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*by* robbykaesa11@gmail.com 1

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**Submission date:** 24-Jul-2025 11:56AM (UTC+0530)

**Submission ID:** 2719823840

**File name:** 7.\_ANALISIS\_YURIDIS\_SOSIO-KULTURAL.pdf (347.39K)

**Word count:** 5620

**Character count:** 33972

**Juridical and Socio-Cultural Analysis of Inheritance Distribution  
Under the Customary Law System of the Dayak Community in Indramayu**

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**Abstract**

This study aims to analyze the inheritance distribution system within the Dayak community in Indramayu using a juridical-socio-cultural approach. The research employs a qualitative-descriptive method, integrating the analysis of positive law and customary law with local socio-cultural values specific to the community's unique context. Data were collected through field observations, document studies, and semi-structured interviews with customary leaders and members of the Dayak community. The data analysis technique is based on the interactive model of Miles and Huberman and utilizes a normative-juridical and cultural-interpretive approach to explore the ongoing dynamics. The findings reveal that the bilateral kinship structure and customary principles such as *Sejarah Alam Ngaji Rasa* (the natural history of internal reflection), *Menyatu dengan Alam* (oneness with nature), and *Ngaula Ning Anak Rabi* (dedication to one's offspring and their spouses) influence an egalitarian inheritance system, although variations exist among subgroups. However, within the framework of legal pluralism and distributive justice, the system still reflects disparities, particularly concerning the rights of women and adopted children in matters of inheritance. The study recommends reformulating customary law to be more responsive to contemporary social justice values and to ensure the principles of non-discrimination and equality in the inheritance distribution process.

**Keywords:** customary law, inheritance, Dayak Indramayu, juridical-socio-cultural, distributive justice

**How to cite:** Busthomi, A. O. B., Jaelani, A., Setyawan, E., Abadi, K., & Syam, R. M. (2025). Juridical and Socio-Cultural Analysis of Inheritance Distribution Under the Customary Law System of the Dayak Community in Indramayu. *Hikmatuna: Journal for Integrative Islamic Studies*, 11(1), 78–88. <https://doi.org/10.28918/hikmatuna.v11i1.10963>

**Received:** 16-05-2025

**Revised:** 03-06-2025

**Accepted:** 18-06-2025

## Introduction

The distribution of inheritance is a vital aspect of the social life of customary communities (Napitupulu et al., 2025). In Indonesia, with its rich cultural diversity and customary legal systems, inheritance distribution varies across communities following their respective cultural values (Gunawan & Kamil, 2025). One such example is the Dayak community in Indramayu Regency (Abdillah et al., 2024), which practices an inheritance system that differs from Indonesia's codified national law. Therefore, examining this system through juridical and socio-cultural lenses is essential.

This study aims to analyze the inheritance distribution system practiced by the Dayak indigenous community in Indramayu and its implications for national legal principles within the framework of legal pluralism. A qualitative case study approach is employed, using data collection techniques such as observation, documentation, and semi-structured interviews (Sholehah et al., 2018). The data is analyzed using a socio-legal approach to reveal the relationship between legal norms, social practices, and the cultural values upheld within the community.

The inheritance system of the Dayak community in Indramayu is influenced by a bilateral or ambilineal kinship structure, which recognizes descent from both parents and promotes equal distribution of assets regardless of gender. This customary law emphasizes gender equality, granting male and female heirs equal inheritance rights. Customary legal theory is applied to understand how local norms govern inheritance distribution, while legal pluralism theory is used to explain the interaction between Dayak customary law and Indonesian national law, which traditionally prioritizes male heirs (Lusiana, 2022). From a socio-cultural perspective, inheritance distribution is viewed as a social practice connected to the redistribution of wealth and the preservation of cultural and social values within the Dayak community.

