



Original Article

Generational Symbolic Violence Against Women in *Cigarette Girl* by Ratih Kumala

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Abstract:

This study discusses symbolic violence against women of the novel *Cigarette Girl* by (Kumala, 2017) in the context of generational patterns. According to (Bourdieu, 1977) symbolic violence is an implicit, unseen, and often hidden type of domination, which is based on cultural norms, social expectations, and the daily practices. The study employs the notions of symbolic violence, habitus, doxa, capital, and field as posited by Bourdieu to the research in order to understand how gendered domination is internalized and reproduced across generations within the family setups, practices in the industry, and cultural traditions as portrayed in the novel. The study reviews and identifies the instances of symbolic violence using qualitative textual analysis and close reading of narration, dialogue, and interaction of characters, based on silencing, emotional containment, lack of autonomy, and normalization of gender inequality. The results prove that symbolic violence towards women in *Cigarette Girl* is perpetuated across the generations based on the family values, the cultural memory, and patriarchal conventions institutionalized in the domestic and social sphere.

Keywords: *Cigarette Girl*, symbolic violence, habitus, doxa, capital, and field.

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Introduction

Symbolic violence is a form of domination that is very subtle and exists in the social expectations, cultural norms, and daily practice (Reyes-Reinoso et al., 2024). (Bourdieu, 1977) explains that symbolic violence is a certain form of domination which is not based on the use of physical force but operates through meaning systems accepted as legitimate by the people who are subjected to them. Since this type of violence is engraved in language, traditions, and social relations, it seems to be quite natural and beyond doubt (Fatahillah, 2019). Consequently, those victims of symbolic violence can internalize imbalanced power relationships and project them in their daily activities.

The symbolic violence has a close correlation with the gender relations in patriarchal societies. In most social setups, culture and family set-ups create expectations regarding the roles of men and women. Such expectations tend to place men as people of authority and the women are expected to play the supportive or housewife roles. Domination is normalized and challenging to break when these gender norms are put as natural. According to [Bourdieu \(1997\)](#), this process gets strengthened by means of habitus, which is defined as internalized dispositions developed as a result of lengthy socialization, and doxa, which is the beliefs considered as a given in a social field. The unequal relations between genders can be reproduced not by direct coercion between generations through the habitus and doxa.

Symbolic violence has served to advantage the analysis of domination in literary works through narrative structure and character relations ([Arifin, 2021](#)). Unequal gender relations are often depicted in literary texts in their day to day interactions that seem to be normal but are rooted in the underlying social hierarchies. These minor acts of domination may be explored through close reading of narrative interactions and character experiences ([Darwis, 2021](#)). Similar analyses of symbolic violence in literary narratives have also been conducted in works examining gender relations in contemporary fiction ([Arofah & Mustofa, 2022](#)).

A number of past researches have investigated gender inequality and discrimination within the literary texts, and in the novel, *Cigarette Girl*. In ([Meisabillah et al., 2024](#)), the Netflix adaptation of *Cigarette Girl* is studied through the prism of the framing theory, indicating gender inequality. Their analysis shows how the character Jeng Yah challenges gender stereotypes and points to the existence of gender inequality in the kretek industry and the domestic areas. Nevertheless, the discussion is mostly on the presence of inequality manifested through visible representations in the film adaptation, and does not attempt to examine how domination is internalized by women characters.

In the same manner, ([Kurniawati, 2024](#)) analyses how women lived in the public sector in the novel *Gadis Kretek*. The research reveals that female characters hold some of the positions in the kretek industry such as factory management and manufacturing positions. Though this study notes the existence and role of women in the social arena, the discussion focuses on women empowerment and fails to consider how the concept of patriarchal domination can be perpetrated and perpetuated through cultural dictates and family values.

