

Warung Jablay practices in Hulu Sungai Utara Regency: A sociology of Islamic law perspective

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Article Information	Abstract:
Submitted: 2023-09-04 Revised: 2023-10-28 Published: 2023-12-29	Warung Jablay in Hulu Sungai Utara Regency is an informal business whose economic function intersects with social interactions that some members perceive as contrary to religious and moral norms. This study analyzes Warung Jablay practices from the perspective of the sociology of Islamic law by examining characteristics, factors motivating women to work as attendants, the views of religious scholars and local communities, and the relationship between Sharia norms and social realities. The study employed a qualitative normative-sociological approach. Data were collected through observation, interviews, and documentation, and were analyzed thematically following Braun and Clarke's procedures. The findings demonstrate that Warung Jablay establishments do not have uniform characteristics. Some operate as food and beverage stalls, whereas others provide additional services and interactions perceived as exceeding the boundaries of permissible trade. Women's decisions to work there are influenced by economic pressure, limited employment opportunities, limited education and skills, income considerations, and individual agency. Religious scholars and local communities distinguish legitimate trade from interactions they consider to violate norms, although their assessments are shaped by social constructs and stigma toward female workers. The study identifies socio-legal negotiations among economic needs, women's agency, religious norms, social control, and local regulations. These findings show that Islamic law in a religious society does not operate linearly but is negotiated within local economic structures and social relations. Addressing this phenomenon requires proportionate legal oversight, religious guidance, social protection, skills training, and economic empowerment without reinforcing stigma against female workers.

Keywords:

Warung Jablay;
Sociology of Islamic Law;
Women's Economic Agency;
Social Practices.



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INTRODUCTION

The practices associated with Warung Jablay in Hulu Sungai Utara Regency have sparked social debate because they involve not only economic activities but also the presence of young women serving male customers, prompting moral and religious judgments (Dinatri et al., 2020; Zuhri, 2022). “Warung Jablay” is a term used by the local community to describe food stalls that generally operate late into the night and employ young women as attendants. Its use in this study is not intended to reinforce stigma but to analyze the social processes through which such labeling is constructed. Unlike ordinary food stalls, which provide daily necessities and serve as spaces for community interaction (Akbar & Jachnow, 2022; Irsandi et al., 2023; Williams & Hipp, 2019), Warung Jablay exhibits service patterns that some community members perceive as inconsistent with religious norms. On the one hand, these establishments provide employment opportunities for economically disadvantaged women; on the other, their presence has sparked debate over morality, gender relations, and the observance of Islamic values (Nasution, 2020; Shifa, 2021).

Previous studies reveal three major tendencies. First, food stalls are understood as sources of local economic support and spaces of social interaction for low-income communities (Akbar & Edelenbos, 2020; Ayu & Hasmira, 2020). Second, studies of Islamic commerce emphasize that economic activities must be grounded in permissibility, honesty, trustworthiness, transparency, justice, and protection from exploitation (Adiansyah, 2017; Ahyani et al., 2022; Alwi et al., 2021). Third, research on stigmatized forms of women’s work highlights the relationships among economic necessity, employment vulnerability, women’s agency, social stigma, and religious morality (Berg et al., 2022; Budiarto & Koentjoro, 2018; Buvinic et al., 2022; Pangestu et al., 2022; Safrina & Masykur, 2020). However, these three strands of scholarship have generally developed separately and therefore do not adequately explain how informal economic practices become morally labeled, normalized through everyday interactions, and regulated by communities, religious scholars, and government authorities. This study addresses this gap by integrating social construction theory with the sociology of Islamic law to explain the construction, normalization, and contestation of Warung Jablay within a Muslim society.

This study analyzes Warung Jablay practices in Hulu Sungai Utara Regency through the lens of the sociology of Islamic law, examining socioeconomic dynamics, women’s motivations for working as attendants, religious scholars’ views, and the relationship between sharia norms and social practices. Four questions guide analysis: (1) How are socioeconomic dynamics formed and sustained? (2) What motivates women to work as attendants? (3) How do religious scholars perceive and respond to them? and (4) How can Warung Jablay be understood through the sociology of Islamic law? Theoretically, it explains interactions among religious norms, economic needs, women’s agency, gender relations, social stigma, and institutional control in the informal economy. In practice, the findings guide local governments, religious scholars, and social institutions in developing policies that integrate socio-religious guidance, economic empowerment, skills training, and decent alternative employment for women, while sustainably and equitably addressing local conditions and community needs.