This study is significant not only for understanding inheritance practices but also for exploring the relationship between the Dayak customary legal system and Indonesia's national legal framework. The research focuses specifically on the Dayak community in Indramayu Regency, examining customary law and inheritance practices. Under Indonesian national law, inheritance is governed by the Indonesian Civil Code (KUHPerdata), which is formalistic and rigid (Dzaky, 2024), whereas customary law is more flexible and prioritizes consensus (musyawarah). This discrepancy can lead to legal conflicts between customary and positive law, affecting how the Dayak community exercises their inheritance rights. This study is limited to 2024 to capture the current practices of inheritance distribution in the Dayak community of Indramayu.

The social and cultural values of the Dayak community in Indramayu also play a critical role in inheritance distribution, guided by concepts such as *Sejarah Alam Ngaji Rasa* and the principle of "Unity with Nature." Inheritance is perceived as part of a socio-cultural unit that strengthens communal bonds. This study is relevant in the context of

legal pluralism, where Indonesia's national legal system must coexist with customary legal systems, particularly in matters of inheritance. The theoretical framework includes legal pluralism and gender relations theory in customary law to assess the equitable distribution of inheritance between men and women. The study is limited to inheritance practices within the Dayak community of Indramayu and does not extend to other Dayak groups; thus, the findings are contextual and not generalizable to all Dayak communities.

This study builds upon several previous research efforts. The first is by Tri Minarti, whose research entitled *"Inheritance Distribution among the Pakpak Dayak Indigenous Community by the Customary Chief under Pakpak Dayak Customary Law in Nanga Ungai Village, Kayan Hulu District"* examines inheritance distribution based on local customary law. Conducted in Nanga Ungai Village, Sintang Regency, using a socio-legal approach, the study found that inheritance distribution was carried out according to the decedent's will. The beneficiaries included biological children, spouses, parents, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, with any disputes resolved through family deliberation (Minarti, 2021).

The second study by Gusti Muzainah and Syaikh, titled *"Inheritance Distribution in Ulama Families in Palangka Raya from the Perspective of Banjar Customary Inheritance Law,"* discusses the pluralistic inheritance law system applicable in Indonesia. It highlights three legal systems: Islamic inheritance law, customary inheritance law, and the Civil Code-based inheritance law (KUHPerduta). The study shows that both Islamic and customary inheritance laws remain widely practiced, with inheritance distribution varying according to kinship systems and cultural traditions, including among the Banjar community (Muzainah & Syaikh, 2020).

The third study by Micselin Sifa Frisandia and Salsabila Ardila W, entitled *"Inheritance Systems under Customary Inheritance Law Regarding the Prevailing Kinship Systems in Indonesian Indigenous Communities,"* explores the unique characteristics of customary inheritance law compared to other legal systems. This study employs a normative-juridical approach and statutory analysis to examine inheritance distribution in relation to prevailing kinship structures, including patrilineal, matrilineal, and bilateral systems. The results indicate that inheritance distribution under customary law must consider both the origin of the property and the kinship system of the local community (Frisandia, 2024).

From these three studies, it can be concluded that there has yet to be a study specifically addressing the juridical-socio-cultural analysis of inheritance distribution within the customary legal system of the Dayak community in Indramayu. Although the Dayak identity is commonly associated with Kalimantan, the Dayak community in Indramayu possesses a unique customary dynamic influenced by Javanese culture. Therefore, this research constitutes an original contribution to customary law, the socio-legal approach, and the exploration of the local character of the Dayak community in Indramayu, particularly in the context of inheritance practices.

## Method

This study employs a qualitative-descriptive approach to depict the inheritance distribution practices within the Dayak community in Indramayu. The analysis unit includes individuals (such as customary leaders and heirs) and the Dayak community of Indramayu as a social group. The research combines juridical and socio-cultural approaches, integrating legal analysis with cultural values. The juridical approach

emphasizes the applicable legal frameworks in both formal law (such as civil law) and customary law, while the socio-cultural approach focuses on social practices and prevailing values within the indigenous community (Padmini & Habib, 2025). The study explores the interaction between customary legal norms and local cultural traditions in inheritance practices through this combined approach.

