

Smoking Behavior of Male Students in Islamic Boarding Schools: A Qualitative Study

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Abstract

An Islamic boarding school is a place for the learning process for Muslim students. As a location for providing education, this place is one of the areas that apply no-smoking regulations. Male students who study at the Islamic boarding school faced obedience to the no-smoking area rules. This study used in-depth interviews and non-participant observation to track the smoking behavior of males aged 13-17 at Islamic boarding schools. In this study, nine male students and one teacher became the participants. Using a phenomenological design, traced the research subjects' values and self-control regarding their smoking behavior in the dormitory area. The values attached to smoking students are; want to look handsome, cool, macho, and accepted in the society. Meanwhile, self-control aspects include; doing candy-snacking distractions, interacting with non-smoking friends, and considering the sanctions that will be received if caught. The existence of violations committed by male students, who smoke in Islamic boarding schools with strict rules, requires an approach that understands their condition. Shifting smoking behavior can be replaced by providing literacy about life skills to increase male students' capacity to stop smoking in this area.

Keywords: Islamic boarding schools, male students, smoking behavior.

1. Introduction

Many educational institutions enforce strict rules regarding smoking bans in their areas, including the Islamic boarding school, a place to study for students. Islamic boarding schools are formal religious-based educational institutions with students or students living in them. In the Islamic boarding school, the students are faced with several rules that must be obeyed and are different from schools in general [1]. Why is there a violation of the rules committed by students? The rules and policies that apply to Islamic boarding schools are made to obey them following the values taught. However, students with different backgrounds become factors for students to practice or ignore the regulations that apply to Islamic boarding schools. Students often violate Islamic boarding school rules due to peer influence and self-satisfaction [2].

Two factors can encourage students to comply with the boarding school rules, namely; internal and external factors. Internal factors include; emotional condition, self-awareness, responsibility, moral reasoning, and self-control, while external factors include; peer behavior, exemplary teacher, exemplary school organization management, enforcement of rules, and punishment [1]. Students consume cigarettes for personal reasons and family social situations where students live and do activities. Factors outside the person referred to, among others, the influence of the environment and peers [3]. In Thailand, a personal reason for teenage students to smoke is to avoid boredom. Due to smoking can trigger several things such as; more energy, help concentrate, help to learn, and enthusiasm about doing something [4].

Indonesia has a high prevalence of smoking behavior among adolescents. About 23% of the prevalence of male adolescents who smoke in Indonesia, with an age range of 13-15 years [5]. Other countries that have a similar

condition are Afghanistan with a percentage of male teenage smokers, namely 4.3% [6], Albania, 8.3% [7], Azerbaijan; 4.6% [8]. Although smoking behavior in adolescents is relatively high in Indonesia, research results reveal that out of 166 adolescents who smoke, around 64.45% want to quit smoking [9]. Indonesia's neighboring country, Malaysia, also has a high smoking prevalence among adolescent boys. The results showed a relationship between male adolescent smoking behavior and the smoking behavior of their parents. Based on this, efforts to stop smoking in adolescents are also followed by parents [10]. School-based programs and policies will strengthen parents' and schools' involvement in supporting efforts to prevent smoking behavior in adolescents from an early age. Prevention efforts like this will have the effect of preventing adolescent smoking behavior, thereby reducing the burden of disease in adulthood [11].

Students who live in Islamic boarding schools are those who are far from their families. There is a significant risk of becoming smokers for students who live far from family [12]. Therefore, the lack of parental control is related to adolescent smoking behavior [13]. Parents assume that by entrusting their children to study in Islamic boarding schools, adolescent behavior supervision is the schools' responsibility, namely the students' teachers and the boarding school leaders. However, in reality, male adolescents who live in Islamic boarding schools are free to engage in risky behavior, including smoking. Due to they feel there is no longer any supervision from the family. This study explores information about the smoking behavior of boys who live and study in Islamic boarding schools. A phenomenological approach used to elaborate on the values and self-control displayed by the research subjects concerning their smoking behavior in Islamic boarding schools that have implemented smoking-free areas.