([Narti et al., 2024](#)) explore the subject of discrimination against women in the movie *Cigarette Girl* through the semiotic approach. Their analysis proves that the visual elements, the dialogue, and narrative evidence depict gender stereotypes and restrictions of a female role in the kretek industry. Although the research manages to point out all the representations of discrimination, the analysis is more about visual and narrative symbolism than the study of the connections between the representations and other more profound social processes of domination.

Besides, ([Widarwati & Purnomo, 2025](#)) perform a critical discourse analysis of English version of *Cigarette Girl*. Their results indicate that they use sexist discourse with negative assessment of women, male-focused norms and depicting women as weak or dependent. This work has significant information on the ways in which language is used to display patriarchal ideology. Nevertheless, it does not specifically analyze the role of these discourses in determining the behavior of women, and internalization of subordination in the family set ups.

There is also other literature on the topic of gender and violence in literature works,

which offers some pertinent viewpoints. In the novel *Heartbreak Motel*, [\(Furqon et al., 2023\)](#) examine instances of domestic violence against women in a feministic approach. Their study reveals physical and emotional violence that female characters go through in the domestic context. Despite the fact that this research leads to the comprehension of gender-based violence, it is mainly based on the direct and explicit forms of violence instead of the mechanisms of domination that are subtle. Other literary studies have also highlighted how violence against women can appear through subtle forms of domination embedded in cultural expectations and narrative structures [\(Febriyanti & Retnaningdyah, 2021; Fhadila et al., 2024\)](#).

These earlier works reveal the fact that gender inequality and discrimination are well-researched in the literary and cultural analysis. Nevertheless, the majority of studies are devoted to observable types of oppression, resistance by feminists or portrayal of women in society. There are not many studies which analyze symbolic violence as the equilibrium of power which is distinguished as subtle and normalized and functions in terms of the cultural tradition and family expectations and daily practices. Moreover, the literature review on *Cigarette Girl* does not specifically examine the reproduction of symbolic violence among generations in the story.

Symbolic violence is a powerful context in the novel *Cigarette Girl* by Ratih Kumala as it is displayed in connection with gender relations and cultural traditions. The novel is set against the backdrop of the historical events of the kretek business in Indonesia and allows tracing the destiny of women who have to overcome the influence of family, social conventions, and the system of economies, in which men are at the forefront. The story, through the contacts of the characters, portrayal of both domestic and social setting, helps to realize how patriarchal values influence the lives of women and affect their emotional and social lives.

This study analyses symbolic violence in the novel *Cigarette Girl* by Ratih Kumala, which is generational against women. The study will examine the three concepts of symbolic violence, habitus, doxa, capital, and field by Pierre Bourdieu in terms of the ways gendered domination is represented and passed down through generations in the cultural traditions, family dynamics and daily practices within the story.

Earlier literary analysis of the novel *Cigarette Girl* has also explored the portrayal of female characters and feminist themes within the narrative [\(Dewi, 2017\)](#). The feminist, semiotic, framing, and discourse-based approaches have been used in previous studies to analyze gender inequality and discrimination in *Cigarette Girl* and other literary works. [\(Meisabillah et al., 2024\)](#) examines the Netflix version on gender inequality using the framing theory. [Kurniawati \(2024\)](#) dwells upon the presence of women in the public positions in the novel. [Narti et al. \(2024\)](#) use the tool of semiotic analysis to find the instances of discrimination against women in the film version. [\(Widarwati & Purnomo, 2025\)](#) use critical discourse analysis to examine the issues of gender stereotypes in the English translation. [Furqon and Santi \(2023\)](#) employ feminist theory to examine physical and emotional violence at home.

Although these studies provide valuable insights into gender inequality and discrimination, they tend to focus on visible manifestations of oppression or representation. Few examine symbolic violence as subtle, normalized domination, and none focus specifically on generational symbolic violence in *Cigarette Girl*. This research fills that gap by applying Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence, habitus, doxa, capital, and field to examine how gendered domination is internalized and transmitted across generations.

