

The Representation of Dualism in Regional Inheritance Law in Indonesia

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Abstrak

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Hukum waris daerah di Indonesia mencerminkan pertemuan antara hukum adat, hukum Islam, dan hukum negara yang melahirkan beragam pola pembagian warisan serta potensi ketegangan hukum di berbagai masyarakat. Penelitian ini menganalisis bagaimana dualisme hukum tersebut direpresentasikan, dinegosiasikan, dan dipraktikkan dalam sistem kewarisan daerah, dengan perhatian pada konflik waris adat, perdebatan antara adat dan agama di ruang digital, serta kedudukan anak angkat. Penelitian menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif deskriptif melalui analisis dokumen, analisis konten, dan analisis wacana terhadap artikel ilmiah, putusan pengadilan, laporan berita, konten media sosial, dan kasus kewarisan yang terdokumentasi. Analisis didasarkan pada pluralisme hukum, hukum yang hidup, dan teori konflik sosial untuk memahami pengaruh berbagai otoritas normatif terhadap praktik kewarisan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan tiga pola utama. Pertama, konflik waris berbeda sesuai struktur kekerabatan dan norma adat setiap daerah. Kedua, media sosial memperkuat perdebatan dan polarisasi, tetapi juga membuka ruang mediasi sosial, termasuk *takharuj*. Ketiga, kedudukan anak angkat memperlihatkan perbedaan antara hukum adat, hukum Islam, dan hukum nasional, sehingga diperlukan harmonisasi hukum yang sensitif terhadap konteks lokal.

ABSTRACT**Keyword:**

Representation of
Dualism; Inheritance
Law; Legal
Pluralism; Kinship
Systems; Legal
Harmonization

Regional inheritance law in Indonesia reflects the interaction of customary law, Islamic law, and state law, creating diverse patterns of inheritance distribution and potential legal tensions across communities. This study examines how such legal dualism is represented, negotiated, and practiced in regional inheritance systems, with particular attention to customary inheritance conflicts, debates between custom and religion in digital spaces, and the position of adopted children. A descriptive qualitative approach was employed through document analysis, content analysis, and discourse analysis of scholarly articles, court rulings, news reports, social media content, and documented inheritance cases. The analysis draws on legal pluralism, living law, and social conflict theory to examine how competing normative authorities shape inheritance practices. The findings reveal three main patterns. First, inheritance conflicts vary according to regional kinship structures and customary norms. Second, social media intensifies debate and polarization but also provides space for social mediation, including *takharuj*. Third, the status of adopted children reveals significant differences among customary, Islamic, and national inheritance law, highlighting the need for context-sensitive legal harmonization.



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INTRODUCTION

The practice of dividing inherited assets in Indonesia varies from region to region. This is closely tied to Indonesia's rich cultural diversity, which spans from Sabang to Merauke. This phenomenon is critical because inheritance distribution practices are highly prone to causing social conflicts within families, which can ultimately lead to a loss of legal legitimacy. For example, the Minangkabau people divide inherited assets into two categories—*sako* and *pusako*—under a matrilineal kinship system. Within this system, *pusako* assets are further distinguished into lower-tier and higher-tier *pusako*. In Bali, for instance, the *purusa* and *sentana rajeg* systems remain the basis of inheritance despite conflicts with national regulations, under which only males receive inherited property. Females generally receive no inheritance; however, if there are no male children, a female child within the *sentana rajeg* system is considered a *putrika* and can inherit in the same manner as a male *purusa* (Cahyani & Amelda, 2022). Meanwhile, in other regions, such as Aceh, Bugis, and Java, communities often combine *sharia*, *adat*, and state law according to family interests (Manggabarani et al., 2024; Sariman, 2025). Consequently, this diversity of practices frequently triggers conflicts, debates over legitimacy, and dualism in inheritance—not merely as normative issues but also as tangible social phenomena in Indonesian society.

