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Negotiating Children's Inheritance in Contemporary Multiethnic Urban Indonesia: A Socio-Legal Study of Plural Distribution Practices

Abstract: Urbanization and migration are increasingly reshaping contemporary inheritance practices in multiethnic urban communities, particularly as families negotiate between customary norms, religious teachings, and changing socio-economic realities. This study examines how children's Inheritance is distributed across urban communities with diverse ethnic backgrounds in Bandar Lampung and Metro Lampung, Indonesia. Using a socio-legal field research approach, primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with members of ethnic associations, religious leaders, and community elders. The findings reveal seven distinct inheritance distribution practices: male-dominated allocation, female-dominated allocation, equal division between sons and daughters, delayed inheritance distribution, the transfer of the eldest son's share to other sons, prioritization of economically vulnerable children, and distribution based on the *keprabon* or *yoso* system. These diverse practices suggest that a single normative framework does not govern children's Inheritance; rather, it is shaped through ongoing social negotiation within plural legal and cultural contexts. The study further identifies five key factors influencing these practices: customary traditions, economic conditions, cultural indoctrination, geographical context, and religious understanding. This research contributes to socio-legal scholarship by conceptualizing Inheritance as a negotiated social institution in contemporary multiethnic urban settings and by highlighting how communities adapt inheritance norms in response to ongoing social change.

Keywords: Children's Inheritance; Legal Pluralism; Socio-Legal Studies; Urban Migration.

INTRODUCTION

Inheritance practices have long been recognized as dynamic social institutions shaped by the interaction of legal norms, cultural traditions, religious doctrines, and socio-economic conditions.¹ In many societies, particularly those characterized by strong customary systems, inheritance rules are not merely legal provisions but reflect deeply embedded ideas about kinship, gender roles, and family hierarchy.² However, rapid

¹ Elfia Elfia et al., "Institutionalizing *Maqāṣid Ḥifẓ al-Naṣl* within the Minangkabau Inheritance Framework," *Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam Dan Kemanusiaan* 24, no. 2 (2024): 193–222, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijtihad.v24i2.193-222>; Syaikhu Syaikhu et al., "The Maqashid Sharia Construction on Inheritance in Dayak Ngaju Customs within the Tumbang Anoi Agreement," *El-Mashlahah* 13, no. 2 (2023): 181–202, <https://doi.org/10.23971/el-mashlahah.v13i2.7375>; Mohammad Takdir, Fajrul Munir, and Ali Ludhfi, "The Takharruj Method as an Islamic Legal Solution for Customary Inheritance Practices among Muslim Communities in Pakamban Laok, Sumenep, Indonesia," *J. Islamic L* 4 (2023): 104, <https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v4i1.1044>; Hotnidah Nasution and Ahmad Rifqi Muchtar, "Negotiating Islamic Law: The Practice of Inheritance Distribution in Polygamous Marriages in Indonesian Islamic Courts," *Al-Manahij: Jurnal Kajian Hukum Islam* 18, no. 1 (2024), <https://doi.org/10.24090/mnh.v18i1.10921>; Faisal Husen Ismail et al., "Customary and Islamic Practices in Inheritance Distribution: Insights from The Gampong Customary Court in Pidie," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 24, no. 2 (2024): 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v24i2.1544>; Elfia Elfia, Meirison Meirison, and Qasim Muhammadi, "Distribution of Heritage Association of Harta Pusaka Tinggi and Harta Pusaka Rendah in Padang Pariaman," *Al-Ahkam* 30, no. 1 (2020): 39–60, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2020.30.1.5273>; Syamsarina Syamsarina et al., "Dynamics of Different Religious Inheritance Decisions: The Case Study of the Religious Court Judges Ijtihad," *Syariah: Jurnal Hukum Dan Pemikiran* 25, no. 1 (2025): 1–21, <https://doi.org/10.18592/sjhp.v25i1.15717>; Supriyadi Supriyadi and Sukron Ma'mun, "Contemporary Inheritance: The Application of Inheritance Division in Juridical, Psychological, Sociological and Economic Perspective," *MILRev: Metro Islamic Law Review* 2, no. 2 (2023): 134–154, <https://doi.org/10.32332/milrev.v2i2.8037>; Abdul Qodir Zaelani, Syamsul Hilal, and Abdul Hanif, "Joint Property Inheritance Distribution Practiced by Community of Bandar Lampung," *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Dan Penelitian Hukum Islam* 5, no. 1 (2021): 100–114; Abdul Qodir Zaelani, Faisal Faisal, Mokhammad Samson Fajar, and Abdul Hanif, "An Implementation of the Joint Inheritance Division of Ethnic Groups in Lampung, Indonesia," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga Dan Hukum Islam* 7, no. 3 (2023): 1373–1396.

² Andi Sukmawati Assaad et al., "Gender Equity in Inheritance System: The Collaboration of Islamic and Bugis Luwu Customary Law," *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 17, no. 2 (2022): 458–479, <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v17i2.6761>; Harnides Harnides, Syahrizal Abbas, and Khairuddin Hasballah, "Gender Justice in Inheritance Distribution Practices in South Aceh, Indonesia," *Samarah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga dan Hukum Islam* 7, no. 2 (2023): 1293–1316, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v7i2.16688>; Dewi Sukarti, Hasyim Asyari, and Zulkifli Zulkifli, "Legal Education on Women's Property Inheritance Rights in South Sumatera," *AHKAM: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 23, no. 2 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v23i2.32921>; Al Idrus et al., "Flexibility of Women's Inheritance Distribution in Jambi Malay Society: Compromising Islamic and Customary Law," *El-Usrah: Jurnal Hukum Keluarga* 7, no. 1 (2024): 42–61, <https://doi.org/10.22373/ujhk.v7i1.22038>; Hani Sholihah, Nani Nani Widiawati, and Mohd Khairul Nazif Hj Awang, "Reinterpretation of Justice in Islamic Inheritance Rights Based on Gender," *Al'Adalah* 21, no. 1 (2024): 101–124, <https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v21i1.21256>; Yusida Fitriyati et al., "Reconsidering Inheritance Equality: Gender Justice in Religious Court Decisions through the Lens of

urbanization and migration increasingly challenge the stability of these traditional arrangements, compelling communities to renegotiate inheritance norms in response to new social environments.