This study uses Berger and Luckmann’s social construction theory to examine how Warung Jablay is constructed, recognized, and sustained through externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Externalization identifies the actions, motivations, and adaptations of stall owners, female workers, customers, and communities in response to economic and social conditions. Objectivation explains how repeated actions and interactions become practices perceived as commonplace or problematic, while

internalization examines how actors accept, reject, or reproduce meanings attached to Warung Jablay. M. Atho Mudzhar's sociology of Islamic law analyzes relationships among sharia norms, socioeconomic conditions, religious observance, religious scholars' views, and government responses. Together, these perspectives conceptualize Warung Jablay as a social practice shaped by dialectical interactions among individual agency, economic structures, social constructions, religious interpretations, and institutional control within the local Muslim community of Hulu Sungai Utara.

METHOD

Research Approach

This study employed a qualitative approach combining normative analysis with the sociology of Islamic law to examine Warung Jablay practices in Hulu Sungai Utara Regency. The normative approach examined Islamic legal provisions derived from the Qur'an and Hadith, particularly those concerning commerce, social interaction, lawful employment, intoxicants, gambling, and *nahi munkar* (the prevention of wrongdoing). M. Atho Mudzhar's (2022) sociology of Islamic law was used to explain the relationship between Islamic legal norms and social realities. The analysis was further informed by Berger and Luckmann's (1966) theory of social construction through externalization, objectivation, and internalization to understand the formation of stigma, service patterns, employment choices, and social responses to Warung Jablay. All findings were interpreted within the local context.

Data Sources

The study used primary and secondary data. Primary data were obtained from Warung Jablay workers or attendants, customers, religious scholars, local residents, and individuals familiar with its practices and institutional oversight in Hulu Sungai Utara Regency. Informants were selected based on their involvement, experience, and knowledge of stall operations, service patterns, employment motivations, religious perspectives, social stigma, and institutional control. Secondary data were drawn from the Qur'an, Hadith, literature on the sociology of Islamic law and social construction theory, scholarly articles, regulations, enforcement documents, socioeconomic records, materials concerning Warung Jablay practices, and relevant local government policies supporting the research context.

Data Collection

Data were collected through field observations and structured interviews. Observations focused on the physical conditions of Warung Jablay establishments, service forms, patterns of interaction between attendants and customers, economic activities, community responses, and mechanisms of social and institutional oversight. Interviews with workers, customers, religious scholars, and local residents explored their experiences, employment motivations, service boundaries, perceptions of stigma, views on religious norms, and responses to enforcement measures. Interview questions addressed four areas: socioeconomic dynamics, factors motivating women to work as attendants, religious scholars' perspectives, and Warung Jablay practices from the perspective of the sociology of Islamic law. Field data were systematically documented to ensure interpretive accuracy and consistency.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed qualitatively through data reduction and organization, coding, theme development, interpretation, and verification (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Observational and interview data were initially selected based on the research focus and subsequently

organized into themes that emerged from the field. The thematic analysis identified social stigma and identity construction, service patterns, economic motives, individual agency, social control, commercial legitimacy, sharia boundaries, and gaps between norms and practices. These themes were then interpreted using M. Atho Mudzhar's (2022) sociology of Islamic law and Berger and Luckmann's (1966) social construction theory to explain the relationships among religious norms, social realities, individual choices, and institutional responses. The interpretation remained grounded in the local context.

Data Trustworthiness

Data trustworthiness was ensured through source and methodological triangulation. Source triangulation involved comparing and confirming information obtained from Warung Jablay workers, stall owners, religious scholars, local residents, and government representatives to identify convergences and divergences in their perspectives (Carter et al., 2014). Methodological triangulation involved cross-checking interview findings against field observations and supporting documents. Data consistency was assessed by comparing informants' statements, examining the correspondence between field experiences and the themes developed, and evaluating the relationship between empirical findings and the theoretical framework. Verification was conducted iteratively throughout the analysis to ensure that interpretations of stigma, service patterns, economic motives, sharia norms, and social control were consistently grounded in the research data rather than the researcher's assumptions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

Socioeconomic dynamics of Warung Jablay in Hulu Sungai Utara Regency

The findings show that Warung Jablay in Hulu Sungai Utara Regency is a social phenomenon encompassing economic, relational, social, and institutional dimensions. Thematic analysis generated four principal themes: (1) social stigma and identity construction; (2) service patterns and attendant customer relationships; (3) economic motives and income-generating strategies; and (4) social control and the dilemma surrounding the existence of Warung Jablay.

