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## The Social Dilemma in Short Film: A Study of Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology

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### Abstract

This article examines the social dilemmas that emerge in the Javanese short film *Weweh*, produced by Sanggar Ori Gunung Kidul, using the perspective of literary sociology through Pierre Bourdieu's theory, especially the concepts of habitus, capital, arena, and symbolic violence. This study aims to identify the social dilemmas in the short film *Weweh* and the factors that cause them. The data analysis method in this study uses the semiotic method to interpret the signs and interpret them through hermeneutics. The results of the analysis show that there are two primary forms of social dilemmas, namely unrequited kindness and unfulfilled social expectations. Meanwhile, the factors that cause social dilemmas include economic inability, social disorganization, and moral dilemmas. These findings illustrate how social structures and individual positions in the social arena influence the experience of social dilemmas and how symbolic violence reinforces the tensions that occur. Thus, the film *Weweh* reflects the complexity of social relations and societal power dynamics.

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## INTRODUCTION

Social problems are a mismatch between cultural or social elements that endanger the life of social groups and hinder the fulfillment of desires that result in social inequality (Tutesa & Wisman, 2020). Another opinion states that social problems are conditions in society that are not aligned with the values that have been embraced (Rubington & Weinberg, 2016). Social problems arise due to the striking difference between values in society and the existing reality (Anwar & Adang, 2013; Yuwono et al., 2025).

Social dilemmas include social dynamics that occur in groups that require joint action. This dilemma often has to do with justice, where specific individuals or groups can bear the disproportionate burden of negative consequences, while others benefit from the situation (Bisit, 2023). Social dilemmas arise when individuals choose between maximizing personal gain and contributing to the common good. In this context, the tendency to prioritize *selfishness* can defeat adherence to prevailing socio-cultural norms and values (Zustiyanoro, 2024). The social dilemma is based on the following two situations: (1) each individual gets a higher *payoff* for selfish choices than for making socially cooperative choices; (2) all individuals in society will get better *off* if all individuals work together compared to all selfish individuals (Dawes, 1980).

The social dilemma presented in the Javanese short film titled *Weweh* reflects the life and polemics of the Javanese people, especially in the *weweh* tradition. Through characters such as Jiyem and Marni, the film shows how economic pressures and social expectations intertwine, causing inner conflicts and tensions in social relationships. In particular, *Weweh's* film is positioned as a literary work that represents the problems of life expressed through the existence of characterization (Rokhim & Zustiyanoro, 2022). Literary works became a place of ideological struggle, where various ideologies competed to achieve hegemony (Nugroho et al., 2024). In this context, the characters in *the film Weweh* become a medium to represent various social problems, such as economic limitations, stigma, and cultural dilemmas, so that this film serves as entertainment and reflects the reality of Javanese people's lives.

The short film *Weweh* is produced by Sanggar Ori Gunung Kidul and directed by Jevis Adhi Nugraha. This film is one of the films in the Gunung Kidul Film Festival 4 competition, which will be released in 2023 and uploaded on the Gunung Kidul Culture YouTube channel. Sanggar Oyot Ringin, commonly called Sanggar Ori Gunungkidul, is an organization engaged in social, educational, and

artistic fields. Sanggar Ori Gunungkidul has been established since 2013 and is a creative space for children and teenagers in the surrounding environment (Nugraha, 2016).

This film tells the story of Marni's family preparing for the annual village clean-up tradition. Every *apostle*, Marni never forgets to *weweh* or give exceptional food to neighbors, relatives, and close friends. At this year's *apostolic* event, along with her son, Alif, Marni also went to the place of her old friend, Jiyem, which is quite far from her house. He was willing to come from far away to maintain a friendship with his close friend. However, Marni's kindness often does not get a reply. It is evident that when in Jiyem village, Marni did not receive the blessing from her friend, instead of holding an *apostolic* event. This is what makes Marni disappointed with Jiyem's attitude. The conflict in this film arises when Marni does not get a *reply* from her best friend, Jiyem. This conflict became even more interesting because Marni was hoping for an answer from Jiyem. This dilemmatic phenomenon that occurs illustrates the social dilemma in society.

