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~~*Research*~~ */Review*

Smoking Prevention in Indonesian Schools: Policy Opportunities in the Perspective of the Kingdons Multiple Streams Framework

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Abstract: The prevalence of smoking among children and adolescents (school age) in Indonesia continues to increase, even though there have been various regulations such as Permendikbud No. 64 of 2015 and PP 109 of 2012. This fact indicates that schools are not yet able to become a safe and free environment from cigarette exposure. This study aims to analyze the dynamics of school-age smoking prevention policies using the Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework (MSF), which identifies three major currents in policy: problem, policy, and politics. Through an integrative literature review approach to various scientific sources and policies for the 2021–2025 period, this study found that problem and policy streams have been relatively strong, but political streams are still weak. The lack of political commitment, the strong influence of the cigarette industry, and the lack of ratification of the FCTC are the main obstacles to the opening of the policy window. The proposed strategy includes a softening up approach with a focus on preventing smoking in schools as a form of protecting the future generation of the nation, as well as coupling focusing events by utilizing viral events to suppress public opinion and policymakers. The role of policy entrepreneurs from academics, teachers, NGOs, and educational and health institutions is very crucial in uniting the three policy streams. This study encourages the birth of new policies that are more specific, evidence-based, and sustainable in protecting school children from the dangers of smoking.

Keywords: Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework**;** Political Commitment**;** School-Aged Children**;** Smoking Prevention Policy**;** Tobacco Industry**.**

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1. Introduction

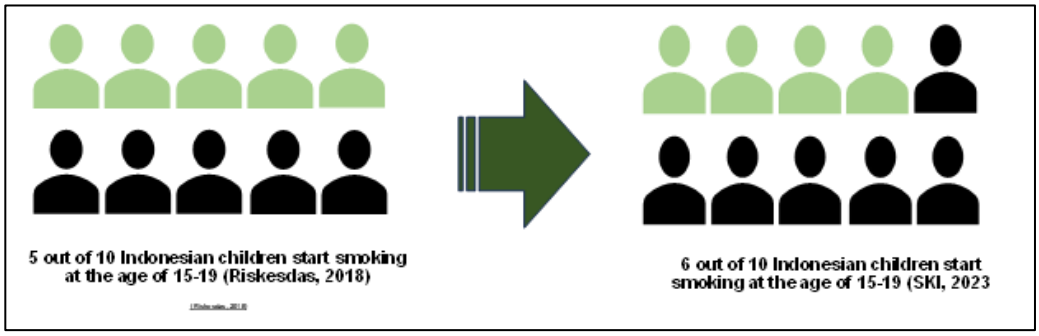
Journal The World Health Organization (WHO) records more than 7 million deaths per year in the world due to tobacco (including 1.6 million passive smokers) (WHO, 2025). How not, various research proves that cigarettes are the main cause of non-communicable diseases (NCDs), cigarettes contribute to the cause of lung cancer (Ode Masrida et al., 2021), Cardiovascular Diseases (Maharani et al., 2019)Stroke (Pan et al., 2019) and chronic obstructive pulmonary disease (COPD) (Lu et al., 2024). Even Heart Disease in Passive Smokers (Lu et al., 2024),(Paramita et al., 2020).

Not only does it have an impact on the health of individuals/communities, the impact of smoking puts a huge burden on a country's health budget (Vynckier et al., 2025). In addition, smoking habits contribute to lowering individual productivity (Goodchild et al., 2018). Even a study in China found that smoking is closely related to poverty rates, the research recommends that one of the strategies to reduce poverty is to reduce smoking (Liu et al., 2006).

The problem is precisely in Indonesia, the prevalence of smoking in Indonesia has not decreased, even in the adolescent age group. The phenomenon of increasing the number of early childhood and adolescent smokers poses a serious threat to the health of future generations and will burden the national health system.

According to (WHO, 2025) that 60% of adult men in Indonesia currently smoke, Indonesia is one of the countries with the highest smoking rate in the world and bears a huge health and economic burden due to smoking. A total of 70.2 million adults in Indonesia use tobacco, with 68.9 million of them being active smokers (Ministry of Health, 2023)

Data from the 2023 Indonesian Health Survey also shows that 2.6% of children aged 4–9 years, 44.7% of children aged 10–14 years, and 52.8% of adolescents aged 15–19 years are reported to have started a smoking habit. As many as 5 out of 10 Indonesian children start smoking at the age of 15-19 years (Ministry of Health, 2018) 6 out of 10 Indonesian children smoke at the age of 15-19 years (Ministry of Health, 2023).



Picture 1. Increase in the Number of Starting Mrokok at the Age of 15-19 Years from 2018 to 2023.

Smoking habits in early childhood have a wide impact not only on physical health, but also on the social, psychological, and economic development of the family. Empirically, there have been quite a lot of past studies that prove the dangers of smoking in adolescence, including nicotine is very addictive; adolescents are more easily addicted because the brain is still developing (Dependence) (England et al., 2015).

The earlier you start smoking, the longer exposure to nicotine and harmful chemicals, the habit of smoking cigarettes in the long term from young adulthood increases the age-specific mortality rate by up to three times (Doll et al., 2004) Quitting smoking lowers mortality rates compared to continuing smoking, with quitting at a younger age providing a greater reduction in risk (Banks et al., 2015).

