

The Tradition of Granting Panyanda by Heirs to Nieces and Nephews in Siulak District: An Analysis from Islamic Law Perspective

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Abstract

Although customary gift-giving practices related to inheritance have long shaped kinship relations within plural legal settings, the Pianda/Panyanda tradition remains underexplored despite its important implications for family dynamics and the application of Islamic law. This study analyzes the implementation of the Pianda/Panyanda tradition by heirs toward nieces and nephews, its positive and negative effects on kinship relations and social order, and its position within the framework of Islamic law. Employing a qualitative case study design in Siulak District, the research involved 15 purposively selected key informants, comprising customary leaders, religious figures, heirs, and family representatives. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and documentary analysis, and were analyzed thematically. The findings show that Panyanda functions as a binding customary institution embedded in *adat* law, enforced through moral and material sanctions and regulated through specific ritual procedures. The tradition produces dual consequences: it reinforces extended family solidarity, genealogical awareness, and moral responsibility, while also creating risks of social tension and economic pressure when obligations are not fulfilled. From the perspective of Islamic law, Panyanda is distinct from *farā'id*-based inheritance and is better understood as a customary obligation consistent with *'urf*, *hibah*, and *waṣīyyah*, provided that the rights of legal heirs are not infringed. The study concludes that Panyanda is a context-dependent practice whose legitimacy depends on justice, consent, and *maṣlahah*.

This study contributes to scholarship on legal pluralism by clarifying the interaction between customary norms and Islamic legal principles and offers practical insight for the accommodation of customary and religious practices in family relations.

Keywords: Panyanda Tradition; Islamic Inheritance Law; Legal Pluralism; Customary Law; Kinship Relations

INTRODUCTION

Inheritance practices remain a central issue in Islamic legal studies, particularly in plural societies where religious norms intersect with deeply rooted customary traditions. At the international level, studies demonstrate that customary inheritance systems are profoundly shaped by local cultural values and kinship structures, whereas Islamic inheritance law (*farā'id*) is governed by rigid distributive principles derived from the Qur'an and Hadith. This fundamental distinction explains why customary practices—such as granting rights or gifts to certain relatives—often diverge from the formal prescriptions of Islamic inheritance law (Dimiyati, 2025). Similar findings emerge from comparative analyses of customary and Islamic inheritance systems, where local traditions recognize heirs who are not legally entitled under Islamic law through family consensus, reflecting social flexibility grounded in communal ethics and justice, which resonates with the Islamic concept of *ihsān* (Supiannor, 2025).

Further international and comparative legal studies reveal that tensions between customary law and Islamic law frequently arise in plural legal societies. Customary norms may allocate broader rights to specific family members than those permitted by Islamic inheritance rules, making the analysis of legal pluralism essential to understanding how communities negotiate between religious norms and social realities (Anggraeni, 2023). In judicial contexts, flexibility is also evident, as religious court judges in Indonesia have occasionally resolved inheritance disputes by allocating property through *hibah* (inter vivos gifts) to individuals who are not formal heirs under Islamic law, as a means of accommodating social considerations while maintaining legal legitimacy (Hakim, 2024).

At the national level, contemporary Islamic legal scholarship in Indonesia emphasizes that customary inheritance practices—including the transfer of property to relatives outside

the *fara'id* framework—constitute living social realities that cannot be ignored. Consequently, Islamic legal analysis must take into account social context, the intention of the giver, and legal instruments such as *hibah* and *waṣiyyah* to ensure conformity with Sharī'a principles (Arto, 2020). Islamic law in Indonesia thus provides flexible mechanisms that allow property transfers to certain relatives, including nieces and nephews, provided such practices do not undermine the rights of legitimate heirs (Fauzan, 2021). This dialogical relationship between Islamic law and customary law reflects a broader national legal philosophy in which adat functions as a social mechanism for maintaining family harmony, while Islamic law serves as a normative framework ensuring justice and public benefit (*maṣlaḥah*) (Syarifuddin, 2022).

Indonesia's legal complexity is inseparable from its sociocultural plurality. As a nation characterized by ethnic, cultural, linguistic, traditional, and religious diversity, Indonesia has long embraced legal pluralism as a historical reality rather than a modern construction (Haeran, 2020). Tradition itself is understood as a set of objects, ideas, and practices inherited from the past and continuously preserved in the present (Sztompka 2011; Susilo, 2022). Within this context, multiple inheritance systems coexist, including Western civil inheritance law, diverse customary inheritance systems shaped by local kinship patterns, and Islamic inheritance law predominantly following the Sunni schools, especially the Shāfi'ī madhhab (Ramulyo, 2000; Mokodompit, 2022). Inheritance law, therefore, is not merely concerned with death, but with the legal transfer of property and the social relationships surrounding it (Moechtar, 2019; Davina et al., 2025).

Empirical studies across Indonesia illustrate how customary inheritance systems continue to operate within Muslim communities. The Minangkabau matrilineal system prioritizes maternal lineage in the distribution of ancestral property, creating normative distinctions from Islamic inheritance law (Lilis, 2023). Similar dynamics appear in the Banceuy indigenous community in West Java, where customary inheritance practices persist despite the community's Muslim majority (Permadi et al., 2024). In Kerinci, customary law remains institutionally recognized within local regulations, underscoring its enduring influence on social and legal life (Hainadri, 2021). Customary inheritance systems thus demonstrate how kinship and tradition shape rights, responsibilities, and resource distribution among family members (Lilis, 2023), while also generating contestation when customary norms conflict with Islamic legal principles (Rasyid et al., 2024).

Within this broader landscape, the tradition of granting *Panyanda* occupies a distinctive position. In Kerinci society, gift-giving traditions associated with customary ceremonies are often framed as inherited obligations rooted in ancestral values, providing important context for understanding *Panyanda* (Suar et al., 2024). Zarmonira (2021) explains *Panyanda* as a kinship-based practice involving uncles (*mamak*) and nieces or nephews (*kemenakan*), embedded within matrilineal social relations. From a legal perspective, comparative studies affirm that customary inheritance law in Indonesia varies according to local kinship systems, whereas Islamic inheritance law remains uniform and textually grounded (Hafidz & Masduqi, 2024).