The data utilized consists of primary and secondary sources. Primary data were obtained through interviews with customary leaders, heirs, and members of the Dayak community in Indramayu, employing purposive sampling techniques. Semi-structured interviews were conducted to gather respondents' perspectives and experiences regarding customary inheritance distribution. The interview guidelines were structured around customary legal principles, social values, and family dynamics. Secondary data includes relevant literature, statutory regulations, and customary legal documents (Sholehah et al., 2018). Additional data collection methods include field observation to directly observe inheritance practices and document analysis to examine historical records and existing inheritance documents.

The data analysis was conducted using the interactive model developed by Miles and Huberman, which involves three stages: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification (Endarto & Martadi, 2022). This model allows for continuous and flexible analysis throughout the data collection process. Furthermore, the study adopts normative juridical and cultural interpretative analytical approaches. The normative juridical approach analyzes data based on existing legal norms, both statutory (state law) and customary, to identify similarities and divergences. Meanwhile, the cultural interpretative approach interprets the data through a cultural lens, seeking to understand the underlying meanings of customary inheritance practices within the socio-cultural context of the Dayak community.

## **Result and Discussion**

### **Review of Inheritance Law, Customary Law, and Theories of Estate Distribution**

Inheritance law in Indonesia constitutes a complex and pluralistic legal domain, comprising three parallel legal systems: Islamic inheritance law (Nidal, 2024), Western civil inheritance law derived from the *Burgerlijk Wetboek* (BW) (Djamud et al., 2024) and customary inheritance law (Anton et al., 2025). These systems are recognized and applied according to the religious, ethnic, and legal preferences of the disputing parties. However, such legal pluralism challenges legal certainty and the protection of heirs' rights. Islamic inheritance law, as stipulated in the Quran, Hadith, *ijma'* (consensus), and *qiyas* (analogical reasoning), bases its distribution on principles of kinship (*nasab*) and male-line agnation (*asabah*) (Istiqlal et al., 2024), offering specific allocations to each heir, for instance, the portion for a male child is twice that of a female child (Nursyamsudin, 2018).

In contrast, Western civil inheritance law, adopted from the Dutch legal system, applies to non-Muslim citizens (Setyawan, 2023). It operates on more flexible principles, allowing for inheritance by will or intestate succession, and emphasizes the individual's right to dispose of property (Temponbuka, 2022). Customary inheritance law, although unwritten (Mayasari, 2017), prioritizes consensus and family agreement. It is shaped by kinship systems such as patrilineal (through the father) (Frisandia, 2024), matrilineal (through the mother) (Yusuf & Yamarizky, 2023), and bilateral (Santika & Eva, 2023).

Customary law holds substantial authority despite its unwritten nature due to its social and cultural legitimacy and receives constitutional recognition under Article 18B paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution, which acknowledges the traditional rights of customary law communities (Mayasari, 2017). In indigenous communities such as the Dayak, customary law governs various aspects of life by prioritizing substantive justice over formal justice (Nazuli et al., 2025). Inheritance decisions are frequently based on social proximity and communal contribution to the family or community, rather than solely on blood relations (Rohman et al., 2024). Customary law is contextual and flexible, adapting to local values and often reflecting the principles of restorative justice, which prioritize social harmony and the restoration of balance between disputing parties.

The theory of legal pluralism posits that Indonesian society is subject not only to state law but also to customary and Islamic law (Yunus, 2024; Ridwan et al., 2023), each possessing its form of social and cultural legitimacy (Djawas et al., 2024). Legal culture theory further explains that the legal behavior of customary communities, such as the Dayak, plays a significant role in inheritance practices, where collective values and deliberation take precedence over individual entitlements (Čehulić, 2021). The theory of distributive justice examines whether customary inheritance practices foster equitable outcomes or perpetuate social inequalities, employing a Rawlsian lens to assess whether such laws are impartial across all societal groups (Jafino et al., 2021).

