

## Santri, Cigarettes, and Power Relation: Soft Constructivism of Smoking Habit at Pesantren Lirboyo

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**Abstract:** *This article aims to analyze the phenomenon of smoking in the small santri community within the Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School's scope to get a specific portrait of the santri smoking behavior with the underlying factors. This study was conducted using participant observation techniques to reconstruct the meaning behind students' smoking habits at the Lirboyo. The relationship pattern between Lirboyo Islamic boarding school and Gudang Garam cigarette company experienced a faint polarization in smoking habit. Tug of the dominance in the social field about the existence of its unwelcome Islamic law against cigarettes running slowly but surely toward the conditions according to the time demands. Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School adopted the adaptation process regarding the anti-tobacco healthy life outlook without reducing the pattern of relations with cigarette producers and consumers. This pattern is called soft-constructivism towards Lirboyo according to the relevant circumstances.*

**Keywords:** *Santri, Cigarettes, Power Relation, Social Construction*

**Abstrak:** *Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis fenomena merokok pada komunitas santri di lingkungan Pondok Pesantren Lirboyo sehingga mendapatkan gambaran spesifik tentang perilaku merokok santri dengan faktor-faktor yang mendasarinya. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan teknik observasi partisipan untuk merekonstruksi makna di balik kebiasaan merokok santri di Lirboyo. Pola hubungan antara Pondok Pesantren Lirboyo dengan perusahaan rokok Gudang Garam mengalami polarisasi yang samar dalam kebiasaan merokok. Tarik menarik dominasi di bidang sosial tentang adanya syariat Islam yang tidak disukai terhadap rokok berjalan perlahan tapi pasti menuju kondisi sesuai tuntutan zaman. Pesantren Lirboyo mengadopsi proses adaptasi tentang pandangan hidup sehat anti tembakau tanpa mengurangi pola hubungan dengan produsen dan konsumen rokok. Pola ini disebut "soft-constructivism" terhadap Lirboyo sesuai dengan keadaan yang relevan.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Santri, Rokok, Relasi Kuasa, Konstruksi Sosial*

## **Introduction**

The commodity of processed tobacco in the form of cigarettes is very successful in Indonesia. In 2014 the number of cigarette production was 354.7 billion cigarettes with a population of 252.1 million people. If calculated per capita the number of cigarette production in Indonesia in 2014 was 3.8 cigarettes per person. This figure is a considerable number. In 2016, after launching Indonesian government regulation concerning materials containing tobacco products (*PP No. 109/2012 Pengamanan Bahan yang Mengandung Zat Adiktif Berupa Produk Tembakau bagi Kesehatan*), cigarette production decreased by 6 billion cigarettes with a total production of 342.6 billion cigarettes. While the population in that year reached 258.7 million people, so if it is calculated, it is still in the range of 3.62 cigarettes per person every day.

In historical terms, in 1930 there were 59.9 million people with cigarette production of only 7.27 million cigarettes or only 0,00033 cigarettes per capita per day, then 30 years later in 1961 with a population of 97 million people with cigarette production jumping to 20.22 million cigarettes or 0,00057 cigarettes per capita per day (Castles 1982: 172). Other data shows that the number of cigarettes produced experienced a significant increase in the 80s (Saptari 1992: 7). In 1981 cigarette production was 85.274 billion cigarettes, and in 10 years in 1991 increased by almost 100% to 150.123 billion cigarettes (Margana 2014: 157). Furthermore, it continues to grow until reaching its peak in 2014 which reached 354.720 billion sticks.

If the data is compared with the population of Indonesia in those years, then it can be seen how broad and real the impact of smoking. The real impact of cigarette consumption is massively detrimental to health. In a cigarette containing harmful substances, the Ministry of Health has regulated by embedding pictures and warning on cigarette packs that there are health threats to active and passive smokers.

Encounter of smokers with cigarettes has happened early. Data shows in 2006 based on Global Youth Tobacco Indonesia research, that 37.3% of students were accustomed to smoking, even 3 out of 10 students (30.9%) said they had smoked under 10 years (Zulkifli 2010: 29). Moreover, students occupy about 30% of cigarette consumers. This fact leads us to a presumption that educational institutions in Indonesia have failed to provide their students an understanding of the dangers of smoking.