The Indonesian government actually has regulations related to tobacco control, such as Government Regulation No. 109 of 2012 concerning the Safety of Materials Containing Addictive Substances in the Form of Tobacco Products. However, the regulation is considered not strong enough to protect school-age children specifically, especially in terms of restrictions on advertising, promotion, and children's access to cigarette products.

Then related to the prevention of smoking in schools, the government issued Permendikbud Number 64 of 2015 stipulated by the Minister of Education and Culture, and promulgated on December 29, 2015 as part of the national commitment to realize smoke-free schools. There are positives about its implementation, but there are some obstacles in its implementation.

Study (Amelia & Adnan, 2025) identify that the implementation of KTR in schools in Indonesia still varies. Many schools have put up smoking ban signs and socialized, but the challenge lies in the lack of supervision, weak sanctions, and even the existence of smoking areas in the school environment.

The results of the study showed that 66.2% of schools have complied with the implementation of KTR, but many of them do not have an effective monitoring team. Overall, the implementation of KTR in schools has not been optimal. This condition justifies the findings (Asyary et al., 2021) Although the KTR compliance rate in Indonesian schools reaches 66.2% (meeting at least 7 out of 8 existing parameters), most schools have not fully complied with the KTR regulations. In addition, it is necessary to strengthen interactions involving deep cultural interaction as well as improve the skills of refusing cigarettes at school age as early as possible (Ba-Break et al., 2023).

There is a big "homework" in the implementation of KTR in schools, which means that it is necessary to have a comprehensive evaluation of existing policies so that the policy can be linear with a decrease in smoking prevalence, not the other way around.

The opportunity for improvement seems to have arisen with the issuance of Government Regulation Number 28 of 2024 concerning the Implementation Regulation of Law Number 17 of 2023 concerning Health. Although it is still too general (not yet specific

to the prevention of smoking in schools), there are efforts to strengthen the implementation of KTR, especially in article 444 which reads "In order to increase the compliance of Regional Governments in the implementation of smoke-free areas, the central government monitors using the Health Information System which is integrated with the National Health Information system".

However, it has not been specifically seen how the process of monitoring and implementing a comprehensive anti-smoking culture in perfecting Permendikbud Number 64 of 2015. In this context, there is actually a great opportunity to analyze the need for a more comprehensive policy and strengthen efforts to prevent smoking in schools that can be prevented as early as possible.

In order to understand the dynamics of smoking prevention policies at school age, this study uses a framework (Kingdon, 2010) where a major change in the agenda occurs when all three streams (Problems, Policies and Politics) meet at the right time, open "Policy Window". When there is an urgent problem, a viable solution (policy), and political support (politics), then the issue has a great chance of entering the government's agenda.

According to (Bethelhem. Abraham et al., 2024) Kingdons Multiple Streams Framework proven to be a powerful and flexible analytical tool in understanding how health policies are formed and changed. With a deep understanding of the dynamics of problems, solutions, and politics, policymakers can drive more responsive, evidence-based, and equitable change.

This framework emphasizes that policy can be born when three streams—problem stream , policy stream , and politics stream —meet in a single momentum or policy window. Using MSF, this study can map problems, assess existing policy alternatives, and see the political support available in supporting comprehensive policies to prevent smoking in schools.

Currently, academic studies on tobacco control policies related to cigarettes in school-age children are still relatively limited to smoking behavior or health impacts, while policy analysis with the framework of public policy theory is still rarely carried out. Thus, this study contributes to providing new perspectives, especially in developing alternative policies based on scientific analysis and theoretical frameworks.

This study aims to analyze comprehensive policies on smoking prevention in early childhood in Indonesia using the Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework. Through an integrative literature review process, this study seeks to identify key issues, evaluate existing policy alternatives, examine political support, and formulate more effective policy alternatives to protect Indonesian school children from the dangers of cigarettes and other harmful tobacco products

2. Materials and Method

This study uses the Integrative Literature Review with a theoretical framework (Kingdon, 2010) and its practical examples in Health policy through the Kingdons Multiple Streams Framework as a construct to analyze the process of setting the agenda of smoking prevention policies in Indonesia. Method Integrative Review It was chosen because it is open enough to combine empirical and conceptual findings from different types of studies (quantitative, qualitative, and policy documents), so as to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the interactions between Problem Stream, Policy Stream, and Political Stream.

The stages include (Russell, 2005) problem formulation, literature search, then evaluation of data based on topics using the PRISMA method. Next, the data is analyzed by grouping the findings into three Kingdon streams (problem–policy–political stream) and Interpretation of the results to formulate patterns and dynamics of the agenda setting of cigarette prevention policies in Indonesia. The synergy of these three components allows researchers to identify relevant policy windows, as a basis for formulating policy strategies for preventing smoking behavior among early childhood in Indonesia.

To ensure the validity of the data, this study applied triangulation techniques both in terms of sources and methods. Source triangulation is done by comparing various references, including policy documents, national and international survey reports, publications of civil society organizations, media information as well as scientific articles. Meanwhile, the triangulation of the method is reflected in the use of desk reviews related to tobacco prevention policies in relevant schools, and allows for the unification of policy perspectives and relevant scientific evidence.