Several previous studies addressing this issue have examined it from specific perspectives, including Sharia, culture, and society. Research on the dualism of inheritance law in Indonesia indicates that earlier researchers have extensively described the diversity of customary inheritance systems, the dynamics of Sharia implementation, and the tensions between Sharia and national law in various regional contexts (Sanjaya, 2024). Other studies emphasize that this dualism often leads to legal uncertainty, conflicts among family members, and issues of legitimacy between cultural values and religious norms (Al-Bohari, 2025; Muttaqin et al., 2025). Most studies remain descriptive and focused on specific regions, thus failing to provide a comprehensive mapping of how this dualism is socially and legally represented across various areas (Torkashvand, 2025). This gap forms the basis of the present study, which aims to provide a more integrative analysis of the representation of inheritance dualism at the regional level.

This study aims to analyze how the dualism between customary inheritance law and religious inheritance law is represented, negotiated, and practiced in various regional contexts. To achieve this objective, the study poses the following key questions: In what forms does the dualism of inheritance manifest across different regions? What factors influence the dominance of one legal system over the other? And how do communities resolve conflicts or overlaps that arise in the practice of inheritance distribution? Furthermore, this study examines the extent to which harmonization or tension between these two systems reflects the need for updated inheritance law that is more responsive to local diversity. Accordingly, this study seeks to address these questions concerning the dualism of regional inheritance law in Indonesia.

The dualistic nature of inheritance law in Indonesia reflects the tension between customary norms and religious principles that are deeply ingrained in society. As explained by Wardhani et al. (2022), conflicts arise from clashes between legal systems—namely, customary law, Islamic law, and state law. In many cases, customary kinship systems (matrilineal, patrilineal, and parental) further complicate inheritance distribution because they are not always aligned with Sharia inheritance law (Santika & Eva, 2023). According to research by Salas, Wardani, and Suroso, the three inheritance systems in Indonesia—Islamic, customary, and civil law—possess unique characteristics that are difficult to harmonize. Hamdani et al. (2022) note that Islamic inheritance in Indonesia has been influenced by customary law, resulting in a combination of

Sharia and local traditions. Meanwhile, Bazaanah and Ngcobo (2024) highlight that the dualism of inheritance systems creates challenges in implementing substantive justice, particularly within mixed families. Thus, this dualism is not merely a collection of differing norms but a structural dynamic that continually generates normative and practical debates.

On a practical level, the dualism of inheritance law is clearly evident in the resolution of inheritance disputes in both customary and religious courts. Research by Wardi et al. (2024) indicates that harmonization strategies can be implemented through the recognition of customary law in the resolution of inheritance disputes. A study in Banceuy Village also found that although the community adheres to Islam, customary law is still practiced in the distribution of inheritance, indicating a real form of dualism at the village level (Kusmayanti & Suwandono, 2024). In the context of customary kinship, Batohir and Sasmita (2025) state that customary inheritance law possesses unique characteristics that differ significantly from both Islamic and Western law. Furthermore, Nggoro et al. (2025), in their study of Muko-Muko, emphasize that local communities remain heavily reliant on customary law due to a lack of understanding of civil law. In a broader context, Haq (2025) notes that inconsistencies in the application of inheritance law at the national level reflect the complexity of inheritance pluralism in Indonesia. Overall, the practice of dualism demonstrates that inheritance conflicts are not merely a matter of legal doctrine but also involve intersecting issues of identity, local wisdom, and legality.