Table 1

Thematic Findings on Warung Jablay in Hulu Sungai Utara Regency

No.	Theme	Key Findings	Meaning of Findings
1	Social Stigma and Identity Construction	Sexual-service stigma despite diverse attendant roles.	Public labeling obscures variations in attendants' activities.
2	Service Patterns and Attendant–Customer Relationships	Food and beverage services, social interaction, and occasional personal services.	Service levels and boundaries vary among attendants.
3	Economic Motives and Income-Generating Strategies	Limited employment, economic needs, additional income, appearance, and interpersonal interaction.	Warung Jablay serves as an economic space and adaptive livelihood strategy.
4	Social Control and the Dilemma of Warung Jablay	Patrols, community responses, economic needs, and socio-religious norms shape business continuity.	Economic interests remain in tension with social control.

Source: Processed research data (2023).

The first theme, indicates that Warung Jablay has become stigmatized because it is frequently associated with sexual services. However, L emphasized, "In fact, not everyone

working at Warung Jablay crosses the boundaries. Some only prepare or serve food and beverages" (Interview with L, 12 October 2023). L further stated, "Many people may perceive Warung Jablay as an establishment that provides sexual services, although not all attendants engage in such practices" (Interview with L, 12 October 2023). These statements reveal a gap between public perceptions and the diversity of activities performed by Warung Jablay attendants.

The second theme, demonstrates variations in service patterns. M explained, "If we want to earn an income, we usually offer coffee to customers sitting at the stall" (Interview with M, 14 October 2023; translated from Banjar). Such service may develop into "sitting with or talking to customers at the stall" (Interview with M, 14 October 2023). In certain cases, additional personal services are provided for a fee, although M emphasized her personal boundary: "I am reluctant to engage in anything further" (Interview with M, 14 October 2023). The findings, therefore, identify three service patterns: regular commercial services, social-relational services, and additional personal services, depending on each attendant's willingness.

The third theme, shows that economic necessity and limited employment opportunities are significant factors. L explained, "The stall owner provides a fixed wage, but if we want to earn more, we must take our own initiative" (Interview with L, 12 October 2023). L added, "Nowadays, it is difficult to find a job that provides a high income" (Interview with L, 12 October 2023). Physical appearance and interpersonal skills are also used to attract customers. Working at Warung Jablay thus constitutes both an income-generating strategy and a means of sustaining the business.

The fourth theme, indicates that Warung Jablay activities are monitored by local communities and government authorities. M stated, "We know that Warung Jablay is frequently monitored by patrol officers. Therefore, we must pay attention to the conditions and situation outside" (Interview with M, 14 October 2023). Meanwhile, some community members do not object to these establishments as long as they do not disturb public order. This finding demonstrates a dilemma between the economic function of Warung Jablay and the demands of socio-religious norms and government control.

From Berger and Luckmann's (1966) perspective, Warung Jablay is socially constructed through externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Externalization is reflected in employment choices, service patterns, and income-generating strategies. Through repetition, these practices become objectified as established service patterns, public images, and the stigma attached to "Warung Jablay." This reality is subsequently internalized through attendants' awareness of customer expectations, public stigma, socio-religious norms, and official monitoring. Warung Jablay, therefore, constitutes a social reality continuously produced and negotiated through the relationships among economic needs, service practices, social stigma, and institutional control. These findings demonstrate that individual actions shape social reality, while the established reality subsequently influences the choices, behavior, and identities of the actors involved.

Factors motivating women to work as Warung Jablay attendants

The thematic analysis shows that the decision to work as a Warung Jablay attendant is not determined by a single factor. Attendants' motivations emerge from the interplay among economic pressures, limited employment opportunities, individual choices, and orientations toward income and lifestyle. Three principal themes were identified: (1) economic pressure and limited employment opportunities; (2) individual agency and choice; and (3) income orientation and lifestyle fulfillment.