Previous studies have extensively examined the interaction between Islamic law and customary inheritance in various Indonesian contexts. Research on Kerinci customary inheritance highlights the tension between Islamic legal reasoning and adat principles, emphasizing the need for tolerance and *maṣlahah* to prevent social conflict (Bafadhal & Putri, 2022). Other empirical studies demonstrate how inheritance distributions based on tradition—often driven by limited public understanding of Islamic inheritance law—can generate perceptions of injustice and family disputes (Nasution, 2020). Studies on Minangkabau inheritance further reveal structural tensions between matrilineal customs and Islamic inheritance norms (Hidayati et al., 2024), while research on the Mandailing community illustrates a harmonious acculturation between Islamic law and customary practices through parallel application (Saniah & Bastomi, 2022). Similar conclusions emerge from studies on Minangkabau inheritance, where customary categories of high and low heirlooms coexist with Islamic legal principles without causing harm (Zuwanda, 2021).

Despite extensive scholarship on inheritance systems and the relationship between adat law and Islamic law, existing studies have largely focused on formal inheritance distribution or general adat–sharī‘ah interactions. Consequently, a significant research gap remains regarding customary gift-giving practices by heirs to nieces and nephews, particularly the *Panyanda* tradition in Siulak District. Previous research has not sufficiently examined *Panyanda* through an integrated framework combining ‘urf, hibah and waṣīyyah, legal pluralism, and maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah. Addressing this gap is essential to assess whether *Panyanda* represents a legitimate customary practice within Islamic legal reasoning or poses normative challenges to the principles of farā’id.

The novelty of this study lies in its application of an integrated theoretical framework that has not been systematically employed in prior research on customary inheritance-related practices. The theory of *‘urf* provides a foundation for understanding Panyanda as a living and socially binding custom that may be considered in Islamic legal reasoning as long as it does not contradict the Qur’an and Sunnah or violate principles of justice (Syarifuddin, 2022). Complementarily, the theories of *hibah* and *waṣīyyah* are used to evaluate Panyanda as a form of property transfer to non-heirs, which is permissible in Islamic law provided it does not exceed one-third of the estate and does not infringe upon the rights of legitimate heirs (Arto, 2020).

Furthermore, the theory of legal pluralism explains the coexistence of customary law, Islamic law, and state law in Indonesian society, particularly in family and inheritance matters. This framework clarifies how Panyanda continues to operate as a customary norm alongside Islamic legal principles rather than being entirely displaced by them (Fauzan & Ali, 2021). The evaluative dimension of this study is strengthened by the *maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah* framework, which emphasizes the realization of public welfare, the protection of property (*ḥifẓ al-māl*), family harmony, and social justice. From this perspective, customary practices such as Panyanda may be accepted insofar as they promote *maṣlaḥah* and prevent harm without undermining *sharī‘ah* principles (Auda, 2021).

Preliminary field observations support the relevance of this theoretical approach. In Siulak Panjang, one of the oldest villages in Siulak District, Panyanda is widely perceived as a customary obligation rather than a voluntary gift. Initial observations conducted in Koto Rendah Village on 20 September 2025 indicate that Panyanda is fulfilled when heirs are financially ready, typically amounting to approximately IDR 2,500,000 for the entire customary process. The obligation arises following the death of a *mamak* or *datung* and is understood as an ancestral practice aimed at preserving harmony within the extended family. These findings underscore the operation of Panyanda as a living custom (*‘urf*) and highlight the necessity of an Islamic legal analysis that accounts for social reality, legal pluralism, and the objectives of *sharī‘ah*.

Accordingly, this study focuses on analyzing how is the system of implementing the Pianda/Panyanda giving tradition by heirs to nieces and nephews in Siulak District?, what are the positive and negative impacts of the Pianda/Panyanda giving tradition by heirs to nieces and nephews in Siulak District on family relationships and the social order of the

community?, and how is the Pianda/Panyanda giving tradition by heirs to nieces and nephews in Siulak District viewed from the perspective of Islamic law?. By situating *Panyanda* within Indonesia's plural legal context and Islamic jurisprudential frameworks, this research aims to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of how customary practices and Islamic law can be harmonized in contemporary Muslim societies, particularly in Siulak District.

METHODS

1. Research Type

This study employed a qualitative research approach, which is appropriate for exploring socially embedded practices such as the Pianda/Panyanda tradition in Siulak District. Qualitative research is designed to provide an in-depth understanding of complex social phenomena, including human behaviour, norms, and cultural practices, by collecting rich, descriptive data through interviews, observation, and document analysis (Ernest et al., 2023). Such an approach is especially valuable for examining customary law, kinship relations, and the interplay of adat and Islamic legal norms, as it emphasises understanding participants' subjective experiences and contextual meanings (Susanto et al., 2024).

By adopting this approach, the study captures the perspectives of community members, customary leaders, and religious authorities, emphasizing their lived experiences, beliefs, and practices regarding inheritance-related gift-giving and post-mortem obligations. The qualitative approach is particularly suitable for interpreting the nuances of normative obligations, social sanctions, and moral reasoning within a culturally and religiously plural context (Miles et al., 2014).

2. Research Design

A case study design was utilized to investigate the Pianda/Panyanda tradition in-depth within its natural setting in Siulak District, specifically in the villages of Koto Rendah and Siulak Panjang. Case studies are ideal for examining phenomena in their real-life contexts, allowing researchers to explore processes, social structures, and cultural norms in detail (Yin, 2018). This design facilitated the integration of multiple data sources, including interviews, observations, and documentary evidence, providing a comprehensive understanding of how Pianda/Panyanda operates as a living customary institution and interacts with Islamic law. Similar case study approaches have been employed in prior

research on adat law and Islamic inheritance practices to uncover context-specific legal and social dynamics (Arifin, 2022).

3. Population and Sample

The study was conducted in October 2025 in Siulak District, Kerinci Regency, Jambi Province, Indonesia. The population of this study comprised customary leaders (ninik mamak, datung), heirs, and extended family members involved in Pianda/Panyanda practices in Siulak District. A *purposive sampling technique* was employed to select participants with direct experience or authoritative knowledge of the tradition (Sugiyono, 2019). The sample included 15 key informants: customary leaders, religious leaders, family representatives, and a village customary official. Purposive sampling was justified because it ensures that participants have rich information relevant to the research questions, particularly regarding procedural details, customary valuations, and normative interpretations of Pianda/Panyanda.