### **Kinship Structure and Its Influence on the Distribution of Inheritance**

The kinship structure within the Dayak community of Indramayu plays a significant role in influencing the system of inheritance distribution. The community adheres to a bilateral or ambilineal kinship system, allowing lineage to be traced through paternal and maternal lines. This contrasts with the more commonly encountered kinship systems among other Indonesian ethnic groups, such as patrilineal (inheritance traced through the father's line) or matrilineal (through the mother's line). In a bilateral system, inheritance rights are not tied to a single lineage but instead consider the entitlements of both sides of the family. As a result, the inheritance system in the Dayak community of Indramayu tends to be more egalitarian, granting equal rights to both the paternal and maternal families (Abubakar, 2013).

This concept offers a notable departure from many other customary communities in Indonesia, which tend to be more rigid in allocating inheritance solely based on a single line of descent (Ismail et al., 2019). In patrilineal or matrilineal societies, inheritance is typically restricted to one side of the family, often resulting in inequality. Conversely, the bilateral system practiced by the Dayak people promotes a more equitable distribution of property between male and female heirs, and between both sides of the family. This demonstrates that the bilateral kinship structure introduces a more inclusive and flexible inheritance model, accommodating social diversity and ensuring equal rights for all entitled parties.

In this regard, implementing a bilateral kinship system within the Dayak community illustrates that legal pluralism can function within a kinship framework without privileging one lineage over another. This system shows that customary legal pluralism allows for diversity and can be harmonized within the broader framework of state law without undermining the cultural values of local communities. Previous studies have shown that other customary communities often apply rigid systems confined to single-line descent, which may result in unjust inheritance practices. The bilateral kinship



system of the Dayak community in Indramayu, which values both paternal and maternal lines, provides a more equitable alternative in the allocation of inheritance.

The bilateral kinship model offers opportunities for more responsive and adaptable legal policies that align with evolving socio-cultural conditions. The kinship diversity among the Dayak people can serve as a reference in formulating more inclusive inheritance laws that reflect local values. The state, for instance, could adopt the principles embedded in bilateral kinship systems in the formulation of inheritance legislation that not only emphasizes individual rights but also ensures a balance between both sides of the family.

Nevertheless, despite the egalitarian tendencies of the bilateral kinship system, particular challenges remain in its application. Some Dayak subgroups, such as the Dayak Preman and Dayak Seragam, continue to be influenced by religious doctrines and social norms that prioritize inheritance distribution based on gender. This tension between customary egalitarian values and patriarchal religious norms reveals a disconnect between the principles of bilateral kinship and the continued preference for male heirs in inheritance practices. Such gender-based distribution, although misaligned with bilateral principles, continues to hinder the realization of truly equitable inheritance practices.

#### **Values and Principles Underpinning the Inheritance Distribution System**

The system of inheritance distribution within the Dayak community of Indramayu is influenced not only by kinship structures but also by the underlying cultural principles that guide this system. Three core principles serve as the foundation of the inheritance system: *Sejarah Alam Ngaji Rasa* (Learning from Nature), *Menyatu dengan Alam* (Harmony with Nature), and *Ngaula Ning Anak Rabi* (Commitment to One's Offspring). These principles reflect the deep interconnection between the Dayak people, nature, and their ancestors. For instance, *Sejarah Alam Ngaji Rasa* embodies the belief that individuals must learn from nature to comprehend life and social interactions. This principle teaches the Dayak community that every aspect of life should be approached with understanding and mutual respect. In the context of inheritance distribution, it emphasizes that the division of assets must be carried out with consideration and fairness, ensuring that no party feels disadvantaged or excluded.

These values illustrate the strong influence of local culture in shaping the prevailing inheritance distribution system. The distribution of inheritance among the Dayak is not solely based on individual entitlements derived from lineage but is also grounded in more holistic social values. This principle highlights the necessity of equal recognition of both paternal and maternal family rights in the distribution process. It reflects the importance of integrating social values into inheritance practices to promote familial and societal balance.

Comparison with Previous Studies: Prior research on inheritance systems within customary communities has often focused on rigid structures based on single-line descent systems, such as patrilineal or matrilineal inheritance. In contrast, the Dayak community in Indramayu presents a more inclusive alternative through its bilateral kinship system. This offers new insights into how a more flexible and socially responsive bilateral system can promote equitable inheritance practices, thereby avoiding an exclusive reliance on a single lineage. By emphasizing these principles, the Dayak community promotes an inclusive and just distribution model that fosters broader harmony within families and society (Sari et al., 2023).