3. Results And Discussion

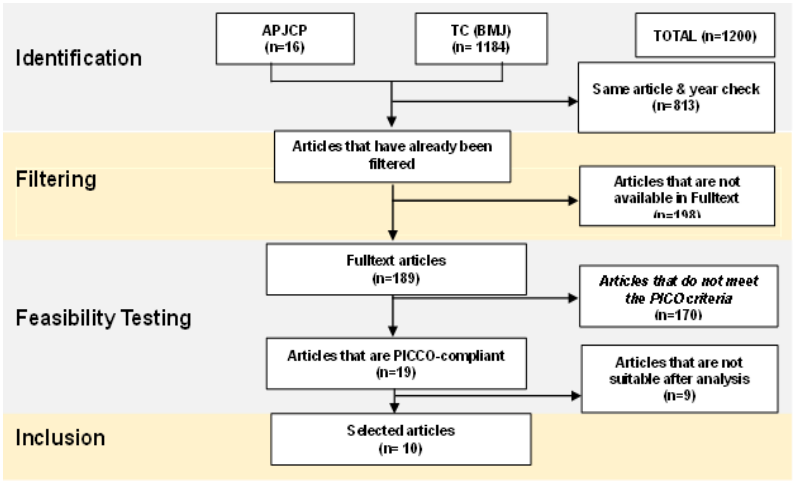
The first stage is to formulate the problem according to the context. Formulation of problems by determining the focus and research questions. The focus of the questions that are the problem of this study is directed at the 3 components of the multiple streams framework which are described in the following matrix,

Table 1. Analysis of smoking prevention policies in schools using Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework (MSF).

Aspects	Questions or issues under review	Keywords
Problem stream	How the policy of preventing smoking in schools is perceived as a public problem, supporting events and feedback from the community.	Prevalence of smoking at school age, the impact of smoking on school-age children
Policy stream	What are the alternative solutions that have been developed to improve the prevention of smoking behavior in schools, including the No Smoking Area policy, the integration of smoking hazard education in the curriculum, and the adolescent health promotion model.	Implementation of KTR Policy, Tobacco Control Policy
Political stream	Political conditions/reasons that support smoking prevention policies in schools	Cigarette excise, WHO Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC)

Then continued with a literature search. Search literature in the form of scientific articles, reports and policy documents related to cigarette policy in schools. The search for scientific literature from studies conducted in Indonesia from 2021-2025 then came from scientific articles published in The Asian Pacific Journal of Cancer Prevention (APJCP) or Tobacco Control (TC) (BMJ Journal). The focus is related to smoking prevention which is aligned with the problem-policy-political stream of Kingdons that has been mapped to the determination of problems. Then the locus is sought to be related to the school.

The next stage is the evaluation of the data based on relevance to the topic and context of the tobacco prevention policy. Based on the search carried out, the evaluation of data/articles related to the topic is described below,



Picture 2. Selection Literature Using the PRISMA Approach.

The literature search and selection process in this study follows the PRISMA stages, which include identification, screening, feasibility testing, and inclusion. From two main sources, namely Tobacco Control (BMJ) as many as 1,184 articles and The Asian Pacific Journal of Cancer Prevention (APJCP) as many as 16 articles, a total of 1,200 articles were obtained. After the removal of 813 duplicate articles, a total of 387 articles were filtered by

title and abstract, resulting in 189 full-text articles that were then assessed using the PICO criteria.

From the results of the feasibility test, 19 articles met the criteria, but only 10 were considered relevant and of quality for further analysis. Thus, of the total articles identified, only a small fraction were included in the final synthesis because they met methodological standards and relevance to the topic of smoking prevention policies in schools.

The next step is to analyze the data based on the literature that has been included. Data analysis by grouping findings into three Kingdon streams (problem–policy–political streams) to identify policy windows and policy entrepreneurs. The data that has been classified according to the Kingdon current is then mapped according to the research questions. The results of the analysis and grouping of data into three Kingdons currents are described in the following matrix,

Table 2. Matrix of literature analysis results

Yes	Author's Name (Year)	Heading	Study Design	Location	Results
Problem Streams					
1	(Asyary et al., 2021)	*Prevalence of Smoke-Free Zone Compliance among Schools in Indonesia: A Nationwide Representative Survey*	A quantitative national survey (cross-sectional, stratified cluster sampling of 900 schools in 24 provinces)	Indonesia (60 districts/cities, 24 provinces)	The increasing prevalence of school-age smokers is a national concern; only 66.2% of schools comply with the eight parameters of the No Smoking Area (KTR). The presence of cigarette butts in 29% of schools shows weak supervision and low perception that cigarettes in schools are a serious problem.
2	(Septiono et al., 2022)	*Self-reported Exposure of Indonesian Adolescents to Online and Offline Tobacco Advertising, Promotion and Sponsorship (TAPS)*	School-based cross-cutting survey (2,820 students aged 13–18 years in 7 cities) with multilevel analysis (logistics)	7 cities in Indonesia (Malang, Pekanbaru, Pontianak, Gorontalo, Denpasar, Samarinda, Cimahi)	Exposure to cigarette advertising among Indonesian teenagers is very high both online and offline — especially through television (74%), billboards (54%), and Instagram (29.6%). This shows that cigarettes are still a major public health problem and that adolescents are vulnerable due to exposure to advertisements around schools as well as social media.
3	(Reimold et al., 2023)	*Tobacco Company Agreements with Tobacco Retailers for Price Discounts and Prime Placement of Products and Advertising: A Scoping Review*	The scoping review followed the framework of Arksey & O'Malley (2005) and PRISMA-ScR (Tricco et al., 2018), analyzing 27 international studies (1991–2020)	United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Australia, South Korea, Indonesia	The existence of secret contracts between tobacco producers and retailers creates a highly favorable retail environment for the industry. Price discounts, prominent product placement, and aggressive promotion lead to increased exposure to cigarettes for young consumers as well as weaken the

