

NEGOTIATING ISLAMIC INHERITANCE DISTRIBUTION WITHIN LOCAL CUSTOM AMONG THE SASAK MUSLIMS OF LOMBOK

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Abstract: *This study aims to identify the stages of transformation in inheritance distribution practices among the Sasak Muslim community in Rensing Bat Village, East Lombok, and to explain the process of change through William Fielding Ogburn's theory of social change. Drawing on field research with a qualitative approach supported by in depth interviews, the findings indicate a gradual shift from a patriarchal customary system towards a distribution pattern that aligns more closely with the principles of afraid. This transformation unfolds in four stages, beginning with the dominance of men as the primary heirs, the emergence of a justice based awareness that opens space for women, a transition towards a bilateral system, and the use of hibachi as a culturally accepted mechanism of value adjustment that simultaneously preserves family harmony. Osborn's analysis shows that this change follows the stages of invention, accumulation, diffusion and adjustment, reflecting a bottom up process of social transformation arising from collective moral consciousness rather than from external structural pressure. The findings affirm that legal reform does not always need to be institutional or imposed from above, but may develop through the gradual internalization of Islamic values within local culture. This study offers a novel contribution by providing an empirical account of how such internalization occurs organically within the customary system, demonstrating that changes in inheritance practices may evolve through value negotiation at the community level.*

Keywords: *Transformation; Inheritance; Theory of Social Change; Sasak Muslim Community; Rensing Bat.*

Introduction

The transformation of inheritance distribution in Indonesia continues to evolve alongside changes in family structures from collective to more individual forms, as well as the increasing role of women and social mobility in modern society.¹ The tension between customary norms, which emphasize decorum through the postponement of inheritance distribution, and the demands of efficiency and fairness in modern legal systems reflects a clash between tradition and contemporary needs.² In the legal sphere, reforms in Islamic inheritance law through the recognition of adopted children, obligatory wills, and mutual agreements demonstrate the legal

¹Nadia Andriwati, 'Wills and Inheritance in Modern Society: Emerging Challenges and Evolving Dynamics', *Journal Ekonomi, Keuangan, Perbankan, Dan Akuntansi Syariah* 3, no. 1 (2024): 38-44, doi:10.54801/xhmvmh36.

²Maimanah Maimanah et al., 'Delay in the Division of Inheritance: A Theoretical Review within Legal System Framework in Indonesia', *Syariah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pemikiran* 24, no. 1 (2024): 241-57, doi:10.18592/sjhp.v24i1.12916.

system's response to the complexities of modern families.³ Nevertheless, the practice of inheritance distribution within communities often still relies on customary law, which at times contradicts Islamic legal principles, revealing a gap between legal norms and social implementation.⁴ As part of the development of national law, the emergence of a bilateral inheritance system that is more gender-equal illustrates an effort to accommodate the values of justice and equality within the future construction of inheritance law.⁵

This development has become increasingly prominent as formal legal institutions, such as religious courts (*peradilan agama, Indonesia*), begin to reconstruct the application of Islamic inheritance law to make it more contextual with the realities of a plural and dynamic society.⁶ In the context of gender, local initiatives such as those in Tanah Luwu, South Sulawesi, Indonesia, have sought to develop models of inheritance distribution based on equality, reflecting the adaptation of universal values of justice into customary practices.⁷ However, such efforts continue to face significant challenges, as structural and normative barriers to the protection of women's inheritance rights remain evident in both customary and state law.⁸

The normative and sociocultural developments outlined above indicate that the transformation of inheritance distribution does not occur uniformly across Indonesia, but is instead shaped by local contexts, value structures, and the intensity of interaction among customary, religious, and state legal systems. Within this framework, it is particularly interesting to examine how this transformation unfolds among Muslim communities that uphold local customs while remaining open to changing values. One such example is the Muslim Sasak community in East Lombok, particularly in Rensing Bat Village, which for more than two decades has been the site of intense social dynamics. The village is located in Sakra Barat District, East Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara Province, and consists of three hamlets. Rensing Bat

³M Nasikhul Umam Al-Mabruri, 'Development and Polemic Renewal of Inheritance Law and Compulsory Wills in Indonesia', *Al-Hakam: The Indonesian Journal of Islamic Family Law and Gender Issues* 4, no. 1 (2024): 41–62, doi:10.35896/alhakam.v4i1.581.

⁴Dewiyanti Rambe, Muhammad Amar Adly, and Khalid Khalid, 'Analysis of Islamic Inheritance Law on the Distribution of Women's Inheritance', *Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Sharia Economics (IJSE)* 6, no. 3 (2023): 2373–83, doi:10.31538/ijse.v6i3.3928.

⁵Dita Perwitasari, Budi Santoso, and Yunanto Yunanto, 'The Development of a Bilateral System in National Inheritance Law Grounded in Social Justice', *Pancasila and Law Review* 5, no. 2 (2024): 123–34, doi:10.25041/plr.v5i2.4058.

⁶Akhmad Jalaludin, 'From Patrilineal to Bilateral: A New Balance of Islamic Inheritance Law in Indonesia's Religious Court', *Al-Hukama: The Indonesian Journal of Islamic Family Law* 14, no. 2 (2024): 201–31, doi:10.15642/alhukama.2024.14.2.201-231.