Etymologically, the word *weweh* means *nyeyukani*, which means to give (Poerwadarminto, 1993). The term *weweh* or *weh-wehan* comes from the Javanese language, *namely aweh*, which means to give to each other. In this tradition, residents give food to each other to neighbors and relatives. (Islahudin et al., 2022). The *apostolic* tradition is a cultural ritual carried out once a year by the Javanese people, including the people of Gunungkidul Regency, Central Java Province. Every harvest season arrives, the community collectively expresses their gratitude for the abundant results through *apostolic* traditions (Dewanti et al., 2020). This hereditary traditional ceremony is enlivened with various arts ranging from *reog*, *jathilan*, cultural carnival, *ketoprak*, and the highlight is the overnight puppet show. Not to forget, typical Rasulan cuisine is served: *nasi uduk*, *rempeyek*, *srundeng*, *gudheg* and *ingkung*. Togetherness between residents is also closely intertwined when exchanging dishes, which is called the term "*weweh*". Not only that, the door of the house is also open for friends and relatives who visit to enjoy the food menu provided on this special day. (Wijayanti, 2013).

The *apostolic* tradition is usually implemented in the month of Shawwal, the 11th month of the Javanese Calendar. For dates, each village has a different implementation, but what is certain is that all take time in the month of Shawwal (Harjanti & Sunarti, 2019). The history of *the apostles* is still a mystery, because most traditional leaders do not know when this tradition began.

There is no official record of when this *Rasulan* was carried out (Suharjo, 2019). But what is certain is that this tradition has been going on for a long time and is a legacy from the ancestors carried out by the people of Gunungkidul from the western end, namely Panggang District, and to the easternmost point, namely Girisubo District (Kuswanto et al., 2021).

Previous researchers have researched social studies in Javanese films. *First*, research conducted by Annisa Sasca Putri entitled *Aspects of Social Life in the Short Film Nyengkuyung Karya Wahyu Agung Prasetyo: A Study of the Sociology of Literature by Ian Watt*. This study describes the aspects of social life in the short film *Nyengkuyung* by Wahyu Agung Prasetyo using the study of literary sociology by Ian Watt, which includes the analysis of the author's social context, reflection of the social life of the community, and the social function of literature. This research uses a sociological approach with documentation and recording techniques to collect data in the form of relevant images and dialogues from films. The results of the research show that this film reflects the author's desire to invite the community to survive amid the Covid-19 pandemic and preserve the value of cooperation, depicts the solution of social problems through communication and cooperation between citizens in order to create a harmonious society, and serves as a means of renewal, entertainment, and education about the importance of communication and cooperation in community life. (Putri & Parmin, 2022). However, this study has a weakness: the method used is qualitative descriptive without any validation from other sources. Hence, the opportunity for misunderstanding due to the researcher's point of view is quite significant, and the strength of the argument is limited.

*Second*, the research conducted by Ike Heppyani, Supriyono, and Achmad Hufadyang entitled *Representation of the Phenomenon of Social Control of Gossip in Short Film Tilik (A Study of Literary Sociology)*. This article discusses how the phenomenon of gossip as a form of non-formal social control is represented in *the short film Tilik*. Using a qualitative descriptive approach and sociological literary analysis, the author examines the film's dialogues, characters, and settings to connect the film's content with the social reality of Indonesian society, especially in rural areas. The study results show that the gossiping activities carried out by mothers in films reflect real phenomena in society, especially among women, and serve as a social mechanism to influence individuals to comply with applicable norms and rules. The film also depicts solidarity, social

dynamics, and the role of social media in strengthening or spreading gossip in the rural community. This article's weakness lies in using only one theoretical analysis approach, namely literary sociology, so it is less perspective-rich. It cannot be compared with other relevant theories.

*Third*, the research conducted by Melysa Putri Ayuningtyas and Indah Puspitasari entitled *Representation of Moral Values in the Film Budi Pekerti by Wregas Bhanuteja (Literary Sociology Study)*. This article discusses the representation of moral values in the film *Budi Pekerti* by Wregas Bhanuteja using a literary sociology approach. This research aims to identify the forms of cyberbullying and the moral values of the film. Through a qualitative descriptive method, the author examines scenes, dialogues, and characters in films to reveal the moral messages conveyed, especially related to social issues such as the impact of social media on personal and family life. The results show that the film showcases five central moral values—honesty, hard work, creativity, critical thinking, and concern for the environment—and illustrates how *cyberbullying* can affect a person's life. *Budi Pekerti's* films are seen as educational spectacles that can instill positive moral values, especially for teenagers (Melysa & Puspitasari, 2024).