					impact of excise and tobacco control policies.
4	(Ridwan et al., 2023)	*Assessing the Policy of Non-Smoking Areas in Schools in Indonesia: A Mixed Methods Study*	Mixed Methods – a combination of quantitative surveys (KTR compliance in schools) and qualitative interviews (principals, teachers, and health office officials)	Indonesia (primary and secondary schools in some provinces)	It was found that there are still many violations of the smoking ban in the school environment; Some teachers and students still smoke in the school area. The lack of socialization and supervision makes the KTR policy not considered a priority issue of public health.
Policy Streams					
5	(Brown et al., 2023)	*Spinning a Global Web: Tactics Used by Big Tobacco to Attract Children at Tobacco Points-of-Sale*	A cross-border (observational, descriptive) monitoring study in 42 countries, 2015–2021, used the Magpi & KoboToolbox app to document cigarette advertising around schools and playgrounds.	Global (42 countries, including Indonesia – Bandung, Jakarta, Makassar, Mataram, Padang, Medan, Surakarta)	Policy recommendations: a total ban on tobacco advertising and promotion in POS, a ban on the sale of retail sticks, and oversight of the implementation of Articles 13 & 16 of the WHO-FCTC. Specific policies are needed to protect children around schools from exposure to cigarette promotions.
6	(Yunarman et al., 2021)	*Opportunities and Challenges of Tobacco Control Policy at District Level in Indonesia: A Qualitative Analysis*	Qualitative – in-depth interviews with 18 local stakeholders (health officials, DPRD, Satpol PP, Bappeda, and NGOs), with thematic analysis	Bengkulu Province, Bengkulu City, Seluma District, and Kaur District	There are already KTR regulations in each research area, but their application is limited. Policy opportunity: strengthen SFP by adding a ban on outdoor advertising (OTA) and display of cigarettes at points of sale (display bans), especially around schools. It is recommended to revise existing SFP regulations rather than create new regulations.
7	(Amalia et al., 2024)	*Five Years of Discourse Related to Indonesia Tobacco Control Reform: A Content Analysis of Online Media Coverage*	Content analysis of 326 news articles from Tobacco Watcher (2018–2023)	Indonesia (national coverage, online media in Indonesian and English)	The analysis shows the need for a revision of PP 109/2012 for: a total ban on TAPS, an increase in pictorial health warnings (90%), a ban on retail cigarettes, and the regulation of e-cigarettes/HTP equivalent to conventional cigarettes. Advocacy media needs to emphasize scientific evidence and synergy

					between health and economic development.
8	(Astuti, 2023))	*Policy Incoherence and Unwillingness of the Indonesian Government to Curb Its Alarming Tobacco Epidemic*	Policy/editorial analysis based on the study of national documents and comparison of FCTC regulations and PP 109/2012	Indonesia	The main regulation (PP 109/2012) is lax compared to the FCTC standard. Revision efforts (2018–2021) failed due to industry rejection; even pointing in the opposite direction—including a "tobacco industry roadmap."
Politic Streams					
9	(Ahsan et al., 2024)	*Evaluation of Tobacco Tax Funding to Eradicate Illicit Cigarettes in Indonesia: A Qualitative Approach*	Qualitative – in-depth interviews and FGDs with policy stakeholders (DG Customs & Excise, Bappeda, Satpol PP, small industry players, consumers); Reflective Thematic Analysis (NVivo)	Pasuruan, Kudus, Jepara, Malang (East Java & Central Java Provinces)	Political challenges lie in the allocation of more budget for socialization than law enforcement, uncertainty of regulatory design (FMDs change frequently), as well as a lack of communication between the government and industry. Local political resistance arose due to conflicts of fiscal interests and regional dependence on cigarette revenues.
10	(Bella et al., 2024)	*Macroeconomic Impact of Tobacco Taxation in Indonesia*	Input-Output (IO) simulation based on BPS 2019 data and macroeconomic models to assess the impact of cigarette excise increases on output, income, and labor.	Indonesia (national)	Political obstacles come from the tobacco industry's narrative that the excise increase will harm the economy. The researchers point out that in fact, in a macro way, the increase in excise duties has a positive impact and is strong evidence in support of anti-tobacco fiscal policy reform.

Then in the final stage is to interpret the results. The findings of the study are classified into three main components: problem stream (describing issues and data on the prevalence of smoking in children), policy stream (available policy options), and politics stream (level of political support and commitment from stakeholders).

Problem Stream of Tobacco Prevention Policy in Schools

The number of student smokers is increasing and the No Smoking Area is still a formality

The number of students who smoke continues to grow, and this is a big concern for the future of our young people. Unfortunately, only two-thirds of schools actually implement the No Smoking Area (KTR) rule. In fact, almost a third of the school environment is still found with cigarette marks. This shows the lack of oversight and the lack of awareness that smoking in schools is not just a minor offense, but a serious problem that concerns public health.