Research Method

This study adopts a qualitative descriptive approach with textual analysis as the primary method. Textual analysis allows for an in-depth examination of narrative elements, character interactions, and implicit power relations within the text. The primary data source is the English version of *Cigarette Girl* translated by Annie Tucker.

Data collection is conducted through close re-reading of the novel, identification of gendered power relations, highlighting gender norms, extraction of passages showing symbolic domination, and grouping data based on Bourdieu's concepts. Data analysis involves theoretical framing, close reading, coding of data based on categories of symbolic violence, habitus, and doxa, interpretation using Bourdieu's concepts, contextual analysis, and critical explanation of generational gender domination.

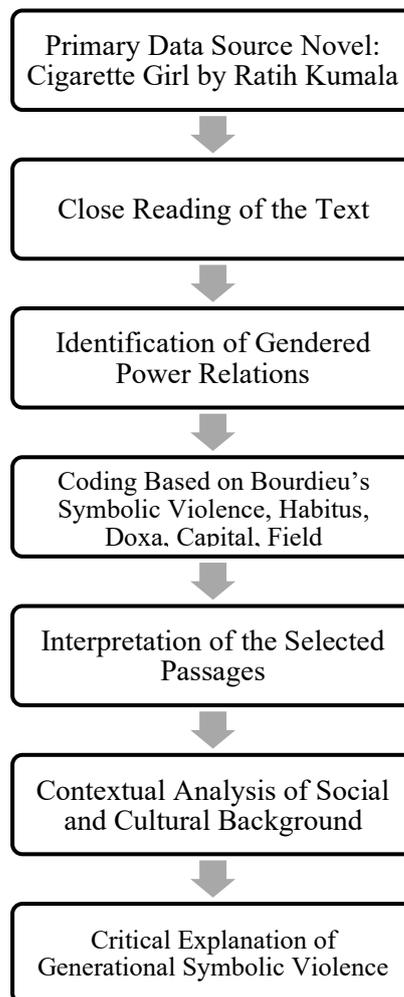


Figure 1. Flowchart of Analysis

Symbolic violence is identified through instances of silencing, emotional control, limited autonomy, and normalization of gender inequality. Habitus is examined through repeated behaviors, attitudes, and dispositions shaped by family upbringing and cultural expectations. Doxa is identified through unquestioned norms and beliefs that justify gender roles as natural. The analysis further traces how these elements are reproduced across generations through family relationships, industry practices, and cultural memory.

To demonstrate the analysis process used in the present research, the general data analysis process is presented in the following flowchart. The diagram reveals the manner by which the textual elements captured in the novel, *Cigarette Girl*, are compiled, coded, decoded, and interpreted using the theoretical framework of Pierre Bourdieu in trying to locate and react to the reality of the existence of generational symbolic violence against women. The flowchart also shows the chronological steps involved in the research process where the identification of the relevant passages as gendered power relations within the narrative is done. These texts are then divided and analyzed on the basis of conceptual symbolic violence, habitus, doxa, capital and field. This systematic process will help the analysis to show the connection between cultural practices, social pressures, and family frameworks in perpetuating the legacy of patriarchal oppression between generations in the novel.

The analysis will start with close reading of the novel to find passages in the novel that indicate gendered power relations as the analysis is illustrated in Figure 1. The passages chosen are then coded based on the Bourdieu concepts of symbolic violence, habitus, doxa, capital and field. The interpretations and examination of the passages after the coding process are based on the contextual analysis to comprehend the influence of the patriarchal norms and cultural traditions on the experiences of the female characters. The last part of the analysis is the critical explanation of how the symbolic violence against women is replicated through the generations within the narrative of *Cigarette Girl*.

Result

This section presents the findings of the analysis of selected passages from Ratih Kumala's *Cigarette Girl*. The analysis focuses on scenes that illustrate symbolic violence against women within domestic traditions and everyday gender relations. Each passage is examined through close reading in order to identify how symbolic violence, habitus, and doxa operate in the narrative and how these mechanisms contribute to the reproduction of gender domination across generations.