The weakness of this article lies in the fact that the research method used is qualitative descriptive without validation from other sources, so that the researcher's interpretation is potentially subjective, and the resulting arguments become less potent.

This third weakness points to more comprehensive research with diverse theoretical approaches and valid methods to produce stronger social analysis and broader generalizations. Therefore, the author will complement these weaknesses by integrating Pierre Bourdieu's Social Practice Theory, which includes the concepts of habitus, capital, and arena, as well as using references from various sources to strengthen the validity of the findings and expand the scope of social analysis in a more in-depth and complete way.

*Weweh's* film is interesting and urgent to study. Apart from the fact that this film has never been researched before, this film depicts and raises the issue of social dilemmas. In addition, the storyline in this film has an interesting relevance to the social context of Javanese society at this time. In this study, researchers will use Pierre Bourdieu's theory. Pierre Bourdieu's research discusses the theory of social practice. Bourdieu's theory has three theories of social practice. *First*, the theory of habitus, according to Bourdieu, refers to the way of thinking, acting, and feeling formed and obtained

from a person's life experience. Based on this, habitus develops and can reflect a person's social position in society (Haryatmoko, 2003).

Habitus is not the product of individual desires alone or simply the result of coercion by social structures. It was born from the dynamic interaction between the two that developed over time. This tendency is formed through accumulating historical experiences (past events and structures), and then becomes the lens through which social practices shape today. More than that, habitus also constructs the way we perceive reality to determine what we consider "natural", "possible", or even "unthinkable" in a given social context. In other words, the habitus is a system that is formed as well as shaped by social structures, creating a continuous cycle of social reproduction (Bourdieu, 1984). Habitus refers to the deep-rooted tendencies that shape the individual's perspective, which allows them to appreciate, interpret, and respond to the various social realities encountered in their environment (Daniel, 2022). Habitus can develop due to internal and external societal phenomena, a process called social change. Bourdieu affirms that in the context of social change, cultural, social, and economic capital are essential to understand how individuals and groups adapt to those changes (Saniyah & Zustiyanoro, 2025).

*Second*, for Bourdieu (1986) Social capital is not uniformly available to members of groups or collectives. However, it is available to those seeking to acquire it by attaining positions of power and status and developing good intentions. Social capital theory is classified into four parts, namely; (1) economic capital, which includes means of production, materials, and money that can be inherited; (2) cultural capital, everything that can be produced through formal education or family inheritance; (3) social capital, referring to the social network owned by individuals or groups in which the relationship is related to other parties who have power; (4) symbolic capital, any form of status, authority, prestige, and recognition given by others (Bourdieu, 2014).

*Third*, Bourdieu (1977) Putting forward the realm is a sociological concept for the social arena in which agents and their social positions are located. Meanwhile, domain theory is an arena of power in which there is an effort to struggle for resources (capital), because the amount of capital owned will affect the social position in society.

In analysing a literary or artistic work, one must pay attention to both the internal and external sides, or in the language of Bourdieu, take into account the social circumstances of production (Asy'ari & Sulton, 2023). Bourdieu stated that an

arena of literature and art is an arena of power or struggle that aims to maintain the existing power relations. In addition to utilizing the habitus that the agent has, each agent will utilize their power (capital) obtained through previous fights (Bourdieu, 2011).

This film is very relevant to be analyzed using Pierre Bourdieu's theory because it illustrates how social practices give *gifts* that not only function as a form of giving to each other in the context of Javanese culture, but also show the tension between social expectations, social capital, and inequality in the existing social space.

This research is important because *the short film Weweh* represents a social dilemma that often occurs in society, especially modern Javanese society. This research helps to identify and understand social issues and gives a real picture of the current state of society.

The problem formulation in this study is as follows: 1) What social dilemmas occur in *the film Weweh*? Moreover, 2) What factors cause the social dilemma in *the film Weweh*?

## METHOD

This research uses a literary sociology approach. Literary sociology involves an analysis of the influence of society and the social environment on literary works, as well as how literary works themselves influence and shape social reality (Wellek & Warren, 1995). Meanwhile, according to Faruk (2019), The definition of literary sociology is a science that can connect human works with life in society. Therefore, literary sociology considers literary works and social aspects as an approach to literary works.