Besides traditional formal education in Indonesia, there is a religious-based educational system that existed long before the formation of Indonesian state, which grew since the early arrival of Islam, namely the pesantren education system (Dhofier 2015: 38). The word "pesantren" denotes a place where the santri gather and settle to study with the *Kyai* or his teacher (Anwar 2011: 22-23). *Santri* is student who studies in pesantren, Islamic boarding schools, especially studying religion. Meanwhile, in many pesantren in Indonesia many students are active smokers. As many as 79.13% of the *Kyai* or *Ustadz* in Kudus are smokers and are followed by their students (Kumalasari 2013), *Kyai* and *Ustadz* do not influence the smoking cessation behavior of the students. Thus the position of *Kyai* and *Ustadz* in pesantren greatly determines the smoking behavior of their students (Syaifulloh 2013: 131).

In Pesantren Lirboyo Kediri, one of Indonesia's largest Islamic boarding schools, *santris* are allowed to smoke with specific rules in the pesantren code of conduct that must be obeyed. Among these regulations are that *santris* must be at least 20 years old and must use identity in the form of a Smoking Permit (SIM-Surat Izin Merokok). To get a SIM they must go through a particular process, including written approval in a statement letter from their parents or guardian. Smoking without SIM and under the age of 20 is considered as a minor ethical violation. Although there are already such rules, at Pesantren Lirboyo Kediri there are still many smoking *santris* (Tim Penyusun, 2002).

Such smoking behavior is certainly not caused by reference to religious orders delivered by the *Kyai*. Every *santri* who has learned fiqh knows that smoking's primary law is *makruh*. Knowledge on that law of smoking has been taught since religious education began in elementary classes. Even at the early childhood education level, health knowledge has been taught about the dangers of smoking. However, there are still many students who smoke. The students are taught to live, maintain hygiene and health. Simple living also means limiting worldly pleasures by increasing worship. Religious knowledge that the law of smoking is *makruh* certainly understood through its purpose and background, also its benefits and drawbacks. The debate about it has taken place since the development of Islam (Jampes n.d.:22-24). *Makruh* law shows more prohibitions than recommendations.

*Makruh* law is seemingly like a soft prohibition. There are negotiations against people who do, such as giving space to certain people behaving improperly but not

prohibited because there are specific reasons that positively impact. The positive impact of cigarettes such as the economic turnover, is extraordinarily effective for many people in the form of a sizable labor absorption in Kediri by Gudang Garam Cigarette Factory, which reaches 36.9 thousand people (BPS Kediri City 2017: 138). This situation gives the consequence that if smoking behavior is strictly forbidden, there will be another significant impact.

The dualism of conflicting interests becomes a problem that is not easy to figure out. Although the healthy living campaign continues to be vigorously carried out by the government and the private sectors, the pull of capitalist interests with moderate religious value will likely provide a negotiating space that takes quite a long time. The triumph of cigarettes that seemed unshakable despite all-out pressure from various sides, including from the religious side, shows that there is something powerful to support it—no exception to the phenomenon of smoking students in Pesantren Lirboyo in Kediri Town, East Java.

## **Research Method**

The writing of this scientific article uses an anthropological approach by tracing social phenomena seen in the students' daily lives at the Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School. Data were obtained by direct observation or participatory observation among students. Everything related to smoking behavior related to the research variable is recorded as the researcher's field note. The recent data is in the form of visual documentation and researcher notes on something that is unique and has deep meaning as a social phenomenon that correlates with the students' smoking behavior. Other data is informal interview notes with several students who smoke, former smokers, and non-smokers. The sample of students was taken from dormitory students in *Gothaan* Block J and several senior bat students to provide an overview of the social construction of smoking behavior. Data collection was carried out for one year, which spanned between November 2018 to October 2019.