Tradition and Gendered Division of Labor (p. 85)

The first passage describes a cultural tradition practiced in M Town after the birth of a child.

“According to tradition, in M Town, for the seven nights when the father was guarding his new-born’s placenta, the other fathers from the neighbourhood would gather at his house and stay up all night long with him, giving him company. In return, the family of the baby was responsible for preparing all kinds of sweets and snacks and cigarettes for the guests. Roemaisa’s mother and mother-in-law, along with a few other women in the neighbourhood, would cook and prepare these dishes for their guests.”
([Cigarette Girl, p. 85](#))

The opening phrase “according to tradition” immediately establishes the cultural legitimacy of the practice. Within the context of Bourdieu (1997), this expression represents how doxa functions, which entails beliefs and practices that are not even questioned in a social field. The practice is given as a tradition, thus making it seem as natural and unquestionable instead of domination. This explains the way symbolic violence works when unequal social set up is perceived to be a normal cultural activity.

The passage also shows how the roles of genders are put together in the domestic field. As the male characters are united in the house to accompany the father and spend time with him at night, the women in the house are the ones who prepare the food and serve the guests. The novel states “the family of the baby was responsible for preparing all kinds of sweets and snacks and cigarettes.”. Practically however, this is done by the mother, mother-in-law, and other women within the neighborhood of Roemaisa.

This is the case in which symbolic violence works in our daily activities. The role that the women play in preparing food and serving guests seems to be a voluntary role and anticipated. No clear order is given to make them execute these activities. Rather, their involvement is a message of the internalized social imperative of gender roles. This behavior according to Bourdieu, is the manifestation of the habitus which is a set of dispositions that individuals acquire due to the process of long-term socialization in a family and a cultural environment.

Habitus allows women to conduct domestic work unconsciously since this kind of behavior is acquired and normalized during their lifetime. The women here do not doubt their role in making food or serving the visitors. Their behavior shows how symbolic domination is incorporated into everyday life. Consequently, this discrepancy in the allocation of work between men and women is now replicated without outright pressure.

Moreover, the fact that there are several generations of women involved in preparing the food shows the continuity of the practices within the generations. The mother and mother-in-law of Roemaisa are the ones who show up in the ritual with other women in the society. Their participation supports the view that women serve at home when it comes to social events. Through this, symbolic violence is recreated by cultural traditions that are passed down within the family and community systems.

Postpartum Exhaustion and Normalized Suffering (p. 86)

The second passage highlights the unequal experiences of men and women during the postpartum ritual.

“The women who had been asked to help would take turns preparing tea. The men talked all night long, smoking, playing cards or checkers to pass the time. Roemaisa didn’t like this tradition. The noise made by the men bothered her; they were enjoying themselves and treating the house as if it were their own. She still needed a lot of rest after giving birth.” ([Cigarette Girl, p. 86](#))

This passage brings out the difference between the work of men and women in the same home environment. The men are said to be chatting, smoking and playing games at night, whereas the women keep on preparing tea and serving the guests. The story, thus, demonstrates a clear separation of idleness and work. The role of male characters as the guests and the participant of the social interaction is taken away, and women are left to the duty of keeping the house and offering hospitality.

Non-equality of comfort and responsibility is the manifestation of the work of the symbolic violence of the domestic sphere. Even though the ritual is designed as a cultural practice meant to promote the father, it also adds further labor to the women in the house. Their participation by the women does not come out as a burden but a social expectation. This gendering of labour depicts how symbolic violence in its day-to-day practices is normalised. Reaction of Roemaisa to the situation gives us the idea of emotional results of

such symbolic domination. This tradition is explained in the passage as “Roemaisa didn’t like this tradition”. This fact reveals that she is aware of the injustice of the practice. Nevertheless, she is not fighting the men or opposing the ritual. Instead, she does not say anything as the gathering goes on.