⁷Andi Sukmawati Assaad et al., 'Development Model of Gender Equality Study in Inheritance Distribution of Tanah Luwu Communities', *Jurnal Hukum Dan Peradilan* 12, no. 2 (2023): 215–40, doi:10.25216/jhp.12.2.2023.215-240.

⁸Kumala Dwi Hapsari, Mieke Anggraeni Dewi, and Darmawan Tri Budi Utomo, 'Analysis of the Protection of Women's Inheritance Rights in the Civil Inheritance Law System', *International Journal of Health, Economics, and Social Sciences (IJHESS)* 7, no. 4 (2025): 1919–24, doi:10.56338/ijhess.v7i4.8940.

is inhabited entirely by Muslims and is well known for its strong sense of collectivism, culture of deliberation, and deeply rooted religious traditions in daily life.⁹ In this context, family-related practices, including inheritance distribution, form an integral part of the continuously evolving social dynamics. The researcher's long-term residence in this village for more than two decades (2001-2025) provides a rare opportunity to capture social change not only in its final form but also throughout its transitional processes.

Nevertheless, it is essential to map how inheritance distribution practices in East Lombok unfold, offering a broader understanding of how the Sasak people preserve their customary traditions within a dynamic Islamic framework. For instance, in Jerowaru Village, inheritance is distributed both parentally and individually, following the concept of "*Sak Mame Belembah, Sak Nine Bereson* (Boys carry burdens on their shoulders and girls bear them on their heads)," which allocates a larger share to male heirs.¹⁰ In Sakra Village, a similar pattern can be observed, where men inherit land and plantations, while women receive only jewelry or household items.¹¹ Meanwhile, in Semaya Village, inheritance distribution is conducted through deliberation and customary institutions, covering land, houses, and movable assets, both before and after the death of the benefactor.¹² In Pohgading Timur Village, inheritance settlements are generally reached through mediation involving customary and religious leaders, combining customary norms and Islamic law with an emphasis on peaceful consensus.¹³

Studies on inheritance distribution practices in East Lombok, as described above, have thus far concentrated on the existing forms of inheritance and the interaction between custom and Islam. However, they have not yet addressed how the transformation stages of these inheritance practices occur. Therefore, this study aims to identify and classify the stages of transformation in inheritance distribution practices among the Muslim Sasak community in Rensing Bat Village, East Lombok, over the period 2001-2025. It also seeks to analyze this transformation through the

⁹Admin Desa, 'Jumlah Dan Persentase Penduduk Berdasarkan Agama Di Desa Rensing Bat, 2025', *Sistem Informasi Desa Rensing Bat, Kec. Sakra Barat Kab. Lombok Timur*, Oktober 2025, <https://rensingbat.desa.id/data-statistik/jenis-kelamin>.

¹⁰Nurhasanah Walijah, 'Budaya Hukum Pembagian Waris Adat Masyarakat Sasak Di Desa Jerowaru Kecamatan Jerowaru Kabupaten Lombok Timur Perspektif Antropologi Hukum Islam' (Tesis, Universitas Islam Indonesia, 2023), <https://dspace.uui.ac.id/handle/123456789/44954>.

¹¹Baiq Rohila Cahyani, 'Sistem Pembagian Warisan Masyarakat Desa Sakra Dalam Perspektif Masalah Mursalah' (Skripsi, UIN Mataram, 2021), <http://etheses.uinmataram.ac.id/3377/1/Baiq%20Rohila%20Cahyani%20170202037.pdf>.

¹²Muhamad Mansyur, Zainal Asikin, and Sahnun Sahnun, 'Pelaksanaan Pembagian Waris Menurut Hukum Adat Sasak Di Desa Semaya Kecamatan Sikur Kabupaten Lombok Timur', *Jurnal Education and Development* 7, no. 2 (2019), doi:10.37081/ed.v7i2.1133.

¹³Dani Khasani, 'Tinjauan Yuridis Proses Mediasi Penetapan Dan Pembagian Waris (Studi Kasus Di Desa Pohgading Timur Di Wilayah Kecamatan Pringgabaya Kabupaten Lombok Timur)' (Tesis, Universitas Muhammadiyah Mataram, 2025).

lens of William Fielding Ogburn's theory of social change, which categorizes transformation into four stages: invention, accumulation, diffusion, and adjustment.¹⁴

The use of William Fielding Ogburn theory is relevant because the pattern of inheritance reform in Rensing Bat has not occurred in a revolutionary manner; rather, it has progressed gradually through the emergence of new values, the strengthening of collective awareness, the expansion of practices within the community and the attainment of stable social adjustments. Ogburn provides an analytical framework that enables the researcher to interpret this transformation as a gradual process that grows out of the internal dynamics of the society rather than as a result of external pressure or formal institutional reforms. Through this theoretical lens, inheritance practices are not viewed merely as legal events but as products of a complex social process in which social innovation, new values and the tensions between customary and religious norms must be collectively renegotiated. Ogburn's perspective helps to map each stage of this transformation systematically so that it becomes clear how the community has shifted from patriarchal customary patterns towards a more justice-oriented Islamic distribution mechanism.

Accordingly, the scholarly contribution of this research lies in providing an empirical model of inheritance transformation rooted in local community practices within the framework of classical social theory. It also enriches the fields of sociology of law and legal anthropology through rare and in-depth longitudinal data. Moreover, this research offers an important methodological precedent in the study of social change based on long-term observation (longitudinal ethnography), which remains largely absent in law and society studies.