Table 2*Thematic Findings on Factors Motivating Women to Work as Warung Jablay Attendants*

No.	Theme	Key Findings	Thematic Meaning
1	Economic Pressure and Limited Employment Opportunities	Difficult family economic conditions and limited access to employment, education, and skills encourage women to work at Warung Jablay.	Working at Warung Jablay constitutes a survival strategy when alternative sources of income are perceived as limited.
2	Individual Agency and Choice	The decision to work is attributed not only to external pressure but also to personal choice and willingness.	Employment choices are negotiated between structural constraints and individuals' capacity to determine their actions.
3	Income Orientation and Lifestyle Fulfillment	In addition to meeting basic needs, the work is perceived as providing a higher income and opportunities to fulfill consumption needs and to enjoy oneself.	Economic motivation extends beyond subsistence toward higher income and lifestyle fulfillment.

Source: Processed research data (2023).

The first theme, Economic Pressure and Limited Employment Opportunities, shows that difficult family economic conditions and limited employment opportunities are dominant factors influencing the decision to work at Warung Jablay. L explained, "We chose to become attendants of our own free will and because no other options were available. Our parents also face serious economic difficulties, and finding employment is currently difficult" (Interview with L, 12 October 2023). This statement indicates that the employment choice emerges when alternative sources of income are perceived as limited. Warung Jablay, therefore, provides an economic space where workers can earn income to meet their basic needs.

The second theme, Individual Agency and Choice, indicates that the decision to become a Warung Jablay attendant cannot be understood solely as a consequence of economic pressure. L explicitly stated that the work was undertaken "of our own free will" (Interview with L, 12 October 2023). This finding demonstrates individual agency in choosing employment, although such a choice is exercised under constrained socioeconomic conditions. The decision, therefore, emerges from the interaction between limited employment opportunities and individuals' subjective assessments of available economic opportunities.

The third theme, Income Orientation and Lifestyle Fulfillment, demonstrates that employment motivations extend beyond merely meeting basic needs. L stated, "What matters is that we can eat here, earn a substantial income, enjoy ourselves free of charge, and follow the path we have chosen" (Interview with L, 12 October 2023). This statement reflects an orientation toward increased income and personal enjoyment. Economic motivations thus shift from survival needs to higher income and the fulfillment of consumption and lifestyle aspirations (Kurniawan, 2020).

From Berger and Luckmann's (1966) perspective, the decision to work as a Warung Jablay attendant is constructed through the dialectic of externalization, objectivation, and internalization. Externalization occurs when economic pressure, limited employment opportunities, and the need for income encourage individuals to undertake this work. As these practices recur, they become objectified, positioning Warung Jablay as a recognized employment space that offers income-generating opportunities. This reality is subsequently internalized as economic opportunities, work experiences, and lifestyle orientations become

part of workers' subjective considerations in making employment choices. L's statement that the work was undertaken "of our own free will" while "no other options were available" reveals a dialectic between individual agency and structural constraints. The decision to work as a Warung Jablay attendant is therefore neither solely the result of economic pressure nor merely a personal preference. Instead, it constitutes a socially constructed reality arising from the interaction among limited employment opportunities, income needs, individual choice, and lifestyle orientation.

Religious scholars' views on Warung Jablay practices in Hulu Sungai Utara regency

The findings show that religious scholars in Hulu Sungai Utara Regency distinguish between food stalls as legitimate economic enterprises and particular practices considered contrary to religious and social norms. Thematic analysis identified four principal themes: (1) commercial legitimacy and sharia boundaries; (2) moral violations and gender relations; (3) social impacts and institutional enforcement; and (4) collaborative solutions and economic alternatives. These themes were analyzed through M. Atho Mudzhar's (2022) sociology of Islamic law to explain the relationships among Islamic legal norms, community practices, socioeconomic conditions, and institutional responses to Warung Jablay.

