Visual Style and the Cultural Representation of Islam in *Penginyongan* Film: An Analysis of Banyumas Raya Indonesia Cultural Expression

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Abstract

This article examines how the *Penginyongan* film represents Islamic cultural values within the socio-cultural context of the Banyumas Raya community, Indonesia. The urgency of this research lies in the lack of studies that position local audio-visual media as a space for the articulation of religious values and cultural identity amidst the penetration of digital modernity. Through a visual ethnography approach, this research not only utilizes field observations, interviews, and focus group discussions, but also conducts film text analysis to examine how social, cultural, and religious representations are constructed visually and narratively in four films: *Pegatan (2023), SETAN: Seni Tani (2023), Dolanan Layangan (2020)*, and *PUR (2024)*. The research findings show that Islamic cultural values are manifested through an egalitarian, simple visual style, a non-hierarchical communal production pattern, the use of the *Ngapak* language as a symbol of resistance and pride in local identity, and humor as a medium for polite social criticism. On the other hand, the *Penginyongan* film shows the dialectic between modernity and communality, especially amid changes in the lifestyles of the younger generation and the pressures of digital culture. This research contributes to strengthening the study of Indonesian local culture while broadening understanding in global cultural studies of how local communities negotiate religious values and cultural identity through short films. The cinema *Penginyongan* shows that cultural da'wah can be present through social ethics and everyday aesthetics, rather than through formal ritual symbols.

INTRODUCTION

Cultural identity in regional cinema is one domain of study that has experienced significant development in local media studies in Indonesia. This development not only reflects the creative dynamics of filmmakers outside the industrial center but also shows how film production can become a space for articulating symbols and social ethics rooted in a specific cultural context. In the context of Banyumas Raya, the *Penginyongan* film emerged as a creative practice that combines local aesthetics, regional language, egalitarian humor, and representations of everyday life as sources of creativity. This phenomenon is based on an understanding of cultural Islam, namely the internalization of Islamic values manifested in everyday life through social practices such as cooperation, respect among residents, simplicity in interactions, non-hierarchical humor, and agrarian traditions. These characteristics are non-symbolic, not always displayed through formal rituals, but are lived out through social ethics (Beatty, 2003; Geertz, 1960; Woodward, 2011).

Greater Banyumas (Banyumas Raya) is a cultural region located in western Central Java, generally encompassing the regencies of Banyumas, Cilacap, Purbalingga, and Banjarnegara. In the ethno-linguistic realm, this region is known as the center of *Ngapak* dialect use, which serves as a marker of cultural identity and a confirmation of differentiation from the more hierarchical and formalistic Mataraman Javanese culture. Historically, Banyumas' position was peripheral to the center of Mataram power, thus giving rise to a form of social expression that was egalitarian,

straightforward, and not bound by feudal structures. In the context of social structure, the Banyumas people have an agrarian tradition as an economic base that has helped shape a communal ethos, simplicity, independence, and a closeness to the natural environment. This is reflected in communal solidarity (cooperation), social relationship patterns without rigid stratification, and respect grounded in emotional closeness.

In the realm of arts, Banyumas Raya is known for its cultural traditions, such as *ebeg*, *lengger*, *calung*, and Banyumasan humor, which are egalitarian and inclusive (Uskharini, 2017). Humor and verbal frankness in Banyumas culture are often understood as social control mechanisms that reduce distance between individuals, while preventing the emergence of exploitative power relations. The use of the *Ngapak* dialect in contemporary cultural expressions, including regional films, can be understood as a form of symbolic resistance against the dominance of refined Javanese associated with palace cultural norms (Scott, 1990). This resistance is soft, non-confrontational, yet effective in maintaining the community's local identity and linguistic pride.

In a religious context, Banyumas Raya does not emphasize rigid formal rituals, but rather internalizes Islamic values through social practices such as deliberation, dialogical politeness, respect for community leaders, and communal solidarity in daily activities (Azra, 2000; Woodward, 2011). The community's religious practices accommodate local traditions, resulting in a down-to-earth, non-elitist expression of cultural Islam. This cultural Islam manifests in social ethics in daily interactions, such as the acceptance of diversity, cross-community *silaturahmi* practices, and humor as a social glue. Thus, Banyumas Raya offers a rich cultural landscape for understanding how cultural Islamic values are expressed without symbolic reduction, namely, a context that allows for reading the representation of religious values through daily practices in the *Penginyongan* film.