This response proves that habitus plays a role in determining behavior. Roemaisa experiences pain and fatigue following delivery but the social norms of the practice do not allow her to resist the circumstance. Her reaction helps to understand how people can internalize social norms that do not allow rebelling against unfair treatment. The text also supports the idea of doxa, since the ritual is a common and unquestionable practice in the society. Although Roemaisa feels tired and irritated emotionally, the tradition goes on. The fact that other characters have accepted this practice shows that the inequitable treatment of women has become a part of the culture.

Emotional Management and Generational Reproduction (p. 87)

The third passage illustrates the emotional consequences of symbolic violence and its reproduction across generations.

“Roemaisa, who had always loved the smell of cloves, now wished they never existed. When her little baby howled yet again after being startled by the men’s loud laughter, she decided she had had enough. It was the final straw. The new mother burst into frustrated tears. Her mother-in-law understood why she was crying, picked up the baby and cuddled it in her embrace, singing to it softly.” ([Cigarette Girl, p. 87](#))

This scene is when Roemaisa breaks emotionally following the noise and commotion generated by the men at her house. “Burst into frustrated tears”, her breaking into frustrated tears is the indication of the psychic influence of the situation. Instead of challenging the custom or asking the assembly to cease her reaction is in the form of emotional suffering. This response is a symbolic violence internalization. To Bourdieu ([1997](#)), symbolic domination can cause people to make sense of their suffering as an individual emotional reaction, as opposed to a consequence of structural inequality. The tears of Roemaisa can thus be seen to be the emotional repercussions of a social order that dictates that women be subordinate in the domestic environment. Similar emotional consequences of symbolic domination have been observed in other literary analyses that explore the psychological impact of unequal gender relations ([Ningsih & Arianto, 2022](#)).

This reaction reflects the internalization of symbolic violence. She does not doubt the ritual and does not accuse the behavior of the men but comforts the baby and copes with the emotional state of affairs. Her response does not dispute the cultural practice that led to the distress but simply recognizes the distress of Roemaisa. This communication shows how symbolic violence may be carried through generations in most of the time in the most basic of family relationships. Women who are older with internalized patriarchal norms would react to the suffering of younger women by providing them emotional support instead of challenging the social systems that create the circumstances that generate the inequality. This way, they unwillingly contribute to the perpetuation of those norms.

The reaction of mother-in-law hence shows the manner in which doxa functions in the domestic arena. Even the very tradition is not questioned, causing pain to the new mother. The characters also serve to maintain an element of patriarchy in the family by focusing on the effects of their emotional issues rather than the actual cause behind them. Combined, these excerpts reveal the way symbolic violence works in the domestic setting

depicted in *Cigarette Girl*. Patriarchal norms are recreated within the family through the culture of division of labor between genders, emotional control, and management. The dynamics between characters show that *habitus* and *doxa* are involved in the naturalization of unequal gender relations, which means that the symbolic violence of women within generations is maintained.

Cultural Capital and Social Hierarchy (p. 10–11)

The following passage illustrates the difference in social background between Roemaisa and Idroes Moeria.

“As the daughter of a scribe, Roemaisa’s life was fairly prosperous, much more so than that of a labourer’s. So if Idroes Moeria wanted to marry her, he would have to assure her a good and contented life with him. Roemaisa’s parents would never give her to a man who couldn’t take proper care of their daughter. What’s more, she could read and write the letters of the alphabet. Idroes had discovered this to his disappointment when, one day, he had caught sight of Roemaisa helping her friend read a love letter. This made him feel inferior and lose confidence in himself.” ([Cigarette Girl, p. 10–11](#))

In this text, the links between social background, education and symbolic power can be seen in the story. Roemaisa is also said to be the daughter of scribe whose life is fairly prosperous, thus she is in a better social status than the Idroes Moeria who was born out of scribe. The disparity in their economic and educational background indicates the uneven allocation of the cultural capital in the social structure that is introduced in the novel. In Bourdieu terms, cultural capital is knowledge, education or cultural competence that defines social position and stipulates power systems in a field. Here the skill of Roemaisa to write and read is a kind of cultural capital which makes her appear unlike Idroes. Her literacy is not just a personal quality but it is also a social asset that places her in a more privileged social stratum.