In Indonesia, shifts in customary inheritance systems illustrate this dynamic transformation. A prominent example is Balinese customary law, which historically adhered to a patrilineal (*purusa*) system that prioritized the male line of descent. Over time, this system has undergone significant change. The issuance of Decree No. 01/KEP/PSM-3/MDP Bali/X/2010 by the Main Assembly of Pakraman Villages (*Majelis Utama Desa Pakraman*/MUDP) Bali marked a critical turning point, as it formally recognized women's inheritance rights within Balinese customary law, particularly in urban areas such as Denpasar.³ This development demonstrates that customary inheritance systems are not static and are responsive to social, institutional, and cultural transformations.

Previous studies on Inheritance in Indonesia have generally focused on normative changes within relatively homogeneous customary communities, either through doctrinal legal approaches or analyses of single ethnic customary systems. Several studies have highlighted the dynamics of applying inheritance law. For instance, Anugrah Reskiani et al. emphasize the presence of transformative universalism in Supreme Court jurisprudence through *ijtihad intiqah* and extra-doctrinal approaches.⁴ Other research by Muhammad

Maqashid Al-Shariah," *Nurani: Jurnal Kajian Syari'ah dan Masyarakat* 25, no. 1 (2025): 122-140, <https://doi.org/10.19109/nurani.v25i1.27133>.

³ Wahyu Satrian Wana Putra Wijaya, Agung Basuki Prasetyo, and Triyono, "Perkembangan Kedudukan Ahli Waris Perempuan dalam Sistem Kekerabatan Patrilineal di Denpasar-Bali (Pasca Keputusan Nomor 01/KEP//PSM-3/MDP BALI/X/2010 tentang Hasil-hasil Psamuhan Agung III MUDP Bali," *Diponegoro Law Review* 5 (n.d.); Komang Tri Setia Jaya, "Implikasi Keputusan Majelis Utama Desa Pakraman Bali Nomor 01/KEP/PSM-3/MDP BALI/X/2010 terhadap Kedudukan Wanita dalam Hukum Waris Adat Bali di Desa Wia-Wia, Sulawesi Tenggara" (PhD diss., UNS (Sebelas Maret University, 2023); Ida Bagus Gede Permana Putra Manuaba and Made Nurmawati, "Kedudukan Keputusan Majelis Desa Adat (MDA) Provinsi Bali dalam Mengatur Pewarisan Wanita Hindu Bali Menurut Hukum Positif Indonesia," *Kertha Wicara: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 15, no. 6 (2025): 357-369; Gede Wahyu Aldi Putra, Si Ngurah Ardhyia, and Ketut Sudiatmaka, "Implementasi Keputusan Majelis Utama Desa Pakraman (MUDP) Provinsi Bali Nomor: 01/KEP/PSM-3/MDP BALI/X/2010 Terhadap Pewarisan Wanita Hindu Bali (Studi Kasus Desa Adat Jinengdalem)," *Jurnal Komunitas Yustisia* 4, no. 2 (2021): 473-480.

⁴ Anugrah Reskiani et al., "Reform Methods of Islamic Inheritance Law in Indonesia in Jurisprudence," *JURIS (Jurnal Ilmiah Syariah* 21, no. 1 (2022), <https://doi.org/10.31958/juris.v21i1.5564>.

Hasan et al. reveals that the inheritance system of Muslim communities in the Kalimantan–Nusantara region is dynamic and adaptive to local socio-cultural developments.⁵ Meanwhile, Supriyadi and Forbis Ahamed find that inheritance practices among the Karas Kepoh community in Rembang are more grounded in the Indonesian Civil Code than in Islamic law, while Yayan Sopyan et al. show a tendency among the Lampung Sai Batin customary community to transfer property through inter vivos grants or to follow Islamic inheritance law.⁶ Overall, these studies confirm the existence of variation and adaptation in inheritance practices, yet they remain primarily confined to single-ethnic or single-community contexts.

In contrast to earlier research, the present study offers a novel examination of inheritance distribution among children within the context of multiethnic urban migrant communities, where diverse customary traditions, religious interpretations, and economic realities interact and are actively negotiated. The research focuses on migrant communities in Bandar Lampung and Metro as heterogeneous social spaces that have received limited scholarly attention in inheritance studies. Accordingly, this study addresses an academic gap by exploring how inheritance norms are reconfigured in plural urban settings, while also broadening the understanding of inheritance law dynamics beyond the framework of homogeneous customary communities or purely normative legal analysis.

METHOD

This study employs a socio-legal field research design with a qualitative approach to examine inheritance practices in everyday social life. The primary focus of the study is to understand how Inheritance is distributed among children within multiracial urban migrant communities, and how legal, customary, and religious norms interact to shape these practices. The research was conducted in Bandar Lampung and Metro, two urban

⁵ Muhammad Hasan, Dahlia Haliah Ma'u, and Muallimin Mochammad Sahid, "Inheritance Property Distribution Models Among the Muslim Community of Borneo-Nusantara," *Al'Adalah* 21, no. 1 (2024): 175–198, <https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v21i1.22310>.

⁶ Yayan Sopyan et al., "Degradation of Customary Inheritance Law in the Sai Batin Lampung Tribe," *Al'Adalah* 17, no. 2 (2020): 295–314, <https://doi.org/10.24042/adalah.v17i2.7137>.

centers in Lampung Province characterized by high ethnic diversity. These cities were selected because they represent heterogeneous urban environments where diverse cultural, ethnic, and religious backgrounds converge, thereby shaping inheritance practices.

Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with purposively selected community leaders, religious figures, and customary elders from various ethnic groups. The interviews were conducted in an open-ended manner to explore experiences, considerations, and family decision-making processes related to the distribution of Inheritance among children. The collected data were subsequently analyzed using thematic analysis grounded in the theoretical framework of legal pluralism.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Implementation of the Distribution of Inheritance Assets for Sons and Daughters in Urban Communities of Bandar Lampung and Metro City

Based on data collected from several informants representing traditional leaders and community figures in Bandar Lampung and Metro City, findings and factual evidence were identified regarding the distribution of parental Inheritance among sons and daughters. The data indicate that in some cases, sons receive a larger share of the Inheritance than daughters; in other cases, daughters receive a larger share than sons; and in yet other instances, sons and daughters receive equal portions. These variations occur across different ethnic groups in Bandar Lampung and Metro City. The following section provides a detailed explanation.