4. Data Collection Instruments and Techniques

Data were collected using semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and documentary analysis. Interviews were conducted with customary and religious leaders, as well as heirs, using open-ended questions to elicit detailed narratives about Pianda/Panyanda procedures, obligations, and socio-religious significance (Creswell, 2014). Observations were carried out during ritual sequences, including invitations (manging), grave visitation (naik tanah), and ceremonial distribution of Pianda/Panyanda, following protocols for ethical research and participant consent (Observation, October 2025). Documentary analysis involved reviewing adat manuscripts, village records, and written accounts of customary inheritance practices (Documentation, October 2025). Data triangulation was applied to ensure validity by cross-referencing findings from interviews, observations, and documents (Patton, 2015).

5. Data Analysis

Data analysis followed thematic analysis procedures, involving coding, categorizing, and interpreting patterns within the data to answer the research questions (Miles et al., 2014). The process included (1) transcribing interviews verbatim, (2) coding passages relevant to Pianda/Panyanda implementation, positive and negative impacts, and Islamic legal interpretations, and (3) synthesizing themes across data sources. The analytic process involved several iterative stages: (1) transcribing interview data verbatim to preserve participants' original meanings; (2) generating initial codes related to the implementation of

Pianda/Panyanda, its perceived positive and negative impacts, and its interpretation within Islamic legal reasoning; and (3) organizing and synthesizing codes into broader themes across interview, observation, and documentation data. This approach facilitated the identification of normative logic, socio-cultural meanings, and the legal positioning of Pianda/Panyanda within the local context of Siulak District (Braun & Clarke, 2021; Guest et al., 2024).

To enhance analytic rigor and transparency, NVivo 12 qualitative data analysis software was employed to manage data organization, coding, and theme development. The use of qualitative analysis software has been shown to improve systematic data handling, auditability, and analytic consistency in qualitative research (Sheikh et al., 2020). Ethical considerations were integrated throughout the research process, including obtaining informed consent, ensuring participant confidentiality, and respecting local cultural norms, which are recognized as essential ethical principles in contemporary qualitative fieldwork.

RESULTS

1. System of Implementing the Pianda/Panyanda Tradition by Heirs to Nieces and Nephews in Siulak District

The findings reveal that the Pianda/Panyanda tradition in Siulak District functions as a formally structured customary institution governing post-mortem obligations and kinship-based property transfers within extended families. Documentary sources, including customary manuscripts and adat records, confirm that Pianda/Panyanda has been practiced across generations and is embedded within the local adat legal system rather than treated as a voluntary or incidental act of generosity (Documentation, October 2025).

From a normative perspective, Pianda/Panyanda operates as an enforceable customary obligation rooted in reciprocal rights (*bak*) and duties (*kewajiban*) between heirs and *ponakan* (nieces and nephews). Customary law explicitly stipulates that rights must be claimed and obligations must be fulfilled; failure to comply results in social sanctions, particularly moral disgrace (*bukum malu*) borne collectively by the family. This finding underscores the coercive yet non-state character of adat law as a living legal order within the community (Documentation, October 2025).

a. Ritual Sequence and Customary Procedures

Observation data indicate that Pianda/Panyanda is closely intertwined with mortuary rites following the death of a *mamak* (maternal uncle) or *datung* (paternal aunt). The ritual sequence begins with the summoning of nieces and nephews approximately one week prior to the main ceremony, followed by preliminary symbolic payments (*markaitan*). A key stage involves visiting the grave (*naik tanah*), which signifies acknowledgment of lineage ties and ancestral responsibility. These practices demonstrate the fusion of ritual symbolism and legal obligation characteristic of adat institutions (Observation, October 2025).

Interview data with customary leaders provide further clarity regarding the procedural logic of Pianda/Panyanda. One informant explained that the obligation is not activated immediately upon death but is fulfilled when the heirs are deemed financially and socially prepared. This flexibility, however, does not negate its obligatory status. As stated by a customary leader:

“Pianda is not given instantly. It is performed when the heirs are ready, but it must be fulfilled because it is part of adat obligations inherited from the ancestors” (P01, male, customary leader, Siulak, personal interview, October 4, 2025).

This statement reflects the adat principle that emphasizes feasibility over immediacy while maintaining normative bindingness.

b. Gendered Valuation and Economic Dimensions

Interview findings further reveal that Pianda/Panyanda involves differentiated valuations based on gender. Customary leaders consistently reported standardized amounts, namely IDR 700,000 for male recipients and IDR 600,000 for female recipients, supplemented by additional payments for ritual items, communal meals, and symbolic replacements for traditional offerings. These valuations are not arbitrary but are socially standardized and collectively recognized within the community (P02, male, Customary leader, Siulak, personal interview, October 2, 2025).

Observation and interview data jointly indicate that the total customary expenditure, including grave-related rituals and ceremonial payments, amounts to approximately IDR 2,300,000 as formally sanctioned by adat authorities. Nevertheless, interviewees emphasized that heirs frequently exceed this amount voluntarily. According to one informant:

“Many heirs give more than what adat requires because they feel sincere and happy when the extended family gathers. It is considered charity, and adat allows it” (P03, male, religious leader, Siulak, personal interview, October 8, 2025).

This finding highlights the coexistence of obligation and voluntarism within the Pianda/Panyanda system, reflecting a balance between normative enforcement and moral agency.

c. Integration of Adat and Religious Norms

Interviews also illuminate the intersection between adat and Islamic norms in the implementation of Pianda/Panyanda. Informants consistently linked the tradition to Islamic practices such as *qurban*, communal prayers, and remembrance of deceased elders. Pianda/Panyanda is typically fulfilled after the completion of sacrificial rites, reinforcing its religious symbolism while remaining grounded in adat law. As articulated by a village customary official:

“Pianda is done after qurban. The nieces and nephews receive their share, join the communal feast, and pray for the deceased. It is both adat and religious” (P04, male, a village customary official, Siulak, personal interview, October 10, 2025).

This integration demonstrates that Pianda/Panyanda is perceived not as contradictory to Islamic values but as complementary to religious obligations within the local moral economy.

d. Historical and Structural Foundations

Observation data further trace the historical roots of Pianda/Panyanda to traditional governance structures such as *stap sko*, *stap tanah*, and *stap jio*, which define lineage authority and control over ancestral land (*tanah pusako tinggi*). Interviews with *ninik mamak* confirm that these structures legitimize the authority of adat leaders to regulate inheritance-related obligations and resolve disputes, ensuring continuity of customary law across generations (Observation, October 2025; Interview, October 2, 2025).

The combined observation, interview, and documentation data demonstrate that Pianda/Panyanda in Siulak District operates as a binding yet adaptive customary institution. While its implementation is temporally flexible and economically negotiable, its normative force remains strong, reinforced by moral sanctions, collective expectations, and religious symbolism. These findings position Pianda/Panyanda as a form of living law that regulates

inheritance-related relations through a synthesis of adat norms, kinship ethics, and Islamic values.