Method

This study employs a qualitative approach with a field research design formulated to explain in depth the transformation of inheritance distribution practices within the Sasak Muslim community in Rensing Bat Village. This approach was chosen because the phenomenon under investigation is not quantitative or numerically measurable, but is rooted in the dynamics of values, customs, kinship structures and the gradual internalization of religious teachings within the community. For this reason, the required data are not numerical, but consist of experiences, narratives, moral reasoning and local knowledge that can only be obtained through direct interaction and contextual understanding. The framework of this study is enriched by its longitudinal character, namely long term observation conducted from 2001 to 2025, which enables the researcher to capture changes in values and social practices not as isolated events, but as an evolutionary process unfolding over more than two decades.

¹⁴William Fielding Ogburn, *Social Change with Respect to Culture & Original Nature* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1922).

This long term observation was built through two mechanisms. First, continuous observation, as the researcher lived and interacted within the community and thus had natural access to the social dynamics that developed over time. Through daily interactions, the researcher was able to document shifts in ways of thinking, family discussion patterns, the role of religious teachers and emerging tendencies in inheritance distribution, all of which were recorded systematically in field notes. Second, the research was strengthened by intensive observation conducted from April to May 2025, during which the researcher carried out structured interviews, observed family deliberations, attended religious gatherings and documented actual practices related to *hibah* and inheritance distribution mechanisms. The combination of twenty four years of long term observation and two months of intensive observation provides temporal depth as well as empirical accuracy, allowing the process of social change to be reconstructed comprehensively.

Informants were selected using purposive sampling followed by snowball sampling to ensure a diversity of perspectives and a broad range of data. Sixteen informants were chosen based on three considerations: customary authority, religious authority and direct experience as heirs. Customary leaders and village elders were selected for their genealogical and historical knowledge of shifts in inheritance customs, while religious figures such as *tuan guru* and mosque officials were selected because of their important role in shaping the community's religious consciousness. Male and female heirs from three generations were included to offer a concrete picture of how inheritance distribution has changed within nuclear families. Snowball sampling was applied when initial informants recommended other individuals who were considered to have more detailed knowledge of the changes. This selection method produced well developed data representation because it brought together perspectives that were not only normative but also practical and reflective.

Data collection was conducted through three primary techniques, namely participant observation, in depth interviews and documentation study. Participant observation enabled the researcher to observe social behavior in its context, whether in religious gatherings, family deliberations or informal conversations. In depth interviews were conducted using a semi structured guide to allow informants the space to narrate their experiences. Interview themes included understanding of customary inheritance, personal experiences in inheritance distribution, the influence of education and religious instruction by *tuan guru*, reasons for the emergence of a justice oriented awareness and the motivations of families who chose the mechanism of *hibah*. Meanwhile, documentation was used to trace written and non-written evidence such as deliberation records and village demographic data. These three techniques were applied simultaneously to strengthen depth and broaden the scope of information.

Data analysis was conducted through three stages that outline a systematic process in qualitative research. The first stage was coding, beginning with open coding to identify units of meaning in interview transcripts and observation notes, such as

concepts of patriarchal inheritance, women's justice, the influence of religious teachers or *hibab* as a peaceful solution. These codes were then connected through axial coding to form broader conceptual categories such as shifts in awareness, the integration of religious values and conflict resolution mechanisms. At the selective coding stage, the researcher identified key themes that explain the dynamics of transformation, namely the community's gradual movement from a patriarchal customary pattern towards a distribution system that aligns more closely with Islamic values.

The second stage involved longitudinal categorization, which entailed organizing data along a timeline to identify the development of values and practices across four phases of change detected in the field, namely the period before the 1990s, the early 1990s to 2000s, 2000 to 2010 and the period after 2010. This categorization enabled the researcher to observe patterns of consistency, the acceleration of change and the moments at which new values began to be accepted or resisted by the community. The third stage was thematic analysis, in which all categories were organized according to William Fielding Ogburn's theoretical framework of invention, accumulation, diffusion and adjustment so that the transformation of inheritance practices could be explained as a process of value adaptation that was organic and grew from the community's internal moral consciousness.

Data validity was maintained through source triangulation, methodological triangulation, member checking, an audit trail and the use of rich description. Source triangulation was carried out by comparing the accounts of customary leaders, religious leaders, heirs and the wider community, while methodological triangulation involved cross checking findings from observation, interviews and documentation. Member checking was used to confirm the researcher's interpretations with key informants to avoid misinterpretation. An audit trail was applied to ensure that the entire analytical process was transparently recorded, from the initial coding to the formation of themes. Rich description was used to provide sufficiently detailed contextual information to allow readers to assess the credibility of the research setting.

This study also adhered to established ethical standards in qualitative research. All informants received an explanation of the research objectives, its potential benefits, the nature of their participation and their right to withdraw at any time. Consent was obtained orally in accordance with local cultural practices that emphasize trust based relationships. Community approval was secured from the hamlet head, customary leaders and religious leaders given that the research involved sensitive issues such as family property ownership. The researcher also maintained cultural sensitivity by adjusting the timing and location of interviews and observing Sasak communication etiquette as a form of respect for local social norms.