In addition, supporting data were taken from around the Islamic boarding school environment, namely the Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School stakeholders who played a significant influence on the existence of this Islamic boarding school; one of the most important is the existence of PT. Gudang Garam. This trace of the influence of cigarette companies is evident. It becomes the primary supporting data because it can

directly be seen to play a role in influencing smoking behavior at the Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School in particular and the people of Kediri in general. This data is in the form of documentation of pictures of sponsorship from the company and testimonies from the surrounding community and senior students who have witnessed the collaboration process between the two.

The collected data is analyzed using a thick description technique, as Geertz does in his ethnography writings. Social phenomena captured and recorded are reviewed as closely as possible to provide an overview of something that marks a prominent construction in shaping behavior. This technique is quite relevant to describe the students' smoking habits in the Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School environment with various existing regulations to discipline the students.

## **Result and Discussion**

### **Relationship of Pesantren Lirboyo and Gudang Garam Cigarette Factory**

There is a special relationship that is not publicly exposed between Kyai Mahrus Aly (Pesantren Lirboyo) and Gudang Garam named Ing Hwie, hence Kyai Mahrus Aly once said that the prestige of Kediri is due to the existence of Gudang Garam (Mukri 2014: 138). The following generation, Kyai Idris Marzuki, also openly rejected the fatwa of the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) that smoking is haram, even though he was not a smoker.

The existence of the cigarette industry around the boarding school seems not just a coincidence but instead has a relatively complex pattern of relations. Even according to Castles (1982), the cigarette industry can influence the surrounding political, economic and religious patterns. According to a report, in Kediri there had never been an incident of anti-Chinese and racist sentiments in Kudus in the struggle for *kretek* business land in 1912. The situation was due to a very close relationship pattern in the City of Kediri (Suhadi 2005). Chinese people have been detected since the Airlangga era, which was a part of Kediri as seen from its heritage at the Semen District Site in Kediri. Suhadi noted the upheaval of Gudang Garam cigarette factory workers during the reformation and monetary crisis around 1998 which did not become anarchistic because there was a cooling figure, Kyai Idris Marzuki (d. 2014). It can be said that the role of the Kyai Lirboyo in controlling the cigarette factory workers is

enormous since the beginning of the existence of the cigarette industry in the City of Kediri.

In an interview, Sukadi, one of the senior students and alumni of Pesantren Lirboyo, said that his grandfather, a Kyai Mahrus Ali student, once told him if Kyai Mahrus Ali blessed the establishment of Gudang Garam Cigarette Factory in 1958. At that time, Ing Hwie was willing to establish a tobacco company; then he went to Kyai Mahrus Ali to ask for prayer and blessing and instructions on the right place to start the business. Even the name Gudang Garam and its symbolic branding image are also said to have been designed by Kyai Mahrus Ali. The five roofs in the symbolic brand are religiously interpreted to mean the pillars of Islam, two twin mountains mean both parents, and the railroad means a straight road.



Figure 1. Kyai Marzuki Dahlan (smoking) and Kyai Idris Marzuki

The story above shows how close the relationship between the two social institutions is. Both are major centers of social change in the City of Kediri. Like a giant pyramid, both are twin peaks that affect each other at the bottom level. With a pyramid typically culminating in one, such a pattern of relations certainly does not want one of them to lose or even die. The impression is that the two have an excellent symbiotic mutualism relationship, so it is not surprising that Gudang Garam cigarette factory provides substantial CSR funds to Pesantren Lirboyo, including the magnificent Al-Muktamar Hall built in 1999 and other funds are routinely given every year. The cottage

shop and canteen inside the Pesantren Lirboyo neighborhood also sell Gudang Garam cigarette products. The dominance of Gudang Garam cigarettes is also evident as many Gudang Garam posters are installed in every significant shop owned by the boarding school. There are even nine signposts for Pesantren Lirboyo, seemingly extraordinary within a 4 km radius sponsored by Gudang Garam. The signboard itself is divided into three parts: the top mainboard containing the name of the boarding school, then underneath is the Gudang Garam symbol, and the bottom one is the arrow-shaped signboard.

