

Smoking Lifestyle Habitus among Female Students in Lhokseumawe

Muh. Fahrudin Alawi¹

¹, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Malikussaleh University, Lhokseumawe, Aceh, Indonesia.

*Corresponding Author: Muhfahrudinalawi@unimal.ac.id

Abstract

This research examines the smoking lifestyle habitus among female students in Lhokseumawe. This research was conducted using qualitative research methods with a phenomenological approach. The informants for this research consisted of two female students who were active smokers. The results of this research show that the smoking lifestyle habitus is formed through the social environment outside the family. Apart from that, an egalitarian and democratic atmosphere in the family environment is also a supporting factor in the formation of a smoking habit. The smoking habit of female students underwent negotiation after moving their domicile to Aceh because they had to adapt to existing norms in local society, especially the negative stigma in viewing female smokers who wear the hijab.

Keywords: Habitus, Smoking, Student, Negotiation

INTRODUCTION

Tax Smoking is a social practice that has been carried out by people in the archipelago across generations. Tobacco as the main raw material for cigarettes has long been an agricultural commodity grown by farmers in the archipelago. The tobacco growing and processing industry has even existed since colonial times (add references to tobacco plantations or cigarette factories during the colonial era). Since ancient times, tobacco as a raw material has been sold by farmers to companies to be processed using a series of certain processes so that it becomes cigarettes that are ready to be marketed to buyers. Apart from that, some farmers process their tobacco for their consumption or produce it on a smaller scale for sale. It is not surprising that cigarettes are so easy to find on the market. Cigarettes can be easily accessed by anyone from various age backgrounds, social strata, and even gender. Cigarettes have even become a necessity that is bought and sold freely.

Smoking activities can easily be found anywhere. Starting from private spaces to public spaces. People smoke in homes, gardens, rice fields, markets, offices, educational institutions, public transportation, airports, and even in places of worship. This difficulty in controlling people's smoking habitus has led the government to issue regulations regarding smoking-free areas through some government regulations. This regulation is issued in stages from the central to the regional level. Therefore, in several public areas, there are smoking rooms (special smoking rooms) or smoking areas. The goal is that people who don't smoke are not exposed to air pollution from smokers' exhaled smoke. Especially women and children. Although quite a few adult men are allergic to cigarette smoke.

Smoking is an activity carried out by adults. However, it is not uncommon for children and teenagers under 18 years of age to do it. The government has issued various regulations to reduce the increase in the number of smokers in Indonesia, especially among teenagers and the younger generation. One of them is in the form of the Republic of Indonesia Government Regulation Number 109 of 2012 concerning the Safeguarding of Materials Containing Addictive Substances in the Form of Tobacco. Tobacco Products for Health. One of the interesting articles in this government regulation is the article that regulates cigarette advertising. Article 28 D in these regulations states that advertisements for tobacco products are not published in print media for children, teenagers, and women (reference).

The emphasis that prints media for women must not include cigarette advertisements shows a problematic frame of mind. Cigarettes or smoking activities become gendered. Indirectly, this government regulation wants to say that smoking can only be done by men, so cigarette advertising is prohibited in print media whose media content is specifically for women. Regulations that discriminate against gender like this have roots in a patriarchal culture that places women as second-class citizens in social life. Patriarchy refers to a social order in which men dominate women regularly and continuously, which is spread across various social institutions and some practices (Barker, 2014: 202). The implication is that women's activities, expressions, and cultural articulations are limited because certain actions such as smoking are considered good or bad, appropriate, or inappropriate, beautiful or not beautiful, and appropriate or inappropriate based on gender.

The gendered activity of smoking is not only a framework for thinking at the central government level in making regulations but also local governments and society in general. In Lhokseumawe City, Aceh Province, for example, the city government has issued Mayor Circular Letter Number 3/SE/V/2016 concerning an Appeal to Prohibit Smoking for Women in Public Places. Suaidi Yahya as Mayor of Lhokseumawe at that time explained to the media the reasons for issuing a circular stating that women smoking openly in public places was considered taboo and not under local community culture and contrary to Islamic law (Antaraneews, 2016). Therefore, Suaidi Yahya as mayor through his circular appealed to shop, cafe, restaurant, and office owners to openly prohibit women from smoking in public places.