The researcher's position within the community provided advantages in terms of emotional closeness and wider access to data, yet potential bias was managed through self-reflection, cross informant triangulation and regular consultation with key figures. With this methodological structure, the study not only meets rigorous

qualitative research standards but also offers an important methodological contribution by combining the richness of longitudinal data with the depth of ethnographic analysis within the context of customary legal transformation and the internalization of Islamic values at the grassroots community level.

Result and Discussion

The Social Reality of the Sasak Muslim Community of Rensing Bat, East Lombok

Lombok Island, predominantly inhabited by the Sasak ethnic group, is widely known as the “Island of a Thousand Mosques,” a title that not only signifies the abundance of places of worship but also reflects the profound religiosity of its people.¹⁵ More than 90 percent of Lombok’s population adheres to Islam, and this Islamic character is vividly manifested in every aspect of their social life.¹⁶ In almost every neighborhood, there is a mosque or a small prayer house (*mushalla*) that serves as the center of both religious and social activities.¹⁷ This phenomenon makes Lombok one of the regions with the highest density of houses of worship in Indonesia, with approximately 4,500 mosques spread across 598 villages and sub districts over an area of 5,435 square kilometers.¹⁸ These figures are not merely statistical data but rather a portrayal of how religion serves as the central axis of Sasak social and cultural life, shaping the way they interact, make decisions, and organize their daily routines.

In the context of Sasak society, Islam is not merely a belief system but also a moral and social guide. Every action, whether personal or communal, is measured through an understanding of religious values. The *tuan guru*, a title for religious scholars among the Sasak, hold a highly respected position. They are not merely ritual leaders but authoritative figures who guide the community in spiritual, social,

¹⁵Muhammad Adi, ‘Pulau Lombok Negeri Seribu Masjid’, *NEWSMEDIA*, 11 April 2017, <https://www.newsmedia.co.id/news-gallery/pr-60491449/pulau-lombok-negeri-seribu-masjid>; Nurul Hakim, ‘Potret Objek Dakwah: Membuka Tabir Patrimonial Di Pulau Seribu Masjid’, *Tasamuh* 14, no. 1 (2016): 21–40, <https://journal.uinmataram.ac.id/index.php/tasamuh/article/view/169>.

¹⁶Admin Statistik, ‘Penduduk Muslim Di NTB Mencapai 96,94%’, *NTB SATU DATA*, 2024, <https://data.ntbprov.go.id/index.php/infographic/penduduk-muslim-di-ntb-mencapai-9694>.

¹⁷HL Ahmad Busyairy, ‘Akulturasi Budaya Dalam Mimbar Masjid-Masjid Kuno Lombok (Studi Arkeologi)’, *El-Tsaqafah: Jurnal Jurusan PBA* 15, no. 2 (2016): 161–70, doi:10.20414/tsaqafah.v15i2.289.

¹⁸Muslim Travel News, ‘NTB, Destinasi Wisata Halal Terbaik Nasional 2019’, *Muslim Travel News*, 29 November 2019, <https://muslimtravelnews.com/2019/11/29/ntb-destinasi-wisata-halal-terbaik-nasional-2019/#:~:text=Pulau%20Lombok%20dikenal%20dengan%20julukan%20Pulau%201000%20Masjid.&text=memiliki%204.500%20lebih%20masjid%20yang%20tersebar%20di%20598%20desa%20dan%20kelurahan%20di%20pulau%20Lombok>.

and even customary legal matters.¹⁹ The obedience of the Sasak people to their *tuan guru* reflects a strong social structure rooted in religious authority.²⁰ Important decisions such as marriage, inheritance, and family dispute resolution continue to involve the perspectives of *tuan guru* as an unwritten yet firmly upheld moral reference.²¹

This religiosity is also reflected in the educational aspirations of the Sasak community. Parents take great pride when their children pursue religious education, particularly in Islamic boarding schools (*pondok pesantren*). The sense of pride grows even stronger when a child continues their studies at prominent Islamic institutions abroad, such as Al-Azhar in Egypt, Sholatiyah in Mecca, or Islamic universities in Turkey. Such educational orientation illustrates that religion is not only part of spiritual identity but also a source of social prestige and a symbol of family success.²²

Among the regions on Lombok Island that exemplify these characteristics is Rensing Bat Village in Sakra Barat District, East Lombok Regency, which serves as an interesting example. The village was formed as a result of the division of Rensing Village, driven by the community's aspiration for better services and welfare. Its establishment followed a long deliberative process that demonstrated the Sasak people's collective decision-making character, which prioritises consensus in every discussion. After going through administrative efforts, on 15 August 2011, coinciding with 15 Ramadan 1432 AH, the Regent of East Lombok officially inaugurated Rensing Bat Preparatory Village as stipulated in Regent Regulation Number 34 of 2011. Not long after, through a Regional Regulation ratified by the Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) of East Lombok Regency on 9 November 2011, Rensing Bat was officially designated as a definitive village along with 65 others.²³

Geographically, Rensing Bat Village consists of three hamlets, namely Rensing Bat, Lepok, and Timuk Rurung. It is strategically located within the cultural and social landscape of the Sasak community, bordered by Montong Beter to the north, Rensing to the south, Rensing Raya to the east, and Lekor and Sukarara to the west. The village covers a total area of 195 hectares, which is divided into residential zones, rice fields, plantations, cemeteries, yards, gardens, and other public

¹⁹M Sulhan and Zulkipli Lessy, 'Otoritas Tuan Guru Terhadap Dakwah Islam Pada Masyarakat Sasak Lombok: Analisis Teori Otoritas Max Weber', *An-Nawa: Jurnal Studi Islam* 4, no. 2 (2022): 101-12, doi:10.37758/annawa.v4i2.513.