In the practice of inheritance law in Indonesia, there is a clear tension between customary inheritance and Islamic inheritance. For example, inheritance pluralism poses a major challenge due to the diversity of customary kinship systems (Futriyah et al., 2023; Rambe, 2025). Furthermore, studies indicate that in some indigenous communities, the distribution of inheritance continues to follow traditional norms even when the deceased was Muslim (Rasyid et al., 2024). On the other hand, comparative analyses have found that the Islamic inheritance system provides a standardized distribution formula that sometimes does not align with local customary structures (Nugraha, 2024). Sociological research also highlights that social change and urbanization are eroding collective traditional inheritance practices (Nain et al., 2025). Furthermore, studies on legal pluralism conclude that a harmonization model is necessary to prevent inheritance conflicts from persisting among heirs (Suryawan & Sara, 2024). Thus, this discussion illustrates that the dualism of inheritance law is not merely a theoretical issue but a complex social reality. A deeper understanding of inheritance pluralism is therefore essential for formulating fair and sustainable dispute resolution mechanisms.

The implementation of inheritance law in local contexts demonstrates that national, customary, and religious laws intersect in real-life practices. Empirical research notes that indigenous communities continue to regard customary inheritance as part of their cultural identity (Liew et al., 2021; Pearson et al., 2023). Furthermore, in certain communities, Islamic inheritance rules have been set aside to preserve the harmony of customary kinship ties (Krismono & Lutfi, 2024). Other researchers argue that customary legal norms possess a flexibility that is less evident in Islamic law, which they characterize as more textual (Azani, 2021). Furthermore, comparative analysis indicates that the tripartite system of inheritance—Islamic, customary, and civil law—in Indonesia creates legal uncertainty for heirs (Suwarti et al., 2022). Finally, normative studies affirm that the recognition of customary inheritance by the modern legal system can serve as a middle ground for harmonization (Azharuddin, 2025). Thus, inheritance pluralism is not merely a legal challenge but also an opportunity for cultural integration. Moreover, inheritance law reform that is sensitive to local contexts is urgently needed to ensure that inheritance justice can be realized across diverse communities.

The dualism of inheritance law in Indonesia is not merely a matter of differing norms between customary and religious or national law, but rather the result of a social process that is continually negotiated by communities as they seek to preserve their cultural identity while meeting the demands of formal legal legitimacy. By examining the representation of this dualism across various regions, this study expands the understanding that inheritance practices cannot be separated from social contexts, local power structures, and the diverse needs of families. The primary contribution of this study lies in its effort to construct a comprehensive cross-regional analysis, presenting a conceptual framework for understanding how communities interpret and manage multiple legal systems simultaneously and offering insights for policymakers in formulating a more adaptive and equitable model of inheritance law harmonization.

RESEARCH METHODS

The unit of analysis refers to the primary focus of a study, namely what or who is observed or analyzed to address the research questions (Hays & McKibben, 2021; Vears & Gillam, 2022). In this study, the unit of analysis is the representation of dualism in inheritance law as reflected in three main domains: (1) customary inheritance practices in various regions, including Minangkabau, Aceh, Bali, and Lombok; (2) debates between customary and religious law emerging on social media; and (3) the position of adopted children within inheritance systems governed by customary law, Islamic law, and national law. The material objects examined include customary texts, inheritance distribution patterns, family conflicts, media coverage, and digital discourse. These units of analysis allow the study to examine how inheritance-law dualism is interpreted, negotiated, and represented at both local and national levels.

This study employs a descriptive qualitative design using document analysis and social discourse analysis (Alejandro & Zhao, 2024; Rambe et al., 2024). This design was selected because dualism in inheritance law is reflected not only in formal legal rules but also in social practices, cultural debates, and digital representations. The approach enables the study to describe patterns of inheritance conflicts across different regions, examine interactions among customary law, Islamic law, and state law, and analyze public discourse surrounding inheritance issues. It also provides a basis for integrating regional, national, and digital data within a single analytical framework.

The data sources consist of journal articles published within the past five years, books on inheritance law, research reports, court rulings, online news reports, and social media content from platforms such as TikTok, Facebook, Twitter/X, YouTube, and Instagram. In addition, compiled tables documenting inheritance conflicts, customary-religious debates, and the status of adopted children are used as thematic data. The selection of these sources is intended to provide a comprehensive account of how inheritance-law dualism is represented across different regions and public spaces, including both conventional and digital environments.