The response of Idroes Moeria also shows a way in which symbolic violence can work using the differences in cultures. He starts feeling inferior and becomes unconfident of himself when he realizes that Roemaisa can read and write. This reaction explains how people internalize social hierarchies and become aware of their locations in these hierarchies. Instead of attributing the inequality of opportunity to the situation, Idroes sees the situation as his incompetence. Symbolic domination in this manner operates in a subtle manner in terms of unequal dispersion of cultural capital

Patriarchal Authority and the Doxa of Male Leadership (p. 38)

The following passage highlights the patriarchal beliefs that shape gender relations within the family.

“The scribe said that he was willing to accept any suitor for his daughter, no matter where he came from, as long as two requirements were met. First, the man had to be able to read and write. ‘I don’t want Roemaisa’s husband to be less learned than she is,’ the scribe explained. ‘The man is the head of the family, after all. How could he lead if he is ignorant?’” ([Cigarette Girl, p. 38](#))

This text is an example of the patriarchal ideology in which family relations are organized in the text. The argument that the man is the family head represents a common attitude towards gender division in the home world. This ideology presupposes that a man

is naturally in a place of authority in the family and women are to obey them. This set of unquestioned assumptions of Bourdieu is doxa, or beliefs that are perceived as natural and self-evident in a social field.

In the description of the scribe, the male authority is an agreed and a natural element of the family life. Due to the cultural expectations on which this belief is instilled, it is hardly questioned or perceived as a domination. Even though the scribe points out the necessity of literacy as a future husband, his arguments still support the patriarchal power. The fact that the man is expected to be the head of the family implies that education is only used to make the male leadership stronger and not to create equality between the two. It is with this belief that gender dominance is normalized and further reproduced in the family setup. Consequently, symbolic violence is productively performed with the use of cultural standards that justify the dominance of males in the domestic sector.

Habitus and the Normalization of Female Obedience (p. 39–40)

The following passage describes Roemaisa's reaction when her father informs her about Idroes Moeria's marriage proposal.

“The scribe then explained to his daughter that Idroes Moeria had come to ask for her hand in marriage. On hearing this, Roemaisa blushed. She quickly bowed her head. The scribe then turned to ask his daughter: ‘Roem, do you want to give yourself to Idroes Moeria or not?’ She did not reply at first. Like a turtle that hides its head inside its shell, she simply bowed her head lower. Slowly, Roemaisa nodded her head. Then she whispered, ‘I want to, Father.’” ([Cigarette Girl, p. 39–40](#))

This text is used to show how a female character is affected by social expectations in her actions under the family set up. The blushing, lowered head, and soft tone of speech are among the examples of gestures used by Roemaisa to prove the norms of femininity and obedience related to the cultural context. Her reaction to the proposal of marriage can be defined as modest and hesitating, which is an element of social norms set to women in the patriarchal world. According to Bourdieu, these patterns of behavior are derived out of the habitus which can be defined as the internalized dispositions that are acquired as a result of long-term socialization.

It is through family upbringing and traditions in the culture that one is taught on how to act so that they can conform to the societal expectation. In this instance, the humble and subservient attitude of Roemaisa portrays the internalization of the gender norms that underline obedience and submission towards paternal authority. Even when Roemaisa is questioned about her opinion on the marriage proposal, the social context does not allow open resistance because of the limited opportunity. Her reaction takes place in a cultural context, where daughters have to respect and accept the choices of their fathers. The patriarchal family order is replicated via the internalizing personalities of the characters by assuming that obedience is a natural and fitting reaction.