²⁰Sainun Sainun, Muhammad Lutfi Hakim, and Arif Sugitanata, 'From Religious Understanding to Tradition: The Role of Tuan Gurus in the Fidyah Practice within the Sasak Muslim Community', *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah)* 23, no. 2 (2024): 337-49, doi:10.31958/juris.v23i2.13126.

²¹Fahrurrozi, 'Tuan Guru and Social Change in Lombok, Indonesia', *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46, no. 135 (2018): 117-34, doi:10.1080/13639811.2018.1452487.

²²Drs. H. Sarafudin (Principal of MTs. Mukhtarul Amin at the Mukhtarul Amin Islamic Boarding School, Rensing Bat), Interview, 16 April 2025.

²³Admin Desa, 'Sejarah Desa', *Sistem Informasi Desa Rensing Bat, Kec. Sakra Barat Kab. Lombok Timur*, Agustus 2016, <https://rensingbat.desa.id/artikel/2016/08/26/sejarah-des>.

facilities.²⁴ The total population is 1,668, comprising 818 males and 850 females,²⁵ all of whom are Muslims,²⁶ reflecting a relatively balanced gender composition that plays an important role in shaping social and familial roles within the framework of Sasak Islamic culture.

Religious life in Rensing Bat Village is remarkably vibrant. Each hamlet has its own regular religious study groups (*majelis pengajian*), and religious activities consistently serve as a focal point of social interaction. Major Islamic events such as the Prophet's Birthday (Maulid Nabi), *Isra* and *Mi'raj*, and the Islamic New Year are celebrated with great enthusiasm. These celebrations are not limited to ritual observances but are often accompanied by cultural parades that showcase art, clothing, and local traditions harmonized with Islamic values.²⁷ This integration of religion and culture illustrates the Sasak community's ability to manage their Islamic identity in a flexible and adaptive manner, accommodating local traditions without compromising religious principles. Likewise, during Indonesia's Independence Day celebrations, the people demonstrate the same spirit of solidarity and creativity, as each hamlet competes to present its unique characteristics through festivities and parades, showing that religiosity and nationalism are not opposing forces but coexist harmoniously in their social practices.²⁸

Educational and religious institutions in Rensing Bat also serve as crucial foundations in shaping the community's social identity. The existence of one main mosque (*masjid jami'*), five mosques or prayer houses (*mushalla*), one kindergarten (TK/RA), one primary school, one Islamic junior secondary school (madrasah tsanawiyah), and five registered Qur'anic learning centres (*Taman Pendidikan Al-Qur'an*) reflects the centrality of religious education at the community level.²⁹ These institutions play a vital role in strengthening the process of internalizing Islamic values from an early age, ensuring the continuity of the community's moral and spiritual regeneration. Therefore, the general depiction of the social reality of the Sasak Muslim community in Rensing Bat described above becomes essential for understanding other social practices that have developed among them. One particularly interesting aspect, based on field observations, is how this religious value

²⁴Admin Desa, 'Peta Wilayah Desa', *Sistem Informasi Desa Rensing Bat, Kec. Sakra Barat Kab. Lombok Timur*, Agustus 2016, <https://rensingbat.desa.id/artikel/2016/08/26/peta-wilayah-des>.

²⁵Admin Desa, 'Jumlah Dan Persentase Penduduk Menurut Jenis Kelamin Di Desa Rensing Bat, 2025', *Sistem Informasi Desa Rensing Bat, Kec. Sakra Barat Kab. Lombok Timur*, Oktober 2025, <https://rensingbat.desa.id/data-statistik/jenis-kelamin>.

²⁶Admin Desa, 'Jumlah Dan Persentase Penduduk Berdasarkan Agama Di Desa Rensing Bat, 2025'.

²⁷H. Sidiq (Chairman of the Nurul Islam Mosque Board, Rensing Bat), Interview, Mei 2025.

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹Admin Desa, 'Data Desa', *Sistem Informasi Desa Rensing Bat, Kec. Sakra Barat Kab. Lombok Timur*, Agustus 2016, <https://www.rensingbat.desa.id/artikel/2016/08/24/data-des>.

system is applied in matters of muamalah, especially in the distribution of inheritance, which is elaborated in the following section.

The Transformation of Inheritance Distribution Practices among the Sasak Muslim Community of Rensing Bat

The social structure of the Sasak Muslim community in Rensing Bat Village, which is deeply rooted in Islamic values, does not necessarily ensure the full application of *fiqh* norms in daily practice, particularly in matters of inheritance distribution. Based on field observations and interviews, it was found that the people of Rensing Bat have undergone a gradual transformation in both perspective and practice regarding the division of inherited property.³⁰ This shift can be mapped into four major stages, each illustrating the community's process of social and religious adaptation to Islamic teachings while simultaneously maintaining local values passed down through generations.

