

The Political Economy of Fatwas: The Tobacco Industry, Religious Authority, and Social Class Realities for Women Smokers in Indonesia

Devi Kurniawati^{1*}, Anna Zakiyah Hastriana², Miftahul Ulum³, Barzat Ballani Farid⁴, Noufil Liusman Ma'ruf⁵, Atha Mahdi Muhammad⁶, Antoni Julian⁷

^{1,2,3,4,5} Universitas Annuqayah, Sumenep, Indonesia

⁶ Marmara University, Istanbul, Turkey

⁷ Istanbul Sabahattin Zaim Üniversitesi, Istanbul, Turkey

¹devinalkahla@gmail.com, ²anna.asthow@gmail.com, ³kacong.ulum30@gmail.com,
⁴barzatballany@gmail.com, ⁵noufilliusmanmaruf@gmail.com, ⁶atha.mahdi@marun.edu.tr,
⁷julian.antoni@std.izu.edu.tr

*Correspondence

DOI: [10.38073/aljadwa.5345](https://doi.org/10.38073/aljadwa.5345)

Received: 21 June 2026

Revised: 18 August 2026

Accepted: 19 August 2026

Published: 21 August 2026

Abstract

For Indonesian women, smoking occupies a contested space shaped by dual stigmas (health risks and social censure) intensified by contradictory religious edicts and the tobacco industry's influence. This phenomenological study examines the interplay among fatwas, commercial interests, and social realities shaping women's smoking practices. Drawing on informants' domiciles across rural and urban East Java, data were collected through observation and in-depth interviews with sixteen individuals from four groups: ten female smokers, two industry representatives, two religious authorities (from NU and Muhammadiyah), and two social observers. Thematic analysis revealed three findings: a disjuncture between profit-driven industry and *maṣlaḥah*-based religious reasoning prioritizing harm prevention; a layered double stigma shifting with class and geography, with urban areas more tolerant; and gendered marketing strategies using flavored, sleek products to appeal to women indirectly. Ultimately, fatwas serve as moral guides and contested arenas that inadvertently reinforce the stigma they seek to address, revealing how misaligned industrial, religious, and social logics perpetuate marginalization. This research makes a significant contribution by enriching the literature on health sociology, religious studies, and gender studies through mapping the intersection of capitalism, doctrine, and social stratification, while offering practical references for formulating more inclusive, gender-sensitive policies contextualized to rural and urban dynamics.

Keywords: *Political Economy, Religious Fatwa, Social Class Stigma, Tobacco Industry, Female Smokers.*

INTRODUCTION

Smoking is no longer a male-dominated phenomenon in Indonesia. While cultural and religious norms have historically positioned tobacco consumption as a masculine practice, recent decades have seen a noticeable, if statistically modest, increase in the

How to Cite this Article

Kurniawati, Devi, Anna Zakiyah Hastriana, Miftahul Ulum, dkk. "The Political Economy of Fatwas: The Tobacco Industry, Religious Authority, and Social Class Realities for Women Smokers in Indonesia." *Al-Jadwa: Jurnal Studi Islam* 6, no. 1 (2026): 87–107. <https://doi.org/10.38073/aljadwa.5345>.

prevalence of female smoking. According to the World Health Organization's 2025 tobacco trends report, about one in five adults worldwide remain dependent on tobacco, with the gender gap in prevalence narrowing in various low- and middle-income countries, including Indonesia.¹

Data from Indonesia's National Health Survey (2023) record an overall smoking prevalence of 22.46 percent among people aged ten years and above, while the Global Adult Tobacco Survey (2021) estimates that 3.3² percent of Indonesian women smoke, a percentage that, though modest, represents millions of women navigating a highly contested social, religious, and commercial landscape.³ Data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) further indicate that 28.87 percent of smokers in Indonesia reside in urban areas, a figure that increased by 0.6 percent from the previous year, reflecting the increasing visibility of smoking behavior in urban public spaces.⁴

The phenomenon of women smoking in Indonesia is embedded within at least three systems of authority and overlapping interests. The first is the domain of Islamic jurisprudence, through which religious organizations issue fatwas, legal rulings, on the permissibility or prohibition of smoking, referring to different methodological traditions and producing heterogeneous normative outcomes. The second is the political-economic domain of the tobacco industry, which wields significant influence over production, marketing, regulatory frameworks, and public discourse. Thirdly, a layered social order where class standing, gender norms, and geographical context significantly shape how women's smoking behavior is perceived, women are perceived, sanctioned, and negotiated has been underexplored. Previous research has largely addressed these dimensions separately, without adequately analyzing their structural intersections.

Previous research has examined several dimensions of this complex phenomenon. Mafrukha et al. documented how Indonesian Muslim women who smoke in café bars navigate the overlapping frameworks of Islamic jurisprudence and gender identities.⁵ Nangoi and Daeli's ethnographic studies reveal that the stigmatization of female smokers is strongly shaped by patriarchal cultural norms.⁶ Rosemary established that the negative

¹ World Health Organization, "WHO Tobacco Trends Report: 1 in 5 Adults Still Addicted to Tobacco," *World Health Organization* (jenewa), 2025, <https://www.who.int/news/item/06-10-2025-who-tobacco-trends-report-1-in-5-adults-still-addicted-to-tobacco>.

² WHO, *Laporan Survei Tembakau Dewasa Global (GATS) Indonesia 2021* (2021), <https://iris.who.int/handle/10665/378343>.

³ Ayuning Tyas and Retnaningsih Retnaningsih, "The Influence of Risk Perception, Smoking Fatwa Knowledge, and Smoking Behavior on the Intention to Quit Smoking in Adolescents," *Journal of Consumer Sciences* 10, no. 2 (2025): 394–414, <https://doi.org/10.29244/jcs.10.2.394-414>.

⁴ BPS, *Persentase Penduduk Berumur 15 Tahun Ke Atas Yang Merokok Tembakau Selama Sebulan Terakhir Menurut Kelompok Umur (Persen)*, 2025, <https://www.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/2/MTQzOCMy/persentase-penduduk-berumur-15-tahun-ke-atas%20yang-merokok-tembakau-selama-sebulan-terakhir-menurut-kelompok-umur.html>.

⁵ Wahyu Nisawati Mafrukha et al., "Smoking, Hijab, and Gender Identity: Indonesian Muslim Women at Café Bars from Social Jurisprudence Perspective," *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 20, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v20i1.18230>.

⁶ Jessica Priscilla Nangoi and Onesius Otenieli Daeli, "Studi Etnografi Tentang Stigmatisasi dan Konformitas Perempuan Perokok dalam Budaya Patriarki," *FOCUS* 4, no. 1 (2023): 45–60, <https://doi.org/10.26593/focus.v4i1.6473>.

social stigma against female smokers actively hindered tobacco control efforts.⁷ Iswara and Martiana further document the intersection of stigma, self-image, and social performability in the lives of female smokers.⁸ However, none of these studies systematically examined the political-economic dimensions, especially how the tobacco industry's institutional interests interact with religious authorities and social class structures to collectively shape the life experiences of women who smoke in Indonesia.