Table 3

Thematic Findings on Religious Scholars' Views of Warung Jablay Practices

No.	Theme	Key Findings	Thematic Meaning
1	Commercial Legitimacy and Sharia Boundaries	Buying and selling are considered legitimate when the goods, prices, and transactions are clear and do not involve religiously prohibited practices.	Religious scholars distinguish the legitimacy of food stalls as economic spaces from the conduct occurring within them.
2	Moral Violations and Gender Relations	Concerns relate to the exposure of <i>awrah</i> , interaction between non- <i>mahram</i> men and women, alcohol, narcotics, and other practices considered contrary to sharia.	Religious norms provide the basis for evaluating social practices occurring at Warung Jablay.
3	Social Impacts and Institutional Enforcement	The stalls serve as roadside stopover facilities, although some practices cause public concern and prompt warnings and enforcement measures.	Religious norms, community responses, and government action interact in regulating Warung Jablay practices.
4	Collaborative Solutions and Economic Alternatives	Responses require cooperation among religious scholars, government authorities, and social institutions, alongside vocational training and decent employment opportunities.	Legal enforcement alone is insufficient; socio-religious guidance and economic empowerment are also required.

Source: Processed research data (2023).

The first theme, Commercial Legitimacy and Sharia Boundaries, indicates that religious scholars do not object to food stalls as commercial enterprises. KH Said Masrawan explained that selling food and beverages is fundamentally legitimate when the goods, prices, and transaction procedures are clear: "A stall is a place where people sell food and beverages. Buying and selling are lawful when the price is certain, and the goods are clearly identified" (Interview with KH Said Masrawan, 4 July 2023). KH Husaini expressed a similar view: "Roadside stalls are lawful provided that they contain no elements of immorality or violence and do not pose a danger" (Interview with KH Husaini, 10 July 2023). These statements show

that the principal concern lies not in commercial transactions themselves but in the accompanying social practices.

The second theme, Moral Violations and Gender Relations, shows that religious scholars' criticism primarily concerns practices considered contrary to religious norms. KH Said Masrawan stated, "The problems associated with some Warung Jablay establishments include the exposure of *awrah*, interaction between men and women who are not *mahram*, and the circulation of illegal drugs" (Interview with KH Said Masrawan, 4 July 2023). KH Husaini similarly emphasized, "If these establishments involve practices prohibited by religion, such as interaction between non-*mahram* men and women or the sale of alcohol and drugs, then they are not religiously permissible" (Interview with KH Husaini, 10 July 2023). These findings demonstrate that religious scholars distinguish permissible economic activities from social practices considered to exceed sharia boundaries.

The third theme, Social Impacts and Institutional Enforcement, reveals Warung Jablay's ambivalent position. KH Said Masrawan acknowledged its positive function as a stopover facility: "The positive impact of Warung Jablay is that it provides a convenient stopover for motorists because it is located along the roadside" (Interview with KH Said Masrawan, 4 July 2023). However, he also identified negative effects arising from certain practices. KH Husaini similarly observed that these stalls assist road users, although particular activities may create social problems. This situation is further reflected in community warnings and the closure and demolition of several stalls by government authorities. The economic function of Warung Jablay, therefore, coexists with social and institutional pressure directed toward practices regarded as deviant.

The fourth theme, Collaborative Solutions and Economic Alternatives, indicates that religious scholars do not view enforcement as the sole solution. KH Said Masrawan emphasized the need for multi-stakeholder involvement: "All parties in this region must consider solutions to Warung Jablay practices by providing employment, religious guidance from Islamic scholars, assistance from the Ministry of Social Affairs, and vocational training through job training centers" (Interview with KH Said Masrawan, 4 July 2023). KH Husaini likewise stated, "Government officials and religious scholars must work together and immediately provide decent employment for women who do not have jobs" (Interview with KH Husaini, 10 July 2023). These findings suggest that addressing Warung Jablay requires a combination of religious guidance, regulatory enforcement, skills training, and alternative employment opportunities.

From the perspective of M. Atho Mudzhar's (2022) sociology of Islamic law, these findings demonstrate that Islamic law functions not only as a textual norm but also as a social phenomenon interacting with community behavior, structures, and conditions. The first and second themes show that religious scholars distinguish legitimate commercial transactions from social practices considered contrary to sharia, revealing a gap between Islamic legal norms and their implementation. The third theme demonstrates how these norms operate through interactions among communities, religious scholars, and government authorities, as reflected in warnings, patrols, closures, and demolitions. The fourth theme shows that Warung Jablay is also embedded in socioeconomic conditions; consequently, responses require religious guidance, skills training, employment provision, and interinstitutional cooperation. Warung Jablay thus illustrates the interaction among sharia norms, levels of religious observance, socioeconomic conditions, religious authority, and government control, demonstrating that the operation of Islamic law depends on how its norms are received, practiced, and enforced in social life.