Discussion

The results of this study prove that symbolic violence to women in *Cigarette Girl* is rooted in practice, cultural customs and domestic relations. Instead of showing itself as the direct physical oppression, domination is manifested as the normalized gender roles, emotional expectations, and social traditions according to which the behavior of women in the family is controlled. Scholars have argued that symbolic violence is most effective

when domination appears legitimate and is reproduced through everyday cultural practices ([Lindell, 2022](#)). These patterns can be analyzed with the help of Pierre Bourdieu in the terms of the combination of the processes of symbolic violence, habitus and doxa that make gender domination internalized and reproduced between generations.

Symbolic Violence in Domestic Practices

Domestic traditions and daily rituals are also one of the most apparent kinds of symbolic violence in the novel. The social practices described in the postpartum event described in the story illustrate that unequal gender relations are strengthened in a way that they seem culturally acceptable. It is presented as a collective exercise of supporting the father but the duty that comes with the ceremony is mostly performed by women. At the same time men meet, socialize and enter the domestic space as their guests, women have to cook, serve beverages and take care of the household atmosphere.

[Bourdieu \(1997\)](#) links symbolic violence to be most efficient in situations where domination is considered legitimate and natural and not oppressive. In the example with the postpartum tradition, the unequal sharing of labor is not doubted since it is incorporated in the culture. The tradition is introduced as an ordinary aspect of life in the community, thus making it not be considered as a type of domination. Consequently, women engage in activities that affirm their subordinate positions without being explicitly forced to do them.

The domestic arena that is represented in the novel thus arises as a location of gender hierarchy which is upheld through the mundane activities in the society. Male characters find comfort, recognition and social interaction whereas female characters do some work to sustain these works. Due to the context of the ritual being presented as being part of the cultural tradition, the unequal order seems to be acceptable and is not challenged much in the story.

Habitus and the Internalization of Gender Roles

The act of the female characters in the novel demonstrates the aspect of the habitus that Bourdieu defines as the system of the internalized dispositions that are developed with a long-time socialization. Habitus influences how people see social events and how they will react to them. In most patriarchal societies, habitus can cause people to embrace gender inequality as a common thing in life.

In both readings that are under analysis in this study, women are involved in household work and hospitality without questioning their duties. Their reactions are influenced by social ideals that dishearten opposition even in cases when it is physically or emotionally challenging to bear such a load. This dynamic is depicted by Roemaisa being dissatisfied with the postpartum tradition. Even though she is aware of the injustice of the circumstance, her response is emotional distress and not a fight.

This reaction is an indication of how habitus shapes behavior, in that it determines what people believe to be the right or possible actions in a social situation. Since Roemaisa has been conditioned in a cultural context where respect and obedience are the norms of behavior as well as patience and being a housewife, then her capacity to oppose the tradition is limited by the internalized expectations. Consequently, symbolic domination still prevails even in situations where people do acknowledge the inequality. This effect of habitus also gives reason as to why other women in the story still engage in the tradition. Their operations are not, given as being forced or imposed but as routine duties. By

engaging in these practices repeatedly, the social order, in which the male authority is superior, is eventually established.

Doxa and the Naturalization of Patriarchal Norms

The idea of doxa can be used to understand why symbolic violence is commonly not noticeable in social life. Doxa is the collection of beliefs and assumptions, which are considered as common sense in a certain social area. Once social arrangement is integrated into doxa, it seems natural and undisputed. In *Cigarette Girl*, doxa is represented by traditions in terms of family get-together, hosting, and gender roles. The postpartum ritual, e.g., is presented by way of the phrase, according to tradition, making the ritual look like a cultural imperative. Since the ritual is a part of the community tradition, its disproportionate implications on women remain not pointed out openly.

This femininization of gender roles gives symbolic violence the chance to continue unopposed. Domestic labor among women is perceived as a natural act of cultural values instead of a type of inequality. Likewise, the comfort and leisure of the male characters are introduced as the normal aspects of the social interaction, but not as the advantage of the gender hierarchy. Patriarchal norms are entrenched in everyday practices through doxa. These norms are rarely questioned by people since they seem to be certain natural phenomena of the social life. Consequently, symbolic violence is invisible, and it influences behaviour and expectations without necessarily having to be imposed.