1. Sons are More Dominant than Daughters

In communities that apply a patrilineal kinship system, sons hold a dominant position. They are often regarded as the primary recipients of Inheritance, receiving almost the entire share compared to their daughters. This was conveyed by Zainuddin Hasan, Secretary of Canang Campang and Secretary of Gunom Ragom Bunga Mayang Lampung in Bandar Lampung, who explained that the Lampung indigenous community adheres to a patrilineal kinship system, placing male descendants in a primary position. Consequently,

Inheritance is passed on to sons, particularly the eldest son, who assumes the role of the successor to the head of the family. This role entails responsibility for managing the inherited property, protecting family members, ensuring the continuity of lineage leadership, and maintaining family honor.⁷ Within the Lampung indigenous community, the eldest son is recognized as the principal heir, who controls the property left by his parents and assumes the father's role as head of the family, with responsibility for caring for his younger siblings. The term "eldest son" refers to the oldest surviving male child at the time of the testator's death and does not necessarily indicate the firstborn.

Zainuddin Hasan further explained that, in Lampung customary law, there are two categories of Inheritance: divisible and indivisible property. Indivisible Inheritance consists of communal heirlooms jointly owned and controlled by the *punyimbang*, or the eldest son. These include intangible heirlooms as well as tangible heirlooms, which are classified into ancestral heirlooms (*pusako tuha*) and acquired heirlooms (*pusako pencaharian*). Divisible Inheritance, on the other hand, is transferred through mechanisms of succession or designation, either during the lifetime of the testator or after death, based on customary principles governing the transfer and control of property to the heirs. In Lampung customary society, inherited property constitutes ancestral assets passed down through generations and controlled by the eldest son (*punyimbang*). These assets include intangible heritage, such as customary titles, traditional positions, and *kepunyimbangan* rights that may not be traded (*cempalo*), as well as tangible property, including residential land, houses, and customary equipment. The eldest son is obligated to manage these assets and is responsible for maintaining family members until they become independent or married.

Within the Lampung customary inheritance system, the eldest son not only receives rights over high ancestral property but also assumes full obligations as his father's successor. Upon marriage, customary and familial responsibilities, such as *bugawi* adat, traditional ceremonies, customary contributions, and the management of *Nuwo Tuho*, *Nugal*, *Ngegetas*, and *repong-repong*, are transferred to him. The eldest son thus functions as the successor to

⁷ Zainuddin Hasan, "Interview," October 4, 2023.

kepunyimbangan, the head of the family, and the manager of ancestral property, bearing responsibility for the welfare of relatives and for preserving lineage continuity and family honor under customary law.

Inheritance in the Lampung customary society is conducted through continuation/transfer and designation. Continuation applies when the testator has reached advanced age, and the eldest son is already established, in which case rights and obligations as head of the household are transferred. In contrast, the testator remains an adviser and may allocate certain assets to other heirs. Designation takes full effect after the testator's death; before this, the testator convenes a family deliberation to determine the allocation of specific assets. Lampung customary inheritance law applies a male mayorat system, under which the eldest son becomes the sole heir, controls family property, and is responsible for managing the interests of younger siblings through deliberation and consensus. The eldest son replaces the father's position because Lampung society adheres to a patrilineal kinship system. In the absence of a son, Inheritance is affected through *Semanda* marriage (*ngakuk ragah*), in which the husband joins the wife's family line, allowing the son born of such a marriage to become the successor.

In Lampung customary society, adoption is undertaken to continue the *kepunyimbangan* lineage when a family has no children, only daughters, or intends to marry a child to a non-Lampung individual. The process begins with a family deliberation, followed by discussions among relatives and the customary community, and concludes with a ceremonial adoption that establishes the adopted child as the successor to the lineage. Under the patrilineal kinship system of Lampung customary society, daughters generally do not inherit. Daughters who marry and join their husband's family are referred to as *Pirul* and typically receive Inheritance through *Sansan*, usually in the form of a house or household furnishings, with any additional portion determined by family discretion. When a family has only daughters, customary adoption and *Semanda* marriage (*ngakuk ragah*) may be arranged, whereby a daughter marries a man who joins her family line to continue the lineage. The adopted child in this context is known as *anak mentuha*, who is customarily

considered severed from the biological parents, although legal and religious ties remain intact.

Hasanuddin Muhammad, *Ngebihai* of the Lampung Customary Council of Marga Sekampung in Mulya Jati, Metro Barat, expressed a similar view. He stated that sons receive a larger share of the Inheritance; for example, the ancestral house is typically allocated to the firstborn son, while the remaining assets are distributed to the daughters. He recounted a case in which a house was given to the eldest son, and in situations involving multiple plots of land, the larger portion is assigned to the eldest son. Even when the son is not the firstborn but has elder sisters, those sisters still receive smaller shares than the son. This preferential allocation to sons is generally recommended by parents and accepted by children, particularly when the sons have stable employment, and the Inheritance is understood to be received primarily for use rather than for ownership transfer.

Similarly, Dr. Azmi, a Lampung ethnic religious figure in Metro City, stated that in Lampung society, men are more likely to inherit property, particularly the ancestral house (*rumah tua*), which is allocated to the firstborn son. This practice symbolizes the perception that men hold a higher social status than women. Even when male heirs are economically prosperous, possess good moral character, and own substantial wealth, ownership of the ancestral house remains with the firstborn son, who also bears responsibility for its maintenance. However, among families with a strong understanding of religious teachings, it is not uncommon for male heirs to transfer their inheritance shares to female heirs.⁸

A similar view was expressed by Chaidir Nasution, Vice Chair of the Batak Muslim Family Association of Lampung, based in Sukarame, Bandar Lampung.⁹ He stated that the Batak kinship system is patrilineal, resulting in male heirs generally receiving larger portions of the Inheritance than female heirs. Nevertheless, in practice, inheritance distribution tends to be flexible. In accordance with Islamic law, Inheritance may be divided according to a 2:1 ratio between sons and daughters, or distributed equally. Islam also permits equal

⁸ Azmi, "Interview," November 1, 2023.

⁹ Chaidir Nasution, "Interview," November 1, 2023.

distribution when it is considered just. Such equal division is typically achieved through deliberation among the heirs, so that the inheritance distribution is ultimately based on mutual agreement.