Warung Jablay practices in Hulu Sungai Utara: A sociology of Islamic law perspective

The findings show that Warung Jablay practices in Hulu Sungai Utara Regency exist amid tensions among economic functions, employment needs, socio-religious norms, and institutional control. These establishments generally perform the same commercial functions as ordinary food stalls. However, additional services, attendant–customer interaction patterns, and practices perceived as contrary to religious norms have generated distinct social judgments. Thematic analysis identified four principal themes: (1) business legitimacy and economic needs; (2) sharia boundaries in Warung Jablay practices; (3) social impacts and community control; and (4) the gap between Islamic legal norms and social practices.

Table 4

Warung Jablay Practices: A Sociology of Islamic Law Analysis

No.	Theme	Key Findings	Normative Basis	Thematic Meaning
1	Business Legitimacy and Economic Needs	The stalls function as commercial spaces and sources of income; women undertake this work to meet their living needs amid economic constraints.	A hadith narrated by al-Bukhari concerning the virtue of obtaining food through one's own labor.	Work and trade are religiously legitimate when conducted through lawful means.
2	Sharia Boundaries in Warung Jablay Practices	Concerns arise when the establishments are associated with unrestricted social interaction, sexual services, alcohol, gambling, and other practices considered contrary to sharia.	Qur'an 5:90 on the prohibition of <i>khamr</i> and gambling and Qur'an 24:30 on lowering one's gaze and safeguarding one's honor.	Sharia norms establish the boundary between permissible economic activities and social practices regarded as deviant.
3	Social Impacts and Community Control	Warung Jablay is associated with public concern, household problems, community warnings, and enforcement measures by government authorities.	A hadith narrated by Muslim concerning the obligation to prevent wrongdoing according to one's ability.	Religious norms acquire social expression through community warnings, social control, and institutional action.
4	The Gap Between Islamic Legal Norms and Social Practices	Religious norms require lawful employment and appropriate social interaction, whereas economic needs, employment opportunities, and lifestyle orientations also shape actual practices.	The principle of lawful employment in a hadith narrated by al-Bukhari and the behavioral provisions contained in Qur'an 5:90 and Qur'an 24:30.	A gap exists between Islamic legal norms and the extent to which they are practiced in social life.

Source: Processed research data (2023).

The first theme, Business Legitimacy and Economic Needs, shows that Warung Jablay fundamentally performs the same economic functions as other food stalls by providing food and beverages and serving as a source of income. The decision to work as a stall attendant is also related to survival needs, economic necessities, and limited opportunities to secure

other employment (Basri, 2015). The central concern, therefore, lies neither in commercial activity nor in women's employment but in how the work and services are performed.

The second theme, Sharia Boundaries in Warung Jablay Practices, highlights the distinction between permissible commercial functions and practices that exceed religious boundaries. The data show that some Warung Jablay establishments are associated with additional services, unrestricted interaction between men and women, alcohol consumption, and gambling (Abdillah, 2019). The concern thus lies not in the stall as an economic institution, but in specific activities that accompany commercial transactions and are considered contrary to Sharia provisions.

The third theme, Social Impacts and Community Control, shows that Warung Jablay's practices have consequences that extend beyond attendant customer relationships. Their presence is associated with public concern, disruptions to household relationships, and the potential emergence of other activities considered detrimental to public order. These conditions have prompted social and institutional control through community warnings and enforcement operations by government authorities. Warung Jablay practices have consequently developed from an individual economic issue into a social concern involving communities and government institutions.

The fourth theme, The Gap Between Islamic Legal Norms and Social Practices, reveals a divergence between religious norms and social practices. Islam encourages individuals to work and earn income through lawful means while establishing boundaries for social interaction and conduct. Nevertheless, economic pressures, basic living needs, and changing lifestyle orientations lead some workers to choose to work at Warung Jablay or remain employed there. This condition demonstrates that the existence of religious norms does not automatically lead to compliance, as their implementation interacts with economic needs and prevailing social conditions.

