sling. However, the connotation is that men get twice as much inheritance (*sapikul*) as women, who only get half (*sagendhongan*). It was like a man carrying two baskets on his lap while a woman only carried one basket on her back. In other words, boys receive twice as much of the inheritance as girls, as is the case in Islamic inheritance law, which establishes a ratio of 2:1 between men and women (Pinggala & Afrianda, 2023).

As explained earlier, in Javanese society, all children, both boys and girls, have the same rights to their parents' inheritance. Equal rights mean that every child has the right to be treated fairly, including the right to receive a share of their parent's inheritance. However, in the division of inheritance, it does not matter if the boy receives a larger share than the girl as long as it is based on the principle of propriety. This principle aims to maintain harmony and harmony between family members and prevent disputes that may arise due to the distribution of inheritance. This principle is still firmly held by the Javanese people (Lestari et al., 2023).

In Javanese society, the difference between men and women is increasingly obvious when dividing inheritance by the *sapikul sagendhongan* method, where men get *sapikul* and women get *sagendhongan*. From this inheritance distribution system, it can be concluded that Javanese people who apply it tend to think that men are prioritized over women. Men are considered superior, strong, and special compared to women. As a result, men have greater responsibility for providing for their families, wives, and children and are considered the head of the family. In addition, men are also expected to adhere to the five A's: *angayani* (providing birth and mind), *angomahi* (building a house as a place to live), *angayomi* (as a protector and guide of

the family), *angayemi* (maintaining family peace), and *angamatjani* (being able to continue the offspring). These Javanese traditional values show that Javanese society still maintains a patriarchal mindset that reinforces rigid gender roles and stereotypes (Helmiadi, 2024).

METHOD

This study uses a socio-legal research approach, which is classified as non-doctrinal legal research. This method not only examines the juridical aspects but also explores social, cultural, and normative dynamics in society, especially related to the implementation of the Javanese customary inheritance system in Jatinom District, Klaten. According to Irianto (2011), socio-legal research emphasizes an interdisciplinary approach, combining legal analysis with a social science approach to understand how law is implemented in a social context. The role of social context is reinforced by the opinion of Banakar & Travers (2005) which explains that socio-legal research helps identify the interaction between formal law and social practice. For the context of customary law, this approach is important because customary law tends to be unwritten and heavily influenced by local social structures (Hadikusumo., 2003)

The socio-legal research approach is used in this study to explore the application of customary law in the community inheritance system of Jatinom District, Klaten, by emphasizing the interaction between formal law and socio-cultural practices that live in the community. In line with the view (O'Donovan, 2016), this study considers that socio-legal methods help to uncover the role of law in the context of social life, which in this study is closely related to the tradition of Javanese traditional inheritance.

The method chosen in this study through a literature study that examines customary law and socio-legal literature is the initial stage of understanding the basic concepts and theories that are the basis of customary law in inheritance. This study uses several legal sources as a foundation, including Javanese customary law, Islamic law, and the Civil Code (KUHPerdata) in Indonesia. Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos (2018) suggested in-depth literature studies as a first step to ensure socio-legal methods have a strong foundation in local contexts. Then, field observations in the Jatinom District allowed researchers to observe social interactions that affect customary law practices directly. Creutzfeldt et al. (2019) emphasize the importance of observation as a method that is able to capture legal practice in a socio-cultural context, especially in areas that have strong customary structures such as Jatinom.

In addition, this study also conducted in-depth interviews conducted in a semi-structured manner with beneficiaries, community leaders, and local governments to explore their experiences and views on customary inheritance law practices. Milovanovic (2020) showed that semi-structured interviews were effective in socio-legal research because they allowed for the digging of in-depth narratives from respondents regarding the interaction between law and social practice. In addition, the selection of respondents is carried out by purposive sampling to obtain information from parties directly involved or who have in-depth knowledge of the Javanese customary inheritance system. Thomas & Becher (2021) emphasized that the selection of the right informants helps researchers gather more relevant and in-depth data related to unwritten laws in Indigenous peoples. In this study, four main speakers have direct experience with the Javanese traditional inheritance system in Jatinom. These four speakers provided diverse and in-depth perspectives on how the inheritance system is implemented and understood in their communities. In this study, we examine the current status of customary law in the Jatinom community, examining the perspectives of four respondents and how state law views them.