In addition, from the nine pesantren in the Lirboyo complex only in Pesantren Mahrusiyah, which allows their santri to smoke, although it remains under the central board's rules which, based on mutual agreement, limits the smoking habits of the santri. Almost all the Kyai descendants of Kyai Mahrus Ali become smokers. Gus Reza (caretaker of Pesantren Mahrusiyah 3) on one occasion said that almost all the Gus, son of Kyai, in Mahrusiyah smoked because they followed the tradition of their grandfather. He also said that almost all students also smoked, despite the strict rules of the central board of the boarding school. According to Gus Reza, smoking makes life be calm and clarifies the mind. The influence of his views was seen during the monthly kitab recitation (Kemis Legian), where at Pesantren Lirboyo, routine learning of Kitab Al-Hikam was attended by senior santris. Many of them smoke, even in the mosque where they have been warned not to smoke. Moreover, when the recitation was moved to the al-Muktamar Hall, they were freer to smoke because they felt they were no longer in the mosque. Among the students, not a few who smoked while learning the Kitab (yellow book) held on hand and listening to Kyai Anwar Manshur reading Kitab al-Hikam so that there were so many cigarette butts scattered around the place of recitation.



Figure 2: Kyai Makrus Ali (smoking)

Then the big question is why as if the pesantren's teachings about the *makruh* law of cigarettes seem to be inferior to the propaganda from cigarette manufacturers? Then where is the teaching of *makruh* law of cigarette directed? Pesantren is thus similar to the arena of cigarette contestation between cigarette producers oriented towards capitalism versus religion-oriented teachings to live, reduce worldly pleasures, be ethical, and not damage the body.

### **Santri and Cigarettes in the Arena of Religiosity and Capitalism**

In the view of Augustine and Hobbes, humans have brought about the nature of "unlimited desire," which focuses on three great desires, namely: the desire for worldly pleasures, the desire to accumulate wealth, and the desire for strength or power (Graeber 2011: 492). This unlimited desire drives humans to try fulfilling it. Ultimate human happiness will be achieved when they can fulfill all the desires, even though human abilities differ with their respective limitations. If this is not regulated correctly, it can damage itself because happiness and pleasure obtained are not natural rights but are patterned by socio-historical constructs posted regarding equality of rights to happiness by the authorities (Baudrillard 1999: 49).

Such a great desire then encourages the emergence of those who give hope to someone to achieve happiness by offering products and services as needed by the body. From this issue then came consumptive and productive activities, which also became the community's economic drivers. Capital owners and power-holders play this great opportunity to create economically profitable trends that sometimes lead to excessive consumerism. The offer of happiness becomes a "hegemony tool" for selling services



and earning maximum profits by producers. Cigarette entrepreneurs respond to the desire to indulge the mouth in producing and selling as many cigarettes as possible to get multiple benefits. Cigarette devotees are also "*tit for tat*," happily accepting the products offered in the hope of earning happiness.

Gramsci defines domination as a condition in which hegemony encompasses, as a collaboration between belief and legitimacy makes followers willing to follow the given orders without feeling forced, usually done by religious figures (Lovett 2001: 100). According to Bourdieu, domination is structured reproductively or historically, carried out by agents and institutions (family, church, school, state) in presenting their domination products (Bourdieu 1991: 34). According to Lovett, the concept of dominance is composed of three elements as follows: [1] helplessness, [2] dependency, and [3] absence of rules. Lovett further formulated that the amount of "dominance" depends on the accumulation of "function (f)" equal to the magnitude of "power (power)" plus "dependency (d)" plus "rule or rule (r)" or  $dom = f(p, d, r)$  (Lovett 2001: 104-105). These three elements cannot stand alone—the greater the number of each element, the stronger the dominance obtained by the dominator. Presumably, Lovett's opinion is closer to the reality of this smoking *santri*. If so, what is meant by domination in Lovett's view is somewhat different from the political concept of Weber's power or Gramscian hegemonic concept which is ideological, even though power or hegemony is part of one form of domination.