The theoretical orientation of this research mainly refers to two frameworks. First, Pierre Bourdieu's field theory and the concept of habitus illuminate how class-based dispositions, social environments, and forms of institutional capital structure individual practices and their social perceptions thereof.⁹ Within this framework, smoking behavior is understood not as an autonomous individual choice but as a practice shaped by the interaction between the embodied habitus and the social sphere in which women are positioned.¹⁰ Second, the concept of *maṣlaḥah mursalah* (public interest not explicitly regulated by specific textual evidence) in Islamic jurisprudence provides a lens through which the different positions of fatwas of major Islamic organizations in Indonesia can be analyzed in response to competing conceptions of social benefits and harms.¹¹

The study was guided by three research objectives: (1) to analyze the fundamental differences between the profit-oriented logic of the tobacco industry, which prioritizes regulatory compliance with state laws, and the logic of religious authority centered on *maṣlaḥah*, which prioritizes harm prevention and public welfare; (2) to examine how the double stigma experienced by female smokers varies according to social class and geographical context, especially the different levels of tolerance between urban and rural environments and (3) to explore the tobacco industry's market segmentation strategy that subtly includes flavorful, sleek, and aesthetically modern products, which establish a new consumption niche among women while rejecting direct targeting. In pursuit of this goal, this study contributes to the emerging literature on the political economy of religious authority and gender in Muslim-majority societies, offering original empirical and

⁷ Rosemary Rizanna, *Riset: Stigma Negatif Perempuan Perokok Di Indonesia Halangi Usaha Pengendalian Tembakau* (Bincang Perempuan, 2024), <https://bincangperempuan.com/riset-stigma-negatif-perempuan-perokok-di-indonesia-halangi-usaha-pengendalian-tembakau/>.

⁸ Artamevia Iswara and Aris Martiana, "Stigma, Citra Diri, Dan Performatifitas Sosial Perempuan Perokok," *Dimensia: Jurnal Kajian Sosiologi* 14, no. 2 (2025): 81–90, <https://doi.org/10.21831/dimensia.v14i2.82384>.

⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Harvard University Press, 1984), https://books.google.co.id/books/about/Distinction.html?hl=id&id=nVaS6gS9Jz4C&redir_esc=y; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, 1st Paperback / Revised ed. (Columbia University Press, 1993), <https://archive.org/details/fieldofculturalp00bour>; Sarah Rudrum et al., "Understanding the Meaning and Role of Gifts given to Ugandan Mothers in Maternity Care Settings: 'The Help They Give When They've Seen How Different You Are,'" *Sociology of Health & Illness* 38, no. 8 (2016): 1318–35, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.12456>.

¹⁰ Mustafa Shah, "Abdul Aziz Bin Sattam, *Sharia and the Concept of Benefit: The Use and Function of Maslaha in Islamic Jurisprudence*," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 21, no. 1 (2019): 122–26, <https://doi.org/10.3366/jqs.2019.0372>.

¹¹ *الفقه الإسلامي وأدلته* (*Al-Fiqh Al-Islami Wa Adillatuh*), vol. 1 (دمشق (Damascus); دار الفكر (Dar al-Fikr), 1417); Wahbah al-Zuhayli, *Islamic Jurisprudence and Its Proofs*, vol. 1 (Dar al-Fikr, n.d.), https://www.muslim-library.com/dl/books/English_Principle_of_Islamic_Jurisprudence.pdf.

theoretical insights based on multi-location fieldwork conducted in urban and rural locations in East Java and Madura, Indonesia.

METHOD

This study employs descriptive qualitative research with a phenomenological approach, chosen to facilitate an in-depth examination of the subjective experiences, meanings, and realities of the lives of female smokers that intersect with the institutional logics of religious authorities and the tobacco industry.¹² Phenomenology is well-suited for this investigation because it puts first-person records at the forefront, allowing researchers to capture the nuanced ways in which religious rules, market forces, and class dynamics are experienced, interpreted, and navigated in everyday life.¹³

Research sites were selected purposively across several urban and rural locations in East Java, Indonesia, chosen to represent meaningful variation in social class composition, cultural context, and regional norms regarding gender and smoking. The dual urban-rural focus was informed by BPS data indicating divergent smoking prevalence and social norms between these settings.

Informant selection employed a combination of purposive and snowball sampling.¹⁴ The final informant pool comprised sixteen individuals across four categories: (1) ten women smokers of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds and ages (ranging from 17 to 60 years); (2) two tobacco industry representatives with direct knowledge of marketing strategy and production operations; (3) two Islamic religious authorities, one from *Nahdlatul Ulama* and one from *Muhammadiyah*; and (4) two social observers with expertise in gender, health, and public policy. The complete profile of informants is presented in Table 1.

In-depth interviews are conducted both face-to-face (with audio recording, following information approval) and online via WhatsApp voicemail, accommodating the informant's geographic distance and scheduling preferences. The interview protocol uses semi-structured and open-ended questions, allowing the informant to articulate both subjective and contextual perspectives. For ten female smokers, participant observations were also used, allowing researchers to directly observe smoking-related behaviors and social dynamics around them.¹⁵

¹² Mohsen Tavakol and John Sandars, "Twelve Tips for Using Phenomenology as a Qualitative Research Approach in Health Professions Education," *Medical Teacher* 47, no. 9 (2025): 1441–46, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0142159X.2025.2478871>.

¹³ Alexander Oluka, "Phenomenological Research Strategy: Descriptive and Interpretive Approaches," *F1000Research* 14 (July 2025): 725, <https://doi.org/10.12688/f1000research.166273.1>.

¹⁴ Tavakol and Sandars, "Twelve Tips for Using Phenomenology as a Qualitative Research Approach in Health Professions Education."

¹⁵ M. Rahman et al., *A Qualitative Study on Tobacco-Use Associated Behavior and Major Determinants among Women in Rural Bangladesh: An Ethnographic Approach*, secs. 1-25, 24 (2026), <https://doi.org/10.18332/tid/13088469>.

Table 1. Research Informant Profile

No.	Nickname / Initials	Category	Background	Method	Date
1	AH	Tobacco Industry	Administrative Officer, KIHT Guluk-guluk	In-depth interviews	March 28, 2026
2	AFR	Tobacco Industry	CEO, PT Daun Sutera Prancak	In-depth interviews	25 Feb 2026
3	AW	Religious Authority (NU)	Chairman of the Syuriah Council of the Sumenep Branch of NU (PCNU Sumenep)	In-depth interviews	March 8, 2026
4	SL	Religious Authority (Muhammadiyah)	Treasurer, IMM Pamekasan	In-depth interviews	March 11, 2026
5	UF	Social Observer	Lecturer	WhatsApp voice notes	March 19, 2026
6	PC	Social Observer	Co-Founder, Women's Stage	In-depth interviews	March 28, 2026
7	HT	Female Smokers (Lower Class)	Students, Faculty	Obs. + Interview	March 8, 2026
8	DN	Female Smokers (Lower Middle)	High school students (grade 11)	WhatsApp Interview	March 22, 2026
9	KY	Female Smokers (Middle Class)	Young Professional, Surabaya	WhatsApp Interview	March 24, 2026
10	El	Female Smokers (Middle Class)	Students, semester 5	WhatsApp Interview	9 Apr 2026
11	AL	Female Smokers (Lower Class)	Active smokers since the age of 11, rural	Written questionnaire	March 1, 2026
12	P	Female Smokers (Lower Middle)	Start smoking 2022	Written questionnaire	March 21, 2026
13	IJ	Female Smokers (Lower Middle)	Age 18, beginner smoker	Written questionnaire	March 7, 2026
14	NF	Female Smokers (Middle Class)	Aged 23 years, Jember; occasional smokers	Written questionnaire	March 17, 2026
15	SN	Female Smokers (Lower Class)	53 years old, smoking habit since childhood	In-depth interviews	20 Feb 2026
16	SD	Female Smokers (Lower Class)	Aged 60 years; Transition from <i>Minah</i> to Cigarettes	In-depth interviews	26 Feb 2026

Note: All interviews are conducted in 2026. Lower-middle, middle, and upper-middle class designations are based on the informant's employment background, income level, and residential context. Pseudonyms or initials are used to protect the confidentiality of the informant.