The second principle, *Menyatu dengan Alam*, signifies a profound connection between humans and the natural world. The Dayak view nature as a habitat and a vital source of life. In inheritance, this principle entails that distribution must account for harmony with nature and balance in the transfer of wealth. In practical terms, it underlines the importance of incorporating local values into national inheritance policies. Such a model could serve as a basis for developing inheritance law that promotes social justice and avoids disparities arising from inequitable asset distribution.

The third principle, *Ngaula Ning Anak Rabi*, pertains to the enduring responsibility toward children and future generations. Within the Dayak inheritance system, married children remain part of the extended family and retain their right to inheritance. Although these principles advocate for social justice, their implementation, particularly among subgroups such as the Dayak Preman and Dayak Seragam, is often influenced by religious belief systems that prioritize male heirs. This results in a disparity between the egalitarian ideals of customary law and patriarchal practices that persist. In some instances, religious norms and traditional cultural values prevail, leading to unequal inheritance rights, particularly disadvantaging women or children deemed illegitimate under customary norms.

#### **Analysis of Inheritance Distribution Practices through the Lens of Socio-Cultural Theory**

Building upon the previous analysis, this section examines the inheritance distribution practices of the Dayak community in Indramayu using a socio-cultural theoretical perspective. The focus is to assess whether these practices align with established theories concerning legal pluralism, legal culture, and distributive justice. Inheritance distribution in the Dayak community of Indramayu reflects the application of legal pluralism coexisting with local social and cultural values. While legal pluralism allows multiple legal systems to operate concurrently, discrepancies are evident across subgroups. For instance, in the Dayak Blegir subgroup, inheritance is distributed more equally between men and women. In contrast, in groups such as Dayak Preman and Dayak Seragam, inheritance practices remain heavily influenced by religious doctrines prioritizing male heirs. This contradicts the foundational principles of legal pluralism, which advocate for diversity and equality in legal arrangements.

Although legal pluralism is acknowledged, gender inequality remains a significant barrier to the equitable implementation of inheritance distribution. In the Dayak Preman group, for example, inheritance practices prioritize male heirs as primary successors, illustrating a tension between the more egalitarian customary system and rigid patriarchal values. As a community that still largely adheres to traditional customs, these groups often prioritize adat (customary) values that have not fully integrated modern principles of gender equality.

In theory, legal pluralism promotes inclusivity and equality, yet the practices observed among certain Dayak subgroups remain entrenched in paradigms inconsistent with this ideal. This highlights a disconnect between the theory of Legal Pluralism (Muhazir, 2021), which requires respect for diversity and equality, and practices that still rely on conservative and patriarchal norms. Thus, despite the theoretical recognition of pluralism, substantial gender inequality persists, particularly in inheritance practices that favor men. These findings underscore the need for reform in customary inheritance policies to better accommodate principles of inclusive and equitable distributive justice.



(Furqani & Hamid, 2019). Policy reform is essential to ensure that customary inheritance systems are more responsive to equality, striking a balance between individual rights and broader commitments to social justice. Theoretically, this research provides further insight into the necessity of gender equality within the framework of legal pluralism, ensuring that customary legal systems, while respected, remain attentive to justice for all members of society. Gender inequality observed in groups like Dayak Preman and Dayak Seragam illustrates that rigid religious values dominate inheritance practices while legal pluralism is acknowledged. In many cases, inheritance is primarily passed on to male descendants who believe they are the legitimate successors, as prescribed by prevailing religious teachings. This suggests that despite the formal recognition of legal pluralism, actual practice remains mired in paradigms inconsistent with the principles of distributive justice.