2. Metods

A. Instruments

This study uses instruments commonly used in qualitative designs such as; interview guides, observation sheets, recording devices, field notes, and digital cameras. The interview guide contains questions that are not rigid and adapted to tracing information in the interview process. In certain question items, probing carried out; for example, what reasons did teenage boys smoke in the dormitory environment? Who is the behavior reference? What are the values? Moreover, how do they control their smoking behavior? Observation sheets support the observation process and clarify the students' confessions about cigarette access locations and places. Although there are data collection tools available in qualitative research, the main instrument is still the researcher. Researchers' role as the main instrument in qualitative research is critical in observing expressions, behavior, and situations that accompany participants' statements

B. Informants

This study involved nine male students who smoked in the Islamic boarding school in Enrekang Regency, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. In addition to male students who were the source of information in this study, information was also traced to one of the boarding school leaders and a students' teacher—retrieval of information using in-depth interview techniques and non-participant observation. The disclosure of male students' behavior related to smoking behavior at the boarding school location used a phenomenological design. This design is considered appropriate to reveal the phenomenon and problems of male students smoking behavior at the research location, namely one of the Islamic boarding schools at the district level that has implemented a smoking-free area. The determination of the informants involved in this research was carried out by snowballing. The first person we met was one of the students' teachers to obtain information on which students had received smoking sanctions in the boarding school environment. The teacher then mentioned two students who had been convicted of smoking in the dormitory, namely student A and student B. Through these two students; the researchers then traced several other students whom they knew had the same behavior. The following describes the snowballing process in determining the participants involved in this study:

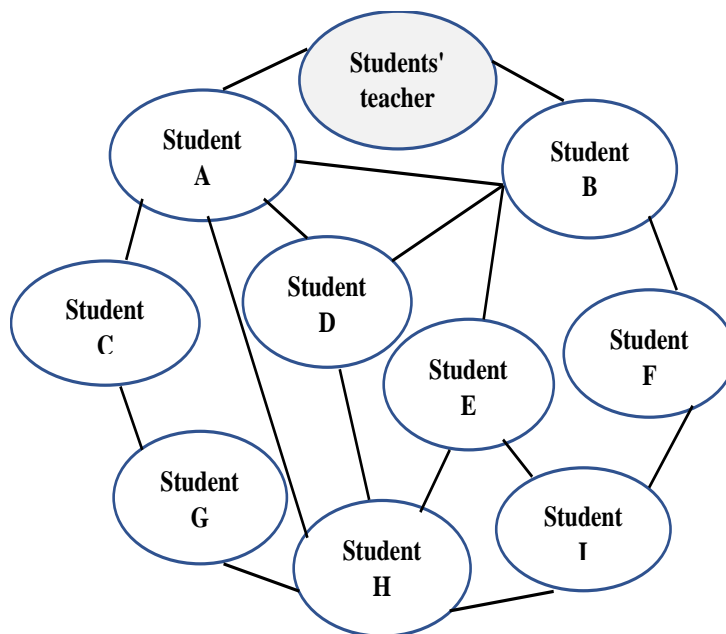


Figure 1. Schematic of the informant's snowballing process

Scheme one shows the process of tracing the participants involved in this research. The students' teacher only mentioned two students who had smoked at the boarding school, namely student A and student B. Through A; information was obtained that four of his friends also smoked in the dormitory, namely C, D, G, and H. Furthermore, B also mentioned that four other students had smoked with him at the dormitory, namely D, E, F, and "I". Some of the students recommended mentioned the same person. For example, D mentioned H, who was also mentioned by A, E, G, and "I".

Furthermore, the information found from the research subjects' expressions related to smoking behavior was studied using domain analysis. This analysis is used to explore and analyze the general description of the research subjects. Based on this general description, the interviews' findings compiled to produce a category or domain of the social situation under study, namely the problem of smoking behavior among male students in Islamic boarding schools who have implemented smoking-free area regulations. Specific issues that were studied were related to their smoking behavior, namely what values they held in expressing these behaviors and how they controlled themselves related to smoking behavior in a situation in a boarding school with strict rules.