Table 1. List of Informants from Javanese Indigenous People in Jatinom District, Klaten Regency

No	Informant	Years of Legacy
1	Tyas Puji Lestari	2020
2	Chrysanthemumindita	2021
3	Dyah Eka Ratnasari	2021
4	Agus Satrio Rukmana	2019

Data Source: Results of Field Research in Jatinom District, Klaten Regency

The data was analyzed through a thematic approach with the aim of identifying patterns in the respondents' narratives related to the implementation of customary inheritance. This approach is in line with the advice (Ezirigwe & Glazewski, 2024) and (Fatima, 2023), which states that thematic analysis is ideal for socio-legal research because it is able to highlight themes that arise from the experiences of the interviewed subjects, resulting in a richer understanding of the indigenous inheritance system.

RESULT

Definition of Inheritance in Javanese Customary Law

Javanese customary law stipulates that inheritance is wealth that is transferred from one generation to the next to maintain the continuity of family wealth. According to Ter Haar, this rule covers all forms of wealth, both tangible, such as land and houses, as well as intangible, such as rights to certain land or family traditions (Ter Haar, 1939). Hadikusumo (1991) explained that the process of inheritance transfer in Javanese customary law often begins when the parents are still alive, with the main goal of maintaining and continuing the family's wealth. Sugangga (1993) affirmed that there is no difference in rights between boys and girls in obtaining inheritance.

The Inheritance System in Javanese Customary Law

Three types of inheritance systems are known in Javanese society: individual, collective, and majority inheritance systems. In the individual system, each heir has the right to control and have an inheritance according to their respective shares. This system is very common in the old society in Java, where each heir acquires a specified share without having to share it with other family members (Hadikusumo, 1991). The system also has flexibility, which allows the Javanese people to adapt the inheritance distribution system to customary or Islamic law.

Sources of Customary Law Governing Inheritance

The source of customary law in Java comes from customs and rules formulated by kings and traditional leaders, such as the *Ciwasana Law Book* in East Java and *Kutara Manawa* in Bali. Van Vollen Hoven stated that the source of customary law reflects the cultural values of the community, where customary norms are formed from the original Indonesian culture that prioritizes a sense of justice. Djojodiguno (Sudaryanto, 2010) mentioned that this customary law includes “*ugeran-ugeran*” or normative rules that are attached to the principles of interpersonal relations in Javanese society.

Elements in Javanese Traditional Heritage

Javanese customary heritage has three important elements: inheritance, heirs, and transfer of inheritance rights. The inheritance includes original goods or “*gawan*” that are inherited from generation to generation, such as heirlooms (keris, spears) or property obtained before marriage, as well as gono-gini goods, which are the joint property of husband and wife. Heirs

include direct descendants such as children, parents, or grandparents from both parties (Hadikusumo, 1991)

The process of transferring inheritance while the heirs are still alive

Some common forms of inheritance transfer when the heir is still alive include continuation or twist (transfer of wealth as a child's living capital), appointment or injunction (the right of the heir to continue managing the inheritance as long as the heir is alive), and a message or will that is only valid after the heir dies (Vela, 2015). This process allows parents to ensure their children have the basic assets to build their lives on without losing full ownership while alive.

Method of Inheritance Distribution After Heirs Die

Koentjaraningrat (1994) identified two main methods of inheritance distribution in Javanese society, namely *Sapikul Sagandhangan* (2:1), where men get a larger portion than women, and *dum dum kupat* or *watermelon cigar*, where men and women get equal shares. In the *Sapikul Sagandhangan*, men get a larger portion because they are considered to have greater responsibility in providing for the family. In contrast, the “*dum dum kupat*” gave an equal portion to each child as a form of justice and equality of children's rights.

Implementation of the Heritage System in the Jatinom Community, Klaten

Based on interviews with four families in Jatinom District, it was found that they mostly applied the *sapikul sagendhongan* system as the results of the interview with Tyas Puji Lestari stated that the family inheritance is divided more among younger siblings due to educational needs. Meanwhile, another speaker, Dyah Eka Ratnasari, explained that men get a larger share even though they do not all strictly follow the rules of *sapikul sagendhongan*. In general, the people in Jatinom combine customary law with Islamic law, and the principle of *sapikul sagendhongan* used is largely in line with the Islamic principle of giving a greater share to men.

Through these results, it can be understood that the Javanese people, especially in Jatinom District, Klaten, maintain the principles of customary law by adapting in accordance with the developing social and religious values, demonstrating the flexibility of Javanese customary law in maintaining a balance between tradition and the practical needs of the family.