The data in this study are characters, plots, and settings related to social problems in *the film Weweh*. The data source in this study is a short film titled *Weweh*, produced by Sanggar Ori Gunung Kidul and directed by Jevi Adhi Nugraha. This film premiered on December 16, 2023, for 15 minutes and 30 seconds.

The data collection method in this study is the documentation method. Sugiyono (2018), Documentation is a method used to obtain data and information from books, archives, documents, writings, numbers, and images in the form of reports and information that can support research.

The data analysis method in this study uses the semiotic method. Supriyanto (2021) The semiotic method is engaged in interpreting signs and obtaining their meaning by using structural principles, reading signs, and interpreting through hermeneutics.

The data presentation method used to present results is the narrative data method, which

presents data as a narrative or text. Schreiber & Asner-Self (2011) Narrative research is the study of an individual's life as told through the stories of their experiences, including a discussion of the meaning of these experiences for the individual.



Figure 1. Semiotic research method flow chart

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### The Shape of Social Dilemma in Short Film *Weweh*

The short film *Weweh* tells the story of a community of traditional Javanese people living by the apostles' tradition, who usually give to each other, neighbors, or relatives. The film begins with Marni giving her best friend Jiyem apostolic food. Marni hopes that this food can strengthen the relationship between her and Jiyem; besides that, Marni also expects a return from Jiyem. However, in this case, Jiyem did not reply to Marni because of several factors that created a dilemma between the two. The dilemma that occurs in this film is as follows:

#### Unrequited goodness



Figure 2. Anna and Anna are waiting for Anna to come back. (Minute 11:20 Film)

The unrequited kindness in this film is depicted in the 11.20 minute scene with the following dialogue.

**Marni** : "Kepriye ta Yu Jiyem ki. Ana ditunggoni tenanan, gek rasul wingi aku rana ngirim sega. Eh

ora rasulan rene, ya kana rasul ora genti ngirim rene. Jare sedulur kok malah kaya ngono."

**Sutik** : "Lha kowe ki ya ngono, Makne. Hudu sanak hudu sedulur kok lemu ngarep-arep ki nganti tenanan ngono."

#### Translation

**Zhao Yan** : "What the hell is going on? Awaited Yesterday, I was just about to send it to you. rice. Eh, not the apostle here, there is also the apostle

There is no substitute for posting here. He said that Why is it like that?"

**Sutik** : "You are ma'am, not a relative, not a relative. "Brother, why are you waiting?"

In this scene, Marni is told who is waiting for a reply from *Weweh*, who never comes from Jiyem. Marni thinks that if she is given an award, she will also get a reply later. However, the results were nil; his kindness to Jiyem did not yield any results, even though he had signaled to Jiyem by asking when the apostolic event in Jiyem village would be.

In the context of the social interaction between Marni and Jiyem in the apostolic tradition, Marni's act of giving food can be analyzed through Pierre Bourdieu's theory, especially the concept of social capital and habitus. Marni's feeding is an investment in social capital. Marni hopes her actions will strengthen her social relationship with Jiyem, which can provide mutual benefits.

In the apostolic tradition, *weweh* or giving is a form of interpersonal social communication. Through her habitus, Marni internalizes the norms and values of the apostolic tradition, including the obligation to give to each other. His actions reflect his social class habitus, which may have emphasized the importance of solidarity and reciprocity.

This is in line with research conducted by Krisdinanto (2016), Bourdieu emphasizing that social practices, such as Marni's act of feeding them, are the product of dynamic interactions between habitus, capital, and arena. In Bourdieu's formulation, social practice = (habitus x capital) + arena. Marni's habitus is formed from life experiences and internalization of local cultural values, such as the apostolic tradition, that interacts with the social capital she has (network, belief, and reciprocal potential) in the context of the social arena of the village community.



**Figure 3.** Jiyem's Mindset on the Weweh Tradition (Short Film Weweh 14:08 minutes)

The scene tells about Jiyem's mindset, who considers that this weweh tradition not only gives food but also strengthens the bond of brotherhood. The following is the dialogue in the scene.

**Ayu** : "Dadi nek nggon dewe rasulan, weweh rana genti ya, Mak?"

**Jiyem** : "Lha iya ta, Nduk. Ning nek ora ya rapapa. Weweh kuwi tujuane ora mung ngeteri panganan, ning ya gawe ngraketake paseduluran aja ngasi pedhot."