The data were analysed using a phenomenologically informed thematic analysis,¹⁶ integrating descriptive phenomenology with systematic thematic coding. Following Moustakas's transcendental phenomenology, the analysis proceeded through five sequential stages: bracketing, wherein researchers suspended preconceptions about female smoking and religious norms horizontalization, involving repeated transcript

¹⁶ Annelie J. Sundler et al., "Qualitative Thematic Analysis Based on Descriptive Phenomenology," *Nursing Open* 6, no. 3 (2019): 733–39, <https://doi.org/10.1002/nop2.275>.

readings to identify significant statements on participants lived experiences,¹⁷ clustering meaning units into emergent themes, developing textual descriptions of what participants experienced and structural descriptions of how context shaped their experiences, and finally, constructing a composite description synthesising the essence of the phenomenon. This phenomenological analysis was complemented by systematic data reduction, display, and conclusion verification.¹⁸ To ensure credibility, source triangulation was achieved through cross-comparison across informant categories, while method triangulation compared interview data with field observations, enriching interpretive depth and confirming emergent patterns.¹⁹

Data are analyzed thematically through sequential stages of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification.²⁰ Validity is ensured through source triangulation (systematic cross-comparison of data across informant categories) and method triangulation (comparing interview data with field observation findings). The identity of the informant is protected using initials, pseudonyms, or role descriptors throughout.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Disjunction between Industrial Logic and Religious Logic

One of the most significant structural findings of this study is the profound difference between the logic that animates the tobacco industry and the logic that underlies religious authority in Indonesia. Instead of operating in dialogue or reciprocal accommodation, these two institutional domains occupy an essentially incomparable normative framework, what Bourdieu might describe as distinct “fields” governed by different rules, stakes, and forms of capital.²¹ This separation has concrete consequences for female smokers, who must navigate contradictory messages from institutions that each claim authority over their behavior.

On the industry side, an administrative official at KIHT Guluk-Guluk articulated the company’s position explicitly during an interview conducted on March 28, 2026:

“We as a company in the tobacco industry highly respect religious values and social norms as part of the diversity of opinions in society. However, as a business entity, our primary focus remains on compliance with state laws and official government regulations, as we operate under the Rule of Law. The industry is very compliant with government regulations as it relates to our operating licenses. Adjustments have been made, starting from packaging design, limiting smoking areas, to reporting production for excise purposes.” (AH, Administrative Officer,

¹⁷ Tavakol and Sandars, “Twelve Tips for Using Phenomenology as a Qualitative Research Approach in Health Professions Education.”

¹⁸ Matthew B. Miles et al., *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*, 04 ed., 04 (SAGE, 2020).

¹⁹ Azwihangwisi Helen Mavhandu-Mudzusi et al., “WhatsApp as a Qualitative Data Collection Method in Descriptive Phenomenological Studies,” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 21 (April 2022): 1609406922111124, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406922111124>.

²⁰ Arlin Adam et al., “PERILAKU MEROKOK PADA KAUM PEREMPUAN,” *Jurnal Berkala Kesehatan* 4, no. 1 (2018): 30, <https://doi.org/10.20527/jbk.v4i1.5667>.

²¹ Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*.

KIHT Guluk-Guluk, March 28, 2026)

This statement is analytically significant in several ways. By using the legal authority of the state as the primary normative reference, the industry explicitly subordinates religious authority to the regulation of the state. This discursive move serves as a legitimacy strategy by positioning regulatory compliance as an adequate, even superior, moral standard, thus allowing the industry to effectively neutralize fatwas as an actionable constraint on commercial behavior. CEO of PT Daun Sutera Prancak was more direct in the interview: *“From the industry side, we don’t look at [gender]; Anyone who wants to smoke, as long as we have the product, it sells, the operation is running, and the employees are paid. That’s all.”* This honesty reveals an industry logic that is almost entirely oriented towards the accumulation and expansion of the market.

Such a discourse of market rationality, in which commercial actors frame their activities as a value-neutral response to consumer preferences, has been extensively documented in the global tobacco industry’s public communication literature.²² Chapman and Freeman note that the tobacco industry systematically fosters a framework that positions smoking as a matter of individual freedom rather than institutional responsibility, a strategy that resonates directly with KIHT informants’ repeated calls for consumer choice and supply-demand dynamics.

In contrast, the religious logic of Indonesia’s two major Islamic organizations is structured around the concepts of *maṣlahah* and *Maqāṣid al-Sharī‘ah*. The representative of *Muhammadiyah* (SL, Treasurer of IMM Pamekasan, interview on March 11, 2026) explained:

“In determining the rules on smoking, Muhammadiyah tends towards a purification approach, which is focused on Maqāṣid al-Sharia’ah to protect the soul (ḥifẓ al-naḥs). Muhammadiyah considers smoking to be prohibited (ḥarām) because of the obvious medical danger and the real harm (muḍārat) it causes.” (SL, March 11, 2026)

“If we look at Muhammadiyah specifically, it really prohibits [smoking], based on the fatwa of the Tarjih and Tajdid Council of Muhammadiyah. It is strictly forbidden for both men and women, as smoking is considered a despicable act (khabīth), which endangers one’s health, harms those close to him, and is a wasteful expense.” (SL, March 11, 2026)

This position reflects *Muhammadiyah*’s typical jurisprudential methodology, purification-oriented (tajdīd), directly applying empirical evidence on health hazards to

²² S. Chapman and B. Freeman, “Markers of the Denormalisation of Smoking and the Tobacco Industry: Table 1,” *Tobacco Control* 17, no. 1 (2008): 25–31, <https://doi.org/10.1136/tc.2007.021386>; Xavier Blancafort et al., “Denormalization of Tobacco in a Primary Health Center,” *Tobacco Prevention & Cessation* 9, no. Supplement (2023), <https://doi.org/10.18332/tpc/162892>; Gunnar Sæbø and Marianne Lund, “Is the Perceived Public Stigma of Smokers Associated with Value Opposites? An Exploratory Cross-Sectional Analysis of Norwegian Data 2011–2013,” *Frontiers in Sociology* 8 (January 2024): 1051189, <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2023.1051189>.

legal reasoning. The concept of *khābīth* includes harm to oneself, endangering others through cigarette smoke, and financial waste. This comprehensive calculus of danger is an application of the Islamic legal maxim *lā ḍarara wa-lā ḍirār* (harm shall not be caused or retaliated), the basic principle of Islamic jurisprudence.²³

Table 2. Comparative Analysis of Fatwa Positions on Smoking in Indonesia

Organisasi	Verdict	Jurisprudence Method	Basis of Decision	Gender-specific?
Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)	<i>Makrūh</i> (despicable); <i>Ḥarām</i> if it is excessive/detrimental to health	<i>Uṣūl al-fiqh</i> classic; The Principle of Original Permission (<i>al-Ibāḥa</i>)	The absence of explicit Prophetic prohibitions; <i>ḍarar</i> (danger) triggers <i>ḥarām</i>	Not gender-specific in the verdict; Social norms put pressure on women
Muhammadiyah	<i>Ḥarām</i> (categorically forbidden)	Purification (<i>tajdīd</i>); The framework of <i>Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah</i> (<i>ḥifẓ al-nafs</i>)	Medical evidence of danger; the concept of <i>khābīth</i> (despicable acts); Principle of <i>Lā Ḍarara</i>	Applies equally to men and women, although reproductive risks magnify the danger to women
Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI)²⁴	<i>Ḥarām</i> for children, pregnant women, public spaces; <i>Makrūh</i> in general	<i>Ijtimā'ī</i> (collective deliberation); Consideration of socio-economic context	Endangering health; harm to others (cigarette smoke); Public Interest (<i>Maṣlaḥah</i>)	Explicitly differentiating pregnant women face stricter prohibitions

Note: The verdict is synthesized from interview data and existing literature. The table focuses on the normative basis of each judgment rather than the full complexity of the jurisprudence arguments in each tradition.