In Lhokseumawe, it is not known exactly how many smokers there are, especially women. Lhokseumawe is one of the

large and strategic cities in Aceh province apart from the city of Banda Aceh. Apart from being a government and business city, Lhokseumawe can also be said to be a student city. Several state and private campuses are in the administrative area of Lhokseumawe City. One of them is Malikussaleh University. Malikussaleh University has tens of thousands of students. Not only do they come from within the province of Aceh, but also outside Aceh such as North Sumatra, West Sumatra, Riau, and even Papua. Students who come to study at Malikussaleh University have culture, customs, and habitus (habitus) that are partly different from those in Aceh. One of them is the smoking habit of female students (college students).

When changing domiciles to study in Aceh, students must adapt to local culture, laws, and norms. Especially with Aceh's status as a region that applies Islamic law. Female students must adapt so that in social interactions they do not violate the laws and social norms that apply to the local community. Both on campus and off campus. Including the smoking habit that the students had started long before moving to Aceh. Of course, it is not easy to change habitus that have been going on for a relatively long time. Therefore, this research tries to elaborate on smoking habitus among female students in Lhokseumawe City. This research wants to look further at how smoking habitus are formed and how the process of adapting female students' smoking habitus is when faced with the socio-cultural conditions of the Acehnese people which are different from those in their area of origin.

Literature Review

The smoking habit among female students in Lhokseumawe, it can be understood by using the concept of habit from the thoughts of Pierre Bourdieu. Habitus is a Latin word that refers to a typical or habitual condition, appearance, or situation, especially of the body (Jenkins, 2004: 107). Bourdieu (in Harker, 2009: 13) explains that habitus is a long-lasting and changing disposition system (durable, transposable disposition) that functions as a generative basis for objectively structured and integrated practices. As a system disposition, habitus can be interpreted as perceptions, thoughts, and actions that continue over a long period so that they become habitus that humans as agents in their social world realize or do not carry out.

Musarrofa (2019) explains that in several of his works, the concept of habitus is not only used by Bourdieu with a single meaning, but with different meanings. First, habitus is a lifestyle that represents a certain social class. Lifestyle is understood as the systematic totality of tastes, beliefs, and practices that characterize a class. Second, habits can be skills that are practical actions that are not always realized so that they appear as an ability that looks natural as if given by nature. Third, habitus can be an interpretive framework for understanding and assessing reality as well as creating life practices that are under goal structures. Fourth, habitus includes values that are put into practice, for example being diligent, tenacious, honest, cunning, intelligent, and generous. Fifth, habitus is an internal structure that is always in the process of restructuring.

Habitus can be described as the result of the internalization of the social world within a person or group. Therefore, the habitus of each person or group will be very different from that of others depending on their position in the social world that forms them. The concept of habitus guarantees the coherence of the relationship between the conceptions of society and actors. He mediates the individual and the collectivity. Habitus allows the construction of a theory of social production of actors and the logic of action (Haryatmoko, 2016: 40). Therefore, the habitus of smoking practices among female students in Lhokseumawe can be analyzed using this concept. Habitus is an interpretive framework for understanding and assessing reality and at the same time producing life practices that are under objective structures (Haryatmoko, 2016: 41).

Research Method

The method used in this research is qualitative. Qualitative research is research that aims to understand the phenomena experienced by research subjects (Moleong, 2017: 6). Qualitative research does not generalize the experiences of research subjects, so the data obtained does not always lead to uniform data patterns due to the emphasis on the quality of individual experiences. As explained by Stokes (2006), qualitative research is research that is based on an interpretation of the world based on concepts that generally do not provide numerical figures, such as ethnomethodology or certain types of interviews, and is interpretive.

Meanwhile, the approach used is phenomenological. Creswell (Hamzah, 2020) explains that phenomenology is a narrative study that reports the experiences of an individual or several individuals by describing the general experience of various life experiences related to concepts or phenomena (what they experience and how they experience it). The informants in the research consisted of three students from Malikussaleh University. The specific identity of the informant, such as faculty and study program, was deliberately not mentioned because of the strong negative stereotypes towards women who smoke. The informants in this study conditioned the researchers they be willing to share information about their smoking habitus if their identities were not revealed for fear of experiencing symbolic repression. To facilitate understanding in presenting research data, the three female students who are informants in this article are hereinafter referred to as Ratna and Dela. These two names are not their real names.