#### Translation

"Well," he said, "if we are going to go to the Prophet's house, we shall *have to go* there too, shall we?"

**Jiyem** : "Yes, son. However, if not, it is okay. *The purpose of the weweh* is not only to deliver food, but also to maintain brotherly relationships so that they do not break."

Returning a favor in Javanese culture is called a good attitude toward someone. It is one of the noble traits of human beings because, in return, a person will feel weak without the help of others, and will leave arrogance, sharpen the conscience of humanity, and increase sincerity in doing various things (Santosa, 2012). This attitude is directly related to humans' conscious memory and conscience, namely, deliberately remembering the goodness of others that has been given to others. Then the conscience reminds of its kindness and has the intention or desire to repay the kindness in a kind way as well (Fredy & Febriyatko, 2022).

Javanese people also know the expression *nandur kabecikan*, *males kabecikan* (planting kindness, repaying kindness), which has a fundamental meaning in social relations. In Javanese teaching, a person is expected to have a disposition to do things for others that is in line with the encouragement of helping, as human beings cannot live alone. Meanwhile, the concept of reciprocating is a moral demand for the Javanese (Suratno & Astiyanto, 2004).

Value *nandur kabecikan* is also interpreted as sowing virtue through the habit of doing good to

others, which is the foundation of ethics in Javanese culture. This phrase teaches that a person should do good without expecting a direct return, but rather as part of sincerity and moral responsibility that must be maintained in people's lives (Ismawati, 2019).

Jiyem's absence and the absence of a reply can be interpreted as Marni's failure to accumulate or maintain the expected social capital. This can also be seen as a form of symbolic violence, where Jiyem's habitus, which may be different due to economic, social, or other factors, does not recognize or appreciate the social capital investment made by Marni. Symbolic violence occurs when the dominant power imposes a definition of meaning as legitimate, so that class or social status differences appear reasonable and are maintained from generation to generation (Nova & Pujiati, 2024).

The *apostolic* tradition can be understood as an arena, a structured social space in which each individual or group competes to gain and maintain a dominant position. Social, economic, and cultural capital become a contested resource. Jiyem's inability or unwillingness to participate in *the exchange of weweh* could indicate his disadvantaged position in this arena, or even his rejection of the logic of the arena.

The community tries to reproduce the existing social structure through the apostolic tradition. However, when there is a failure in terms of reciprocity, as in the case of Marni and Jiyem, this can threaten the stability of the social structure. Individuals like Marni use strategies to maintain or improve their social position through investments in social capital. However, the effectiveness of these strategies depends on the responses of other individuals in the social arena.

According to Fatmawati dan Sholikin (2020) Symbolic violence works subtly through the internalization of social norms and values, so that class inequality and social status are considered natural and perpetuated. Bourdieu explained that habitus formed from different socioeconomic backgrounds causes inconsistencies in the recognition of social capital between individuals. In addition, the concept of the social arena describes a space of competition in which social, economic, and cultural capital is contested to maintain a dominant position.

Thus, Bourdieu's analysis helps to explain how Marni's actions and Jiyem's response were not only individual actions, but also reflections of broader social structures, the distribution of capital, and the struggle for symbolic power in the context of *the apostolic* tradition.

## Unmet social expectations



**Figure 4.** Marni, who expects to receive *weweh* from Jiyem (*Weweh* short film 12.33 minutes)

The apostolic tradition, with the practice of giving each other food, gives rise to the construction of social expectations between individuals. This problem is reflected in the scene at 12:33 with the following dialogue.

**Sutik** : *"Mulane dadi wong kuwi aja geru jagakke ndoge blorok."*

**Marni** : *"Ya ngertiku ki nek aku weweh rana, gek kana ki genti weweh rene"*

### Translation

**Sutik**: "That is why, if you are that person Do not like to wait for uncertainty."

**Ron**: "Yes, I know I am going to be there. "They are *going to be here for a while*."

Jiyem's failure to give gifts to Marni is an example of concrete inconsistencies in meeting these social expectations. Jiyem's inability to fulfill this social obligation is not directly expressed, but is implied through the behavior and situations he experiences. Javanese culture teaches its people always to express everything vaguely and not bluntly, no matter how "torture" it may be." (Zustiyantoro, 2015).