The NU representative (AW, Chairman of the Syuriyah Council of the Sumenep Branch of NU (PCNU Sumenep), March 8, 2026)²⁵ offered a contrasting position:

“Nahdlatul Ulama, based on the results of baḥṡ al-masā'il, states that the law on smoking is makrūh [reprehensible but not forbidden], with the caveat that if a person smokes excessively and endangers his health, it becomes ḥarām, because the danger must be eliminated (al-ḍarar yuzāl). The basic principle is that everything on earth was originally permissible (mubāḥ), unless there is a reason that makes it forbidden. There is no definite textual evidence from the Prophetic era that banned tobacco.” (AW, March 8, 2026)

²³ al-Zuhaylī Wahbah, *Islamic Jurisprudence and Its Proofs (Terjemahan Dari Al-Fiqh Al-Islami Wa Adillatuh)*, vol. 1 (Dar al-Fikr, 2003).

²⁴ MUI, “Keputusan Komisi B Ijtima' Ulama Komisi Fatwa MUI Se Indonesia III,” MUI, 2009, <https://fatwamui.com/storage/530/KEPUTUSAN-KOMISI-B-HUKUM-MEROKOK.pdf>.

²⁵ Yulia Novita Hanum, *Konfercab Usai, Inilah Rais Dan Ketua PCNU Sumenep 2025-2030 Terpilih Sumber: <https://jatim.nu.or.id/Madura/Konfercab-Usai-Inilah-Rais-Dan-Ketua-Pcnu-Sumenep-2025-2030-Terpilih-99fXG>* Download NU Online Super App, Aplikasi Keislaman Terlengkap! <https://nu.or.id/Superapp> (Android/iOS) (NU Jatim Online, 2025), <https://jatim.nu.or.id/madura/konfercab-usai-inilah-raais-dan-ketua-pcnu-sumenep-2025-2030-terpilih-99fXG>.

Table 3. Multi-Actor Analytics Matrix: Industrial Logic versus Religious Logic

Analytical Dimension	Tobacco Industry Perspective	Perspective of Religious Authorities (NU & Muhammadiyah)	Convergence Points / Contradictions
Laws & Fatwas	Prioritizing state laws and regulations (PP 109/2012). Respect religion as a social norm but treat it as secondary to legal compliance.	Diversity of <i>ijtihād</i> : <i>Muhammadiyah</i> prohibits categorically based on <i>Maqāṣid</i> al-Shariah; NU rules <i>makrūh</i> , <i>ḥarām</i> only when health hazards are apparent.	Contradictions: The privilege of the state legality industry; Religious authorities use a moral-juridical framework. Fatwas do not bring a state enforcement mechanism.
Economic Logic	Emphasizing the industry as a provider of employment, national tax revenue, and livelihood for tobacco farmers and workers.	Recognizes the economic dependence of farmers and workers on tobacco but emphasizes long-term health costs that outweigh fiscal gains.	Convergence: Both recognize the interdependence of the community's economy with the tobacco supply chain.
Women as Target Consumers	Viewing women as a “niche market” that emerged based on their growing economic independence and changes in urban lifestyles. Denying direct targeting while using subtle gender segmentation (products are sleek, flavorful, and aesthetically modern).	Considering that women smoking damages their moral standing and reproductive health (risk of cervical cancer, infertility). Religious condemnation is more pronounced for women.	Contradiction: The industry promotes lifestyle inclusivity; Religious and social norms impose a double stigma specifically on women.
Health vs. Benefits	Focus on product innovation (low-odor alternative products) and frame smoking as a personal lifestyle choice.	Applying the principle of “danger must be eliminated” (<i>al-ḍarar yuzāl</i>). If smoking causes health damage, a ban becomes mandatory.	Contradiction: The industry prioritizes consumer freedom; Religious authorities prioritize the obligation to protect the integrity of the body (<i>ḥifẓ al-Nafs</i>).
Social Interaction	Using CSR (education, environment, farmer empowerment) programs to maintain social legitimacy and operational permits.	Serves as a moral authority. Facing a “credibility gap” when influential figures (teachers, public figures) continue to smoke.	Contradiction: The industry's CSR legitimizes its presence; The moral functioning of religious authority is weakened by behavioral inconsistencies among its representatives.
Policy Effectiveness	Assessing excise (excise) is more effective than fatwa because state instruments have legal force and direct market impact.	Fatwas are a moral foundation for individuals, but their effectiveness is limited without supporting state regulations.	Convergence: Both agree that state instruments (excise, taxation) exert a more direct influence on consumption than religious decrees.

Note: The analytical category is derived from a thematic analysis of interview data across all categories of informants. “Convergence” refers to areas of substantive agreement; “Contradiction” refers to fundamental normative disagreements. KIHT = Tobacco Industry Area.

NU's position reflects its adherence to the classical jurisprudential method (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), which requires explicit textual authority for categorical prohibition. Since tobacco did not exist during the Prophet's lifetime, NU applied the principle of original permits while using the concept of *ḍarar* (danger) as a trigger for the conditionality of the

prohibition. This difference in methodology between NU and *Muhammadiyah* has been documented in previous literature. Crucially, the plurality of fatwa positions creates a “legitimacy gap” that the tobacco industry effectively exploits without a unified religious position; the industry faces no consolidated religious opposition, while female smokers are left to navigate competing normative frameworks without definite institutional guidance.

Representatives of *Muhammadiyah* (SL) further illuminated the political dimension of this interaction:

“The interaction of the tobacco industry with the smoking fatwa is very intensive, because it can influence public opinion. [The industry] pressures religious institutions and prioritizes economic considerations such as job creation and national revenue.” (SL, March 11, 2026)

These observations are in line with the scientific record of tobacco industry interference in religious-institutional policies and processes, where tobacco companies apply CSR programs, economic arguments, and political lobbying to counter regulatory and religious constraints on their operations.²⁶ Industry informants confirmed this pattern: KIHT administration officials noted that the industry engages the government through industry associations such as GAPPRI to provide input on the economic, employment, and sustainability impacts of the tobacco supply chain before the policy is put in place. This form of institutional participation constitutes what Chapman and Freeman call a “denormalization strategy,” maintaining operational legitimacy while isolating commercial interests from meaningful external accountability.²⁷

Table 2 presents a comparative analysis of the three main fatwa positions in Indonesia, and Table 3 offers a multi-actor analytical matrix of the key points of convergence and contradiction between industrial and religious logic in six analytical dimensions.

Double Stigma and Social Class Reality for Female Smokers

Female smokers in Indonesia bear what the study calls a “double stigma”, a simultaneous burden of health-related social disapproval and gender-normative moral condemnation. This double stigmatization is not uniform across social contexts; rather, it is profoundly mediated by class position and geographical setting. These findings expand Goffman’s basic theory of stigma as a “spoiled identity”²⁸ by showing how class-based capital affects the degrees, traits, and strategies of stigma management applied to the same behavior.

²⁶ STOP, “Women-and-the-Tobacco-Industry-,” *STOP*, (*STOP (Stopping Tobacco Organizations and Products)*, 2021), 2021, [https://exposetobacco.org/wp-content/uploads/Women-and-the-Tobacco-Industry-IN-4.6.21.](https://exposetobacco.org/wp-content/uploads/Women-and-the-Tobacco-Industry-IN-4.6.21;); Daube Mike et al., “Tobacco Industry Interference with Tobacco Control,” *Global Public Health* 13, no. 5 (2018), <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2017.1385992>.

²⁷ Chapman and Freeman, “Markers of the Denormalisation of Smoking and the Tobacco Industry.”