A similar perspective was also conveyed by Dr. Rumadani Sagala, a religious teacher at the Sampagul study group from South Tapanuli, currently residing in Sukaramé, Bandar Lampung. She stated that Inheritance is predominantly distributed to sons. Although daughters also receive a share in practice, it is generally framed as a gesture of affection, with the amount not strictly determined and, in some cases, even exceeding that received by sons. This reflects the persistence of a patrilineal system, in which deliberation remains practiced in certain families, and Inheritance allocated to women is often regarded as an expression of familial affection rather than a formal entitlement.¹⁰

2. Daughters Are More Dominant than Sons

Female children are often considered more dominant than male children, a phenomenon commonly found in societies with matrilineal kinship systems, where daughters are given a more prominent role. This dominance is also reflected in the distribution of Inheritance, where female children tend to receive a larger share, and in some cases, almost the entirety of the inherited property, compared to male children.¹¹ As stated by Iqbal, Coordinator for Social and Community Affairs of the Extended Family of West Sumatra (*Keluarga Besar Sumatera Barat/KBSB*) in Lampung Province, who resides in Kedamaian, Bandar Lampung, the Minangkabau ethnic group recognizes two types of Inheritance. First, *pusako tinggi* or *ulayat* rights, which cannot be divided. This type of inherited property is passed down from generation to generation and cannot be sold; it may only be pawned or otherwise disposed of. Second, *harta pencarian* refers to property acquired by parents during their lifetimes that becomes Inheritance after their death.

¹⁰ Rumadani Sagala, "Interview," October 3, 2023.

¹¹ Farida Nurun Nazah et al., "Reforming Islamic Family Justice: Integrating Legal and Psychological Perspectives in Handling Polygamy and Divorce Cases in Indonesia," *Nusantara: Journal of Law Studies* 5, no. 2 (August 2026): 1226–1259, <https://doi.org/10.66325/nusantaralaw.v5i2.290>.

According to him, in the Minangkabau inheritance system, women are given priority. Nevertheless, many families also apply Islamic law, while others rely on family agreements. Settlement through state law is very rare among the Minangkabau community. In Bandar Lampung, he noted that religious law is commonly applied, whereby female heirs receive one share and male heirs receive two shares. In some cases, inheritance distribution is based solely on mutual agreement. Typically, property is allocated to heirs who are in greater economic need.¹² As Iqbal himself practiced, he did not claim his share of the Inheritance; instead, he transferred it to a less economically advantaged sibling. In Bandar Lampung, due to the migrant context, there is no pusako tinggi or ulayat property; only harta pencarian exists. Consequently, the distribution of pusako tinggi or ulayat property remains more prevalent in the family's place of origin, West Sumatra, where the family's ancestral roots are located.¹³

3. Equal Inheritance Shares for Sons and Daughters

Sons and daughters receive equal shares in inheritance distribution in communities that apply a bilateral kinship system, which positions male and female children as having equal status.¹⁴ This practice was explained by Dr. Imam Syafei,¹⁵ Advisor to the Kroya Baru Lampung Association, residing in Surabaya Subdistrict, Kedaton, Bandar Lampung. He stated that there are two general approaches to inheritance distribution among Javanese communities: those with limited religious knowledge and those with a strong understanding of religious teachings. In practice, inheritance distribution takes four forms:

¹² Akbar Jalil Al Kareem, "Public Policy and Economic Transformation: Bridging Growth, Equity, and Environmental Sustainability," *Journal of Nusantara Economy* 4, no. 2 (December 2025): 183-206, <https://doi.org/10.66325/nusantaraeconomy.v4i2.386>.

¹³ Iqbal, "Interview," October 3, 2023.

¹⁴ Tarek El-Sayed Mahmod Abu Okeal et al., "Preventive Legislative Approaches to Child Protection in the Digital Environment: A Comparative Study of Australia, France, and Egypt," *Nusantara: Journal of Law Studies* 5, no. 1 (March 2026): 205-228, <https://doi.org/10.66325/nusantaralaw.v5i1.222>.

¹⁵ Imam Syafei, "Interview," (Bandar Lampung), October 3, 2023.

- a. Inheritance is not formally discussed; instead, parents transfer their property directly to their children while they are still alive. Parents distribute their assets among their children, and the children accept their shares in good faith without questioning the amounts allocated to them.
- b. Inheritance is distributed using the gono-gini principle, whereby the wife and husband each bring and retain the property jointly acquired during the marriage.
- c. Inheritance is distributed according to Islamic law.
- d. Inheritance is distributed according to the sepikul segendong principle, in which male heirs receive two shares while female heirs receive one share. Male heirs receive a larger portion because they bear responsibility for supporting others, whereas wives will receive property from other sources.

A similar view was expressed by M. Siddiq Purnomo, a regional administrator in Metro, who resides in Rejo Mulyo, South Metro. He stated that parents may distribute their property directly, depending on their own wishes, or through family deliberation (*musyawarah*). As he explained, when parents who own several plots of land pass away, leaving behind five children, the land may be offered to the children so they can choose which plots they prefer. The plots selected by the children later become their respective shares of Inheritance.¹⁶ Azmi, a religious leader of the Lampung ethnic group, also provided a comparable account. He stated that Inheritance is distributed equally among children based on mutual agreement. This practice differs from traditional Lampung customary law, which is patrilineal and prioritizes the eldest son as the primary heir. According to Azmi, Lampung customary law was not applied because his parents had mandated that the Inheritance be distributed through deliberation. Although he is the eldest son, his father's old house was divided so that half was allocated to his mother and the other half to him. The existing land, measuring a particular area, was first

¹⁶ M. Siddiq Purnomo, "Interview," October 3, 2023.

reduced by one-eighth for his mother, while the remainder was gathered and distributed equally among all siblings.¹⁷

4. Inheritance Not Yet Distributed to All Children

Based on field findings conveyed by Dr. Imam Syafei,¹⁸ Advisor to the Kroya Baru Lampung Association in Bandar Lampung, the inherited property has not been distributed immediately. The Inheritance remains registered under the parents' names because, during their lifetimes, they had not yet distributed it to their children. He recounted a case in which an inheritance that should have been distributed to the children has, to date, remained undistributed. In this case, the father passed away in 2020, while the mother had died earlier in 2017. After the parents' deaths, the eldest sibling sought to arrange the distribution in meticulous detail to avoid any subhat (doubt or ambiguity) in the inheritance process. He invited a kyai from Kota Agung, an alumnus of the Lirboyo Islamic boarding school, to assist in the process. Over time, the relevant data and documents required for inheritance distribution were submitted for analysis. However, before the Inheritance could be formally distributed, the eldest sibling, who had been responsible for overseeing the process, passed away.

Subsequently, one of the younger siblings attempted to proceed with the distribution to prevent undesirable outcomes. He borrowed a theodolite (surveying equipment) from the Geodesy Laboratory at the University of Lampung (Unila). Nevertheless, at the time the distribution was to be carried out, not all heirs were able to gather. As a result, the process was postponed until a suitable time when all parties could be present. To this day, no agreement has been reached to finalize the distribution of the Inheritance. Since the parents' deaths, the proceeds from the inherited assets, such as rice fields, plantations, and other properties, have not been taken for personal use. Instead, they have been utilized for purposes related to the deceased, including memorial gatherings

¹⁷ Azmi, "Interview."