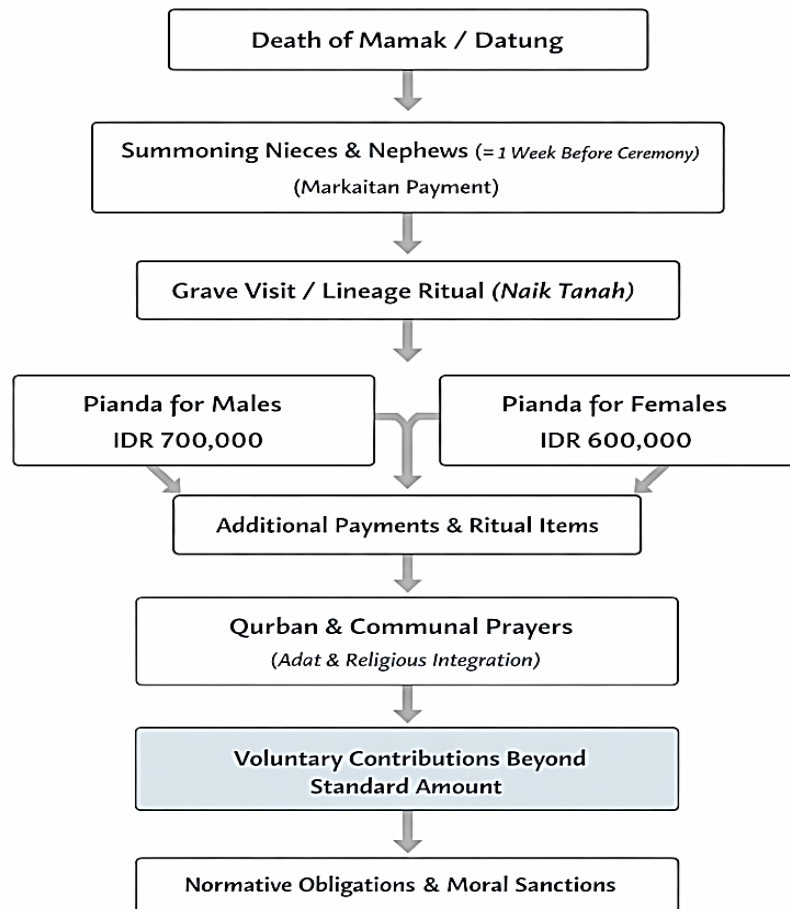


Figure 1. Process Implementation of the Pianda/Panyanda Tradition in Siulak District

Figure 1 illustrates the step-by-step implementation of the Pianda/Panyanda tradition in Siulak District, highlighting the integration of adat and Islamic norms within kinship-based inheritance practices. The flowchart begins with the death of a mamak (maternal uncle) or datung (paternal aunt) and proceeds to the summoning of nieces and nephews, including preliminary symbolic payments (markaitan). It then depicts the grave visit (Naik Tanah) as a ritual acknowledgment of lineage ties, followed by gender-based Pianda payments (IDR 700,000 for males, IDR 600,000 for females) and additional expenditures for ritual items and communal meals. Subsequent stages include participation in qurban and communal prayers, voluntary contributions beyond the standard amount, and enforcement of normative obligations reinforced by moral sanctions. The diagram emphasizes both the

obligatory and voluntary dimensions of Pianda, demonstrating its function as a living customary institution that balances social obligation, economic practice, and religious symbolism.

2. Positive and Negative Impacts of the Pianda/Panyanda Tradition on Kinship Relations and Social Order in Siulak District

The findings indicate that the Pianda/Panyanda tradition generates both integrative and conflict-prone effects within the kinship system of Siulak District. While the practice primarily functions as a mechanism for strengthening extended family ties and preserving genealogical continuity, it also carries potential social and economic tensions when customary obligations are not fulfilled.

a. Positive Impacts: Strengthening Kinship Bonds and Genealogical Continuity

Interview and observation data consistently demonstrate that Pianda/Panyanda serves as a crucial social instrument for maintaining *silaturahmi* (kinship ties) among extended family members, particularly between heirs and nieces and nephews dispersed across different regions. Prior to the implementation of Pianda/Panyanda, customary invitations symbolized by the distribution of betel leaves (*sirih*) are sent to all nieces and nephews regardless of their place of residence. This process enables the extended family to identify, gather, and reconnect members who may have become geographically and socially distant (Observation, October 2025).

As explained by one customary leader:

“Before Pianda is given, nieces and nephews are invited wherever they live. This gathering allows families who were once distant to reconnect and recognize their shared lineage” (P05, male, customary leader, Siulak, personal interview, October 8, 2025).

This finding illustrates that Pianda/Panyanda operates as a structured social reunion, transforming ritual obligation into a means of reinforcing collective identity.

Further interviews reveal that the tradition is deeply connected to the existence of *tanah pusako tinggi* (ancestral communal property), which is inherited collectively along a shared genealogical line (*ajun arah*). The obligation of Pianda/Panyanda functions as a reminder of the moral responsibility of *mamak* or *datung* toward their nieces and nephews,

reflecting the enduring adat principle *“anak dipangku, ponakan dibimbing”* (children are cared for, nieces and nephews are guided). As one informant noted:

“Pianda is meant to remind that a mamak has responsibility toward his nieces and nephews, especially because ancestral property is inherited through the same lineage” (P06, male, family representatives, Siulak, personal interview, October 4, 2025).

This moral framework reinforces intergenerational accountability and ensures that kinship obligations are not dissolved by time or distance. Moreover, the collective gathering facilitated by Pianda/Panyanda enables younger generations to recognize and internalize their genealogical origins. Informants emphasized that many nieces and nephews who previously lacked knowledge of their extended family network gain clarity regarding their lineage through this tradition. According to one participant:

“Through Pianda, nieces and nephews who previously did not know their relatives can finally understand their lineage and family connections” (P07, male, family representatives, Siulak, personal interview, October 8, 2025).

These findings suggest that Pianda/Panyanda functions as an informal genealogical education mechanism, sustaining lineage awareness as a core component of social identity.

b. Negative Impacts: Social Tension, Sanctions, and Economic Pressure

Despite its integrative function, the findings also reveal that Pianda/Panyanda may generate social tension when customary obligations are neglected or delayed. Interviews indicate that failure to fulfill Pianda/Panyanda can result in strained relationships, disputes among family members, and even the symbolic severing of kinship ties. One informant explained:

“If Pianda is not fulfilled, family relationships can break down. Conflicts may arise between mamak and nieces or between nieces and datung” (P08, male, family representatives, Siulak, personal interview, October 2, 2025).