²⁸ Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (Prentice-Hall, 1963), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=7CNUUMKTbIoC>; Brenda Major and Laurie T. O’Brien, “The Social Psychology of Stigma,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 56, no. 1 (2005): 393–421, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.56.091103.070137>.

The co-founder of *Pangung Perempuan* (RW, a women's advocacy organization, interviewed March 28, 2026) articulated the characterization of class-differentiated stigma clearly:

“For the middle class, they see [smoking] as a lifestyle—expensive cigarettes, flavored cigarettes with mint—that are considered cool, out of the box. But for lower-class women, they face negative stigma directly because in rural communities, female smokers immediately receive social sanctions.” (RW, March 28, 2026)

A university lecturer (UF, interviewed March 19, 2026) outlined the temporal and geographical dimensions of this class differentiation:

“In some places, women of higher social status who smoke are considered not problematic, but for women the peasant class is considered inappropriate. This happened in the recent era. But in the early 2000s or 1990s, there were no significant differences between economic classes, female smokers of different social statuses were generally accepted, especially in rural areas. But in the city, where stigma is beginning to enter society's understanding, there is a difference: if a woman is rich, she is sometimes seen as fine; If he is poor, he is socially stigmatized as deviant or untrustworthy.” (UF, March 19, 2026)

This temporal dimension is theoretically significant. The informant described the transition from relative class neutrality in the stigma of rural smoking to the increased class differentiation driven by urban modernization. This corresponds to what Bourdieu describes as the penetration of bourgeois “difference” into the previously undifferentiated social sphere: as urban modernity introduces new criteria for evaluating social values, class positions increasingly mediate which behavior is considered suitable for which women.²⁹

The psychological and social consequences of this layered stigma are severe. Social observer RW observes that the asymmetry of fatwas between male and female smoking carries the risk that gender power imbalances can be used to rationalize coercive behavior, although she is careful to note that fatwas are not usually directly armed for domestic violence. More broadly, female smokers describe managing stigma through cover-ups and covert practices:

“I smoke just to direct [the problem], it's a coping mechanism to direct the problem. For my family, well, they used to scold me, but because I'm a passive smoker, they probably think I've quit.” (El, 22 years old, April 9, 2026)

“In my neighborhood, female smokers are considered 'bad women'. At the same time, I ignore the risks, there are already a lot of warning ads; But I smoke only when I have a problem, so I'm not afraid of what's happening.” (AL, 19 years old, March 1, 2026)

²⁹ Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*.

These accounts illustrate the internalization of the stigma that Goffman identified as “passing,” the strategic management of information about stigmatized attributes to avoid social sanctions.³⁰ That many of the women interviewed only smoke in private, hidden spaces, or describe their smoking as motivated by a direct crisis rather than habitual pleasure, suggests that the stigma regime is strong enough to shape not only the social visibility but also the subjective framing of the practice.

Table 4. Smoking Motivation and Stigma Experiences by Social Class and Geographic Context

Social Class	Geographical Context	The Main Motivations of Smoking	Stigma Levels	Stigma Management Strategy
Lower class	Rural / peri-urban (Madura, Sumenep area)	Intergenerational habitus (family modeling, peer groups); stress from economic hardship and physical labor	Height; immediate social sanctions; related to bad moral character	Hidden smoking; avoiding public spaces; Hiding from the family
Lower middle class	Semi-urban/small town	Peer influence; curiosity; coping with academic and financial stress; Family member modeling	Medium-high; viewed negatively especially in younger women	Smoking only with trusted peers; avoiding older relatives; Partial concealment
Middle class	Urban (Surabaya, Jember)	Coping mechanism for stress; lifestyle and FOMO (fear of missing out); Self-expression and identity affirmation	Medium; higher urban tolerance; Reframed as a lifestyle or emancipation	Open smoking in a circle of peers; framing as a personal choice; Normalization discourse
Upper/middle class	Metropolitan and cosmopolitan spaces	Lifestyle and brand identity; social ownership in the context of elite peers; Taste/premium products as a marker of difference	Low to medium; often considered “modern” or “independent”, not morally condemned	Smoking openly premium brands/flavors; Smoking as a social performance of modernity
Elderly women (grandmothers)	Countryside and suburbs	Old habits; Cultural Traditions (Rolling Tobacco; Transition)	Low; considered culturally normal and non-threatening	There is no need for concealment; Habitual and normal practices

Note: Categories are analytical constructs derived from thematic analysis of informant data. Individual experiences can cross categories. FOMO = Fear of Missing Out. The level of stigma is a relative assessment based on informant reports rather than quantitative measurements.

A particularly important finding is age-based exclusion for double stigma norms. Some informants noted that elderly women who smoke are seen as equanimous in many rural communities. SL (53) and SD (60), two elderly informants, both described a long-standing smoking habit with no significant social consequences. The UF lecturer asserted:

³⁰ Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*.

“In our area, old women who smoke, they don’t seem to have a problem with society.” This age-based exception reflects a gender understanding in which postmenopausal and elderly women are considered no longer subject to the reproductive and moral norms that most closely oversee younger women’s bodies.

Social class further mediates access to health information and medical support. RW social observers note that stigma can cause women to hide their smoking habits from healthcare providers, potentially jeopardizing diagnostic and treatment accuracy: “Stigma makes women feel embarrassed or afraid to be honest with healthcare workers about their smoking habits. They are afraid of being judged by doctors or nurses, so they prefer to shut themselves down rather than receive the health education to which they are entitled.” These findings are consistent with research documenting how stigma creates barriers to health-seeking behaviors among marginalized groups.³¹ Table 4 synthesizes the main smoking motivations and stigma experiences across social classes and geographic contexts.

The phenomenological record of female smokers in this study reveals a diverse and contextually specific set of motivations that defy reductive explanations. Instead of a single pathway into smoking, the data revealed multiple trajectories shaped by social environment, family dynamics, economic stress, peer influence, and the desire to have social, all mediated by class position and life stage.

Among younger female smokers, peer influence and family modeling emerged as the dominant entry point. HT (student, Prenduan, Sumenep, interviewed March 8, 2026) explained:

“I smoked from the fourth grade of elementary school, because of poor education from the environment and family. As we age, factors change including loose social circles and financial stress.” DN (17 years old, March 22, 2026) also reported: *“I started smoking in junior high school, only tried it because I saw my brother smoking; Gradually it felt good and I moved on to the present.”* This record describes what Bourdieu calls the transmission of habitus between generations, embodied dispositions learned in primary social settings, including family contexts, that shape subsequent practices without deliberate reflection.³² Smoking, in this case, is not the product of the rational choice of the individual but of a socialization process in which smoking is normalized through family observation and peer participation.

Among older and middle-class informants, stress and emotional coping emerged as the main motivations. El (22 years old) articulated: “I smoke just to direct problems; this is a coping mechanism to direct problems. Although there is logically no effect, when

³¹ Diana Pujiyanti et al., *Probabilitas Wanita Merokok di Indonesia Berdasarkan Faktor Sosial Ekonomi, Demografi, dan Kebahagiaan*, secs. 1-16, 1, no. 1 (2023), <https://doi.org/10.36226/elegis.v5i1.4>; Rizanna Rosemary and Masrizal, “How Harmful Is Smoking for Women? A Qualitative Study in Indonesia,” *Jurnal Promkes* 13, no. SII (2025): 171–79, <https://doi.org/10.20473/jpk.V13.ISI1.2025.171-179>; Sakilatur Rohmah et al., “Women Empowerment in Islamic Educational Institutions,” *Al-Jadwa: Jurnal Studi Islam* 4, no. 2 (2025): 260–72, <https://doi.org/10.38073/aljadwa.v4i2.2533>.

³² Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Polity Press, 1990), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=YHN8uW4917AC&printsec=frontcover&hl=id#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

I smoke, I feel I have a way out.” KY (23 years old, Surabaya) echoed: “I have been active in smoking since I graduated from junior high school. There was no real motivation, just to relieve stress and help when I couldn’t sleep.” This dimension of smoking coping is consistent with previous research documenting increased levels of stress-related smoking among women navigating various social roles and economic pressures.³³

The motivations that class-differentiated were very clear in the data. For lower-class women, such as SN (53) and SD (60), smoking began as a family-cultural practice in childhood and developed into a routine of non-reflective habits. For middle-class urban women, smoking is more often framed in terms of lifestyle, social ownership, and identity. IJ (18 years old) describes smoking as a form of “*freedom*”, while NF (23 years old, Jember) describes it as a “*strategy to get rid of boredom*” or “*a lifestyle in an urban environment*.” Middle-class informant P articulates this most directly: “*Smoking is a form of freedom*.” This class’s distinguishing motivational record reflects the broader field of social relations in which each woman is positioned and the symbolic resources available to her to interpret her own practice.

A very revealing theme throughout the informant was the link between smoking and social ownership. Some informants described smoking as a means of maintaining group membership and avoiding social exclusion. The CEO informant reflects: “*For women, smoking has become part of the social circle; If you don’t smoke in a group that smokes, you feel uncomfortable, you may be bullied*.” This observation resonates with Bourdieu’s analysis of practices generated by and productive in the social sphere: smoking functions simultaneously as a response to the habitus of a peer group and as a mechanism for reproducing that habitus.³⁴

Knowledge of fatwas and religious influences varied widely across informants. Younger lower-class women (HT, DN) are largely unaware of the specific content of smoking fatwas, although they admit that the religion views smoking negatively. Middle-class urban women (KY, El) explicitly reject religious prohibitions as irrelevant to their personal decision-making, while lower-class informants who are more religiously devout (AL, SL) express an awareness of the moral complexities of their smoking but manage it through compartmentalization rather than behavioral change. These findings suggest that fatwa’s function more as background moral noise than as a determinant of proximate behavior, a conclusion consistent with industry informants’ assessment that “*fatis have an effect on public sentiment, but their impact on income is often indirect or drastic*.”

The Role of the Tobacco Industry in Building Women’s Smoking Behavior

The tobacco industry occupies a structurally ambiguous position in relation to female smokers in Indonesia. On the one hand, industry representatives consistently deny directly targeting women as a consumer segment; On the other hand, their marketing strategies, product innovations, and market analysis reveal a sophisticated awareness of female consumers as an emerging and commercially significant group. This ambiguity is a form of what McDaniel et al. call “*strategic ambiguity*”, maintaining a plausible denial

³³ Adam et al., “PERILAKU MEROKOK PADA KAUM PEREMPUAN.”

³⁴ Iswara and Martiana, “Stigma, Citra Diri, Dan Performatifitas Sosial Perempuan Perokok.”

while pursuing gender market penetration through subtle mechanisms.³⁵

An administrative official at KIHT Guluk-Guluk described the company's approach as follows:

"Companies generally use market segmentation based on taste and aesthetic preferences. Products that are considered more 'lightweight' (such as light or flavored cigarettes), slimmer packaging, and modern visual designs are often used to appeal to a wider segment of adult consumers, all genders included." (AH, March 28, 2026)

The same informant continued: "Demographically, the growing economic independence of women and changes in urban lifestyles create a new market niche. We as industry players don't directly target women; rather, we see this as an opportunity for new market expansion, we are simply supplying what the market demands." This supply-side framing is a classic example of what scholars of corporate discourse term "market naturalization", the discursive positioning of commercial activity as a neutral response to pre-existing demand rather than as a driver of demand creation.³⁶ The specific product features highlighted by the informant, "lightness," slim packaging, and modern aesthetics, have been extensively documented in global tobacco research as marketing strategies specifically designed to appeal to women without triggering scrutiny for gender-targeted advertising.³⁷

The representative of IMM Pamekasan provided a more structural critique of these strategies:

"We often see that cigarette advertisements are more oriented toward masculine imagery, such as macho aesthetics and darker packaging. However, some cigarette brands use menthol or colorful flavored packaging, and these features attract women and youth. Some advertisements also associate cigarettes with freedom, suggesting that smoking makes you look cool. These are the things that draw women in." (SL, 11 March 2026)

The co-founder of Panggung Perempuan further observed the evolution of these strategies:

"I see a shift from what was previously very explicit to now more of a lifestyle direction. Cigarettes are depicted as part of women's independence, part of the expression of the modern woman. The effect on social perception is dual: one group sees this as a form of freedom or emancipation, but on the other side, especially in conservative cultures, it is still viewed negatively. So, there is a kind

³⁵ Patricia A. McDaniel et al., "The Tobacco Endgame: A Qualitative Review and Synthesis," *Tobacco Control* 25, no. 5 (2016): 594–604, <https://doi.org/10.1136/tobaccocontrol-2015-052356>.

³⁶ STOP, "Women-and-the-Tobacco-Industry-"; Rizanna Rosemary and Masrizal, "How Harmful Is Smoking for Women? A Qualitative Study in Indonesia," 2025 13, no. 1 S1 (2025), <https://doi.org/doi:%252010.20473/jpk.V13.I1SI.2025.171-179>.

³⁷ STOP, "Women-and-the-Tobacco-Industry-."

of dual perception in our society at present.” (RW, 28 March 2026)

This observation is corroborated by global research on tobacco marketing, which extensively documents the industry’s strategic use of “emancipatory” imagery, associating smoking with women’s liberation, independence, and social status elevation, as a commercial strategy in emerging markets.³⁸ The co-founder’s description of a “dual perception” precisely captures the contested nature of this imagery: in a society where feminist discourse of women’s empowerment intersects with conservative religious and patriarchal norms, the industry’s appropriation of emancipatory language generates simultaneous legitimacy in liberal urban circles and condemnation in traditional rural ones.³⁹ These dynamic benefits the industry precisely by expanding its potential consumer base without requiring coherent normative positioning.

The health consequences of these strategies are particularly acute for women. The WHO tobacco trends report documents that women smokers face specific reproductive health risks, including increased vulnerability to cervical cancer, reduced fertility, and elevated risks of pregnancy complications and premature birth.⁴⁰ Yet the social observer RW was explicit that government has failed to develop counterbalancing public health communications targeting women specifically: “There has never been socialization focused on explaining the dangers of cigarettes for women, or on how smoking is not a lifestyle.” This regulatory gap, the absence of gender-specific tobacco control in Indonesia’s existing legal framework (Government Regulation No. 109/2012), creates a structural opening for industry strategies to shape women’s smoking behavior without meaningful institutional counterweight.⁴¹

The CEO of PT Daun Sutera Prancak is perhaps the most honest about the lack of internal industry regulation regarding gender: “If women smoke, how is it different from men who smoke? Vaping is more dangerous. There are no rules from us about who receives our products. What we are chasing is quantity, sales, revenue.” This honest statement, combined with the recognition that warning labels on packaging are the industry’s only concession to harm prevention, underscores the fundamental mismatch between the logic of industry accumulation and the public health imperatives at stake in

³⁸ Sarah E. Hill and Sharon Friel, “‘As Long as It Comes off as a Cigarette Ad, Not a Civil Rights Message’: Gender, Inequality and the Commercial Determinants of Health,” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 17, no. 21 (2020): 7902, <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17217902>; Emma Feeny et al., “Protecting Women and Girls from Tobacco and Alcohol Promotion,” *BMJ*, July 19, 2021, n1516, <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n1516>; Lauren Czaplicki et al., “Feminine Appeals on Cigarette Packs Sold in 14 Countries,” *International Journal of Public Health* 66 (June 2021): 1604027, <https://doi.org/10.3389/ijph.2021.1604027>.