¹⁸ Imam Syafei, "Interview."

(haul), prayer offerings, the delegation of hajj and umrah on behalf of the deceased parents, and charitable donations dedicated to them.

The field data indicate that several factors influence this situation:

- a. Internal family issues.
- b. The application of the principle of *ihtiyāt* (prudence) in resolving inheritance matters. This is reflected in the fact that the eldest sibling spent fifteen years in an Islamic boarding school and even invited an inheritance expert, an alumnus of Lirboyo, who had previously handled the distribution of Mbah Maimun's estate.
- c. The existence of independent income among the children led them not to contest the Inheritance left by their parents.
- d. The perception that discussing inherited property is considered taboo.

5. Reallocation of the Eldest Son's Share to Another Male Sibling

Hasanuddin Muhammad, a Ngebihai within the Lampung customary community of Marga Sekampung in Mulya Jati, Metro Barat, described this situation. He stated that conflicts have occurred when property that had already been allocated should have been received by the eldest male heir. In practice, however, another party seized the inheritance share. When the rightful heir passed away, the inherited property, which was considered the father's property, was taken over by his younger brother, who claimed it as family property. In fact, under Lampung customary law, once Inheritance has been formally allocated, it becomes the property of the eldest child and, subsequently, of the eldest child's family. If the eldest child dies, the property remains with his family. An exception applies only when the eldest child was unmarried and had no descendants, in which case the property may be reclaimed, as it is regarded as belonging to the parents.¹⁹

¹⁹ Hasanuddin Muhammad, "Interview," October 1, 2023.

6. Distribution to the Child Considered Economically Least Capable

The distribution of inherited property has also shifted from strictly customary procedures to humanitarian considerations, particularly the allocation of Inheritance to siblings deemed economically disadvantaged.²⁰ Dr. Erlina, a former administrator of the Ikatan Keluarga Batin Surga in Bandar Lampung, explained this. According to her, the Inheritance that, under Lampung custom, should be granted to the eldest son is sometimes given instead to the child considered the least economically capable, regardless of gender. This practice assumes that the eldest son, who has migrated to urban areas, has achieved economic stability through higher education and a successful career, enabling him to support his family. In contrast, other family members may face economic hardship. In such circumstances, and given the financial condition of less advantaged relatives, the inherited property is transferred to those family members so they may manage and use it to support their household. Consequently, this practice is viewed as a means of improving the economic well-being of less affluent family members.²¹

7. Based on the *Keprabon* or *Yoso* System

In practice, the distribution of Inheritance between daughters and sons is sometimes based on the *keprabon* or *yoso* system. According to Nashruddin, a Javanese religious figure in Metro, this system is grounded in the principle that the youngest child, whether male or female, who takes care of their parents until the end of their lives, is entitled to inherit the parental house. Meanwhile, agricultural land and other plots are allocated to the remaining children. In the distribution of land and farmland within Javanese communities, Nashruddin explained that the eldest son, or a son who is not the eldest but has older sisters, usually assumes the role of calculating and distributing the Inheritance, either in accordance with Islamic jurisprudence or Javanese customary law, such as the principle of *sepikul-segendong*, or based on an agreement to divide the assets equally. According to him,

²⁰ Dewi Fransiska Mamonto et al., "The Evolution of Islamic Civil Law in Indonesia: Developments, Contemporary Challenges, and Future Directions," *Nusantara: Journal of Law Studies* 3, no. 02 (December 2024): 147–158, <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17385985>.

²¹ Erlina, "Interview," October 20, 2023.

land is typically divided into garden land and ornamental land (*yoso*). If a child cares for their parents until their death, the house is granted to that child, while the remaining land is distributed equally among the others. However, even in equal distribution, Nashruddin noted that sons often receive a higher value of land, as they are given priority in selecting the plots, while daughters receive land from the remaining portions after the sons have made their selections.²²

Based on the empirical data obtained, it can be concluded that the implementation of inheritance distribution among children in multiethnic urban communities in Bandar Lampung and Metro is plural, situational, and dynamic. These practices are not applied uniformly but are adapted to each family's social context, customary structures, religious beliefs, and economic conditions. Field findings indicate seven main patterns of inheritance distribution. First, the dominance of sons within a patrilineal system, particularly in Lampung customary communities, where the eldest son is positioned as the primary manager of ancestral property and the main bearer of family responsibility. Second, the dominance of daughters, as found in Minangkabau society, where communal land (*hak ulayat* or *pusako tinggi*) is inherited by women. Third, equal distribution of Inheritance between sons and daughters, as practiced by some Javanese communities through deliberation (*musyawarah*) or the *sepikul-segendong* principle. Fourth, situations in which Inheritance has not yet been distributed due to internal family considerations, attitudes of caution (*ihhtiat*), or taboos surrounding discussions of Inheritance. Fifth, the transfer of the eldest son's share to other male siblings under certain circumstances. Sixth, prioritizing inheritance distribution to children considered economically disadvantaged. Seventh, distribution based on the *keprabon* or *yoso* system, in which the house is granted to the youngest child who cares for the parents, while farmland and other land are divided among the remaining children.

The diversity of these inheritance patterns indicates that inheritance practices do not rigidly adhere to either customary law or religious law. Instead, they operate within a more

²² Nashruddin, "Interview," November 1, 2023.

complex normative order, which John Griffiths describes as legal pluralism. Griffiths defines legal pluralism as “the presence in the social field of more than one legal order.” In this context, the social arena of Inheritance is characterized by the coexistence and interaction of multiple legal systems, including state law on the one hand and non-state law on the other, encompassing customary law, religious law, customs, and social conventions that are perceived and practiced as law by the community.²³

The legal pluralism that has developed in Bandar Lampung and Metro is the result of normative negotiation and social agreement within families, taking into account rights, responsibilities, and the economic conditions of the heirs. For example, in Lampung customary communities, although the eldest son is normatively entitled to ancestral property, in practice, he may transfer part of this right to daughters or siblings who are considered more in need. Similarly, in the keprabon or yoso practice, recognition is given to the child who cares for the parents until the end of their lives, without negating the applicability of customary rules in the distribution of other assets. These patterns reflect what may be described as legal pluralism in action, in which customary law, religious law, and family agreements interact and adapt to the social realities of urban communities.