Data were collected through documentation techniques by gathering, archiving, and selecting relevant documents, including academic articles, court rulings, media reports, and social media posts related to inheritance issues (Alam, 2020; Davidson & Reid, 2022; Cannelli, 2024). The study also employed a literature review to examine legal pluralism, living law, and social conflict as the conceptual foundations of the analysis. The collected data were subsequently categorized into three main analytical themes: regional inheritance conflicts, debates concerning customary and religious law on social media, and issues surrounding the inheritance rights of adopted children.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the study reveal three main bodies of evidence demonstrating the dualism of regional inheritance law in Indonesia. The first is the existence of inheritance disputes in various regions, as presented in Table 1. These disputes arise because some communities continue to uphold customary practices that may conflict with Islamic inheritance law. The second is the debate between religion and customary law on social media, as presented in Table 2. The third concerns the status and inheritance rights of adopted children, particularly the differences between customary, national, and Islamic law, as presented in Table 3. Together, these three bodies of evidence provide the basis for analyzing the forms, tensions, and consequences of inheritance-law dualism in Indonesia.

Conflicts Over Inherited Property in Indonesia: Minangkabau, Aceh, and Sulawesi

The following table summarizes various forms of inheritance conflict in several regions of Indonesia that reflect the interaction between customary law, Islamic law, and national law. Through case mapping, search terms, and news sources or court rulings, the table illustrates how each region exhibits distinct patterns of conflict shaped by kinship structures, customary norms, and community responses to Islamic inheritance provisions. The mapping provides empirical evidence for examining the variation, intensity, and manifestations of inheritance-law dualism at the regional level.

Table 1. The Conflict of Dual Inheritance Laws in Indonesia

Region	Conflict Focus	Specific Search Terms
Minangkabau (West Sumatra)	Conflict over <i>Harta Pusaka Tinggi</i> (high customary inheritance assets) between matrilineal customary law and Islamic inheritance law	Supreme Court ruling on <i>Harta Pusaka Tinggi</i> in Minangkabau under Islamic inheritance law
Bali	Dispute over traditional Balinese patrilineal inheritance, in which daughters have fewer inheritance rights, compared with daughters' inheritance rights under national law	Dispute over traditional Balinese inheritance in which a daughter challenges the application of patrilineal inheritance rights
Aceh	Conflict between the division of <i>syarikat</i> assets (joint property under Acehnese customary law) and the distribution of inheritance according to <i>faraid</i> under the Compilation of Islamic Law	Sharia Court ruling on the division of inherited <i>syarikat</i> assets
Lombok (NTB)	Dispute over Sasak customary inheritance through the <i>jajar</i> system, in which women receive a smaller share, compared with <i>faraid</i> distribution	Lawsuit concerning Sasak customary <i>jajar</i> inheritance and <i>faraid</i>
Communal Land	Conflict between customary land rights and state law, particularly the Basic Agrarian Law, including disputes between corporations and indigenous communities	Land disputes involving corporate claims over customary land and Constitutional Court rulings

National Phenomenon	Legitimacy of equal inheritance distribution through <i>islah</i> and <i>al-takharuj</i> in Religious Court practice compared with the provisions of <i>faraid</i>	Religious Court approval of <i>al-takharuj</i> , including the practice of equal distribution among heirs
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Source: Data processed by the authors, 2025

The table shows that Indonesia's dualistic inheritance system allows local customary practices to coexist and intersect with Islamic and national law. In Minangkabau, disputes over *Harta Pusaka Tinggi* represent a longstanding tension between matrilineal customary practices and Islamic inheritance law. Bali illustrates tensions between a patrilineal inheritance system that may limit women's inheritance rights and national legal provisions concerning the legal status of daughters. Aceh presents a conflict between the customary division of joint property and the provisions of Islamic inheritance law (*faraid*) under the Compilation of Islamic Law. Meanwhile, Lombok demonstrates a clear contrast between the Sasak customary practice of *jajar* inheritance and the provisions of Islamic inheritance law concerning the distribution of shares to women.