3. Results

A. Participant's profile

The nine students involved in this study were between 13-17 years old. Student A is the oldest at 17 years, while the youngest among all the participants is H. The length of time to study at the boarding school also varies; some are only one year old, some have been in the dormitory for five years. For more details regarding the profile of participants, see the following matrix:

Matrix 1. Profile of participants

Num	Participant Code	Age (Years)	Length of stay at dormitory	Age at first smoking	Short description of participants smoking behavior
1	A	17	5 years	10 years old	A has been smoking for seven years; he started smoking before becoming a student when he was still in 4th grade. He admitted smoking because he followed the smoking behavior of his older siblings and father

Num	Participant Code	Age (Years)	Length of stay at dormitory	Age at first smoking	Short description of participants smoking behavior
2	B	16	4 years	13 years old	B started smoking after hanging out with A; he has been a smoker for three years; his smoking behavior started in the dormitory environment because he followed friends who also smoked
3	C	15	3 years	14 years old	C just started smoking in the past year; he admitted smoking because he was influenced by his senior who invited him to smoke
4	D	16	4 years	12 years old	D has been smoking for four years; he admitted smoking because he was affected by A
5	E	14	2 years	13 years old	E is the same as C, who just started smoking in the past year; he admits that he smokes for the same reason as C, namely being influenced by his seniors.
6	F	15	3 years	14 years old	Similar to C and E, F has only started smoking for one year. He admitted smoking because he noticed some of his seniors who were smoking secretly behind the classroom.
7	G	14	1 years	12 years old	G admitted that he started smoking a year before he entered the Islamic boarding school. According to him, the thing that triggered smoking was because he often hung out with his neighbors, who had started smoking since the fifth grade of elementary school.
8	H	13	1 years	12 years old	H is also the same as several other participants who admitted smoking because he was influenced by some of his seniors' smoking behavior at the dormitory
9	I	14	3 years	11 years old	Similar to several other participants, "I" started smoking before entering the boarding school. He has been smoking since the fifth grade of elementary school. Because he often saw his father and mother smoking

In matrix one, it can be seen that six students started smoking after they studied at the Islamic boarding school. The three students who smoked before studying at the dormitory smoked at a young age, namely ten and eleven. Some of the figures that become their behavior reference, among others; Parents, siblings, seniors, school friends and neighbors.

B. The smoking locations of the students

The Islamic boarding schools where students smoke is a location that has implemented Smoking-Free Area rules since 2013. Then why are there some male students smoking in this area? Furthermore, where do they get their cigarettes? An explanation from the student's teacher, who is also a disciplinarian teacher at the dormitory, is that those who smoke in the boarding school location secretly do it. Due to if caught, they will be subject to disciplinary sanctions in the form of suspension until they are expelled from the Islamic boarding schools if they have repeatedly violated them. Several students revealed that they obtained cigarettes by buying at a stall that sold cigarettes in front of the dormitory gate.

How can the students continue to smoke in the dormitory environment without being noticed by the teacher and the boarding school head? Based on several students' confessions, they stated that the locations where they smoked secretly included, in the ceiling of the toilet, in the room after bedtime, and at the classroom's back. Based on the observations of the researchers, the locations mentioned by the students would indeed be difficult for the boarding

school party to know because the smoking area is unexpected by anyone. When this confirmed to the student's teacher, he said he did not suspect that students used it as a smoking place. He also acknowledged that there was negligence in monitoring students' violation behavior such as smoking in the room. Due to after starting bedtime, which is at ten at night, there are no more teachers or school guards to check the students' condition, whether they have slept at that hour or not. Regarding the students' smoking location, it was carried out in the toilet and on the toilet ceiling; the teacher and the head of the Islamic boarding school admitted that they did not suspect that this location was also used as a smoking area. Through the findings in this study, they will immediately repair the toilet ceiling and take action against students' behavior if they are caught smoking in the dormitory. The following is a scheme that presents smoking locations for students in the Islamic boarding schools area:

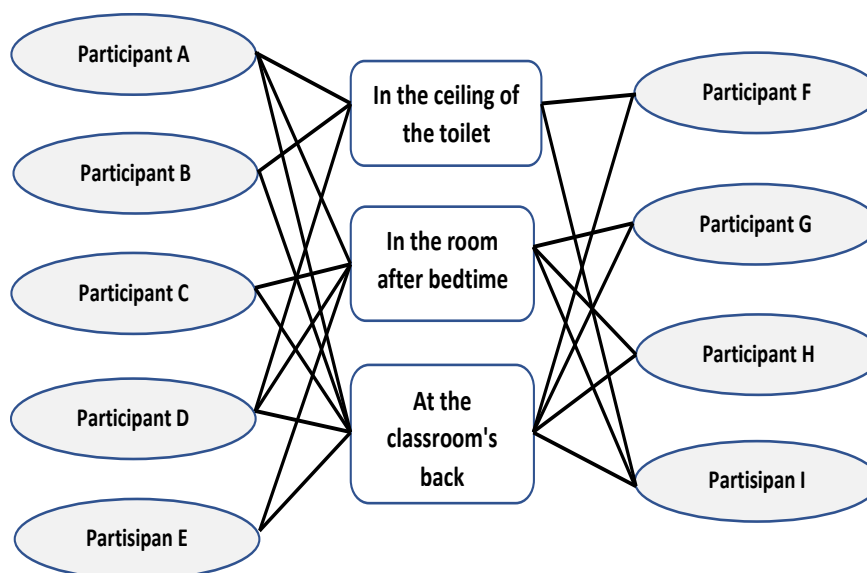


Figure 2. Schematic of the participant's smoking location in the boarding school's area

If we look at the students' smoking behavior based on their admission, some of them have known smoking for years. There are even those who have smoked for seven years, even though they are still young. Some claim to have known cigarettes since they were still in elementary school, which means that they have been smoking behavior before taking education at the Islamic boarding schools. When asked how many cigarettes do they smoke in a day? Their answers are shocking; the description can be seen in the following matrix:

Matrix 2. Number, frequency, and duration of smoking behavior of the students

Participant Code	Number of cigarettes	Frequency of smoking	Long been as a smoker
A	12	5 times a day	7 years
B	10	3 times a day	3 years
C	6	3 times a day	1 year
D	10	4 times a day	4 years
E	6	3 times a day	1 year
F	4	2 times a day	1 year
G	8	4 times a day	2 years
H	4	2 times a day	1 year
I	12	4 times a day	3 year

Based on the information presented in matrix two, it appears that all informants smoke in the boarding school environment, which, in this case, has implemented a smoking-free area. They admit that this smoking behavior occurs without teachers, boarding school leaders, and cottage guards aware. If it is related to the information in

figure two, it can be understood that their smoking behavior is carried out secretly and in places that are not monitored by the boarding school side.

C. Embraced values

Informant confession regarding; length of being a smoker, age when first started smoking, number of cigarettes smoked per day and smoking frequency in a day. Also, specific locations for smoking, and initial referrals to they started smoking, triggered a curiosity about what values the students held to they could smoke. Based on the interview results, it was revealed several things that were the values attached to their smoking behavior. The values they put forward include; want to look handsome and cool, want to be called macho, and be accepted in relationships. An explanation of the values they put forward can be seen in the following matrix:

Matrix 3. The values that are the reasons for the smoking behavior of the students

Values	Participant Code	Reasons for espoused values
Want to look handsome and cool	A, B, D, and "I"	- Want to be like fathers, siblings, and seniors who look handsome and cool when smoking
Want to be called macho	A, B, D, G and "I"	- Want to be like actors and commercials who look macho while smoking - Want to be considered macho and attractive to the female students
In order to be accepted in the association	B, C, D, E, F, G and H	- In order not to be ostracized by friends and seniors - So as not to be bullied by friends and seniors - Want to be recognized by its existence in the association of peers and seniors - In order to have a recognized group or community

Based on the matrix three, it can be interpreted that students' smoking behavior is more triggered by external factors outside themselves, such as; family, advertisements, and peers. The same thing was admitted by the student's teacher, who acted as the teacher enforcing discipline in the boarding schools. The student's teacher argued that the student who was caught smoking was then submitted to the boarding school's disciplinary enforcement committee for sanctions. They admit the reasons that make them their friends and seniors influence smokers.