In the context of smoking and gender, male domination is extreme over women. Smoking becomes a symbol of masculinity and is focused on men. Bourdieu called it a symptom of androcentrism (Bourdieu 1991: 45–46), a condition where women are marginalized despite trying to fight because men have dominated all symbols. As a result, if a woman smokes is an embarrassment, immoral, and removes the image of femininity. Women who wear headscarves (female *santris*) and smoke are considered more immoral than women who are not veiled (not *santri*) and do not smoke (Handayani, et al. 2012: 63-68). This stigma becomes a symbol of male domination over women in terms of smoking in collaboration with religion. Makruh law seems only entitled for men, while women tend to be illicit in smoking. Such rules are due to the lack of women's resources and the absence of rules and women's dependence on their position on men. This condition is what Bourdieu calls symbolic violence.

The form of construction of dominance can be described as a pyramid shape. The dominators at the top end are always very few compared to the dominated ones below them. In addition to its shape, the process of making a pyramid is also identical to the shape of the pyramid itself. The intellectual architects designed their development theories, then were executed by the authorities with their power and capital, which at the end of the farmers - the lowest class - as the executor who endured all the suffering in the development process (Berger 2005: 6). There are three significant levels that, according to Berger occur in social relations as the shape of the pyramid, namely: (1) theory (intellectual), (2) power (ruler) and (3) victims of both.

To dominate the consumptive society, cigarette producers do this by strengthening the social network system in the community. Intellectuals study ways of mastering the market and constantly improvising creatively creating new products. The results of this study are then produced as a manifestation of reality which is usually displayed through cigarette advertisements. Smokers who have experienced product dependency will always use the product faithfully. This effort is strengthened by creating agents in society as a liaison between producers and consumers and the spearhead of product penetration. These agents can be stratified, from large central suppliers to small stalls in all areas to the most minor neighbourhood, even in pesantren canteens. The proof is that almost all modern and traditional stalls sell cigarettes. The network formed between these agents becomes a force that can shape consumer behavior according to producers' wishes. Thus the consumer is actually at the bottom of the pyramid of suffering. Cigarette consumers are victims of the reality formed by intellectuals and authorities. However, instead of feeling victimized, smokers - santri - instead portrayed themselves as real men because of their cigarettes.

In the context of santri smoking in pesantren, domination is not only from cigarette capitalists, but also from Kyai with more hegemonic religious teachings. The teachings about smoking are already embodied in every santri. In pesantren institutions, the Kyai is very central because he is the owner of the pesantren, intellectual and rule maker. The position of santri can almost be seen as having no authority in determining his life. Very high dependency coupled with high trust makes the santri very obedient to the Kyai. However, specifically in the smoking habit, students seem to choose space that the Kyai can do. Better teaching to leave cigarettes does not seem to be obeyed.

Such religious teachings about smoking are strongly supported by health experts and even the state considering that there are bad things that are medically real. Such domination shows that intellectuals do not all have destructive aims at the top of the pyramid level. Sometimes domination is needed by political means using specific rules to create legal coercion for good.

The phenomenon of santri smoking habits in Islamic boarding schools can be like a two-faced mask with opposing characters, or the pyramid peaks and fight over dominance. A santri smoker has become a doer and victim of his smoking habits. His knowledge about the *makruh* law of smoking, living simply, clean, healthy and minimizing worldly desires is inversely proportional to his consumptive habits of cigarettes for the sake of pampering his mouth. On the one hand, it aims to build; on the other hand it damages. This situation is like a tug-of-war competition in which two camps, pesantren and cigarette producers, compete to pull the power of attraction to win the match. Santri is like a mine, he cannot escape from other people's grasp. His presence was a decisive victory, but he also experienced tension and arbitrary pulling power so that at a certain level can break up and become a victim of damage himself.

### **Escaping from the Circle of Domination: Soft-Constructivism in Healthy Lirboyo**

There is an exciting thing that happens to adolescents in Purwokerto where they are socially structured by feeling they are not entirely men if they have not smoked (Ng, Weinehall, and Öhman 2007: 801), or in Korea where smoking is constructed as a symbol of brotherhood and a means of accelerating relations kinship, like a tool for "ice breaking" and making new friends (Dredge 1983: 289).