In the first stage, which occurred before the 1990s, inheritance distribution was still strongly influenced by a patriarchal cultural pattern. In this system, men received the main portion in the form of land and productive assets, while women only obtained household goods such as beds, cupboards, plates, and kitchen utensils. This pattern was encapsulated in a local Sasak expression, "*sak mame mauk tanak, sak nine isi bale*,"³¹ which means "men manage the land, women fill the house." The saying was not merely a proverb but reflected a social ideology concerning the division of economic and domestic roles based on gender. Women were perceived as not needing land ownership because their social function was centered in the household. Interestingly, although women only received household items, these items were often inscribed with the daughters' names, serving as a symbolic form of recognition that held moral value yet lacked material strength.³² Up to the time this study was conducted, some families still maintained this custom, although it had become increasingly rare.

Entering the second stage, around the 1990s to the early 2000s, a new awareness began to emerge within the community about the importance of giving a share to daughters, even if the amount remained limited. During this period, inheritance distribution began to take into account a sense of fairness, although it

³⁰The statement was obtained through a long-term observation process conducted continuously from 2001 to 2025. This extensive period enabled the researcher to directly witness various social dynamics and shifts in the community's mindset in Rensing Bat Village. This was possible because the researcher did not merely visit occasionally but also lived in the village, thereby having the opportunity to carry out in-depth, consistent, and repeated observations within the context of the community's daily life.

³¹Village Elders of Rensing Bat (H. Muslim, H. Amin, and H. Nurudin), Interview, 16 April 2025.

³²*Ibid.*, stated that "when we were young, our father received an inheritance from his parents in the form of land, while our mother only received household furniture."

had not yet followed the formal *faraidh* formula. This change is driven not only by moral awareness but also by evolving social and religious contexts such as the growing influence of *tuan guru*'s religious guidance, the improvement of household economic conditions and the increasing access to education for women. These factors collectively reinforce the perception that granting a more equitable share of inheritance is no longer in conflict with customary norms.

Daughters started to receive portions of land, albeit small, as a token of presence rather than equality. The inheritance received by women generally came from their mothers, not their fathers. This can be seen in the case of Hj. Asiah and her two sisters, Hj. Aminah and Hj. Kalsum, who received 21 ares of land inherited from their mother, divided equally into seven ares each, while they received nothing from their father's side.³³ Such a model reflects the emergence of an awareness that began to transcend the boundaries of traditional customs, although its implementation remained partial and selectively applied to certain types of property.

The third stage, which developed between 2000 and 2010, shows a more significant transformation towards Islamic values. During this phase, the people of Rensing Bat began to abandon the unilateral (one-line) inheritance system and shifted to a bilateral one, where both sons and daughters were entitled to inherit from both parents. This transition reflects a changing understanding of the Islamic concept of justice, in which inheritance rights are determined not merely by gender but by lineage. Although the mathematical division had not yet fully adhered to the 2:1 *faraidh* ratio, the community had begun to internalize the principle that every child has a rightful claim to the parents' estate.³⁴ In this context, there was a clear shift in value orientation from "ownership based on gender" towards "distribution based on familial rights."

Entering the fourth stage, since the 2010s, an interesting development has taken place in the practice of inheritance distribution in Rensing Bat Village. The community has begun adopting the mechanism of *hibah*, which refers to the transfer of property during one's lifetime as a means of dividing inheritance before the death of the parents.³⁵ This mechanism has been employed not only to align more closely with Islamic teachings but also as a social strategy to prevent family conflicts after

³³Hj. Asiah (One of the Heirs in Rensing Bat Village), Interview, 12 April 2025., explained that her brothers received their late father's inheritance in the form of approximately 3.5 hectares of land, which was divided between the two of them. The eldest brother received about 2 hectares, while the third brother obtained around 1.5 hectares. Meanwhile, she and her two sisters only inherited land from their late mother measuring 21 ares, which was divided equally among the three of them, so each received about 7 ares.

³⁴H. Maqbul, Hj. Nurimah, and H. Muslim (Heirs in Rensing Bat Village), Interview, 12 April 2025., stated that the practice of inheritance distribution resembling the *faraidh* system had already been implemented in the family of Papuq Tuan Mukhtar. Male heirs were given between 80 and 90 acres of land, while female heirs received between 30 and 35 acres.

³⁵The Family of H. Nuruddin in Rensing Bat Village, Interview, 14 April 2025.

the death of the benefactor.³⁶ In practice, the distribution through *hibah* is carried out using a formula that closely resembles the *faraidh* provisions, allocating two parts to sons and one part to daughters.³⁷

The four stages of inheritance distribution described above illustrate the long journey of the Rensing Bat community in negotiating between tradition and religious doctrine. The process reflects a transition from a system entirely rooted in patriarchal customs to one that is more consistent with the principles of Islamic justice. Therefore, the current practice of inheritance distribution in Rensing Bat should not be understood as absolute compliance with the legal text but as the outcome of a long dialectical process between customary norms and Islamic law. This transformation marks a significant phase in the local evolution of Islamic law, as the community gradually internalizes *faraidh* values while maintaining the social balance that has long characterized their collective identity.

From Tradition to Transcendence

The social transformation occurring in the inheritance distribution practices of the Sasak Muslim community in Rensing Bat Village illustrates how a society adapts to emerging values that arise through the interaction between custom and religion. In the framework of William Fielding Ogburn's theory, this transformation can be explained as a gradual and continuous process in which each stage signifies the development of social awareness from inherited traditions towards a new, more normative understanding. Ogburn argues that social change does not occur instantaneously but proceeds through four interrelated phases, namely invention, accumulation, diffusion, and adjustment.³⁸ These four phases elucidate how the inheritance practices of the Rensing Bat community have undergone an evolution of values and social behavior in a complex manner.