Furthermore, the coexistence of multiple legal systems operating in parallel within the urban communities of Bandar Lampung and Metro indicates the absence of a single dominant legal system. This condition allows individuals and groups to choose, combine, or negotiate among these legal systems in their daily lives and in conflict resolution.²⁴ Referring to Griffiths’ classification, this phenomenon can be categorized as strong legal pluralism, namely a situation in which various legal systems- state law, customary law, and religious law coexist and function simultaneously within the same social space. In such a

²³ John Griffiths, "What Is Legal Pluralism?" *Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law* 24, 2 (1986): 1-55, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07329113.1986.10756387>.

²⁴ Griffiths.

context, non-state law not only exerts significant influence but is often more widely observed and regarded as more legitimate than state law.²⁵

Accordingly, the field findings affirm that inheritance distribution among children in multiethnic urban communities is flexible and context-specific, reflecting law as a social product that emerges from the interaction between norms and practices. In this context, inheritance law serves as a mechanism of social regulation, balancing rights, obligations, and perceptions of justice within the family while preserving customary values, religious principles, and social solidarity. This perspective reinforces a legal pluralism approach, which views law not as a static set of rules but as the outcome of ongoing normative negotiations that evolve in response to society's circumstances and needs.

Factors Influencing the Distribution of Inheritance between Sons and Daughters in Urban Communities of Bandar Lampung and Metro City

Based on empirical findings from the field, several factors can be identified as underlying the implementation of inheritance distribution practices among urban communities in Bandar Lampung City and Metro City, as outlined below:

1. Customary Factors

As described above, inheritance distribution practices include the eldest son managing the inherited property and, in some cases, sons and daughters receive equal shares. In other cases, sons receive a larger share than daughters; all forms of customary Inheritance remain strongly embedded in several provinces in Indonesia, including Bandar Lampung, often regarded as a miniature of Indonesia. From a legal perspective, customary inheritance systems applied within indigenous communities include the individual, collective, and mayorat systems. The individual inheritance system is one in which heirs inherit property individually, meaning each heir has the right to use, manage, and enjoy the Inheritance, particularly after the testator's death. This system is applied in Western

²⁵ Rikardo Simarmata, "Kedudukan Dan Peran Peradilan Adat Pasca- Unifikasi Sistem Peradilan Formal," *Undang: Jurnal Hukum* 4, no. 2 (2021): 281–308, <https://doi.org/10.22437/ujh.4.2.281-308>.

inheritance law as regulated in the Civil Code (*Burgerlijk Wetboek*). It is practiced in Java, Batak, Sulawesi, and other regions.²⁶

The collective inheritance system is one in which heirs inherit the estate jointly (collectively), as the inherited property cannot be divided into individual ownership shares but may be used jointly. This system generally applies to ancestral property known as *harta pusaka*, which includes agricultural land and heirloom assets such as *pusaka tinggi* and *rumah gadang*. Such property is controlled by the *mamak*, the head of the Inheritance, and is utilized collectively by the nephews and nieces. Examples include *harta pusaka* in Minangkabau society and *tanah dati* in the Hitu Peninsula of Ambon.

The mayorat inheritance system, by contrast, stipulates that only one child inherits the estate of the deceased. In this system, the rights to use, manage, and enjoy the Inheritance are fully vested in that child, who also bears the responsibility to care for and be accountable to younger siblings until they can live independently. The mayorat system is divided into two types. First, male mayorat, in which the eldest son or a male descendant becomes the sole heir, as found, for example, in Lampung society. Second, female mayorat, in which the eldest daughter becomes the sole heir, as practiced among the Tanah Semendo community in South Sumatra.²⁷

As Zainuddin Hasan also stated, in customary Inheritance, Lampung indigenous communities rarely hold customary court sessions to resolve inheritance disputes in practice. The concept of lawsuits filed by heirs against the deceased, as regulated in Western civil law, is not recognized in Lampung customary law. This is because the most fundamental principles underlying the continuation of customary inheritance law are rooted in beliefs in God, harmony, kinship, togetherness, cooperation, and deliberation to

²⁶ Suparman Eman, *Hukum Waris Indonesia (Dalam Perspektif Islam, Adat, dan BW)* (Bandung: PT Rafika Aditama, 2005).

²⁷ Hilman Hadikusuma, *Hukum Waris Indonesia Menurut Perundangan Hukum Adat, Hukum Agama Hindhu-Islam* (Bandung: PT. Citra Aditya Bakti, 2003).

reach consensus. Inheritance distribution is carried out peacefully and amicably, while taking into account the specific circumstances of each heir.

Lampung indigenous communities, which uphold the social value of Piil Pesenggiri, would feel ashamed if internal family matters, such as inheritance issues, were brought into the public sphere. Disputing Inheritance is considered a taboo act and is viewed as contrary to moral customs, commonly referred to as a violation of custom or ignorance of custom (cempalo). If inheritance disputes do arise, they are usually resolved through internal family meetings involving customary leaders as mediators. However, if such efforts fail to resolve the issue, the final legal recourse is to pursue it through civil or religious courts.²⁸

A similar view was expressed by Chaidir Nasution, Vice Chair of the Batak Muslim Family Association of Lampung, based in Sukaramé, Bandar Lampung. He stated that there has been no change in the customary system in Bandar Lampung compared to the region of origin. The community continues to apply Islamic law, and inheritance matters may also be resolved through mutual agreement among the heirs.²⁹

Likewise, Dr. Azmi, a religious figure from the Lampung Saibatin ethnic group in Metro, explained that, based on his research, the majority of the Lampung community, including those living in urban areas, generally face a dilemma between Islamic law and customary law. Approximately 95 percent of the community still adheres to customary law. Although he has conveyed the teachings of verse 14 of Surah an-Nisa, which instructs Muslims to practice inheritance distribution in accordance with the commands of Allah as stipulated in that surah, empirical realities indicate that customary law continues to prevail. This situation persists even among individuals with higher levels of education and those employed as civil servants.

According to Dr. Azmi, this phenomenon is rooted in the deeply entrenched male-majorat customary system within Lampung society. Before their death, parents typically

²⁸ Zainuddin Hasan, "Interview."