When the KTR policy is just a formality without real supervision, schools fail to be a safe and healthy place for students.

Many schools have not fully implemented the smoke-free rule. In fact, there are teachers and school staff who still smoke in the educational environment. This makes the message about the dangers of cigarettes lose meaning because there is no example. Weak socialization and lax supervision exacerbate the situation. The public also considers this policy to be just a display without any real impact.

Marketing Cigarette Industry "Beats" Health Care Advertising

The cigarette industry continues to develop strategies to keep its products selling, including by placing cigarettes in stores around schools and giving skewed prices. The goal is clear: to make students easily tempted to try. This kind of environment supports the cigarette business but is detrimental to public health. When supervision is loose and rules are not enforced, cigarettes become a systemic problem, no longer just a personal choice.

On the other hand, cigarette advertising is still free to reach teenagers in various media. Three out of four teenagers admitted that they often see cigarette ads on TV, half on billboards, and many on social media. As a result, many consider smoking to be normal. As long as cigarette promotion messages are still easily accessible, especially near schools, efforts to create a smoke-free environment feel futile. The public is also not aware that all these advertisements are a form of manipulation that targets young people.

Cigarette companies take advantage of loopholes to stay close to children through highly targeted marketing strategies. Cigarettes are displayed near snacks, sold in units, and even placed in line with the eyes of children. This makes cigarettes look like a normal part of everyday life. With this kind of approach, the public is beginning to realize that there is a regulatory crisis that has not been able to protect the young generation seriously.

Comprehensive Policy : Cultural and surveillance strategy

Over the past five years, efforts to update the smoking control rules (PP 109/2012) have stalled without progress. Economic interests such as the fate of farmers or factory workers are more often voiced than public health interests. As a result, the protection of children from cigarette advertising and promotion has been neglected. The lack of coordination between government agencies has also slowed down stricter tobacco control measures.

The problem of cigarettes in Indonesia has become a policy issue, not just an individual choice. Affordable cigarette prices, weak excise duty, and the circulation of illegal cigarettes expand access for children and vulnerable groups. With tens of millions of teenage and adult smokers, the system in place fails to limit cigarette exposure. People are beginning to realize that schools should be a safe place for children, not a field for cigarette promotion. It is time for public policy to really side with the health of the nation's children.

Cultural factors and social habits also play a big role in the high number of young smokers. In many places, smoking is considered commonplace, even done in front of children by people who are supposed to be role models. The lack of education and resource support makes people not consider cigarettes as a threat. As a result, the rules on KTR in schools are only understood as an administrative task, not a need to protect children's health.

The problem stream of cigarette prevention policies in schools has greatly widened the problems in direct and indirect aspects. The sharp spotlight on the increase in the number of incidents starting from the age of smoking at the age of 15-19 years which incidentally is at school age is still not highlighted. Even though this is a crucial issue that shows the trend in the next period. If this chain is not broken as early as possible from schools, then the next generation Indonesia will remain in the same condition as it is today, let alone not protected by cultural policies and strategies that are integrated with education strategies.

Policy Stream on Smoking Prevention in Schools

The following are the policy flows that have emerged related to the policy of preventing smoking in schools:

Strengthening the Implementation of Non-Smoking Areas (KTR) in Schools

The Non-Smoking Area (KTR) policy actually has a strong legal basis through the Minister of Education and Culture. A number of schools that have Decrees (SK) or internal rules have proven to be more compliant in implementing the policy. However, its implementation in the field is still not optimal. Coordination between the education and health sectors has not been harmonious, while supervision at the regional level has also not been integrated.

For this reason, a cross-sectoral approach is needed that ensures that supervision and implementation of KTR are uniform in all schools. In addition, the policy revision needs to reaffirm the prohibition on the promotion and sale of cigarettes in educational settings, including restrictions on the display of products in stores and a total ban on the sale of cigarette bars. The emergence of PP 28 of 2024 is a good policy to strengthen existing policies while covering shortcomings that have been evaluated on an evidence-based basis.

Education on the Dangers of Smoking in the Curriculum and the Active Role of Schools

A long-term step that is no less important is to incorporate education about the dangers of smoking into the school curriculum on an ongoing basis. Currently, the smoke-free school program is still limited and has not been integrated in all educational units. To be effective, all elements of the school—teachers, students, and parents—need to be actively involved. Teachers play an important role as role models and sources of healthy living values for students.

A learning environment that habits healthy behaviors will reinforce the moral message about the importance of staying away from smoking. Educational materials must also be adapted to the times, including providing an understanding that is able to counter the narrative of the cigarette industry on social media and public spaces. PP 28 of 2024 has not specifically provided an overview of the implementation of an integrated system in national health, but the previous Permendikbud related to KTR has become a reinforcement that is simultaneously improved as a derivative of PP 28 of 2024.

Tightening Regulations on Advertising, Promotion, and Cigarette Sponsorship

The ban on cigarette advertising, promotion, and sponsorship in Indonesia is still limited so it is not fully able to protect children and adolescents from exposure to tobacco industry promotions. A number of studies suggest a total ban on cigarette advertising in electronic, outdoor, and digital media, as well as a ban on entertainment or industry-sponsored sports activities.