This highlights the coercive dimension of adat obligations, where social harmony is maintained through moral pressure and collective expectations. More significantly, adat sanctions may extend beyond social stigma to material consequences. Customary authorities confirmed that failure to fulfill Pianda/Panyanda can lead to the withdrawal of access rights to *tanah pusako tinggi*. As stated by a *depati susun negeri*:

“The sanction is that ancestral land can be taken back if Pianda is not fulfilled. This applies reciprocally within the lineage” (P09, male, *depati susun negeri*, Siulak, personal interview, October 2, 2025).

Such sanctions demonstrate that Pianda/Panyanda is not merely symbolic but is embedded within a broader customary legal framework regulating property rights and inheritance continuity. Additionally, several informants acknowledged that the financial burden associated with Pianda/Panyanda may pose challenges for economically vulnerable heirs. While adat allows flexibility regarding the timing of fulfillment, the obligation itself remains binding, potentially generating psychological and economic pressure. This duality underscores the ambivalent nature of Pianda/Panyanda as both a mechanism of solidarity and a source of latent tension.

The findings suggest that Pianda/Panyanda operates as a double-edged customary institution. On the one hand, it strengthens kinship solidarity, preserves genealogical continuity, and reinforces moral responsibility within extended families. On the other hand, its obligatory nature and associated sanctions may give rise to conflict, exclusion, and economic strain when obligations are unmet. This ambivalence reflects the broader character of adat law as a living normative system that balances social cohesion with enforceable obligations (Observation; Interview; Documentation, October 2025).

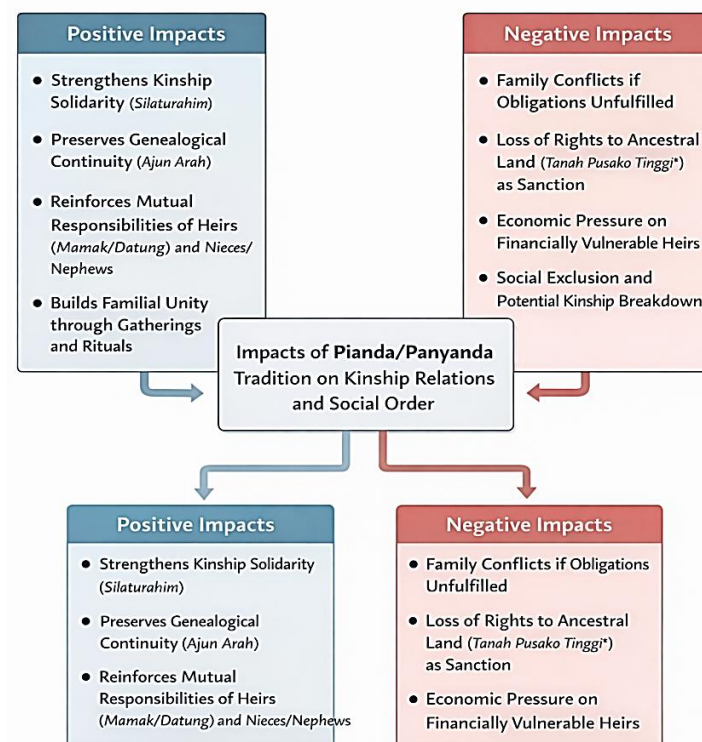


Figure 2. Positive and Negative Impacts of the Pianda/Panyanda in Siulak District

Figure 2 illustrates the dual impacts of the Pianda/Panyanda tradition on kinship relations and social order in Siulak District. The diagram clearly separates positive effects, such as strengthening family solidarity, preserving genealogical continuity, reinforcing mutual responsibilities between *mamak*/datung and nieces or nephews, and facilitating family gatherings, from negative effects, including social tension, potential family disputes, economic pressure on heirs, and the risk of losing access to ancestral property. By visually mapping these outcomes, the figure emphasizes how Pianda/Panyanda functions as a double-edged customary institution that simultaneously fosters cohesion and generates challenges within extended family networks.

3. The Pianda/Panyanda Tradition from the Perspective of Islamic Law

The findings indicate that the Pianda/Panyanda tradition in Siulak District occupies a nuanced position within Islamic legal reasoning. Rather than constituting a formal inheritance mechanism governed by *farā'id*, Pianda/Panyanda is locally understood and practiced as a post-mortem customary obligation that aligns more closely with the legal concepts of *hibah* (inter vivos gift), *waṣīyyah* (bequest), and socially recognized custom (*ʿurf*), provided that certain normative boundaries of Islamic law are observed.

a. Distinction between Pianda/Panyanda and Farā'id-Based Inheritance

Interview data consistently reveal that community members and adat authorities do not perceive Pianda/Panyanda as part of the mandatory Islamic inheritance distribution. Instead, it is viewed as a separate customary obligation that arises after the death of a *mamak* or *datung* and is fulfilled by heirs toward nieces and nephews, who are not categorized as obligatory heirs under Islamic law. As explained by a customary-religious informant:

“Pianda is not inheritance like faraidh. It is an adat obligation given to nieces and nephews to maintain kinship, not to replace Islamic inheritance” (P10, male, customary leader, personal interview, October 10, 2025).

This understanding reflects a clear conceptual separation between Islamic inheritance norms and customary gift-giving practices, reducing the potential for direct doctrinal conflict.

b. Pianda/Panyanda as Hibah and Waṣīyyah in Practice

Field data further indicate that Pianda/Panyanda is functionally comparable to *hibah* or *waṣīyyah*, as it involves the voluntary transfer of wealth to non-heirs without altering the core distribution of inheritance shares. Informants emphasized that Pianda/Panyanda does

not eliminate or reduce the established rights of legitimate heirs under Islamic law. One religiously informed adat leader stated:

“Pianda does not take the portion of heirs. It is given after inheritance matters are clear, and it is limited so that it does not harm the heirs” (P11, male, customary leader, personal interview, October 4, 2025).