³⁹ Nurul Kodriati and Rizanna Rosemary, “A Qualitative Analysis of Smoking Behavior from a Gender Perspective in Indonesia,” *Jurnal Promkes* 13, no. 1 (2025): 122–30, <https://doi.org/10.20473/jpk.V13.I1.2025.122-130>; Rizanna Rosemary and Olaf Werder, “‘To Smoke or Not to Smoke’: Indonesian Women Contesting and Negotiating the Taboo,” *Journal of Substance Use* 29, no. 5 (2024): 723–29, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14659891.2023.2202743>.

⁴⁰ World Health Organization, “WHO Tobacco Trends Report: 1 in 5 Adults Still Addicted to Tobacco”; Rosemary and Masrizal, “How Harmful Is Smoking for Women? A Qualitative Study in Indonesia.”

⁴¹ Tyas and Retnaningsih, “The Influence of Risk Perception, Smoking Fatwa Knowledge, and Smoking Behavior on the Intention to Quit Smoking in Adolescents.”

women's tobacco consumption.

CONCLUSION

This study has shown that the phenomenon of female smokers in Indonesia cannot be adequately understood through a single analytical lens. Rather, it is the product of a structured separation between three institutional logics: the profit-oriented logic of the tobacco industry, the logic of religious authority centered on *maṣlaḥah*, and the logic of class-level social normativity. This tripartite separation results in what the study calls a “structural double stigma”, a condition in which female smokers are simultaneously condemned because of gender health and moral norms, while the institutional actors whose vested interests most strongly shape their behavior remain isolated from meaningful accountability.

The divergence between NU's makrūh ruling and *Muhammadiyah's* ḥarām ruling reflects genuine methodological differences in Islamic jurisprudence, differences rooted in the availability of textual evidence in a historical context where tobacco did not exist in the Prophetic era. However, this jurisprudential plurality also has the unintended consequence of creating a normative void that the tobacco industry exploits, positioning its products as legally compliant while treating religious rulings as socially significant but commercially irrelevant.

The study further reveals that stigma against female smokers is not uniform but is deeply inflected by social class and geographic context. Urban women of higher socioeconomic status navigate smoking with considerably less social sanction than their rural or lower class counterparts, a pattern reflecting broader dynamics of class based distinction operating within Indonesian social fields. This class differentiation has intensified in recent decades as urban modernity has introduced new criteria of social distinction that partially decouple gender norms from class-specific behaviors for privileged women, while simultaneously reinforcing layered stigma for lower class women.

These findings carry several practical and theoretical implications. In the context of tobacco control policy, future regulatory frameworks should encompass gender responsive regulation of tobacco advertising and marketing, public health campaigns targeting female smokers across all age groups, not limited to pregnancy and lactation periods and the development of public education programs that do not position women as objects of moral stigmatization. Additionally, policies should specifically address the reproductive health risks associated with tobacco use. In the domain of Islamic jurisprudence, this study underscores the importance of formulating fatwa's that substantively consider the political economic structure of the tobacco industry, rather than merely assessing smoking as an individual moral choice. Theoretically, for Bourdieusian social theory, this study offers empirical evidence of how class-based habitus and field dynamics generate differential moral regulation of identical practices across social strata..

This study has several limitations. The geographical concentration limited to East Java and Madura, together with the relatively small informant sample, means that the

findings of this study cannot be explicitly generalized to the national level. The results obtained are contextual to the study area. Therefore, future research is advised to expand the geographical scope to various regions across Indonesia and to integrate quantitative methods or longitudinal designs to complement the phenomenological insights generated in this study

DECLARATION OF AI AND AI ASSISTED TECHNOLOGIES IN THE WRITING PROCESS

During the preparation of this work, the author(s) used Claude for language polishing, grammar correction, and structural refinement. After utilizing these tools/services, the author(s) thoroughly reviewed and edited the content as necessary and take full responsibility for the final content of the published article.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The authors express their sincere gratitude to all the research informants who generously shared their time and perspectives, and to the community members and organizations in Madura who facilitated field access.

REFERENCES

- Adam, Arlin, Munadhir Munadhir, and Jane Randa Patasik. "PERILAKU MEROKOK PADA KAUM PEREMPUAN." *Jurnal Berkala Kesehatan* 4, no. 1 (2018): 30. <https://doi.org/10.20527/jbk.v4i1.5667>.
- Blancafort, Xavier, Monica Serravinyals, Isabel González, et al. "Denormalization of Tobacco in a Primary Health Center." *Tobacco Prevention & Cessation* 9, no. Supplement (2023). <https://doi.org/10.18332/tpc/162892>.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press, 1984. https://books.google.co.id/books/about/Distinction.html?hl=id&id=nVaS6gS9Jz4C&redir_esc=y.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. 1st Paperback / Revised ed. Columbia University Press, 1993. <https://archive.org/details/fieldofculturalp00bour>.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Logic of Practice*. Polity Press, 1990. <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=YHN8uW49I7AC&printsec=frontcover&hl=id#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- BPS. *Persentase Penduduk Berumur 15 Tahun Ke Atas Yang Merokok Tembakau Selama Sebulan Terakhir Menurut Kelompok Umur (Persen)*, 2025. 2025. <https://www.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/2/MTQzOCMy/persentase-penduduk-berumur-15-tahun-ke-atas%20yang-merokok-tembakau-selama-sebulan-terakhir-menurut-kelompok-umur.html>.

- Chapman, S., and B. Freeman. "Markers of the Denormalisation of Smoking and the Tobacco Industry: Table 1." *Tobacco Control* 17, no. 1 (2008): 25–31. <https://doi.org/10.1136/tc.2007.021386>.
- Czaplicki, Lauren, Kevin Welding, Joanna E. Cohen, and Katherine Clegg Smith. "Feminine Appeals on Cigarette Packs Sold in 14 Countries." *International Journal of Public Health* 66 (June 2021): 1604027. <https://doi.org/10.3389/ijph.2021.1604027>.
- Feeny, Emma, Katie Dain, Cherian Varghese, George A. Atiim, Dag Rekve, and Hebe N. Gouda. "Protecting Women and Girls from Tobacco and Alcohol Promotion." *BMJ*, July 19, 2021, n1516. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.n1516>.
- Goffman, Erving. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Prentice-Hall, 1963. <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=7CNUUMKTBloC>.
- Hill, Sarah E., and Sharon Friel. "'As Long as It Comes off as a Cigarette Ad, Not a Civil Rights Message': Gender, Inequality and the Commercial Determinants of Health." *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 17, no. 21 (2020): 7902. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17217902>.
- Iswara, Artamevia, and Aris Martiana. "Stigma, Citra Diri, Dan Performatifitas Sosial Perempuan Perokok." *Dimensia: Jurnal Kajian Sosiologi* 14, no. 2 (2025): 81–90. <https://doi.org/10.21831/dimensia.v14i2.82384>.
- Kodriati, Nurul, and Rizanna Rosemary. "A Qualitative Analysis of Smoking Behavior from a Gender Perspective in Indonesia." *Jurnal Promkes* 13, no. 1 (2025): 122–30. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jpk.V13.I1.2025.122-130>.
- Mafrukha, Wahyu Nisawati, Mohammad J. Thalgi, Sarah Khairani Harahap, Ar Rasyid Fajar Nasrullah, and Hamida Nurul Azizah. "Smoking, Hijab, and Gender Identity: Indonesian Muslim Women at Café Bars from Social Jurisprudence Perspective." *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Pranata Sosial* 20, no. 1 (2025). <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v20i1.18230>.
- Major, Brenda, and Laurie T. O'Brien. "The Social Psychology of Stigma." *Annual Review of Psychology* 56, no. 1 (2005): 393–421. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.56.091103.070137>.
- Matthew B. Miles, AM Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. 04 ed. 04. SAGE, 2020.
- Mavhandu-Mudzusi, Azwihangwisi Helen, Idah Moyo, Andile Mthombeni, et al. "WhatsApp as a Qualitative Data Collection Method in Descriptive Phenomenological Studies." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 21 (April 2022): 16094069221111124. <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069221111124>.
- McDaniel, Patricia A., Elizabeth A. Smith, and Ruth E. Malone. "The Tobacco Endgame: A Qualitative Review and Synthesis." *Tobacco Control* 25, no. 5 (2016): 594–604. <https://doi.org/10.1136/tobaccocontrol-2015-052356>.