From the perspective of M. Atho Mudzhar's (2022) sociology of Islamic law, Warung Jablay demonstrates that Islamic law should be understood not only in terms of halal and haram norms but also as a social phenomenon interacting with economic conditions, community behavior, and institutional structures. Work and trade are fundamentally religiously legitimate, although their implementation remains subject to Islamic legal boundaries. The requirements to maintain appropriate social interaction and avoid *khamr*, gambling, and prohibited sexual conduct, as affirmed in Qur'an 5:90 and Qur'an 24:30, provide normative standards for evaluating Warung Jablay practices. When social practices are deemed inconsistent with these norms, responses include public rejection, warnings, and enforcement measures.

However, economic needs, limited employment opportunities, and lifestyle orientations also influence workers' choices, revealing a gap between normative expectations and actual behavior. Warung Jablay practices, therefore, illustrate the interaction among sharia norms, levels of religious observance, economic needs, social control, and government action. Addressing these practices consequently requires more than prohibition and enforcement; it also demands religious guidance, economic empowerment, skills development, and decent alternative employment.

Discussion

This study finds that Warung Jablay in Hulu Sungai Utara Regency constitutes a complex socioeconomic phenomenon shaped by the interaction of economic needs, structural constraints, individual agency, religious norms, and social control. First, Warung Jablay is fundamentally an informal food and beverage business, although some

establishments have developed into spaces for additional interactions between female attendants and male customers involving diverse services; therefore, they cannot be understood solely as sites of prostitution. Second, women's decisions to work at these establishments are influenced by economic pressure, limited employment opportunities, low levels of education and skills, individual choice, and aspirations for higher income. Third, religious scholars and local communities distinguish religiously legitimate trade from interactions considered contrary to moral and Sharia norms, thereby prompting social control and institutional responses. Fourth, from the perspective of the sociology of Islamic law, a gap exists between ideal norms and social realities. Addressing this gap requires religious guidance, skills development, and sustainable alternative economic empowerment.

The findings demonstrate that Warung Jablay is a complex socioeconomic phenomenon in which the informal economy, women's vulnerability, individual agency, changing economic aspirations, religious norms, and social control intersect. Its existence cannot be reduced to individual moral choice because women's decisions to work are shaped by economic pressure, low levels of education and skills, and limited employment alternatives (Elgin & Elveren, 2021; Miranti et al., 2022). Miranti et al. (2022) associate similar practices with economic hardship, limited education and skills, and weak social control, whereas Basri (2015) emphasizes changing lifestyles and economic aspirations. Despite structural constraints, women retain agency in determining their livelihood strategies (Buvinic et al., 2022; Htun et al., 2019). In the religious context of Hulu Sungai Utara, economic needs intersect with Islamic values, social order, and regulatory enforcement, making Warung Jablay a public issue rather than merely a private economic activity (Abdillah, 2019).

From the perspective of the sociology of Islamic law, the findings reveal a dynamic relationship among religious norms, social conditions, individual agency, and economic practices. Consistent with Mudzhar (2022), Islamic law does not operate independently of society but interacts with the social realities in which its norms are understood and implemented. Warung Jablay must therefore be examined as an intersection of Islamic normative requirements, economic pressure, women's livelihood choices, and social control. Commercial activities at these establishments are fundamentally permissible when the goods, transactions, and interactions comply with halal principles, justice, and the prohibition of unlawful elements (Naim & Huda, 2021). Concerns arise when the stalls become spaces for additional interactions that are considered contrary to moral and Sharia norms. Women's involvement is influenced by situational and personality-related factors (Zhang et al., 2021), while Warung Jablay retains the characteristics of an ordinary food stall even when some establishments offer additional services. Legal compliance is therefore shaped by economic opportunities, local culture, community control, and institutional responses.

This study demonstrates that socio-religious problems cannot be adequately addressed through labeling and moral punishment because stigma may intensify marginalization (Link & Phelan, 2001). Women's behavioral choices must be understood in the context of structural vulnerability, economic pressures, livelihood opportunities, and social conditions that constrain their options (Quesada et al., 2011; Shannon et al., 2015). The experiences of Warung Jablay attendants show that economic needs, limited employment opportunities, low levels of education and skills, and income aspirations influence their decisions to work (Wahyuni & Monika, 2016). Nevertheless, they retain agency in assessing the benefits and risks of their work. Such an agency does not eliminate Islamic normative boundaries. Yusuf et al. (2021) emphasize the importance of dignified

livelihoods through one's own labor. Religious guidance must therefore be accompanied by skills development, economic empowerment, employment opportunities, and social protection (Rodriguez, 2022; Shahin et al., 2022), enabling *nahi munkar* to encompass prevention, guidance, and the improvement of social conditions.