Three main trends can be identified from these cases. First, each region maintains distinctive customary practices, including the matrilineal system of Minangkabau, the patrilineal system of Bali, Acehnese customary practices, and the Sasak lineage system in Lombok. These practices do not always correspond with Islamic or state law, resulting in considerable variation in inheritance structures. Second, there is an ongoing contest over legitimacy between customary law and Islamic law. The disputes concerning *Harta Pusaka Tinggi* in Minangkabau, women's inheritance rights in Bali, and the distribution of *syarikat* assets in Aceh demonstrate how different legal systems seek to maintain their respective authority. Third, legal dualism can generate social tensions in the form of family disputes, uncertainty regarding inheritance rights, and differences in interpretation. The Sasak *jajar* practice, for example, illustrates how customary arrangements may diverge from Islamic inheritance provisions. These patterns indicate that inheritance-law dualism is not merely a matter of different distribution mechanisms but is also connected to the interaction of legal authority, social structure, and local customary identity.

Social Media: Debates Between Custom and Religion at the National Level

The following table presents an overview of debates concerning customary practices and religion across various social media platforms in Indonesia. Through examples of viral issues, digital content, and their relevance to the research phenomenon, the table illustrates how social media has become an arena in which customary law and Islamic law are debated, contested, and interpreted. It also shows how digital spaces can intensify polarization while simultaneously providing opportunities for public discussion and negotiation. This mapping helps identify patterns of digital conflict and examine how inheritance-law dualism is represented and negotiated in online spaces.

Table 2. Debates Between Custom and Religion on Social Media at the National Level

Platform	Debated Issue	Content Examples	Relevance as Evidence of the Phenomenon
TikTok	Customary versus Islamic inheritance law	Viral content comparing the Sasak <i>jajar</i> and Javanese <i>gono-gini</i> inheritance systems has generated criticism from users with a fiqh background who consider these practices inconsistent with Islamic inheritance law.	Highlights polarization between the view that “custom violates religion” and the view that “custom is part of culture,” making the issue a recurring theme in national digital debates.
Facebook	Daughters’ inheritance rights under certain customary systems, including Batak, Balinese, and Minangkabau customs	Extended debates in community groups such as <i>Info Keluarga Indonesia</i> emerge when posts state that daughters receive smaller shares or cannot inherit under certain customary systems.	Confirms the continuing debate over gender inequality in customary inheritance and the responses of contemporary Muslim communities.
Twitter (X)	Legitimacy of equal inheritance distribution through <i>takharuj</i>	Viral discussions question whether inheritance may be divided equally when all heirs agree or whether the distribution must strictly follow <i>faraid</i> .	Highlights the tension between normative inheritance provisions and contemporary social <i>ijtihad</i> through <i>islah</i> and <i>takharuj</i> .
YouTube	Religious sermons versus local customs	Excerpts from religious lectures rejecting the Sasak <i>merariq</i> , Bugis <i>mappuce</i> , and Batak inheritance systems illustrate disagreements between religious and customary practices.	Illustrates the interaction and contestation between religious and customary authority in the digital public sphere.
Instagram	Traditional weddings considered inconsistent with religious teachings	Posts concerning traditional weddings in Bali, Toraja, and Mentawai have generated debates over ritual symbols perceived as “un-Islamic.”	Demonstrates how cultural symbols can become subjects of religious contestation and identity negotiation in digital spaces.
Kompasiana/Blog	Family inheritance disputes	Personal accounts describe conflicts among siblings resulting from different interpretations of customary and Islamic inheritance law.	Reflects public testimony and documented patterns of inheritance-related conflict in everyday social life.