The current regulatory indecisiveness, for example in PP 109 of 2012, shows the need for a more comprehensive revision and in line with WHO-FCTC standards, especially Articles 13 and 16. The revision should include a ban on contracts between industry and retail, transparency of promotional incentives and strict oversight of marketing strategies such as discounts and the placement of products that appeal to teens at point-of-sale.

Adolescent Health Promotion Model and Public Campaigns

The prevention of smoking behavior among adolescents needs to be strengthened through a more creative health promotion model that is closer to their lives. Social media-based, youth-based approaches, and peer education systems have proven to be more effective than formal, one-way campaigns.

Advocacy media also plays an important role in creating a counter-narrative to the glacial image built by the cigarette industry. Campaigns should not only highlight health aspects, but also link the issue of cigarettes to the economic, social, and family future of adolescents. That way, collective awareness of the dangers of cigarettes can grow from the public's own awareness, not just because of policies from above. Government Regulation Number 28 of 2024 can be a more relevant trigger policy at the technical stage to strengthen efforts to promote adolescent health.

Regulatory Support and Economic Instruments

In addition to educational and regulatory efforts, economic policies such as increasing cigarette excise also have a significant impact on suppressing consumption. The results of the policy simulation show that the 45% increase in excise duty is able to reduce consumption by up to 20%, while increasing household income and opening up new job opportunities. However, this step needs to be balanced with law enforcement against the circulation of illegal cigarettes and supervision of distribution around schools. Simplifying the excise structure and stricter regulations on electronic cigarette products is urgent so that new gaps do not arise for the tobacco industry in marketing its products to young people.

A financing effectiveness study has been prepared to strengthen the increase in cigarette excise which will indirectly reduce the purchasing power of teenagers. However, the relevant policy still does not exist, this happens because of the insistence of related actors who have great interests. The biggest challenge in preventing smoking in schools lies in the flow of this

policy, therefore this policy is highly dependent on the political currents that are developing in Indonesia.

Politics Stream Tobacco Prevention Policy in Schools

Weak National Political Commitment

One of the main obstacles in tobacco control in Indonesia is the lack of political commitment at the national level. The government's unwillingness to ratify the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) shows a passive attitude towards global efforts to reduce tobacco consumption. In fact, the position of the Ministry of Health is weak in the face of national economic needs which actually support the interests of the cigarette industry. The President has not shown strong initiative in leading anti-tobacco policy reform, making this issue not on the national strategic agenda.

The tobacco industry still has a great influence in policy formation. Many legislators, public officials, and even religious figures are directly or indirectly involved in supporting the industry's narrative. As a result, proposals for stricter regulations such as the prohibition of promotion at point-of-sale (POS) or the enforcement of KTR have experienced political resistance. The industry lobby has often succeeded in weakening or canceling reform efforts, including the revision of PP 109/2012 that has failed several times due to pressure from interest groups.

Then followed by at the local level, the implementation of KTR policies is highly dependent on regional heads and local legislatures. Many regions do not have strong regional regulations (Perda) or Guardians due to conflicts of fiscal interest such as dependence on advertising taxes and cigarette sales. This makes the protection of children in the school environment often sacrificed for the sake of regional income. Without political support from regional leaders, the implementation of the KTR is only a formality without clear supervision and sanctions.

The results show that coordination between ministries and government agencies in tobacco control is still far from ideal. The absence of a comprehensive cross-sectoral approach makes policies run independently without integration. For example, regional education and health offices have an important role in the implementation of KTR in schools, but often do not have sufficient political power or budget to implement policies effectively. In addition, the budget is allocated more for socialization than law enforcement.

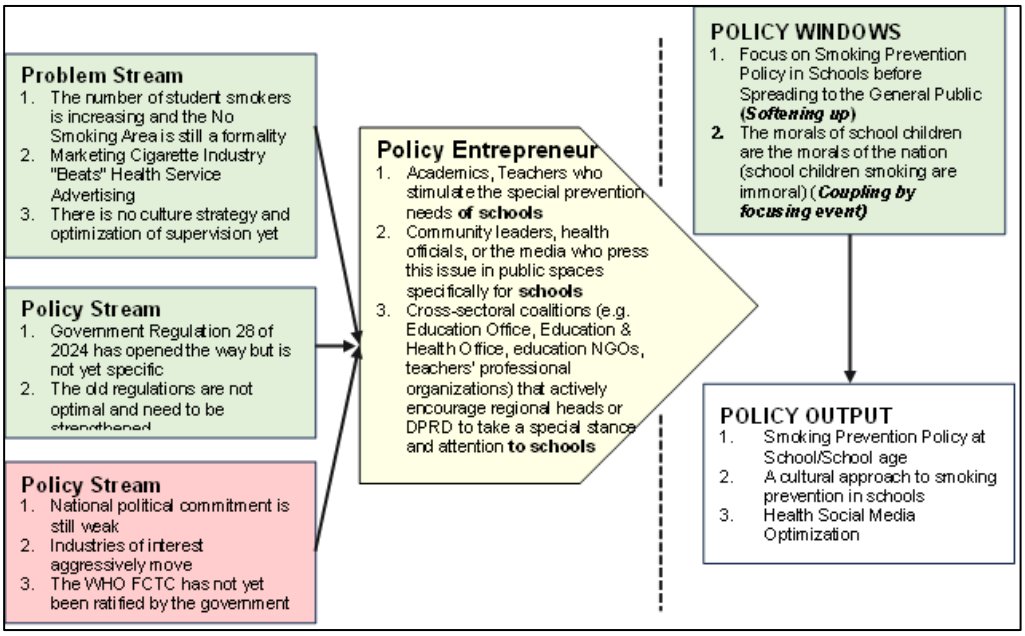
Odds No Matter How Small

Despite the high political resistance, there is an opportunity to push for reform through an evidence-based approach to economics. Studies show that the increase in cigarette excise is able to significantly reduce consumption, increase state revenue, and create new jobs.