- Mike, Daube, Katherine Lee, and Kreimer,. "Tobacco Industry Interference with Tobacco Control". *Global Public Health* 13, no. 5 (2018). <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2017.1385992>.
- MUI. "Keputusan Komisi B Ijtima' Ulama` Komisi Fatwa MUI Se Indonesia III." MUI, 2009. <https://fatwamui.com/storage/530/KEPUTUSAN-KOMISI-B-HUKUM-MEROKOK.pdf>.
- Nangoi, Jessica Priscilla, and Onesius Otenieli Daeli. "Studi Etnografi Tentang Stigmatisasi dan Konformitas Perempuan Perokok dalam Budaya Patriarki." *FOCUS* 4, no. 1 (2023): 45–60. <https://doi.org/10.26593/focus.v4i1.6473>.
- Oluka, Alexander. "Phenomenological Research Strategy: Descriptive and Interpretive Approaches." *F1000Research* 14 (July 2025): 725. <https://doi.org/10.12688/f1000research.166273.1>.
- Pujiyanti, Diana, Budi Santoso, and Rina Wulandari. *Probabilitas Wanita Merokok di Indonesia Berdasarkan Faktor Sosial Ekonomi, Demografi, dan Kebahagiaan*. Secs. 1-16. 1, no. 1 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.36226/elegis.v5i1.4>.
- Rahman, M., M. Hasan, and S. Ahmed. *A Qualitative Study on Tobacco-Use Associated Behavior and Major Determinants among Women in Rural Bangladesh: An Ethnographic Approach*. Secs. 1-25. 24 (2026). <https://doi.org/10.18332/tid/13088469>.
- Rizanna, Rosemary. *Riset: Stigma Negatif Perempuan Perokok Di Indonesia Halangi Usaha Pengendalian Tembakau*. Bincang Perempuan, 2024. <https://bincangperempuan.com/riset-stigma-negatif-perempuan-perokok-di-indonesia-halangi-usaha-pengendalian-tembakau/>.
- Rohmah, Sakilatur, Ahmadi Ahmadi, and Iqbal Amin. "Women Empowerment in Islamic Educational Institutions." *Al-Jadwa: Jurnal Studi Islam* 4, no. 2 (2025): 260–72. <https://doi.org/10.38073/aljadwa.v4i2.2533>.
- Rosemary, Rizanna, and Masrizal. "How Harmful Is Smoking for Women? A Qualitative Study in Indonesia." 2025 13, no. 1 S1 (2025). <https://doi.org/doi:%252010.20473/jpk.V13.I1SI.2025.171-179>.
- Rosemary, Rizanna and Masrizal. "How Harmful Is Smoking for Women? A Qualitative Study in Indonesia." *Jurnal Promkes* 13, no. SI1 (2025): 171–79. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jpk.V13.ISI1.2025.171-179>.
- Rosemary, Rizanna, and Olaf Werder. "'To Smoke or Not to Smoke': Indonesian Women Contesting and Negotiating the Taboo." *Journal of Substance Use* 29, no. 5 (2024): 723–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14659891.2023.2202743>.
- Rudrum, Sarah, Helen Brown, and John L. Oliffe. "Understanding the Meaning and Role of Gifts given to Ugandan Mothers in Maternity Care Settings: 'The Help They Give When They've Seen How Different You Are.'" *Sociology of Health & Illness* 38, no. 8 (2016): 1318–35. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9566.12456>.
- Sæbø, Gunnar, and Marianne Lund. "Is the Perceived Public Stigma of Smokers Associated with Value Opposites? An Exploratory Cross-Sectional Analysis of

- Norwegian Data 2011–2013.” *Frontiers in Sociology* 8 (January 2024): 1051189. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2023.1051189>.
- Shah, Mustafa. “Abdul Aziz Bin Sattam, *Sharia and the Concept of Benefit: The Use and Function of Maslaha in Islamic Jurisprudence*.” *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 21, no. 1 (2019): 122–26. <https://doi.org/10.3366/jqs.2019.0372>.
- STOP. “Women-and-the-Tobacco-Industry-.” *STOP, (STOP (Stopping Tobacco Organizations and Products), 2021)*, 2021. <https://exposetobacco.org/wp-content/uploads/Women-and-the-Tobacco-Industry-IN-4.6.21>.
- Sundler, Annelie J., Elisabeth Lindberg, Christina Nilsson, and Lina Palmér. “Qualitative Thematic Analysis Based on Descriptive Phenomenology.” *Nursing Open* 6, no. 3 (2019): 733–39. <https://doi.org/10.1002/nop2.275>.
- Tavakol, Mohsen, and John Sandars. “Twelve Tips for Using Phenomenology as a Qualitative Research Approach in Health Professions Education.” *Medical Teacher* 47, no. 9 (2025): 1441–46. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0142159X.2025.2478871>.
- Tyas, Ayuning, and Retnaningsih Retnaningsih. “The Influence of Risk Perception, Smoking Fatwa Knowledge, and Smoking Behavior on the Intention to Quit Smoking in Adolescents.” *Journal of Consumer Sciences* 10, no. 2 (2025): 394–414. <https://doi.org/10.29244/jcs.10.2.394-414>.
- Wahbah, al-Zuhaylī. *Islamic Jurisprudence and Its Proofs (Terjemahan Dari Al-Fiqh Al-Islami Wa Adillatuh)*. Vol. 1. Dar al-Fikr, 2003.
- WHO. *Laporan Survei Tembakau Dewasa Global (GATS) Indonesia 2021*. 2021. <https://iris.who.int/handle/10665/378343>.
- World Health Organization. “WHO Tobacco Trends Report: 1 in 5 Adults Still Addicted to Tobacco.” *World Health Organization* (jenewa), 2025. <https://www.who.int/news/item/06-10-2025-who-tobacco-trends-report-1-in-5-adults-still-addicted-to-tobacco>.
- Yulia Novita Hanum. *Konfercab Usai, Inilah Rais Dan Ketua PCNU Sumenep 2025-2030 Terpilih Sumber: Htps://Jatim.Nu.or.Id/Madura/Konfercab-Usai-Inilah-Rais-Dan-Ketua-Pcnu-Sumenep-2025-2030-Terpilih-99fXG* ____ *Download NU Online Super App, Aplikasi Keislaman Terlengkap! Htps://Nu.or.Id/Superapp (Android/iOS)*. NU Jatim Online, 2025. <https://jatim.nu.or.id/madura/konfercab-usai-inilah-rais-dan-ketua-pcnu-sumenep-2025-2030-terpilih-99fXG>.
- Zuhaylī, Wahbah al-. *Islamic Jurisprudence and Its Proofs*. Vol. 1. Dar al-Fikr, n.d. https://www.muslim-library.com/dl/books/English_Principle_of_Islamic_Jurisprudence.pdf.
- الفقه الإسلامي وأدلته (*Al-Fiqh Al-Islami Wa Adillatuh*). Vol. 1. دمشق (Damascus). دار الفكر (Dar al-Fikr), 1417.