D. Self-Control

Some of the smoking students who participated in this study realized that their behavior was not good for health and violated the rules regarding smoking-free areas implemented in the boarding schools. Some of them try to quit and try to exercise self-control over the temptation to smoke. The efforts made by those who wish to quit smoking or resist the temptation to smoke, such as; snacking on candy and hanging out with non-smoking friends. The students understand that smoking is not allowed in the boarding schools; some have suspended because teachers and school guards catch them. However, their addiction to smoking and the influence of their relationships are more substantial not to stop their smoking behavior. The following matrix shows who among the participants had the desire to quit smoking and who still wanted to maintain their smoking behavior:

Matrix 3. The values that are the reasons for the smoking behavior of the students

Attitude Position	Participant Code	Self-Control Efforts	Effects of Effort
Want to quit smoking	C, E, F, G and H	- Snacking on candy - Interact with friends who don't smoke	- Forgetting for a moment the urge to smoke - Feel calmer, less restless

		- Given the sanctions that will be received if caught smoking in the dormitory environment	- There was a desire to quit - Consider friends who do not smoke to be healthier and happier - Not worried about sanctions
Do not want to quit smoking	A, B, D and "I"	Do nothing	

In matrix four, it can be seen that the participants are divided into two categories regarding their smoking behavior status. Some want to quit; some do not care and still want to maintain their smoking behavior. Those who want to stop smoking then make behavioral control efforts by remembering the sanctions they will get if they are caught smoking in the boarding school environment. This self-control effort then has a positive effect on the students, including they become calmer and less restless.

4. Discussion

Smoking behavior among adolescents in Indonesia is associated with several factors. First, the socio-demographic determinants include; age, gender, family structure, pocket money, parental education, parental work, class, and school area. Second, personal determinants, including curiosity, self-efficacy, attitude, and positive perceptions of tobacco consumption's effects on the mind. Apart from these two factors, it is believed that smoking has two functions. Firstly, the determinants of behavior include class attendance, academic score, and physical activity. Secondly, environmental determinants include having friends, peers, parents, siblings who smoke, family functions, accessibility, availability, and affordability of tobacco products. There are differences in socio-demographic factors between smokers and non-smokers - besides, personal determinants and smoking behavior among adolescents are mainly influenced by the environment [14]. The school environment and role model behavior play an important role in encouraging adolescent students' smoking behavior [15].

Participants in this study were boys aged 13-17 years. Based on WHO data (2018), the number of smokers at this age in Indonesia is 23.4 million or around 9% of the total population [16]. Several research results that also target adolescent smokers with the age range of 13-17 years reveal that if teenagers are found smoking at that age, their age is much younger [17]–[19]. Astuti's research shows that of the 188 adolescent smokers studied, they admitted to smoking between 8-14 years. Students mostly did smoke behavior at the age of fifteen, which was 9.1%. Students with an average age of 11-16 years have been smoking activities starting at fewer than ten years [20]. Likewise, this study's findings reveal the age at first acquiring cigarettes in male students based on the data presented in matrix one, which is between 10-14 years.

The prevalence of smoking behavior among adolescents is alarming because the frequency ranges from 15-50% in quantity. Adolescents often "identity search" and anxiety about the future that is different from other age groups. They also experienced violent rebellion against authority figures. If families respond negatively to these actions, they become much more open to environmental influences [21]. The determinant of the growth and development of smoking behavior is mainly due to the environment's influence or pressure [22]. Therefore, it is essential to intervene in adolescents from an earlier age before they start smoking [12]. The frequency and amount of smoking are closely related to the age of starting smoking. Therefore, smoking prevention programs must be started from adolescence [23].

The problem of smoking behavior needs attention because smoking behavior that starts in adolescence can continue into adulthood [24]. Smoking in adolescents is a significant public health problem, leading to the risk of addiction, morbidity, and mortality in the long term [25]. Many teenage students in Korea begin to develop smoking habits before they reach adulthood [26]. Psychological and social factors influence the smoking intention of Korean male adolescents. The intention to smoke increases along with higher stress levels as a tendency from a psychological aspect [27].

Adolescents who smoke are mostly those who have families who also smoke. In this study, several male adolescents stated that their current smoking behavior originated from the desire to imitate their parents' smoking

behavior (father and mother) and their older brothers. Several studies have also found the same thing: adolescents usually use their father, older brother, or other family members as a reference in their smoking behavior [19], [25], [28]. Adolescents' smoking behavior is driven by imitating their parent's and siblings' habits and the lack of attention and supervision from the family. In this case, parents are actors who indirectly introduce cigarettes to adolescents when they are young. Unconsciously, adolescents who are in the family environment every day will be stimulated by the smoking behavior of their parents [29], [30].