This data can be used to challenge the industry's narrative that anti-tobacco policies are detrimental to the economy. Future advocacy strategies need to emphasize macroeconomic evidence as a tool to strengthen political support and shift the perception that cigarette control is only a health issue.

Policy Window and Policy Alternatives

No matter how strong the evidence of the problem is and no matter how good the design of the solution (policy), policy will remain restrained if there is no adequate political support from both executive, legislative leaders, and dominant public opinion. This condition seems to be seen from the results of the analysis of the currents above. Schematically, it can be seen in the following scheme:



Picture 3. Kingdons Multiple Streams Framework in Tobacco Prevention in Schools.

Based on the above scheme, it can be understood that the current political currents are not very supportive of smoking prevention efforts in general in Indonesia, it is evident that today Indonesia still has not ratified the FCTC (WHO). Therefore, the Policy Window will not open when conditions are like this while the problems and policy flows are very supportive. Therefore, the role of Policy Entrprenerus is needed to do 2 things that can specifically open the Windows Policy and become the meeting point of this problem, namely:

1. **Focusing on issues**, policies and political commitments that almost all parties will definitely be interested in, namely the issue of the nation's future if the young generation is destroyed because the main focus is on the prevention of smoking in schools and school age. Schools are formal institutions that can organically trigger smoking prevention efforts as early as possible, the political elite will also not refuse if the focus of policy prevention is directed to schools, because schools are the nation's assets. This strategy is an effort to slowly (softening up) processes and policies to cultivate smoking prevention as early as possible. Concentration on school will break the chain of smokers in the future.
2. The next strategy is **Coupling by focusing event**. News on social media related to a child who is free to smoke while his teacher does not act because he is worried about being exposed to human rights violations is a condition / event that increases public and elite awareness that this condition illustrates the moral depravity of school children. If the morale of school children is bad, then the country's investment in the future will be destroyed. Therefore, by adopting the jargon of children skeolah smoking = immoral, nisa is a strategy that is focused on strengthening efforts to prevent smoking.

Therefore, the role of policy entrepreneurs plays an important role in rolling out the above strategies. These parties must be supported by academic/education actors.

Lecturers, teachers, students in universities and schools are the main holders of control through the cultural channel, while the education and health offices provide support in the policy channel. Then NGOs and professional organizations must contribute to supporting specific efforts to strengthen prevention efforts in schools first as an investment, of course through social media optimization which incidentally becomes another world from the adolescent/school age group which affects cognition and attitudes and intentions not to smoke.

The new policy opportunities that emerge will be more specific but have a long-term impact and slowly erode the prevalence of smoking in the future. The policy opportunities that arise are:

1. The revision of Permendikbud Number 64 of 2015 concerning Non-Smoking Areas in the school environment will be expanded through a Joint Decree (SKN) of 3 Ministers, namely the ministers of education, health and home affairs as the supervisor of

implementation. This SKB should also open opportunities not only for the implementation of KTR in schools, integrated supervision of Satpol Pamong Praja, but also to strengthen the culture of smoking prevention through its integration with subjects and good practices in schools. In addition, maximum restrictions on cigarette promotions and advertisements at school age

2. The Minister of Health derivatives of Government Regulation 28 of 2024 specifically contains the KTR coaching system which includes schools as part of the implementation of regional KTR integrated with the health information system (implementation of article 444 PP 28 of 2024)

Discussion

Tobacco control policies, including cigarettes in Indonesia, face great challenges, where there is a gap between high awareness of the problem and weak political will to act. The results above show that the problem stream and policy stream are actually strong, but the political stream has not provided adequate support to open the policy window. This is confirmed by the fact that Indonesia is still the only country in Southeast Asia that has not ratified the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC).

(Fajrin et al., 2025) called this situation a reflection of the government's inconsistency. On the one hand, governments tend to pay more attention to agreements with economic nuances such as FTA and CEPA because they are considered important for development. On the other hand, treaties that concern public health interests such as the FCTC do not show significant progress in the ratification process.

(Astuti et al., 2020) shows that the slow pace of tobacco control policies, including cigarettes in Indonesia, is not caused by a lack of scientific data or available policy options, but by weak political commitment that is strongly influenced by the interests of the cigarette industry. This is reinforced by (Kramer et al., 2023) who found that the implementation of policies at the local level is often hampered by the interests of local political actors. The legislative process is also influenced by the personal interests of policymakers and also opens up space for pressure from the cigarette industry.