This tension is further evident in the context of Legal Culture Theory, which emphasizes that a society's legal culture greatly influences how laws are applied (Hariansah, 2022). The legal culture of the Dayak community in Indramayu emphasizes collectivism and harmony rooted in tradition. Still, it also risks perpetuating outdated values that are no longer compatible with modern social realities. Unjust inheritance distribution toward women and adopted children, along with an uncritical acceptance of customary systems, reveals the continued dominance of patriarchal norms. In some instances, customary legal systems, despite their inherent flexibility, have become trapped in rigid interpretations of gender roles, presuming men to be more entitled to inheritance.

According to John Rawls' Theory of Distributive Justice, inequality can only be justified if it benefits the least advantaged. However, gender inequality in inheritance distribution remains a pressing issue. Although some subgroups, such as the Dayak Blegir, practice a fairer distribution, the majority still adhere to male-favoring customs that fall short of distributive justice principles. Hence, while legal pluralism and legal culture acknowledge diversity, actual practices within the Dayak community in Indramayu remain hindered by patriarchal norms that contradict modern equality standards. Although egalitarian practices are observed in groups like the Dayak Blegir, most of the Dayak community remains bound by traditional paradigms that do not fully align with the ideals of distributive justice.

These communities tend to uphold practices that favor male heirs, embedded deeply within their socio-cultural norms. Thus, while their customary legal system values consensus and collectivism, in terms of inheritance, it remains tied to patriarchal principles that obstruct comprehensive gender equality. Such practices, traditionally dominant among most Dayak groups, demonstrate that although equality principles may be embraced in theory, their practical application remains limited. Overall, while egalitarian principles have been adopted by some Dayak subgroups, gender inequality and the tension between customary principles and religious teachings continue to impede the realization of ideal distributive justice. Therefore, reform in customary inheritance systems is essential as one more responsive to equality and legal pluralism. Such reform must not only align customary practices with contemporary developments but also reinforce foundational equality principles recognized by national law, thereby contributing positively to social justice within Dayak society.

## Conclusion

Based on the above analysis, the following conclusions can be drawn. First, the bilateral kinship structure of the Dayak community in Indramayu significantly influences an inheritance distribution system that tends to be egalitarian, recognising the rights of descendants from both maternal and paternal lines regardless of gender. Despite this, variations exist among subgroups—for example, the Dayak Blegir emphasize equitable justice, particular religious teachings influence the Dayak Preman, and the Dayak Seragam integrates traditional beliefs with modern social norms that are predominantly patriarchal. Factors such as education, social status, and understanding of customary law further enrich the dynamics of the inheritance system, which continues to evolve in line with changing values and societal developments.

Second, the inheritance distribution system within the Dayak community in Indramayu is guided by three fundamental principles: *Sejarah Alam Ngaji Rasa* (the natural history of sensing and feeling), *Menyatuk dengan Alam* (harmonizing with nature), and *Ngaula Ning Anak Rabi* (devotion to children and in-laws). These principles emphasize harmony with the natural environment, respect for individual feelings and contributions, and intergenerational responsibility within the family. As such, inheritance is distributed not solely based on individual rights or social status, but following the core values of justice, equality, and social harmony, as a foundation for maintaining balance and sustainability within the community.

Third, when analyzed through legal pluralism, legal culture, and distributive justice theories, inheritance distribution practices in the Dayak Indramayu community reveal inconsistencies with contemporary principles of justice and equality. These practices remain largely dominated by patriarchal and traditional customary norms. Although legal pluralism is formally acknowledged, inheritance distribution often prioritizes male heirs and neglects the rights of women and adopted children, undermining legal pluralism's inclusive ideals. The prevailing legal culture, which emphasizes collectivism, paradoxically sustains structural gender inequality. From the perspective of Rawlsian distributive justice, this system fails to prioritize the most disadvantaged groups. Accordingly, a transformation of customary inheritance law is necessary to make it more responsive to modern social justice principles, ensuring that the rights of all family members are protected without discrimination.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the present study focuses solely on the Dayak community in Indramayu. To broaden the understanding of the diversity of customary inheritance practices, further research is recommended on other indigenous communities in Indonesia. An in-depth exploration of additional customary communities will provide a more comprehensive perspective on how legal pluralism and equality principles are implemented and how customary law continues to evolve in response to changing social and cultural demands.

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