Not only parents who smoke, friends who smoke are also closely related to adolescent smoking behavior [31], [32]. Research results find a relationship between smoking fathers and smokers peers with smoking habits in male adolescents [33]. At first, adolescents only try and follow friends in social interactions to teenagers start to become addicted and dependent on smoking because by smoking, adolescents feel that they are real men and are more confident [29], [34]. Friends' environment is an aspect that cannot be avoided by teenagers because they are vulnerable to being influenced by their peers [29]. The number of close friends who are smokers is significantly associated with an increased intention to smoke [35]. The higher the support of parents and peers for smoking, the higher the smoking behavior of students or adolescents [17], [18], [36]–[44]. The results of this study also reveal the same thing that male adolescents, as the subject of this study, make seniors, friends in boarding schools, and neighbors as a reference for their smoking behavior.

The level of self and peer awareness has a significant influence on the smoking behavior of male adolescents. Whether they smoke behavior or not depends on the strength of their social ties with their friends [45]. The influence of friends at school still plays a vital role in adolescent smoking behavior. Those who smoke will build a network of friends at school with friends who also smoke [46]. The impact of peer influence was more substantial for adolescent smoking initiation than for smoking cessation. Adolescents rarely start smoking without peer influence but will be able to quit smoking while their friends continue to smoke [47]. The higher the exposure to cigarette smoke, the more smoking friends, and watching friends smoking at school are closely related to adolescent smoking behavior [48].

Apart from the influence of their parents, family, and friends, some male students imitate the priest who smokes as their role model in the Islamic boarding schools. As role models, students make the priest a reference and role model in various aspects of life, including smoking behavior. Students, who smoke in the boarding school environment, follow the ulama's fatwa that allows smoking. Therefore, there is no strong argument against smoking behavior. Besides, it is driven by the belief that there is a blessing in every remaining cigarette butt from the priest [49], [50]. However, a different thing was found in this study, that none of the male students mentioned the priest at the Islamic boarding schools as a reference for their smoking behavior.

The tendency of male adolescents to smoke in Islamic boarding schools in this study is because they positively value smoking. A research result states that students who have positive attitudes and values towards cigarettes have five times the chance to smoke [51]. This variable has a relationship, and dominantly affects students' smoking behavior [38], [52], [53]. In addition to attitudes and values, positive thoughts about smoking are also predictors of adolescent smoking experiences [54]. Students who show positive values and attitudes towards smoking are smokers and have smoking friends [55]. Positive attitudes and values towards smoking on the psychological aspects and the support from friends to smoke are closely related to the increase in adolescents' smoking behavior in China [56]. In this study, the values attached to smoking students are; want to look handsome, cool, macho, and accepted in the social. Likewise, in other research, it is revealed that smoking behavior creates a high sense of self-confidence from adolescents as a man in approaching the opposite sex without feeling embarrassed and increases the concentration in facing problems [3]. Adolescents assume that smoking will look dashing, manly, and taken into account by their group [3], [39]. Teens who smoke have an identity that smoking is a measure of a person's maturity and can also increase self-confidence. They tend to be considered open and easy-going by their fellow neighborhood friends [3], [29]. In this case, male adolescents assume that those who smoke are slang adolescents who always follow the times and modern lifestyles. They do not think that apart from health problems, smoking behavior can have an impact on social behavior, such as the problem of violations by diverting the allowance that should be used to pay school fees [3].

Although male students' smoking behavior in this research has been practiced for several years, even before they became students at the Islamic boarding school, some of them intended to quit. The desire to quit smoking is based on their awareness that smoking impacts their health and psychological aspects. Self-control efforts were undertaken by adolescents to try to quit smoking include; snacking on candy, hanging out with friends who do not smoke, and remembering the sanctions that will be received if caught smoking. As the findings in this study show that self-control plays a role in the smoking behavior of male students, other findings also reveal the same thing that there is a significant influence between self-control and smoking behavior of adolescents in Islamic boarding schools, with a value of $R^2 = -0.699$ [57]. Low self-control makes adolescents unable to regulate and direct their behavior to uncontrolled actions appear, such as smoking behavior [58]. Self-control is one of the variables related to students' smoking behavior, in addition to parental control factors, attitudes, and peers [59]. There is a relationship between self-control and smoking behavior in students [60]; the higher the self-control, the lower the smoking behavior intensity in male adolescents [61]. Self-control strategies used by adolescents in Taiwan to motivate themselves to quit smoking or prevent themselves from returning to smoking are; thinking about family or friends, looking for activities, thinking about wasting money and thinking about physical impairment or stunting [45].