Public pressure on the government to protect school children from the dangers of cigarettes also seems to be getting stronger. Media reports, academic research, and encouragement from civil society organizations have all pushed this issue to the surface, especially with the spotlight on the high number of smokers among teenagers and the weak implementation of the No Smoking Area (KTR) rule in the school environment. In conditions like this, the role of policy entrepreneurs becomes very crucial.

Kingdon describes them as a link that is able to bring together the three policy currents by harnessing momentum and aligning ideas with values that are easily accepted by the public. Study by (Amalia et al., 2024), which analyzed online media coverage, showed that advocacy approaches that use moral narratives such as the importance of protecting the future of young generations are far more effective in attracting public sympathy than overly technical approaches. This strategy is the foundation of the softening up In the process, namely creating incremental public acceptance through framing issues that are close to the spirit of nationalism and educational values and moralism.

Approach softening up is quite relevant to be applied in Indonesia, especially by raising the narrative of "protecting the future and morality of the younger generation." The policy focus on schools as an arena for cigarette prevention is not only a technical strategy, but also an incremental step that is much more acceptable to the public and political elites. In addition to being technically strategic, it is also proven, (Triyana & White, 2022) It proves that school-based smoking prevention programs are able to reduce smoking intentions by up to 15-20% when combined with environmental supervision and health education and even have an impact on profits that impact 5-19 times the cost of the program.

Referring to Kingdon's idea that building political support cannot rely solely on education. We need to develop coupling strategies that utilize focusing events, namely connecting issues with events that capture public attention and demand responses from policymakers.

The massive use of social media, viral incidents such as children smoking freely at school without any action from teachers can be a momentum to trigger change. For example, when a video of an elementary school student smoking in front of a teacher without sanction was widely circulated (News, 2025), this creates strong moral pressure for the government to take real steps in controlling smoking in the educational environment.

Study (Yunarman et al., 2021) emphasized that public media plays an important role in building awareness of the issue and expanding political support, especially at the regional level. When the issue of smoking is associated with moral decay or is perceived as a threat to the future of younger generations, policymakers tend to respond more quickly. Therefore, framing the issue of cigarettes in the context of moral values and education is an effective way to raise it as a national agenda, not just a health issue.

In addition to the use of media, contributions from non-governmental parties should not be ignored. As explained by (Kingdon, 2010), policy change actors or policy entrepreneurs do not always come from the government, they can come from academics, the media, civil society organizations, and professionals.

(Paksi et al., 2019) found that the collaboration of social activists and community organizations, including between teachers, lecturers, and health professional organizations, has a strong potential to drive policy change through evidence-based advocacy and scientific evidence. Schools and campuses can be spaces for social learning that not only instills healthy living habits, but also shows collective moral commitment.

Responding to global developments, (Gianfredi et al., 2025) It is proven that digital interventions significantly increase understanding of the risks of smoking and have a positive influence on attitudes, especially through an interactive approach and using elements of games (gamification). Therefore, strategies need to be developed because they are very relevant to be applied in Indonesia, where people are very active on social media.

A person's decision to live a healthy lifestyle is also influenced by the information they get from social media. Therefore, the use of social media should not only be focused on the business aspect, but also directed as a means of health promotion that can be accessed by all circles, as well as being the main source of referrals in encouraging a healthy lifestyle around the world (Gunawan et al., 2022). In the framework Policy Entrepreneurship, combining digital and educational approaches could be an important breakthrough not only for capturing the attention of stakeholders at the top level, but also building legitimacy from the grassroots through broader public engagement.

5. Comparison

This study is an important update in the study of tobacco control policies in Indonesia. This work expands the focus of research from simply smoking behavior and individual health to an analysis of the public policy agenda-setting process. Using Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework (MSF), this study successfully maps the linkages between the flow of problems, policies, and politics, while highlighting the role of key actors such as academics, teachers, NGOs, and the media in unlocking opportunities for smoking prevention policies in schools in a more structured and evidence-based manner.

The advantage of this study lies in the application of integrative literature review combined with the PRISMA method, resulting in a synthesis of various recent studies (2021–2025). MSF's approach allows the author to trace the roots of policy stagnation due to weak political support and the strong influence of the cigarette industry. Conceptually, this research excels because it presents practical strategies such as softening up process and coupling by focusing event, which raises moral and educational issues as the entrance to policy change. In addition, the integration of cross-sectoral approaches and the use of digital media makes this work relevant to the challenges of modern health policy in developing countries.

6. Conclusion

This study shows that the policy of controlling smoking in schools is still ineffective, even though there is already a legal basis such as Permendikbud No. 64 of 2015. In addition, the number of years of smoking in adolescents continues to increase, revealing the impression that schools are failing to be a safe environment for children. The main problems lie in the weak political support, the strong influence of the cigarette industry, and the low policy alignment on public health.

To encourage more progressive policies, two strategic steps are needed. First, directing attention to issues, policies, and political commitments to the protection of the younger generation through smoking prevention in schools. Schools can be an effective space to build a culture of healthy living while attracting political sympathy (softening up). Second, it uses viral events such as videos of students smoking without sanctions to create moral and political pressure, as well as reinforce the narrative that school-age smoking is a value crisis (coupling focusing event).

The role of policy actors is very important to unite the flow of problems, solutions, and politics. Academics, teachers, NGOs, and educational and health institutions must collaborate to encourage schools as centers of change. With the right strategy, stronger and more sustainable policies can be achieved for the future of Indonesia's generation.

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