Observation data confirm that Pianda/Panyanda is usually fulfilled after key religious rites, such as burial and *qurban*, reinforcing its character as a supplementary act rather than a primary inheritance mechanism (Observation, October 2025). This sequencing supports its compatibility with Islamic legal norms governing estate management.

c. ‘Urf as a Basis for Legal Acceptance

Documentation and interview findings show that Pianda/Panyanda is deeply rooted in long-standing customary practice and is widely recognized as a binding social norm (*‘urf ṣaḥīḥ*) within the community. From the perspective of Islamic law, such customs may be accommodated as long as they do not contradict explicit scriptural injunctions or generate injustice. As noted by an informant with experience in both adat and religious affairs:

“This tradition has existed since the ancestors. As long as it does not violate Islamic rules or harm heirs, it is acceptable as adat” (P12, male, religious leader, personal interview, October 2, 2025).

The empirical data thus demonstrate that Pianda/Panyanda operates within the scope of socially accepted custom that complements, rather than supplants, Islamic legal norms.

d. Maqāṣid-Oriented Considerations: Maslaḥah and Harm Prevention

From an outcome-oriented perspective, informants frequently emphasized that Pianda/Panyanda aims to preserve family harmony, protect lineage continuity, and prevent social fragmentation. These objectives resonate with key maqāṣid al-sharī‘ah, particularly the protection of property (*ḥifẓ al-māl*) and the preservation of kinship and social order. One informant articulated this rationale as follows:

“The purpose of Pianda is to keep families united and avoid conflict. If families remain harmonious, Islam also benefits” (P13, male, family representatives, personal interview, October 14, 2025).

However, the findings also acknowledge that Pianda/Panyanda may conflict with Islamic principles if its implementation results in coercion, economic hardship, or the denial of rightful inheritance shares. Religious leaders interviewed emphasized that Islamic

legitimacy is conditional upon the absence of injustice (*ẓulm*) and harm (*ḍarar*) (Interview, October 2025).

The findings suggest that Pianda/Panyanda is not inherently inconsistent with Islamic law. When practiced as a customary gift grounded in *ʿurf*, aligned with the principles of *hibah* or *waṣiyyah*, and implemented without infringing upon *farāʾid* obligations, the tradition is perceived as permissible and socially beneficial. Conversely, deviations that impose undue pressure or undermine heirs' rights are viewed as incompatible with Islamic legal ethics. This empirical assessment positions Pianda/Panyanda as a context-dependent customary practice whose Islamic legitimacy is determined by its alignment with justice, consent, and social welfare (Observation; Interview; Documentation, October 2025).

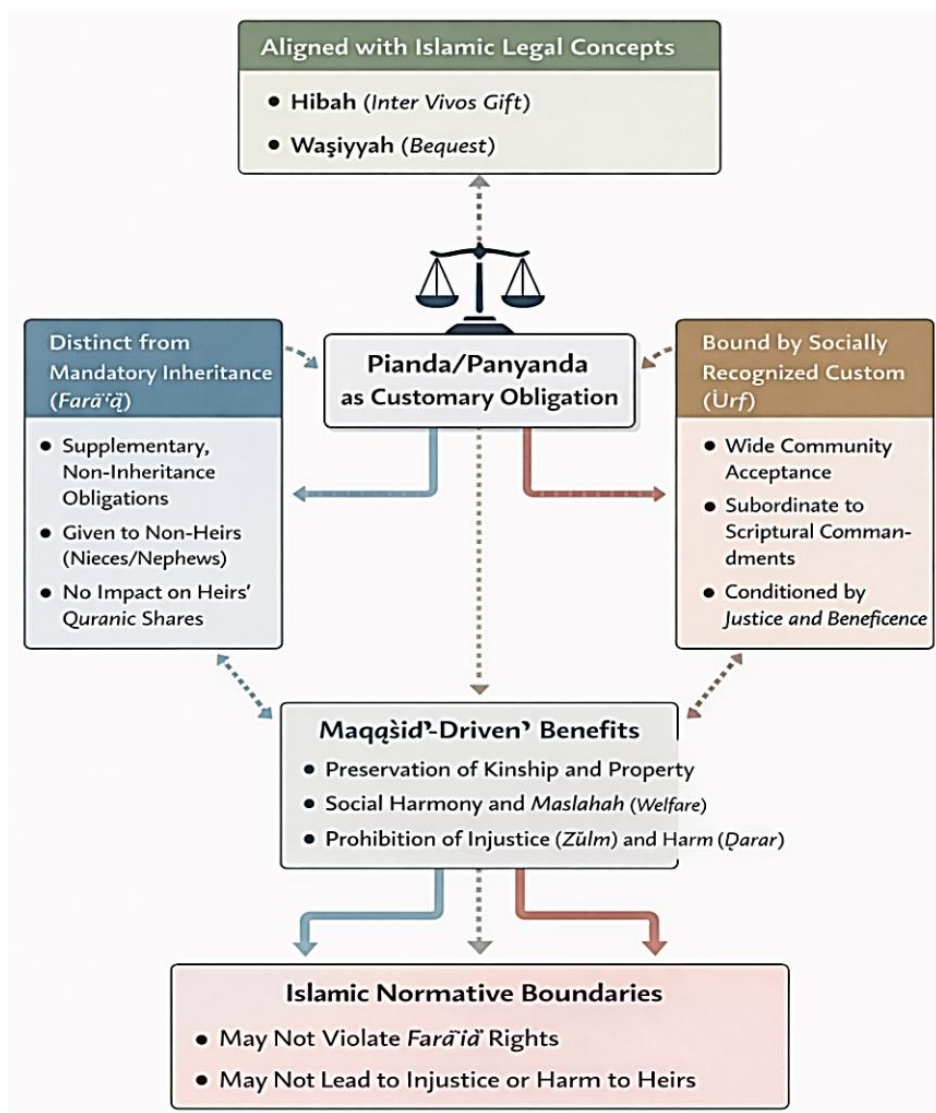


Figure 3. The Pianda/Panyanda Tradition from the Perspective of Islamic Law

Figure 3 illustrates the Pianda/Panyanda tradition from the perspective of Islamic law, highlighting its position as a customary obligation (*‘urf*) distinct from mandatory *farā’id* inheritance. The diagram shows how Pianda/Panyanda functions similarly to *hibah* (inter vivos gifts) and *waṣiyyah* (bequests), while being guided by socially recognized customs and *maqāṣid*-oriented objectives such as preserving kinship, maintaining social harmony, and preventing harm or injustice. The flowchart emphasizes that its Islamic permissibility is conditional upon respecting heirs’ rights, avoiding injustice (*ẓulm*), and ensuring no harm (*ḍarar*), demonstrating how adat practices and Islamic legal principles are integrated to achieve ethical, social, and familial outcomes.