News portals and user comments	Inheritance cases in Religious Courts	News reports concerning Religious Court approval of <i>takharuj</i> and equal inheritance distribution can trigger “yes or no” debates in comment sections.	Shows how legal news can stimulate public debate and cultural or religious polarization.
TikTok Live and Podcasts	Interfaith marriage and customary practices	Live discussions among content creators may contrast customary practices that permit interfaith marriage with religious provisions that prohibit it.	Provides a direct illustration of the contestation between customary and religious authority in the digital public sphere.

Source: Data processed by the authors, 2025

Debates between customary practices and religion are visible across various digital platforms in Indonesia. On TikTok, Facebook, and Twitter (X), inheritance is among the issues that can generate strong disagreements. Viral content concerning the Sasak *jajar* system, *gono-gini*, and customary inheritance practices among Batak, Balinese, and Minangkabau communities often attracts criticism from groups that emphasize Islamic inheritance law (*faraid*). Discussions concerning equal inheritance through *takharuj* similarly reveal tensions between normative legal provisions and contemporary interpretations of social justice. These debates indicate that the relationship between custom and religion is not limited to technical questions of inheritance distribution but also involves identity, religious understanding, and changing social values.

Three patterns emerge from these digital debates. First, polarization is evident in the formation of opposing positions between those who defend customary inheritance practices and those who advocate strict adherence to Islamic inheritance law (*faraid*). Discussions concerning customary inheritance can consequently become spaces for competing claims of religious and cultural legitimacy. Second, delegitimization occurs when one legal or normative system is presented as inherently invalid by supporters of another. Customary inheritance may be labeled un-Islamic, while Islamic inheritance provisions may be criticized as insufficiently responsive to local social realities. This shows that the debate involves not only legal interpretation but also a contest over moral and legal authority. Third, social mediation can be observed through moderate positions that propose alternatives such as *takharuj*, family deliberation, or the accommodation of customary and religious considerations. These responses indicate attempts to renegotiate inheritance values within the changing conditions of digital society.

Adoption in Inheritance: Bali, Aceh, and Padang

The following table outlines the status of adopted children within customary inheritance systems, national law, and Islamic law in three regions of Indonesia. By comparing the legal status of adopted children under local customs with the limitations established by national and Islamic law, the table highlights normative differences that may become sources of inheritance disputes. This comparison also illustrates how legal dualism affects the position of adopted children and creates questions concerning justice, legal certainty, and the need for context-sensitive harmonization.

Table 3. Research Summary: Adoption and Inheritance

Region	Status of Adopted Children Under Customary Law	Status Under National/Religious Law	Research Issues/Problems
Bali	May become a legal heir and inherit in a manner comparable to a biological child	Under national law, an adopted child is not automatically an heir; inheritance may be obtained through a gift or will	Conflict between customary law, which may recognize inheritance rights, and state law, which imposes limitations
Aceh	Respected as a family member but not considered an heir under Islamic customary practice	Under <i>faraid</i> , adopted children are not eligible to inherit but may receive property through a mandatory gift or bequest	Tension between family relationships and Islamic inheritance rules concerning adopted children
Padang (Minangkabau)	Accepted as a family member but not entitled to <i>Harta Pusaka Tinggi</i>	Under Islamic law, an adopted child is not an heir	Conflict between the matrilineal system, Islamic inheritance law, and the expectations of the adoptive family

Source: Data processed by the authors, 2024

The status of adopted children within customary inheritance systems varies considerably across regions and may differ from both national and Islamic legal provisions. In Bali, an adopted child may be designated as *sentana rajeg*, giving the child a status comparable to that of a biological child and allowing the child to inherit the adoptive family's assets. In Aceh, adopted children may be respected as family members but are not considered heirs under the relevant customary and Sharia provisions. In Minangkabau, adopted children may be socially accepted as members of the family but remain excluded from *Harta Pusaka Tinggi* because the matrilineal system maintains inheritance through the female lineage. These differences show that customary law provides varying degrees of recognition to adopted children, depending on the kinship structure and customary norms of each region.