The type of data in this research consists of two types, namely primary data, and secondary data. Primary data was obtained through in-depth direct interviews with sources about their smoking habitus. Interviews were conducted with three sources separately so that they could focus more on exploring the information they wanted to know in this research. Meanwhile, secondary data for this research was obtained from literature searches in the form of document studies carried out by researchers. Library sources that provide supporting secondary data in research consist of relevant books, journals, and news sites.

The data collection technique in this research was carried out through in-depth interviews with the sources. All information provided by sources to answer research questions was recorded to avoid memory and recording bias in the limited research process. Data from interviews with informants is the main data for this research. Researchers conducted separate interviews with informants. Apart from being able to explore the required research information in depth and focus, separate interviews were conducted to provide comfort to the interviewees. The interviewee even felt the need to hide her smoking habit from members of the female gender because she did not want to be stigmatized as a bad woman because of her smoking lifestyle. Apart from that, data collection is also carried out by reviewing documents or library sources such as

books, journals, and news sites related to the problems being discussed in the research. Both for theoretical basis purposes, comparing relevant research and obtaining supporting data to strengthen research arguments.

In the next stage, qualitative descriptive data analysis was carried out to elaborate on the research data obtained. Both primary and secondary research data. In the initial stage, researchers mapped the social context of how negative stereotypes against women were formed, especially in Lhokseumawe City. The next step was to trace the historical context of the transformation of the meaning of the phenomenon of women smoking. In the next stage, which is the focus of the research, we discuss how smoking habitus among Malikussaleh University students are formed and how they negotiate smoking habitus against the social norms that apply in Lhokseumawe City.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The dilemma of women smokers between emancipation, discrimination, and repression

When researchers are exploring informants for this research, one of the biggest difficulties is asking the informants to be willing to become research sources. Several female smoking students that researchers found and discussed their smoking habits were initially not willing to openly share stories about their habits that they had been doing for years. After it was explained that the researcher intended to hear stories of their experiences, the conversation slowly melted away. They openly talked about how their 'acquaintance' with cigarettes began, how they became dependent on cigarettes, and how they negotiated the social environment of Acehese society known as Islamic law so that smoking could still be carried out. Both openly and secretly. They also told how to reveal the patriarchal social structure of society which forms a negative stigma towards women who smoke.

An interesting experience in the process of collecting research data was that there were informants who were initially willing to share information, but then later withdrew and stated that they were not willing to use the information provided as research data. There are concerns about power relations because the researcher has the status of a lecturer, and the informant has the status of a student. Smokers among female students are worried that their smoking habit is known to have an impact on the academic process on campus. Incidents like this show the strong repression experienced because of negative stereotypes towards women who smoke. Moreover, their appearance of wearing the hijab when in public spaces is a logical consequence of the implementation of Islamic law in Aceh.

Even though the negative stigma regarding women smoking has not existed for a long time. Research conducted by Muhaimin (2018) on cigarette advertising shows that woman have been exist for smoking industrial market. Apart from that, Research conducted by Wydianingsih (2020) show that in the Dieng Plateau, smoking has become a daily habit for women as a way of adapting to the cold weather. This means that the negative stigma towards female smokers is closely related to the dimensions of space and time. The negative stigma of women smoking is related to the depiction of naughty, even immoral women shown in 90s films. Female characters who smoke are synonymous with naughty teenagers and even commercial sex workers (Christy in Nangoi, 2023).

The spirit of women's emancipation is marked by increasing demands for gender equality in various fields, such as eliminating the smoking habit among women. Women smoking, especially in public spaces, is still seen as unnatural or even considered inappropriate. Especially if it is then linked to the hijab attribute worn by women who smoke. The hijab and cigarettes are two things that are contradictory or negate each other. The two seem to be two things that cannot be combined. In other words, if a woman wears a hijab, then she should not smoke because it will tarnish the symbol of her hijab.