In the period prior to the 1990s, the community still adhered to an inheritance system entirely determined by patriarchal values. Men received land and productive assets, while women were given only household items such as cupboards or dishes.³⁹ This system persisted because it was perceived as consistent with the division of social roles, where men worked outside the home and women managed domestic affairs. However, at a certain point, the community began to realize that such a pattern left an imbalance. This new awareness represents what Ogburn refers to as a "social invention," emerging within an established order,⁴⁰ namely the awareness that women also have rights over their parents' inheritance. The discovery

³⁶H. Muslihun and Zainurrahman (Residents of Rensing Bat Village), Interview, 4 April 2025.

³⁷ H. Muslimin distributed his inheritance to his children through *hibah* by giving each son 50 acres of land and each daughter 30 acres. The Family of H. Muslimin in Rensing Bat Village, Interview, 14 April 2025.

³⁸William Fielding Ogburn, *Social Change with Respect to Culture & Original Nature*.

³⁹Village Elders of Rensing Bat (H. Muslim, H. Amin, and H. Nurudin), Interview.

⁴⁰William Fielding Ogburn, *Social Change with Respect to Culture & Original Nature*.

initially appeared in simple and symbolic forms, such as marking household items with the names of daughters,⁴¹ serving as a half-hearted acknowledgment. Although it did not alter women's material position, this small step marked a shift in perspective regarding ownership rights.

That awareness did not remain confined to individuals. Entering the 1990s and early 2000s, the idea of fairness in inheritance distribution gradually accumulated into collective consciousness. The community slowly recognized that the value of justice could not be measured solely by custom but must also take Islamic teachings into account. This transformation became evident in families that began to allocate small portions of land to daughters, although limited to property inherited from the mother.⁴² From this, it becomes apparent that the community was consolidating and strengthening newly discovered ideas from earlier stages. This process of accumulation unfolded without causing social conflict, as the Sasak Muslim community of Rensing Bat tended to maintain familial harmony. Ogburn explains that when a new value begins to be accepted by part of a community, it tends to accumulate and gradually evolve into a new social force that replaces older values.⁴³ This was precisely what occurred in Rensing Bat, where the old values were not rejected outright but were progressively adjusted over time.

Between 2000 and 2010, the accumulated values began to spread to wider layers of society. The pattern of inheritance shifted to a bilateral form, in which both sons and daughters inherited property from both parents.⁴⁴ This shift was not merely a matter of wealth distribution but also reflected a change in the structure of thought. The community began to realize that in Islam, inheritance rights are determined not by gender but by blood relations. This marked the diffusion phase of Osborn's theory, where values that were once confined to a limited circle began to spread through a natural social process,⁴⁵ starting from religious advice, inter-family experiences, and the exemplary conduct of a more open society. In this context, the people of Rensing Bat did not reject their customary traditions but created space for Islamic values to exist within them. Thus, the transformation that occurred was not the abolition of tradition but a synthesis that produced a new social understanding.

Developments after 2010 indicated a mature stage of adjustment. Families began to use lifetime grants (*hibachi*) as a mechanism for distributing assets.⁴⁶ Such grants served two simultaneous purposes: first, to ensure the division of inheritance conformed to the principles of *afraid*, namely two shares for males and one share for females, and second, to prevent family conflict after the death of the benefactor.⁴⁷

⁴¹Village Elders of Rensing Bat (H. Muslim, H. Amin, and H. Nurudin), Interview.

⁴²Hj. Asiah (One of the Heirs in Rensing Bat Village), Interview.

⁴³William Fielding Ogburn, *Social Change with Respect to Culture & Original Nature*.

⁴⁴H. Maqbul, Hj. Nurimah, and H. Muslim (Heirs in Rensing Bat Village), Interview.

⁴⁵William Fielding Ogburn, *Social Change with Respect to Culture & Original Nature*.

⁴⁶The Family of H. Nuruddin in Rensing Bat Village, Interview.

⁴⁷H. Muslihun and Zainurrahman (Residents of Rensing Bat Village), Interview.

The community discovered a new balance between religious and social values. According to Osborn, this phase is called adjustment, in which new values are no longer merely adopted but have become an integral part of social life.⁴⁸ In Rensing Bat, the practice of *hibachi* was not simply about complying with religious law but also represented a moral expression of maintaining harmony and avoiding family division. In this way, Islamic values succeeded in permeating customary social spaces without creating conflict.

This gradual transformation demonstrates that the people of Rensing Bat did not experience a revolution of values but an evolution that unfolded through a subtle social process. They did not abruptly abandon old traditions but reinterpreted them to align with Islamic principles. The synthesis between custom and sharia emerged as the outcome of a long journey encompassing the invention, accumulation, diffusion, and adjustment of values. Osborn explains that such social change usually occurs when material cultural elements (in this case, inheritance practices) evolve faster than non-material cultural elements (social and religious values).⁴⁹ However, in Rensing Bat, both elements adjusted harmoniously, illustrating that social change can occur without conflict when driven by collective awareness and shared moral necessity.