²⁹ Chaidir Nasution, "Interview."

transfer inheritance authority by entrusting the eldest son with the management and control of the family estate. The distribution of the Inheritance is left to the discretion of the eldest son, with the primary consideration being the welfare of his younger siblings until they are married. He further described a case involving a daughter, here referred to as Mrs. D, who had ten siblings. In this case, the entire Inheritance remained under the eldest son's control, and Mrs. D received no share of the property. Moreover, the Inheritance was subsequently transferred to the eldest male heir's son. Mrs. D willingly accepted this transfer of property to the biological son of the eldest son, even though she was the one who cared for her mother. In contrast, the heir who received full ownership of the Inheritance did not provide such care.³⁰

2. Factor of Religious Understanding

As Iqbal stated, the shift in inheritance practices among the Minangkabau customary community has been influenced by religious factors. According to him, Minangkabau people who migrate to Bandar Lampung tend to apply Islamic law in matters of Inheritance, in line with their well-known maxim, “*Adat basandi syara’, syara’ basandi kitabullah*” (custom is founded upon Islamic law, and Islamic law is founded upon the Qur’an). This principle remains in effect in migrant communities. In practice, agreements are often reached by prioritizing the most economically disadvantaged family member.³¹ Typically, the house left by parents is granted to the less affluent child through *hibah* (*inter vivos* gift), rather than being treated as a temporary waiting right, thereby becoming full ownership through donation. Similar cases have occurred in Bambu Kuning, where some shops were given to less fortunate family members because the other siblings were already economically established.³²

³⁰ Azmi, “Interview.”

³¹ Nur Aida Tahirulla Samson and Abd Warits, “From Family Law to Financial Disputes: Expanding the Role of Indonesia’s Religious Courts in the Sharia Economy,” *Santara: Journal of Islamic Law and Humanity* 1, no. 2 (September 2025): 76–90, <https://doi.org/10.59373/santara.v1i2.231>.

³² Iqbal, “Interview.”

Nasrianto, a board member of the West Sumatra Extended Family Association in Metro City, expressed a similar view. He stated that Minangkabau communities living in migration generally resolve inheritance issues by applying Islamic law, guided by the same maxim, “*Adat basandi syara’, syara’ basandi kitabullah.*” With this guiding principle, combined with increasing religious understanding among the Minangkabau people, inheritance distribution tends to follow the Islamic system, in which male heirs receive a larger share than female heirs.³³

Comparable observations were also conveyed by Rumadani Sagala, a religious instructor at the Sampagul study group in South Tapanuli, currently residing in Sukaramé, Bandar Lampung. He noted that Muslim members of the Batak ethnic group have become increasingly aware of religious legal principles. Currently, Inheritance is typically distributed equally between sons and daughters, based on mutual consent and willingness. This development is closely linked to regular religious study sessions conducted among Muslims, particularly those from South Tapanuli. These study groups are regarded as an integral and inseparable part of community life. Islamic law is applied, and inheritance matters are often discussed with individuals considered knowledgeable in religious inheritance law; the majority refer to religious guidance.

In some cases, national law remains applicable. The Sampagul study group was established in 1970. Initially, sessions were held twice a week, but they later became monthly gatherings. In the past, the instructors were lecturers from UIN Raden Intan Lampung. The study group currently meets once a month on Saturdays. Other study groups also exist, such as IKABAMUS, which holds monthly sessions on the first Sunday of each month.³⁴

Dr. Erlina, a former administrator of the Ikatan Keluarga Batin Surga in Bandar Lampung, expressed a similar perspective. She stated that the Lampung community's tendency to distribute Inheritance in accordance with Islamic law is driven by greater

³³ Nasrianto, “Interview,” November 3, 2023.

³⁴ Rumadani Sagala, “Interview.”

religious understanding and a stronger commitment to Islamic teachings. Many members of the Lampung community living in urban migrant settings have increasingly practiced the pillars of Islam, including performing the hajj and umrah. As a result, daily life is firmly grounded in religious values, including those related to inheritance distribution. In addition to the rise in religious understanding and practice, empirical observations also play a role.

In many cases, the eldest son who manages inherited assets in the home village has not experienced significant economic progress. This occurs despite the availability of extensive farmland and housing without rental costs. Nevertheless, there has been no notable improvement in economic conditions or educational attainment. In contrast, members of the Lampung customary community who migrate, even with minimal resources and no inheritance due to their status as younger sons or daughters, often progress from renting houses to owning their own homes. Their economic conditions improve, and their children receive adequate and high-quality education.

In some cases, family members living in migrant areas even assist relatives who remain in their home village. Paradoxically, those who stay in the town are the ones who control and manage the inherited assets. Given these realities, Islamic law is perceived as a viable solution for inheritance distribution among Lampung customary communities in migration.³⁵

Dr. Azmi, a religious figure from Metro with a Lampung ethnic background, also presented a similar argument. He explained that members of the Lampung community in Metro who possess religious knowledge, particularly those who have studied in Islamic boarding schools, tend to base inheritance distribution on Islamic law. According to him, inheritance jurisprudence (*ilm al-farā'id*) is a mandatory field of knowledge for Muslims, alongside the obligation to study the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Based on his dissertation findings, he observed that, in general, the Lampung ethnic community supports the

³⁵ Erlina, "Interview."

application of Islamic law in inheritance matters. However, in practice, they sometimes continue to follow customary law. He likened this situation to a long-term smoker who finds it difficult to quit smoking because it has become deeply ingrained. Similarly, although the Lampung community may agree in principle with Islamic inheritance law, its implementation can be challenging because customary practices have been deeply embedded in their social life for a long time.³⁶

3. Geographical Factors

Geographical factors are among the indicators of shifts in inheritance distribution practices among urban communities in Bandar Lampung and Metro. As stated by Dr. Erlina, a former member of the Lampung Batin Surga Family Association in Bandar Lampung, Inheritance that should traditionally be allocated to the eldest son among the Lampung community is, in some cases, transferred to other siblings, both male and female. This shift is mainly attributable to the inherited property's location, which is often far from the eldest son's residence. In many cases, the eldest sibling resides outside the region, while the inherited land remains in the ancestral village. Due to this geographical distance, the Inheritance is entrusted to other siblings for management. According to Erlina, Lampung people living in migrant destinations, such as Bandar Lampung, tend no longer to prioritize inherited property or the accumulation of material assets to be passed on to their children. Instead, greater emphasis is placed on the quality of children's education, which is regarded as the primary form of Inheritance transmitted from parents to their children.³⁷

4. Cultural Enculturation Factors

Dr. Rumadani Sagala, a religious teacher from Sampagul, South Tapanuli, currently residing in Sukarame, Bandar Lampung, explains that social interactions within the surrounding environment influence changes in inheritance distribution. In resolving

³⁶ Azmi, "Interview."