This research also revealed that even though the Islamic boarding schools had implemented a smoke-free area, this did not prevent students from accessing cigarettes from stalls selling cigarettes in front of the school gate. Other research results in Portugal revealed that smoking banned in schools and closed public places did not prevent adolescents from accessing cigarettes outside of school (84.0% of the 2,444 samples) in six Portuguese Coimbra schools [62]. On the other hand, research results find a relationship between the sanctions imposed on students who are caught smoking and Islamic boarding schools' effectiveness that apply smoking-free areas ($p = 0.001$) [63]. Besides, attitudes and internal supervision also influence the school's commitment to implementing smoking-free areas [64].

School-related cognitive and psychological involvement and close peers' smoking habits were significantly associated with smoking intention among middle school-aged Korean adolescents. These findings suggest that creating school environments and policies for increased cognitive and psychological engagement is needed to prevent adolescents' smoking intentions. Besides, group interventions involving close peers would be useful in reducing smoking intentions. Adolescents must be allowed to be exposed to positive activities such as physical activity-based activities. These activities promote a sense of belonging and share their beliefs about health-related habits [65]. Based on this, adolescent smoking behavior interventions should consider individual factors and adolescent social, environmental factors [66].

The important thing concerning adolescent smoking behavior in the school environment is the policy implication. It is necessary to maintain strict smoking policies to reduce smoking behavior in a school environment. A strict policy in the form of implementing comprehensive rules (without exception). For example, smoke-free schools, and focus attention on health-related consequences through counseling and educational approaches [67].

5. Research Implications

The results of this study imply that; (1). Parents of adolescents who live in Islamic boarding schools still have the responsibility to monitor adolescent behavior (2). Knowing adolescents' smoking behavior in the boarding school environment encourages the need to build a behavior control system on the boarding school part to they are not missed (3). A program or intervention is needed that targets explicitly adolescents who are boarding and studying in Islamic boarding schools in the form of complimentary activities to prevent them from having time for behaviors that are risky to their health.

6. Limitations

Some of the limitations of this study are 1). The number of participants in this study was not large, as one of the peculiarities of the qualitative method, 2). The triangulation process is only carried out for student's teachers in Islamic boarding schools; there were no visits to the parents' homes for further confirmation, 3). Triangulation method was carried out between interview and observation results only; no document review was carried out to

check data on sanctions received for students who violate the rules prohibiting smoking in Islamic boarding schools, even though some students have received sanctions.

7. Conclusion

Students who participated in this study were young boys aged 13-17 years. Some smoked before becoming students, and some were familiar with smoking before entering the Islamic boarding school. The students' first age is that smoking is relatively young; some start smoking at the age of ten and eleven years. The duration of being a smoker also varies; some have smoked for seven years, four years, three years, and more have just tried smoking in the past year. Some people who become examples of the students' smoking behavior are; Parents, siblings, seniors, classmates, and neighbors. Even though smoking is not allowed in the boarding school environment, the students get cigarettes at the stall in front of the cottage gate then smoke secretly in the ceiling of the hollow toilet, bedroom, and back of the classroom.

The value adopted by young students with their first smoking behavior is want to look handsome and cool like fathers, siblings, and seniors used as examples of their smoking behavior. Second, young men want to be called macho like cigarette commercials. Third, in order to be accepted in the community of seniors, friends, not to be isolated and not bullied.

The students were divided into two categories of attitudes regarding smoking behavior. Some want to quit; some still maintain their behavior. For those who want to quit, self-control efforts include; snacking on candy, interacting with friends who do not smoke, and remembering the sanctions that will be received if caught smoking in the boarding school environment. By exercising these behavioral controls, the students could forget for a moment the desire to smoke, feel calmer, not anxious, and have no worries about the sanctions that will be received.

The findings in this study indicate the need for an approach that favors the conditions of male students who are boarding in Islamic boarding schools. The approach is in the form of smoking behavior diversion by providing literacy about life skills to increase the capacity of male students. Equipping them with literacy about various positive activities such as sports, honing their talents, and building dynamic interactions with peers can divert smoking habits in the boarding school locations.

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