These findings are consistent with previous studies that conceptualize Warung Jablay as an informal economic space whose functions may expand. Arladin (2019) identifies additional services beyond the provision of food and beverages, whereas Ati (2022) highlights social stigma and the risks faced by female workers. Amir and Nanda (2020) find that some stalls may facilitate prohibited relationships through particular transactions, while Benavente et al. (2022) emphasize that children's involvement in commercial sexual activities is associated with vulnerability and exploitation. However, this study demonstrates that not all Warung Jablay establishments or their attendants engage in sexual services. Fundamentally, these establishments continue to operate as informal food-and-beverage businesses. This study contributes by integrating economic needs, structural constraints, women's agency, Islamic norms, religious authority, community control, and institutional responses to provide a contextualized understanding of Warung Jablay as a socio-legal space.

The findings imply the need for an integrated socio-legal strategy that extends beyond enforcement operations. Local governments should monitor additional services that have been shown to violate legal and social norms, without generalizing that all Warung Jablay establishments engage in prohibited activities. Attendants should receive vocational training, skills development, business assistance, social protection, and realistic and sustainable alternative employment. The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) and religious scholars can provide religious guidance and clarify the boundaries between legitimate trade and interactions that are contrary to Islamic values. Village governments, families, and community organizations should participate in assistance programs that protect workers' dignity and prevent stigma. Stall owners should also receive guidance to ensure that their businesses operate legally, safely, and in an orderly manner. Through interinstitutional coordination and periodic evaluation, the enforcement of Islamic norms can proceed alongside social protection, economic empowerment, respect for women's agency, and the prevention of legal violations.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that *Warung Jablay* in Hulu Sungai Utara Regency constitutes a complex socioeconomic phenomenon that cannot be reduced solely to prostitution or moral deviation. Fundamentally, *Warung Jablay* operates as an informal food-and-beverage business, although some establishments have expanded to offer additional services that raise social and religious concerns. Women's decisions to work at these establishments are shaped by the interaction of economic pressure, limited employment opportunities, low levels of education and skills, income aspirations, and individual agency in selecting livelihood strategies. Within a religious society, these practices intersect with Islamic norms, social control, religious authority, and institutional responses. The findings indicate that *Warung Jablay* can be understood as a socio-legal space in which economic needs, individual choices, religious norms, social expectations, and regulations are negotiated through everyday practices. Its existence and practices must therefore be understood contextually by considering changes in local social conditions over time.

Theoretically, this study extends scholarship on the sociology of Islamic law by demonstrating how religious norms operate in relation to economic conditions, individual

agency, and social control. The gap between ideal norms and social practices must be understood in context, allowing *Warung Jablay* to be conceptualized as a socio-legal space where religious norms, economic needs, individual choices, and community control interact. Practically, the findings support a proportionate response that integrates religious guidance, legal oversight, skills training, economic empowerment, social protection, and expanded employment opportunities. Local governments, religious scholars, communities, families, and stall owners should coordinate to prevent violations without reinforcing stigma, while protecting the dignity of female workers and sustaining their livelihoods through an empowerment-oriented approach.

This study is limited to Hulu Sungai Utara Regency, and the characteristics of its informants do not represent the diversity of *Warung Jablay* establishments in other regions. The qualitative approach also does not permit measurement of the magnitude of the effects of economic conditions, education, skills, religious norms, and social control on women's decisions to work. Moreover, workers' psychological dimensions, including the effects of stigma on mental health and subjective well-being, have not been examined in depth. Future studies should extend comparisons across regions, involve more diverse informants, and combine qualitative and quantitative methods. Further research should also examine changes in the functions of *Warung Jablay*, the effectiveness of community-based economic empowerment, patterns of law enforcement, social stigma, customers' perspectives, and the roles of digital technology and social media to develop more comprehensive, contextualized, and sustainable socio-legal intervention models.

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AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

Pahrul: Conceptualization; Data Curation; Formal Analysis; Investigation; Methodology; Project Administration; Visualization; Writing Original Draft; Writing Review & Editing. **Ahdiyatul Hidayah:** Conceptualization; Formal Analysis; Investigation; Supervision; Validation; Writing Original Draft; Writing Review & Editing.

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