Three trends can be identified from the comparison. First, national law does not automatically recognize adopted children as heirs, although property may be transferred through mechanisms such as gifts or wills. Islamic inheritance law based on *faraid* similarly does not place adopted children among the recognized heirs, although alternative mechanisms may provide them with property. Second, there is a tension between the flexibility of certain customary practices and the need for legal certainty for adopted children and their families, particularly when these practices encounter the more restrictive provisions of national and Islamic inheritance law. Third, differences between customary recognition and state or Islamic legal provisions can generate uncertainty concerning the legal status and property rights of adopted children. These patterns confirm that adopted children occupy a complex position within Indonesia's plural inheritance system, in which customary practices, national law, and Islamic law do not always provide the same legal consequences.

The Dynamics and Dualism of Regional Inheritance Law

The dualism of regional inheritance law in Indonesia can be identified through three main forms of evidence. First, it generates conflicts that vary across regions. The coexistence of different inheritance systems can lead to disputes over the interpretation, distribution, and management of inherited property. Second, Indonesian communities maintain diverse procedures for distributing inheritance, particularly indigenous communities whose customary practices differ from general inheritance arrangements. This diversity illustrates the differences between customary and Islamic law in determining the distribution of inherited assets. Third, the status of adopted children varies across regions and may differ from the provisions of Islamic inheritance law (*faraid*) and national law. In some customary systems, adopted children may be recognized as heirs, whereas under Islamic inheritance law they are not classified as *faraid* heirs, although they may receive property through gifts or wills. These three forms of evidence demonstrate that inheritance-law dualism produces considerable diversity in inheritance practices and requires a more adaptive approach to legal harmonization.

The conflicting representations of regional inheritance law in Indonesia can be explained through three main factors. First, the coexistence of three legal systems—customary, Islamic, and state law—allows family members and communities to rely on different legal sources when determining inheritance rights (Haider et al., 2025). Second, differences in how individuals interpret legal information, limited understanding of legal pluralism, social media algorithms that amplify contentious issues, competition between religious and cultural authorities, social transformation among younger generations, and the circulation of viral cases involving customary practices that differ from Sharia principles contribute to the escalation of public debate (Yilmaz & Sokolova-Shipoli, 2024). Third, the status of adopted children remains a source of legal uncertainty because their position as heirs differs from that of biological children under several legal systems (Hadiansyah & Nuryasinta, 2025; Mahargiani et al., 2025). These factors indicate that inheritance-law dualism in Indonesia is shaped not only by differences in legal norms but also by social, cultural, and digital dynamics.

The consequences of inheritance-law dualism can be observed in three main areas. First, conflicts over ancestral property can lead to disputes among family members and heirs, as well as differing interpretations of inheritance rights that may eventually require resolution through the courts (Nasrul et al., 2021). Second, debates between religion and customary law concerning inheritance distribution on social media can intensify disagreement, generate perceptions of injustice, and contribute to disputes that may be addressed through judicial proceedings or customary mediation (Agarwal & Sen, 2021). Third, the exclusion of adopted children from inheritance rights may create perceptions of injustice, economic vulnerability, and potential family conflict, particularly when the expectations of adoptive families differ from national or Islamic legal provisions. Such disputes may also require resolution through courts or customary mechanisms. These consequences demonstrate that inheritance-law dualism has significant social implications and calls for more equitable and context-sensitive approaches to dispute resolution.

The dualism of inheritance law in Indonesia arises from the interaction and tension among customary law, Islamic law, and state law. This phenomenon is reflected in regional conflicts over ancestral property, debates concerning custom and religion on social media, and differences in the legal status of adopted children in inheritance matters. The phenomenon can be examined through legal pluralism, living law, and social conflict theory. Together, these approaches help explain how differences in legal authority, the persistence of social norms, and

competing claims over the legitimacy of values operate in both offline and digital spaces. These dynamics can produce tension, polarization, and disputes over inheritance within society. In this context, inheritance-law dualism represents a complex legal and social phenomenon in which multiple normative systems coexist and compete for recognition. The situation calls for adaptive legal harmonization that takes account of Indonesia's social and cultural diversity while providing greater certainty and fairness in inheritance settlements.