Generational Reproduction of Symbolic Violence

The other important conclusion of this work is the importance of family relations in the recreation of symbolic violence between generations. In the passages that are analyzed, the communication between Roemaisa and her mother-in-law can show how the patriarchal norms can be passed down in the family. When Roemaisa is emotionally troubled, her mother-in-law reacts by giving the baby comfort and addressing the emotional state of affairs instead of challenging the custom.

This response demonstrates that symbolic violence may be replicated via daily life in the family. The elder generations who have internalized the patriarchal norms might actually inadvertently enforce the norm when addressing the experiences of younger women. The mother-in-law upholds the status quo by concentrating on emotional support as opposed to altering the social fabric.

This dynamic between generations echoes the argument brought forth by Bourdieu which holds that it is through social reproduction where symbolic violence is perpetuated. (Reay, 2004) also emphasizes that social reproduction occurs through the transmission of cultural values and expectations across generations. There is the transmission of cultural practices, family expectations, and shared beliefs between one generation and the other and systems of domination are able to continue over time. The domestic setting, which is the case in *Cigarette Girl*, is a place where gender dominance is upheld not only by the male power but also by women internalizing the cultural practices themselves.

As such, the story describes the way of incorporating symbolic violence in cultural memory and family practices. In cases when the individual characters are frustrated or uncomfortable, the overall social order is not destroyed due to the fact that the norms behind it are not questioned frequently. Gendered domination integrates into the realm of the social environment through habitus and doxa, which predetermine the life of subsequent generations of women.

Conclusion

This study concludes that generational symbolic violence against women in *Cigarette Girl* takes place in terms of cultural traditions, gendered division of labor, emotional control, and that inequality is normalized in terms of the domestic and societal world. Using the ideas of symbolic violence, habitus, doxa, capital, and field introduced by Pierre Bourdieu, the analysis proves that gender domination is not enforced by employing physical force but by culture, social expectations, and everyday activities that define the role and experience of women.

As the analysis demonstrates, symbolic violence is subtle in its functioning, as the traditions and the family practices put women in supportive and domestic positions. These are internalized dispositions that through habitus determine how women would behave and react to inequality. During the same time, doxa supports these schemes by introducing gender hierarchy as a natural and unchallenged phenomenon in the social realm of family and community.

Moreover, the results demonstrate that symbolic violence is intergenerational by means of family relationships and culture. The older generations who have internalized the ideals of patriarchy might inadvertently pass these ideals to the younger generation women enabling the perpetuation of gender domination in the domestic and social systems. Thus, the novel *Cigarette Girl* demonstrates how the dominance of patriarchy is possible by the symbolic processes that are built into the routine and cultural memory. This investigation by applying the conceptual framework of Bourdieu helps to understand how a symbolic violence against women is portrayed and reproduced in the literary discourse.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, several recommendations can be proposed. First, this research is limited to the analysis of a single literary work, namely **Cigarette Girl**, therefore future studies are suggested to expand the scope by comparing multiple literary texts or other media such as film or series adaptations in order to provide a broader understanding of symbolic violence across narratives. Second, this study primarily applies Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework; thus, further research is encouraged to incorporate other perspectives such as feminist theory, intersectionality, or postcolonial approaches to enrich the analysis of gender relations and power structures. Third, since this research focuses on textual analysis, future researchers may examine audience reception to understand how readers interpret and respond to symbolic violence in literary works. Fourth, the findings indicate that symbolic violence is reproduced through cultural traditions and family structures, therefore it is recommended that educators utilize literary works as a medium to raise critical awareness of gender inequality in social contexts. Lastly, future studies are suggested to investigate symbolic violence in real-life settings, such as within families, workplaces, or cultural practices, in order to extend and validate the findings beyond literary representation.

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