This failure is not necessarily expressed or questioned openly. As a result, Marni, as a non-accepting party, may feel disappointment and dissatisfaction that is not expressed verbally, thus causing feelings of discomfort and even potential emotional distance in their social relationships.

The dilemma illustrates how a tradition, even if it aims to strengthen social solidarity, can become a social burden if not practiced consistently, thus triggering divisions and tensions in social relations.

Javanese culture notes that youth face complex problems, especially when considered *durung Jawa* (not fully Javanese). In this context, "Java" is collectively represented as nobility, maturity, and righteousness (Zustiyantoro, 2020). This is closely related to the *apostolic* tradition, which emphasizes the importance of communality

in the life of the Javanese people. Similar to Javanese culture, which places a great emphasis on communality in people's lives, the *apostolic* tradition serves as a means to strengthen social relationships and collective identity. Javanese people must live in a social space that requires them to adapt to existing norms and values.

When young individuals feel pressured to meet social expectations and be part of a community, they are often caught between following tradition and seeking personal identity. Thus, apostolic traditions serve as social rituals and an arena where individuals learn to interact and communicate in a broader cultural context. This creates a dynamic in which individuals must navigate the demands between the collective and the search for their identity in the larger society.

## The Causes of Social Dilemmas in the Film

Based on the context of the *apostolic* tradition and the absence of *weweh* from Jiyem to Marni, the following factors cause the social dilemma.

### Economic incompetence

The economic inability in this film is implicitly represented through the depiction of the conditions and situations experienced by the character Jiyem. This representation is presented through Jiyem's daily visualization, which reflects economic incapacity. This depiction is in line with the findings in the study of poverty representation in films, where aspects of economic inability are often presented not directly through the term "poor", but through visual symbols, living conditions, and interactions between characters that are indicated as economic incapacity (Gusma & Adiyanto, 2023).

Economic incapacity, such as poverty, can be a significant factor that prevents a person from giving *weweh* to the *apostolic* tradition. This problem can be explained in depth using Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social practice. In Bourdieu's framework, one's social practices, including participation in cultural traditions, result from the interaction between habitus, capital, and arena.

Habitus is a mindset, value, and habit formed from an individual's life experiences and social environment. In the context of Javanese culture, *weweh*, or giving food to neighbors or relatives, is an important part of social interaction and shows solidarity (Mustikasari et al., 2023). However, limited economic capital (economic incapacity) limits the individual's ability to meet those social expectations. (Nurnazmi & Kholifah, 2023). Economic capital is one of the important

requirements for participating and gaining social legitimacy in the arena of apostolic tradition.

The arena here is a social space where *apostolic* traditions take place and where individuals compete for recognition and social solidarity (Linda, 2019). When a person cannot give a gift due to economic limitations, he loses the opportunity to strengthen social capital (networks of relationships and solidarity) and symbolic capital (awards, status). As a result, such at-risk individuals experience stigma, exclusion, and even fractures in social networks, which in turn can reduce their economic and psychological conditions.

### Social disorganization

Social problems can be caused by disorganization in society, such as unrest and conflict between groups (Tangdilintin & Prasetyo, 2014). Disorganisasi sosial adalah gejala lepasnya keterikatan tatanan sosial yang pernah melembaga dari seorang individu. Fenomena ini terjadi sebagai dampak perubahan sosial yang terjadi pada suatu masyarakat atau sistem sosial (Ruswanto, 2014). Jiyem's absence, which can trigger unrest or conflict with Marni because it is considered disrespectful to existing traditions and values, is a clear example of cultural conflict that often occurs when traditional values meet with social changes or different individual behaviors. This kind of conflict arises due to differences in understanding and respect for cultural norms that are the foundation of group identity, so incompatibility of attitudes or actions can cause tension between individuals or groups.

In this context, Jiyem's absence is not only seen as an individual act but also as a symbol of rejection or neglect of the collective values held by the community. This form of rejection or neglect is reflected in Jiyem's dialogue at 14.08, which contains the following.

**Ayu** : "*Dadi nek nggon dewe rasulan, weweh rana genti ya, Mak?*"

**Jiyem** : "*Lha iya ta, Nduk. Ning nek ora ya rapapa. Weweh kuwi tujuane ora mung ngeteri panganan, ning ya gawe ngraketake paseduluran aja ngasi pedhot.*"

### Translation

"Well," he said, "if we are going to go to the Prophet's house, we shall *have to go* there too, shall we?"