Previous studies have shown that inheritance-law dualism in Indonesia is closely related to the coexistence and interaction of customary, Islamic, and state legal systems. Idary et al. (2024) emphasize the coexistence of these three legal systems as a source of legal tension and conflict. Other studies highlight the role of social media, digital algorithms, and cultural-religious polarization in escalating public debates concerning customary and religious norms (Yilmaz & Sokolova-Shipoli, 2024). Research on adopted children also indicates differences between Islamic and national law regarding their position as heirs, creating questions of justice and legal certainty (Hadiansyah & Nuryasinta, 2025; Mahargiani et al., 2025). Unlike these studies, the novelty of the present research lies in integrating three levels of evidence within a single analytical framework: regional cases involving Minangkabau, Aceh, Bali, and Lombok; national-level social media debates; and the inheritance status of adopted children. This approach captures not only normative conflicts but also the ways in which legal dualism operates through digital discourse, family disputes, and variations in customary inheritance practices. It consequently provides a broader and more multidimensional account of inheritance-law dualism than studies that examine these issues separately (Umar et al., 2023).

The research plan outlined in this study is designed to examine legal dualism in greater depth by strengthening the theoretical framework through a review of relevant scholarship; systematically analyzing regional cases from Minangkabau, Aceh, Bali, and Lombok to identify patterns of conflict among customary, Islamic, and state law; examining representations of debates concerning customary law and religion on social media as an emerging dimension of inheritance conflict; and further analyzing the position of adopted children as a concrete manifestation of legal disharmony. The study also compares the empirical findings with the concepts of legal pluralism, living law, and social conflict and develops an integrated analytical framework combining regional, digital, and adoption-related issues. Based on these findings, the study formulates recommendations for communities, government institutions, and academics concerning the harmonization of inheritance law in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

The dualism of inheritance law in Indonesia is reflected in conflicts over ancestral property across different regions, differences in inheritance distribution between customary and Islamic law, and variations in the legal status of adopted children. These conditions are closely related to the coexistence of customary, Islamic, and state legal systems, the role of social media in intensifying public polarization, and differences in the recognition of adopted children across legal frameworks. The consequences include family disputes, perceptions of injustice, legal uncertainty, and inheritance cases that may ultimately be addressed through judicial proceedings or customary mediation. The study's analytical framework combines regional case analysis, social media discourse, and adoption-related inheritance issues to provide a broader understanding of how legal dualism operates in Indonesian society.

The contribution of this research lies in showing that the tension among customary, Islamic, and state inheritance law is not confined to regional disputes such as those found in

Minangkabau, Aceh, Bali, and Lombok. It also extends into digital debates and questions concerning the inheritance status of adopted children. By integrating local, national, and digital dimensions within a single analytical framework, this study provides a more comprehensive account of how competing legal norms and authorities shape inheritance practices. The findings also provide a basis for developing legal and policy recommendations aimed at improving the harmonization of inheritance law while maintaining sensitivity to Indonesia's cultural and social diversity.

This study has several limitations. First, the analysis relies primarily on secondary data and does not include direct fieldwork, which means that the experiences and dynamics of inheritance conflicts in each region may not be fully captured. Second, the study does not yet explore in sufficient depth the perspectives of customary actors, religious leaders, legal practitioners, and government officials involved in inheritance disputes and their resolution. Third, variations in the implementation of state law across court decisions require further examination. Future research should address these limitations through interviews, observations of customary practices, and systematic analysis of court rulings. Further studies could also expand the geographical coverage to include a wider range of customary systems and examine more closely how social media influences public opinion, legal interpretation, and inheritance practices in Indonesia.

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