This success is inseparable from the work processes of the producers and their agencies. The method can be done in two forms, namely using the rough and soft ways. Examples of rough ways, for example, are by making advertisements on mass media on a large scale in which the advertisements themselves do not show smoking activity. Take the advertisement of Djarum Super cigarette as a sample with its world-class adventurers. Moreover, an example of a soft way is to provide sales profits at stalls selling cigarette products, where there is a principle of reciprocity that is mutually beneficial.

Bourdieu termed this game of struggle for resources or for domination as a usable form in a field (arena or domain) as a social arena in which there is a struggle

and competition to master each other in limited sources, as well as betting with bets in the form of cultural objects (lifestyle ), housing, intellectual progress (education), work, land, power (politics) social class, prestige and others (Jenkins 2016: 124). As a result of this betting and competition, three groups of people are created: the group that dominates, subordinates and equivalents (homology) on the results of their achievement of objects or capital. In this competition the strength or power of capital is crucial. Capital is divided into four categories, namely: first, economic capital; second, social capital (various meaningful relationships with other parties); third, cultural capital (legal knowledge of each other); fourth, symbolic capital (prestige and social prestige) (Bourdieu 1991: 230).

Another similar and more comprehensive view was expressed by Powell Lawton who said that smoking initiation was seen as a social and psychological phenomenon, mediated by the mechanism of curiosity, imitation, identification, struggle status, and rebellion (Lawton 1962: 170). Thus in addition to the psychological private-individual construct, smoking is also caused by social factors which Lawton calls psychosocial.

If referring to Caldwell's (2009: 3) opinion, it is becoming a smoker is not a natural state, but just a habit. Habits are not born from birth but are caused by manifestations of acquired knowledge (Berger and Luckmann 1991), not because of ideology. If it is due to ideology then indeed everyone is obedient to follow the smoking law. Besides, the habit of spoiling the mouth is also influenced by one's psychological state, which Freud mentioned as a form of deviation in the function of the oral sexual organs (Freud 2003: 68). Thus psychological and social or psychosocial factors (Lawton 1962: 170) determine the smoking behavior of santris.

Recognizing the influence of social construction made by cigarette manufacturers, lately, an anti-smoking campaign in Pesantren Lirboyo has been rife. At each front of the classroom, a sign with the words "no smoking" is given. Also, in the mosque and surrounding areas. Even the Al-Hasan mosque and the Lawang Songo Mosque in the Lirboyo Islamic Boarding School complex were given a smoking ban board and accompanied by severe sanctions. The Islamic boarding school's rules and regulations also include a smoking ban on santri under 20. Even on July 21, 2019, there was a meeting of the board of Kyais for cigarette control organized by the National

Commission on Tobacco Control (Komnas PT) in collaboration with the Center for Social Security Studies at the University of Indonesia (PKJS-UI).

This movement looks different from the Kyai Mahrus Ali era who was so supportive of smoking. The policy taken recently shows that soft-constructivism has taken place, although slowly but surely. A soft character becomes a form of subtle resistance that takes a long time, tends to avoid violent confrontations that are feared counterproductive; hence the *makruh* law of cigarettes seems unlikely to be changed into *haram* shortly in the boarding school environment. The image of boarding schools that are very tolerant tends to stick to *makruh* law as a dialogical position between the prohibition and the suggestion of smoking. This *makruh* view shows wise moderation in the context of a society that is still heavily dominated by cigarettes. Freeing this domination is not easy; it takes a long process to conduct.

## Conclusion

Changes in students' behavior to become smokers at the Lirboy Islamic Boarding School are influenced by environmental factors and the association of students with other students and ustadz and Kyai. The social reality of the Lirboy Islamic Boarding School students affects the new students and then forms the construction of knowledge slowly and subtly, especially regarding smoking behavior. Among santri, smoking behavior is no longer seen as something dangerous to health but as a regular thing; even smoking is considered as the identity of a real santri. This construction runs smoothly and is supported by the fiqh law of smoking as a *makruh* item that students then believe has no theological implications. There is no element of sin if people do it. In the end, the students' smoking behavior at the Lirboy Islamic Boarding School was constructed as a regular thing in their daily lives.

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