**Jiyem** : "Yes, son. However, if not, it is okay. *The purpose of the weweh* is not only to deliver food, but also to maintain brotherly relationships so that they do not break."

The mindset embraced by Jiyem is contrary to the mindset embraced by Marni. Marni considers that there is an unwritten obligation to give reciprocity in the apostolic tradition. The absence of reciprocity between Jiyem and Marni reflects a symbol of rejection or neglect of collective values in the *apostolic* tradition carried out by Jiyem. This is in line with the dynamics of cultural conflict that often occur in society, where the difference in values between tradition and modernity, or between collective norms and individualism, can trigger social problems. If not managed properly, these conflicts can cause social divisions, reduce the quality of relationships between individuals, and even have the potential to develop into wider conflicts.

The phenomenon of social disorganization as a symptom of the detachment of social order due to social change can be strengthened by the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's hysteresis. According to Bil Auvaq dan Supartingsih (2020) Social conflict arises due to the misalignment between habitus, capital, and arena in a dynamic social structure. Social conflict fundamentally occurs due to the dynamic nature of the social structure and the misalignment between the prevailing habitus, capital, and arena. This mismatch causes individuals to experience positional suffering, namely difficulty adapting due to a lack of capital, thus triggering social tension and disorganization in the community.

Phenomena such as Jiyem's absence that trigger cultural conflicts can manifest this state of *hysteresis*, in which the individual's habitus no longer corresponds to changing collective norms, thus causing unrest and conflict between groups. Thus, Bourdieu's theory of *hysteresis* reinforces the understanding that social disorganization is not only the result of social change, but also the result of capital imbalances and habitus inconsistencies in the ever-changing social arena.

### Moral Dilemma

Marni may have a moral dilemma if she believes that *weweh* is important in her social traditions, but jiyem does not give her *wewe*. In this situation, Marni may rationalize the situation by changing the strangeness about the importance of *weweh*. He could try to convince himself that not everyone can give, or that other factors influenced Jiyem's decision. This can help Marni feel better about the situation, even if she sacrifices her initial beliefs. Moral dilemmas like this reflect the complexity of social interaction in the Javanese tradition, where cultural norms and social expectations often come into contact with individual reality. By understanding these

dynamics, Marni can find ways to adapt and maintain social relationships while still respecting the values she believes in.

In Pierre Bourdieu's perspective, moral dilemmas can be analyzed through habitus and symbolic violence. When traditional norms, such as the importance of *weweh* in tradition, conflict with social reality, such as Jiyem's rejection, tension in the habitus triggers a moral dilemma. In addition, Bourdieu explains that in social interaction, there is a subtle form of power, namely symbolic violence, in which the prevailing norms and values implicitly govern social relations and create pressure to comply with those rules (Reresi et al., 2023). The dilemma faced by women often has to do with societal expectations that conflict with their identity (Nugroho et al., 2025).

In the context of *weweh*, this action is not just generosity, but a social binding mechanism that contains symbolic obligations and domination. When this obligation is unmet, individuals like Marni experience a moral dilemma because they must balance maintaining cultural norms and accepting social reality. Thus, Bourdieu's moral dilemma is not only a matter of individual moral decisions, but also a reflection of the social structures and mechanisms of symbolic domination that shape and limit freedom of action. Individuals must improve their habits to adapt to dynamic social conditions so that moral dilemmas become part of social adaptation and negotiation of meaning in social life (Wattimena, 2012).

## CONCLUSION

This study examines social dilemmas in the short film *Weweh* using Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework, namely the concepts of habitus, arena, capital, and symbolic violence. This analysis found two primary forms of social dilemmas: unrequited goodness and unfulfilled social expectations. The factors that cause the social dilemma in this film include economic incompetence, social disorganization, and moral dilemmas that occur in the arena of people's lives depicted. In addition, one of the figures also found a form of rejection or abandonment of collective values in the apostolic tradition. These findings show how social structures and the position of individuals in the social arena affect the experience of social dilemmas and how symbolic violence contributes to these tensions. Thus, *Weweh's* film reflects the complexity of social relations and societal power dynamics.

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