Ratna and Dela come from Muslim family backgrounds. Ratna comes from West Sumatra and Dela comes from North Sumatra. Ratna even explained that she came from a devout Muslim family. Ratna has one sister and two brothers. His siblings were sent to the madrasah. Including himself, but then didn't finish because he didn't feel right. Ratna explained.

"I went to school at the state Aliyah madrasa. But I don't feel suitable because I must memorize verses every week. I then decided to change schools to a public school. There I met a female friend who also often invited me to smoke".

Dela has a slightly different background to Ratna. Even though his parents did not require madrasa education in his family, his mother strictly controlled his child's social circle outside.

"We are just two brothers. All women. Our parents did not have a boarding school education background. Despite this, Mom was very strict in controlling our social interactions outside. Every time we want to hang out, mom always asks where we want to go and who we want to hang out with? Mama wants us not to make the mistake of trying outside and carrying out actions that violate norms".

Both informants in this study admitted that they first tried smoking when they were children or teenagers. Ratna tells the story of her first experience with cigarettes.

"I smoked a whole cigarette for the first time when I was in first grade of junior high school. But if it's just trying, start from elementary school. I tried to burn the cigarette but left by my father who was smoking and smoking it. Since middle school, I have smoked secretly in my room and toilet at home. When I was in 3rd grade of junior high school, I switched to e-cigarettes and vape. But don't enjoy smoking. Finally, back to cigarettes. Even though I smoked a lot in middle school, I didn't smoke every day like most regular smokers. I still smoke at low intensity about 2-3 times a week. Still waiting for the stem in one week"

In line with Ratna, Dela also admitted that she tried smoking when she was a teenager.

"I started smoking since 3rd grade of junior high school. It started from just having fun hanging out with friends. When I entered high school, I joined postgraduate extracurricular activities, so I rarely smoked because I was required to maintain my stamina and physical condition. When I was in grade 3, I started smoking quite frequently".

In general, the smoking habits of both informants were formed from outside interactions. When at home, they don't dare smoke in front of their family because it doesn't comply with the norms that apply in society. Especially with the female gender. In patriarchal culture, women are positioned lower than men. If boys commit mischief such as smoking, society will consider this to be normal and part of the dynamics of a teenager's growth toward adulthood. However, when this is done by women, it is considered a disgrace, a deviation from norms, and even at a certain level it is considered a disease of society.

"When I was in high school, I had several female friends who also smoked. We smoked in the canteen in front of the school, at tourist attractions, and friends' houses in secret. We also regularly smoke at hangouts where we usually spend time with our circle of smoking female friends. Occasionally we smoke openly when we are in a place far from home or school so the chance of being discovered is relatively small".

Even though they occasionally smoke in the open, Ratna and her friends are not completely comfortable. Ratna also questioned why boys who are still at school in society are generally free to smoke. Boys smoke freely. Meanwhile, society does not provide equal space for women to smoke.

"In my family, there is no difference between boys and girls when it comes to smoking. Our parents forbade us to smoke as long as we asked our parents for pocket money. But if we can earn our own money, we are free to smoke or smoke regardless of gender. Even so, I still don't feel comfortable smoking in front of my family".

Ratna's explanation above shows how the norms that apply in society form a feeling of reluctance to smoke at home. Even though his parents are egalitarian-minded and do not discriminate against their child's gender, smoking openly in the house is hard to do. Ratna has smoked regularly since middle school.

Negotiating smoking habits with the social environment of Acehese society

The second informant came from an area that was also inhabited by a predominantly Muslim community. Even though they come from areas with a predominantly Muslim population such as Aceh, there are quite basic differences. In Aceh, Islamic law is implemented as a law that officially applies at the regional level. In local terms, sharia law is known as qanun.

The sociological and cultural way of thinking of the Acehese people is also shaped by qanun which is based on Islamic law. Therefore, every social reality that occurs in society is seen from the perspective of the Islamic religion. Muslim women who smoke are not considered to reflect the morals of a devout Muslim. Especially with the hijab attribute that is worn every day when in public spaces. This situation is a consideration for Ratna when smoking in public spaces.

"I once smoked openly in the hirak field. Even then, I really paid attention to the conditions around me. I wore a hoodie jacket so it wouldn't look like I was wearing a hijab. After all, this is Aceh which is known to be strong in Islamic law".