DISCUSSION

1. Results Analysis

a. System of Implementing the Pianda/Panyanda Tradition by Heirs to Nieces and Nephews in Siulak District

The findings demonstrate that the Pianda/Panyanda tradition in Siulak District operates as a binding customary institution rather than a voluntary act of generosity. This directly addresses the first research question concerning the system of implementing Pianda/Panyanda. Empirical evidence shows that Pianda/Panyanda is deeply embedded within the local adat legal order and enforced through non-state mechanisms, particularly moral sanctions (*bukum malu*) and, in certain circumstances, material consequences such as the revocation of access rights to *tanah pusako tinggi*. These mechanisms confirm that adat in Siulak functions as a living law with coercive authority independent of formal state institutions, consistent with theoretical perspectives that define customary law as a socially binding normative system sustained by collective recognition and compliance (Haeran, 2020; Sztompka, 2011).

The structured ritual sequence—beginning with the summoning of nieces and nephews, followed by preliminary symbolic payments (*markaitan*), grave visitation (*naik tanah*), and the distribution of gender-differentiated Pianda payments—demonstrates that Pianda/Panyanda is procedurally regulated rather than merely symbolic. Such procedural regularity indicates that the tradition operates within a recognized institutional framework, reinforcing its normative force within the community. The observed flexibility in timing,

whereby obligations are fulfilled once heirs are economically capable, reflects an adat principle that prioritizes feasibility and social harmony without negating the obligatory character of the practice. This adaptive rigidity supports earlier arguments that customary law often balances normative bindingness with contextual flexibility to ensure its sustainability across generations (Syarifuddin, 2022; Suar et al., 2024).

b. Positive and Negative Impacts of the Pianda/Panyanda Tradition on Kinship Relations and Social Order in Siulak District

Addressing the second research question, the findings reveal that Pianda/Panyanda generates dual and ambivalent impacts on kinship relations and the broader social order. On the positive side, Pianda/Panyanda functions as a powerful mechanism for strengthening *silaturahmi* and reinforcing genealogical continuity among extended family members. The customary process of formally inviting nieces and nephews—regardless of geographic distance—transforms Pianda/Panyanda into a structured family gathering that renews social bonds and collective identity. This finding supports previous studies emphasizing that adat-based inheritance-related practices serve not only economic functions but also social and pedagogical roles, particularly in transmitting lineage awareness and moral responsibility across generations (Lilis, 2023; Zuwanda, 2021).

Moreover, the tradition reaffirms the moral ethos embedded in the adat principle “*anak dipangku, ponakan dibimbing*”, highlighting the enduring responsibility of *mamak* or *datung* toward their nieces and nephews. In this sense, Pianda/Panyanda operates as an informal system of genealogical education and moral socialization, ensuring that kinship obligations remain salient within changing social contexts. This aligns with empirical findings from other Indonesian communities where customary institutions play a central role in preserving family cohesion and social order (Permadi et al., 2024; Suar et al., 2024).

However, the findings also reveal the **negative and tension-producing dimensions** of Pianda/Panyanda. When obligations are delayed or unmet, the tradition may generate social conflict, psychological pressure, and economic strain, particularly for financially vulnerable heirs. Sanctions such as social exclusion or the withdrawal of access to ancestral land underscore the coercive dimension of adat law. These outcomes illustrate the ambivalence of customary institutions, which simultaneously foster solidarity and reproduce vulnerability. Similar dynamics have been observed in other adat-based inheritance systems,

where normative obligations can become sources of contestation when economic capacity is unevenly distributed (Nasution, 2020; Rasyid et al., 2024).

c. The Pianda/Panyanda Tradition from the Perspective of Islamic Law

In relation to the third research question, the findings indicate that Pianda/Panyanda occupies a **context-dependent and conditional position within Islamic legal reasoning**. Community members and adat authorities consistently distinguish Pianda/Panyanda from *farā'id*-based inheritance, perceiving it instead as a post-mortem customary obligation comparable to *hibah* or *waṣiyyah*. This conceptual separation is crucial, as it prevents Pianda/Panyanda from being viewed as a competing inheritance system and minimizes doctrinal conflict with Islamic inheritance law. Such differentiation aligns with Indonesian Islamic legal scholarship, which recognizes *hibah* and *waṣiyyah* as legitimate mechanisms for transferring property to non-heirs, provided that the rights of lawful heirs are not compromised (Arto, 2020; Fauzan, 2021).

From the perspective of *ʿurf*, Pianda/Panyanda qualifies as *ʿurf ṣaḥiḥ*—a valid and socially recognized custom—because it is widely practiced, historically continuous, and not inherently contradictory to the Qurʾan or Sunnah. Islamic legal theory permits the incorporation of such customs into legal reasoning as long as they uphold justice and prevent harm (Syarifuddin, 2022). Furthermore, when assessed through the lens of *maqāṣid al-shariʿah*, Pianda/Panyanda is oriented toward achieving *maṣlaḥah*, particularly the preservation of family harmony, protection of property (*ḥifẓ al-māl*), and prevention of social fragmentation. This *maqāṣid*-oriented justification echoes Auda's (2021) argument that the ethical evaluation of social practices in Islamic law must consider outcomes and social welfare rather than formal legality alone.

Nevertheless, the findings also underscore that the Islamic legitimacy of Pianda/Panyanda is not absolute. Religious informants emphasized that the practice becomes problematic when it involves coercion, economic injustice, or the erosion of heirs' legitimate rights. In such cases, Pianda/Panyanda would conflict with fundamental Islamic legal principles prohibiting *ẓulm* (injustice) and *ḍarar* (harm). This conditional legitimacy reinforces the view that Pianda/Panyanda should be understood as a context-sensitive customary practice whose acceptability within Islamic law depends on consent, proportionality, and alignment with ethical objectives.

2. Comparison with Previous Studies

The findings are consistent with prior studies highlighting tensions and accommodations between adat inheritance practices and Islamic law in plural legal societies. Similar to Dimyati, (2025) and Supiannor, (2025), this study confirms that customary practices often diverge from the rigid structure of *farā'id* while remaining socially legitimate through communal consensus and ethical considerations such as *iḥsān*. The recognition of Pianda/Panyanda as an obligation grounded in *ʿurf ṣaḥīḥ* aligns with Syarifuddin's (2022) argument that valid custom may be incorporated into Islamic legal reasoning provided it does not contradict the Qur'an and Sunnah.