On the other hand, the social transformation in the practice of inheritance distribution in Rensing Bat aligns with the general trend of Islamic inheritance law reform in Indonesia but displays a fundamentally distinct character. While, according to Nadia Andriwati and Maimanah et al., changes in modern inheritance patterns are largely driven by legal dynamics and the individualization of families in urban areas,⁵⁰ in Rensing Bat, the transformation stems from a collective moral awareness within a traditional community that still upholds social harmony. The *hibab* mechanism used by the community did not emerge from administrative efficiency motives, as described by Nadia Andriwati,⁵¹ but rather from the need to preserve family relationships after the death of the benefactor. Consequently, the adaptive pattern in Rensing Bat reflects a direction of change that arises from below, a bottom-up social change, rather than being a result of pressure from formal legal systems imposed from above. This constitutes the innovative dimension that enriches the understanding of how Islamic norms can be internalized organically within local societies without losing their spiritual essence or cultural balance.

Furthermore, although the research findings of Dita Perwitasari, Budi Santoso, and Yunanto as well as Akhmad Jalaludin emphasize the importance of a

⁴⁸William Fielding Ogburn, *Social Change with Respect to Culture & Original Nature*.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰Nadia Andriwati, 'Wills and Inheritance in Modern Society: Emerging Challenges and Evolving Dynamics'; Maimanah et al., 'Delay in the Division of Inheritance: A Theoretical Review within Legal System Framework in Indonesia'.

⁵¹Nadia Andriwati, 'Wills and Inheritance in Modern Society: Emerging Challenges and Evolving Dynamics'.

bilateral inheritance system and the reconstruction of religious courts to achieve gender justice,⁵² the Rensing Bat community offers a more subtle approach. Instead of overhauling the legal system, they gradually shift patriarchal culture through socially accepted practices. Such an approach has rarely been highlighted in previous literature, as most studies, including those by Andi Sukmawati Assaad et al., focus on formal legal innovation.⁵³ In contrast, the Rensing Bat community demonstrates a form of social change that originates from within its own religious culture and collective life experiences.

Thus, this study reveals an important novelty that transformation does not necessarily require institutional reform but can develop through a gradual yet sustainable process of value internalization at the grassroots level. In the context of Rensing Bat, this internalization unfolds through organic social mechanisms. Families begin by emulating practices that are perceived to uphold justice and harmony, *tuna guru* provide moral legitimacy through religious advice in community study sessions and kinship networks strengthen the diffusion of values through family deliberations. Over time, the notion of fairness in inheritance becomes a shared consciousness not because of formal pressure but due to the concrete examples set by respected family figures, religious leaders and collective experiences demonstrating that a more equitable distribution is capable of preserving familial cohesion.

Conclusion

This study finds that the transformation of inheritance practices among the Sasak Muslim community of Rensing Bat Village unfolded in four stages that illustrate a gradual shift from a patriarchal customary system towards the application of more substantive Islamic values. In the initial stage prior to the 1990s, inheritance distribution continued to position men as the primary recipients of land and productive assets, while women received only household goods. The second stage was marked by the emergence of an awareness of the importance of justice, reflected in the allocation of a small portion of land to daughters. The third stage shows the community's transition towards a bilateral system in which sons and daughters both inherited from their parents, although the distribution still did not fully align with the afraid ratio of two to one. The fourth stage demonstrates a value adjustment through the mechanism of *hibachi* during one's lifetime, resulting in a distribution pattern that approximates afraid principles while maintaining family harmony. The entire process indicates that change did not occur in a revolutionary manner but through a slow internalization of Islamic values within a social structure that

⁵²Perwitasari, Santoso, and Yunanto, 'The Development of a Bilateral System in National Inheritance Law Grounded in Social Justice'; Jalaludin, 'From Patrilineal to Bilateral: A New Balance of Islamic Inheritance Law in Indonesia's Religious Court'.

⁵³Assaad et al., 'Development Model of Gender Equality Study in Inheritance Distribution of Tanah Luwu Communities'.

continued to respect local customs.

When viewed through William Fielding Osborn's theory of social change, the transformation follows the stages of invention, accumulation, diffusion and adjustment. The emergence of new awareness regarding women's rights as heirs constitutes the invention phase, which later developed into a collective acceptance of the value of justice (accumulation). This was followed by the spread of bilateral inheritance practices and *hibachi* among families in Rensing Bat (diffusion), culminating in the recognition of *hibachi* as the most harmonious mechanism for integrating customary norms and Islamic law (adjustment). This change, which occurred without social tension, indicates that the dynamics of religious and customary values in Rensing Bat evolved through a bottom up social change driven by the community's own moral consciousness.

In addition to mapping social transformation at the community level, the findings of this study offer significant academic implications for the study of legal anthropology and Islamic inheritance law in Indonesia. The organically formed harmonization between custom and afraid principles demonstrates that Islamic values can be internalized through social mechanisms such as *hibachi* without disrupting customary structures, making this model relevant as a reference for formulating national Islamic inheritance policies that are more responsive to local contexts. Practically, the findings suggest the need to strengthen inheritance law literacy through the roles of religious leaders, educational institutions and family deliberation forums in order to continue promoting fairer distribution practices. For future research, more in depth investigation is required regarding the dynamics of religious institutions and younger generations in sustaining this value transformation amidst increasingly rapid social change.

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