³⁷ Erlina, "Interview."

inheritance issues, families commonly rely on deliberation and consensus, often involving religious figures such as teachers or ustadz/ustadzah as mediators.³⁸

A similar view is expressed by Prof. Bustomi, Chair of the Pasundan Lampung Association in Bandar Lampung, who emphasizes that cultural enculturation is a significant factor contributing to shifts in customary law practices among urban residents. Traditional understandings that were once firmly held gradually change through social interaction and community practices, which in turn shape patterns of thought and action within the urban environment.³⁹

5. Economic Factors

As Iqbal stated, shifts in inheritance distribution among the Minangkabau community are also influenced by economic factors. A core economic principle within this community is shared fate and mutual responsibility. The Minangkabau are renowned for their strong sense of solidarity in migrant settings, guided by the principle that burdens are shared collectively and benefits are enjoyed together. Mutual assistance and cooperation are central to Minangkabau associations. For example, at Bambu Kuning Market, when an individual needs short-term financial support to purchase goods in Jakarta, fellow Minangkabau community members often provide interest-free loans. In addition, Minangkabau migrants commonly strengthen ties within extended clans, such as the Chaniago, Tanjung, and other lineages. For the Minangkabau, kinship extends beyond blood relations to encompass shared ethnic identity; encountering someone of the same clan or ethnic group in a migrant setting is therefore perceived as meeting a relative.

The research findings indicate that seven patterns of inheritance distribution among children, ranging from the dominance of sons or daughters to equal distribution, delayed distribution, transfer of rights, and the application of the *keprabon* or *yoso* systems, do not emerge naturally or uniformly. Instead, these patterns are shaped through the interaction

³⁸ Rumadani Sagala, "Interview."

³⁹ Bustomi, "Interview," (Bandar Lampung), November 2, 2023.

of multiple normative orders. They are influenced by five main factors: customary law, religious understanding, geographical conditions, processes of cultural enculturation, and economic considerations.

Among these factors, customary law remains the dominant reference within urban communities, particularly among Lampung, Minangkabau, and Javanese groups, which recognize individual, collective, and mayoral inheritance systems. Although urban communities generally exhibit relatively high levels of education and engagement in the formal sector, customary inheritance practices persist due to their close association with social values such as kinship, social harmony, cooperation, and the taboo against bringing inheritance disputes into the public domain. In this context, customary law serves as a flexible, adaptive normative framework that prioritizes internal family deliberation as the primary mechanism for decision-making. State law and formal procedures, by contrast, are positioned as a last resort, underscoring the functional relationship among coexisting legal orders within a single social arena.

In addition to customary law, religious understanding plays a significant role in shaping inheritance practices, particularly among the Minangkabau and migrant Lampung communities. Awareness of Islamic inheritance law (*farā'id*) encourages some families to adjust inheritance patterns, both in determining proportional shares and in prioritizing beneficiaries based on considerations of justice and economic need. Geographical factors also influence these practices, as inherited property located in the ancestral village is typically managed by children who remain there. In contrast, migrant children may receive different shares or be excluded for reasons of managerial efficiency. This demonstrates that normative choices are determined not solely by legal doctrine, but also by spatial context and social relations.

Processes of cultural enculturation, through social interaction, population mobility, and religious education, further expand the flexibility of inheritance norms, particularly through the involvement of mediators such as customary leaders or religious teachers in the distribution process. Economic factors also play a crucial role in shifting normative

practices, as Inheritance is often allocated to children deemed most in need, reflecting principles of solidarity and communal responsibility. Collectively, these dynamics affirm Griffiths' view that law is not merely a fixed set of norms, but a situational product generated through social interaction and normative negotiation among multiple legal orders.

Overall, these factors demonstrate that inheritance distribution practices among urban communities do not reflect exclusive adherence to a single legal system. Instead, they represent a dynamic compromise between customary law, religious law, and state law, shaped by social, economic, and geographical conditions. Consequently, inheritance practices in urban contexts exemplify strong legal pluralism, as conceptualized by Griffiths, in which multiple legal systems coexist, operate, and interact substantively in everyday social practice.⁴⁰

CONCLUSION

Based on the research findings, inheritance distribution practices among children in multiethnic urban communities in Bandar Lampung and Metro are pluralistic, dynamic, and contextual. Customary legal norms, religious teachings, and socio-economic considerations are not applied rigidly; instead, they interact flexibly through various distribution patterns. These patterns range from patrilineal and matrilineal dominance, equal distribution, and delayed division, to the transfer of rights under specific circumstances, allocations for economically disadvantaged heirs, and the keprabon or yoso system for children who care for their parents. These findings underscore that inheritance law arises from normative negotiation and social practice that adapt to the realities of urban society, in line with Griffiths's articulation of legal pluralism.

Customary norms, religious understanding, geographical conditions, cultural inculturation, and economic factors influence the distribution of Inheritance between sons

⁴⁰ Franz von Benda-Beckmann, Keebet Benda-Beckmann, and Anne Griffiths, eds., *Mobile People, Mobile Law: Expanding Legal Relations in a Contracting World* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2005).

and daughters in these urban communities. Custom remains a dominant factor in shaping inheritance patterns, while religious understanding and social dynamics enhance normative flexibility through family deliberation and compromise. Geographical and economic factors also play a role in determining the management and distribution of assets, with an emphasis on solidarity and substantive justice. Thus, inheritance distribution in urban society does not merely reflect adherence to a single legal system but represents a form of lived legal pluralism embedded in everyday social practice.

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AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS STATEMENT

Abdul Qodir Zaelani contributed to the conceptualization of the study, development of the research framework, literature review, data analysis, and drafting of the manuscript. Zuhraini contributed to the development of the research methodology, collection and analysis of relevant materials, interpretation of the findings, and critical revision of the manuscript. Wagianto contributed to the literature review, interpretation of the research findings, critical evaluation of the manuscript, and refinement of the final version. All authors contributed to the intellectual development of the study, reviewed and approved the final manuscript, and agreed to be accountable for all aspects of the work.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there are no financial or non-financial conflicts of interest capable of influencing the outcomes or interpretation of this study. This work was written independently as the authors' scholarly contribution.

AI USAGE STATEMENT

The authors used artificial intelligence (AI)-based tools solely as auxiliary tools during the preparation of this manuscript, particularly for language editing, grammar checking, and improving the clarity and readability of the English language. AI tools were not used to generate the research findings, analysis, arguments, or conclusions. The authors retain full responsibility for the originality, accuracy, integrity, and scholarly content of the manuscript and have carefully reviewed and verified all AI-assisted text before submission.

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