The findings also resonate with national-level studies showing that Islamic law in Indonesia accommodates social realities through legal instruments such as *hibah* and *waṣiyyah* (Arto, 2020; Fauzan, 2021). Unlike studies that focus primarily on inheritance disputes arising from adat–sharī'ah conflict (Nasution, 2020; Rasyid et al., 2024), this research demonstrates that Pianda/Panyanda is largely perceived as complementary to Islamic law when properly bounded. In this respect, the findings are closer to research on harmonious acculturation between Islamic law and adat, such as in the Mandailing and Minangkabau contexts (Saniah & Bastomi, 2022; Zuwanda, 2021), though with the added nuance of obligatory gift-giving to non-heirs.

What distinguishes this study from earlier works is its focused analysis of customary gift-giving by heirs to nieces and nephews, rather than formal inheritance distribution. By integrating *ʿurf*, *hibah*, *waṣiyyah*, legal pluralism, and *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*, the study addresses a gap not sufficiently explored in previous research on Kerinci or other Indonesian communities (Bafadhal & Putri, 2022; Hainadri, 2021).

3. Implications of Findings

Theoretically, this study contributes to Islamic legal scholarship by demonstrating that customary practices like Pianda/Panyanda can be normatively accommodated within Islamic law through an integrated framework of *ʿurf*, *hibah*, *waṣiyyah*, and *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*. The findings support the argument that Islamic law in plural societies operates dialogically with social norms, rather than in isolation from them (Fauzan & Ali, 2021; Auda, 2021). This reinforces the relevance of *maqāṣid*-oriented analysis in assessing the legitimacy of local customs.

Practically, the findings have implications for religious leaders, customary authorities, and policymakers. Clear differentiation between *farā'id* inheritance and customary obligations such as *Pianda/Panyanda* can help prevent misconceptions and family disputes. Moreover, emphasizing voluntarism, consent, and economic proportionality in the implementation of *Pianda/Panyanda* may reduce the risk of injustice and economic hardship, thereby aligning adat practices more closely with Islamic ethical principles.

At a broader level, the study highlights how legal pluralism functions in everyday life, showing that community harmony is often maintained through negotiated norms rather than strict legal formalism. This insight is valuable for the development of culturally sensitive approaches to Islamic family law in Indonesia and other plural societies.

1. Research Limitations

Despite its contributions, this study has several limitations. First, the research was conducted as a case study in two villages within Siulak District, with a relatively small number of informants. While this allowed for in-depth analysis, the findings may not be fully generalizable to other regions with different kinship systems or adat structures. Second, the reliance on qualitative data means that interpretations are shaped by participants' narratives and the researcher's analytical lens, which may introduce subjective bias. Third, the study did not quantitatively measure the economic impact of *Pianda/Panyanda* on heirs, which could provide a more comprehensive understanding of its financial implications.

Future research could address these limitations by employing comparative or mixed-methods designs across multiple regions, incorporating quantitative assessments of economic burden, and examining gender perspectives more deeply. Such studies would further enrich understanding of how customary practices and Islamic law interact in diverse socio-cultural settings.

CONCLUSION

This study examined the *Pianda/Panyanda* tradition in Siulak District through the lenses of customary law, Islamic legal reasoning, and legal pluralism to address three core research questions. The findings demonstrate that *Pianda/Panyanda* functions as a binding customary institution rather than a voluntary act of generosity. Its implementation is procedurally structured, normatively enforced through moral and material sanctions, and

embedded within a broader *adat* governance system that regulates post-mortem obligations and kinship-based relations. Although its fulfillment is temporally flexible and economically negotiable, *Pianda/Panyanda* retains strong normative force, confirming its status as a form of living law that balances adaptability with obligatory compliance. Socially, the tradition produces dual impacts: it strengthens extended family solidarity, reinforces genealogical awareness, and reaffirms moral responsibilities between *mamak/datung* and nieces or nephews, yet its obligatory nature can also generate social tension, economic pressure, and conflict when obligations are unmet, particularly among financially vulnerable heirs. From the perspective of Islamic law, *Pianda/Panyanda* is not treated as part of *farā'id*-based inheritance but as a post-mortem customary obligation comparable to *hibah* or *waṣiyyah*, whose Islamic legitimacy is context-dependent and conditional on conformity with valid custom (*'urf ṣaḥiḥ*), respect for heirs' rights, and alignment with *maqāṣid al-shari'ah*, especially the promotion of family harmony, justice, and harm prevention. Collectively, these insights demonstrate how *adat* and Islamic law can coexist and be harmonized within Indonesia's plural legal landscape.

Scientifically, the study contributes to the literature on legal pluralism, customary law, and Islamic inheritance by providing a contextually grounded analysis of how a specific post-mortem customary obligation operates as living law within a plural normative environment. Theoretically, it refines understandings of the interaction between *adat* norms and Islamic legal principles by showing how *Pianda/Panyanda* is simultaneously bound by customary expectations and assessed through Islamic legal criteria of validity, justice, and welfare. It thus offers an analytical framework for examining the accommodation of local customs within Islamic legal reasoning, highlighting the conditions under which customary practices may be regarded as compatible with *maqāṣid al-shari'ah*. Practically, the findings illuminate the tensions and complementarities between kinship-based obligations and formal inheritance rights, offering insights that are relevant for community leaders, religious scholars, and legal practitioners seeking to navigate and mediate disputes arising from customary gift-giving traditions in post-mortem contexts.

Despite these contributions, the study has several limitations. It employed a qualitative case study design focused on two villages in Siulak District with a limited number of informants. Although this approach enabled in-depth contextual analysis, the findings cannot be generalized to regions with different kinship systems or customary structures.

Moreover, the analysis relied primarily on qualitative narratives and did not quantitatively assess the economic burden of *Pianda/Panyanda* on heirs, which may shape perceptions of justice, compliance, and contestation in more nuanced ways than captured in this study.

Future research is therefore recommended to adopt comparative and mixed-methods designs across different regions and kinship systems to examine variations in customary gift-giving practices and their interaction with Islamic inheritance law. Quantitative assessments of economic impact and gender dynamics would further enrich understanding of how traditions such as *Pianda/Panyanda* affect different social groups and intra-family power relations. In addition, normative legal studies involving analyses of religious court decisions and policy frameworks could yield deeper insights into how *adat*-based practices might be accommodated within formal Islamic legal structures while safeguarding justice and social welfare. Such inquiries would extend the present findings and contribute to more comprehensive models for integrating living customary law and Islamic legal principles in plural legal contexts.

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