DISCUSSION

Inheritance and Distribution System According to Customary Law

Recent research shows that there is a change in perception in Javanese society regarding the importance of equitable distribution of inheritance. A study noted that many families in Java are starting to consider a more equal division between boys and girls, especially in urban areas that are more exposed to the value of gender equality (Pranata, 2015). This phenomenon is in contrast to the findings of research results in the Jatinom District, which still adheres to the *Sapikul Sagandhangan*, where men get a larger portion than women. This condition showed that the influence of patriarchal culture is still strong in certain areas, although in other regions, especially more modern ones, there is a shift in values.

Sources of Customary Law and Integration with Islamic Law

The results of the study show that the people in Jatinom still maintain customary law in the distribution of inheritance but also integrate Islamic legal values. This finding is in line with the findings of the latest research, which states that Javanese people today tend to be more flexible in implementing inheritance rules by paying attention to religious values (Fikri & Wahidin, 2016). The study found that most Muslim families began to adapt the distribution of inheritance to Islamic legal principles without eliminating customary elements. This integration creates a heritage legal system that is more adaptive and reflective of existing social and cultural needs.

Elements in Javanese Traditional Heritage

In the latest research by Rahmawati (2023), It was found that elements of Javanese customary heritage, such as *Gono-Gini* (common property), are still recognized and applied. However, now it has changed its use. Rahmawati pointed out that in most cases, the property *Gono-Gini* is not only considered a joint right of husband and wife, but it also involves the agreement of the children in its use, especially if the inheritance is in the form of a family business. This finding shows a shift in the mindset of modern Javanese society that considers collective decisions more. Research in Jatinom still shows the application of *Gono-Gini*, which is limited to the joint property of husband and wife without the involvement of other heirs. This phenomenon reflects the consistency of the application of customary rules in the traditional context.

The process of transferring inheritance while the heirs are still alive

A study by Lestari et al. (2023) found that more Javanese families began to draw up inheritance transfer agreements while the parents were still alive to avoid conflicts between heirs. This process is also known as *Twist* or *Acungan*, but more formal because it involves written evidence and witnesses, which are sometimes not found in traditional practice. Meanwhile, the results of research in Jatinom show that the heritage distribution process is still done orally and based on family agreement. This practice may be less effective in the event of conflict later on. With this change, more modern Javanese families tend to use written evidence to ensure a clear division and minimize potential disputes.

Distribution of Inheritance with the Watermelon and Sapikul Sagandhongan Methods

Previous studies have shown that division by the *watermelon cigar* (equal portions for men and women) began to be widely accepted by urban communities in Java, especially by families who have a view of gender equality (Huda & Zubaidi, 2020). On the other hand, research in Jatinom shows the dominance of the method *Sapikul Sagandhangan*, where males get a larger share. These differences may be due to social contexts and educational and economic influences. In rural areas such as Jatinom, people tend to maintain strong patriarchal values. This latest research shows that there is a tendency in some Javanese people to prioritize equality in the distribution of inheritance, reflecting more modern social changes.

Implementation of the Heritage System in the Community of Jatinom District

In the context of customary law implementation, previous studies have observed that younger communities tend to be more open to changes in more equal inheritance practices, as opposed to previous generations who still hold fast to customary principles (Aditya, 2019). The findings in the Jatinom District reflect the sustainability of the traditional system, where most respondents still adopt the rules of *Sapikul Sagandhangan*. This finding shows that although customary law values are still alive, the application of the inheritance system still varies between the younger generation and the older generation.

CONCLUSION

This study aims to analyze the implementation of Javanese customary law in the distribution of inheritance and how these principles are applied in Jatinom District, Klaten Regency. The results of the study show that the people in this region still apply the traditional *method of*

sapikul sagendhongan, which gives a greater share of inheritance to men than women, in line with the patriarchal principles in Javanese customary law. In addition, it was found that the people of Jatinom District integrate Islamic legal values in the practice of inheritance distribution without leaving the essence of Javanese customary law. The study also found that the inheritance transfer process often takes place without formal documentation, especially if it is done while the heirs are still alive.

The limitation of this study is that the sample is limited to one sub-district so the results may be less representative of the diversity of inheritance distribution practices in other areas in Java. In addition, this study does not highlight the role of social and economic changes that may affect the perception and practice of inheritance sharing more broadly. The contribution of this study is to increase the understanding of the application of Javanese customary law in the local context and show the adaptation to religious values in the distribution of inheritance. The recommendation of this study is the need for policies that encourage official documentation in the distribution of inheritance to prevent future conflicts. Further studies can expand the scope of the research area and explore the influence of social and economic factors in the application of Javanese customary law related to heritage, as well as the impact of changes in modern values on this practice.

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