Migrating to Aceh made this research informant must adapt to the social environment of Acehese society. Various forms of customs in the region of origin cannot simply be practiced in Aceh. Including smoking habits. Ratna and Dela can no longer smoke openly even though they are far from their family. They study the socio-culture of the surrounding community, especially Lhokseumawe where they study.

Dela admitted that her smoking habit in her home area did not change when she moved to Aceh. He tried to adapt during the first month of living in Lhokseumawe.

"When I first started in Lhokseumawe, I only smoked in my boarding house. As time went by, I smoked openly in public spaces, especially in coffee shops. I'm still looking at the situation around me. If the men are dominant, I refrain from smoking. But if it's mostly young people, then I smoke. I'm basically an indifferent person. Don't really care about people's views. But I am still aware that this is Aceh. Not a freer big city like Medan"

Ratna also experienced the same condition. Ratna didn't immediately dare to smoke openly when she first lived in Lhokseumawe. Apart from still observing the socio-cultural situation of Lhokseumawe society, Ratna doesn't smoke because she still has an older brother who is still studying at the same campus. Ratna felt ashamed of her sister if she was found out about smoking openly in public.

When smoking has become a basic need, it will be very difficult to stop. Moreover, the nicotine contained in cigarettes is addictive. Smoking will be done under all conditions. Both openly and secretly. Smoking for both informants has become a necessity that cannot be postponed. Dela admitted to consuming one pack of cigarettes a day. Dela usually smokes Marlboro or other similar brands. one pack of cigarettes can be finished in two days. Dela also admitted that the number of cigarettes she smoked increased drastically when she started working on her thesis. Cigarettes become an escape when the mind is burdened with academic problems. What Dela experienced was also experienced by Ratna. Ratna also admitted to spending quite a large amount on cigarettes.

"I finished a pack of cigarettes in two days. Cigarettes have become a basic necessity. My need for cigarettes is the same as my need for food. I have to set aside money to buy both. It's like, I'd rather not eat than not smoke. My cigarettes are solar brand."

Ratna and Dela usually smoke in their boarding house or friends' boarding house. They feel this place is more closed and sterile. While on campus, they do not smoke openly because they are worried about being seen by fellow students and lecturers. They are worried that they will be labeled negatively in the campus environment. Ratna expressed her concern about the stigma that would come from being seen smoking in the open by her fellow students.

"I'm afraid of smoking in the open for several reasons. First, I'm afraid of being seen by fellow students outside of my close friends. I'm worried that I'll be stigmatized as being naughty or a slut. I'd rather be called naughty than naughty. Second, I am worried about the social and legal environment in Aceh. Who knows, maybe I could be caned because a woman smoking violates sharia qanun."

Ratna's explanation above shows how the stereotype of Aceh as a region with strict Islamic law changes women smokers' smoking habits. In contrast to Ratna, Dela admits that she is more indifferent. Her level of concern about smoking in public areas is not as high as Ratna's.

"I'm an indifferent person. I don't care about people responding to me wearing a hijab and smoking. I can't stop them from having a negative or positive stigma towards me. But even so, I'm still looking over the situation too. Especially if the majority of men around me, I choose not to smoke because it's not comfortable."

The explanations of the two informants above show that the socio-cultural conditions of the Acehese people who adhere to Islamic teachings have formed the habit of women smoking when they live in Aceh. They cannot completely carry out their smoking habits freely like in their home areas. However, at the same time, they also adapt and negotiate so that they can continue smoking in secret even though there is always a worry that they will be repressed by the social environment.

CONCLUSION

Smoking is a social practice that has been carried out by people in the archipelago for hundreds of years. Smoking knows no gender. Anyone can smoke. It's just that in recent times the practice of smoking has become a men's monopoly. Women are considered not allowed to smoke. This research shows how women's smoking habits are formed from the social environment. Even though a patriarchal society discriminates against women who smoke, this problem does not become a

barrier to the formation of smoking habits among the informants of this research. Apart from that, the practice of smoking also underwent adaptation and negotiation when moving to Aceh, which implements Islamic law. Even though there is no Islamic qanun (law) that expressly prohibits women in Aceh from smoking, it is believed that Sharia law has made society conservative. This conservatism is expressed in the form of cultural repression towards female smokers.

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