The term *Penginyongan* itself is a relatively new terminological development in the cultural discourse of Greater Banyumas. Previously, the region's cultural identity was more often referred to as *"Banyumasan,"* but this term was considered to give the impression of cultural centralization within Banyumas Regency alone. In 2016–2017, several cultural experts and language practitioners proposed the term *Penginyongan* to emphasize that the linguistic identity, arts, and social values in question encompassed four regencies within the Greater Banyumas region (researcher's field notes, 2024). The *Ngapak* Language Congress held in Purwokerto subsequently reinforced the use of this term as a representation of a more inclusive, egalitarian, and collaborative cultural identity among its supporting communities (Andrianto, 2016). Linguistically, */nginyong/* means 'we' in the *Ngapak* dialect, signifying relational closeness, the absence of a communication hierarchy, and communal solidarity. Therefore, *Penginyongan* refers to the spirit of togetherness that lives in the social interactions of the people of Banyumas Raya, and it also serves as a marker of collective identity articulated through language, humor, communication style, and artistic expression, including film.

The use of *Ngapak* in the *Penginyongan* film is an interesting indicator of cultural power relations. Although Banyumas people also understand and use refined Javanese associated with court culture daily, the preference for using *Ngapak* in the film demonstrates symbolic resistance to the dominance of central Javanese culture, without diminishing respect for the larger cultural space. This phenomenon aligns with the theoretical framework of cultural resistance (Scott, 1990)This highlights how linguistic expression can be a form of identity negotiation at the grassroots level. Furthermore, the choice of humor as a narrative device reflects the egalitarian tendencies in Banyumas culture, which reject rigid communication hierarchies.

Research on local cinema in Indonesia has demonstrated a diversity of approaches and focuses. Anwas highlighted how regional films reproduce cultural identities through narratives that are close to the collective experiences of society (Anwas, 2013), but has not yet examined how these representations relate to non-ritual religious values. Hanan enriches this study through an analysis of the cultural specificity of Indonesian cinema, from language and humorous idioms to narrative structures (Hanan, 2017). However, she has not yet discussed the relationship between visual aesthetics and religious ethics. Contemporary studies, such as those by Ferdinanda and Larasati, add new dimensions by examining digital circulation and the younger generation's

reception of regional films (Ferdinanda et al., 2025; Larasati, 2025), yet the negotiation of cultural Islamic values in film texts remains marginalized. Meanwhile, Sad Tanti and Ginanjar highlight the function of humor and communication etiquette in Banyumas culture as a mechanism of social regulation (Sad Tanti & Ginanjar, 2020), providing an important foundation for this study to interpret humor in the *Penginyongan* film as a medium for social criticism with nuances of religious ethics. Community-based studies, such as those conducted by Ratnasari, demonstrate that local filmmaker networks, creative forums, and regional festivals play a crucial role in revitalizing the film production ecosystem (Ratnasari et al., 2025). These studies have not yet examined, in an integrative way, the relationship between communal production practices, visual representation, and cultural Islamic values that operate in everyday life. Thus, there is still theoretical and empirical space to examine how film texts, creative processes, and audience reception can be read as arenas for value negotiations between local identity, humor, language, and social change triggered by digital modernity.

In global studies, the relationship between cinema and religion has been explored by several theorists who view film as a medium that produces moral, ethical, and even transcendent experiences. Linze and Mat Desa argue that cinema functions as a cultural space where religious meanings are articulated and negotiated through narrative, symbolism, and emotional engagement rather than explicit doctrinal representation (Linze & Mat Desa, 2024). Plate emphasizes that film functions like a religious practice because it constructs a "world of meaning" through sensory experience (Plate, 2017). Lyden suggests that film can function as a "cultural religion," negotiating myth and morality through visual narrative (Lyden, 2003). From a sociological perspective, film operates as a cultural arena in which religious values are articulated implicitly through narrative, symbolism, and affective experience rather than through explicit theological discourse (Mitchell, 2009). Sobchack's study highlights how cinematic aesthetics mediate audiences' religious and affective experiences (Sobchack, 2008). Cinema can function in ways similar to religion, particularly by offering moral frameworks, shaping ethical reflection, and providing audiences with narratives that help them interpret their lived experiences (Lyden, 2018). From the perspective of mediatization theory, religion in contemporary film functions less as institutional doctrine and more as a set of lived values embedded in cultural narratives and everyday practices (Ding et al., 2025). However, most international research focuses on global commercial cinema or Western spiritual traditions, thereby failing to examine how Islamic cultural values are articulated through community-based short films in Indonesia. This gap is addressed by combining analysis of film texts, production processes, and audience perspectives in the context of Greater Banyumas.

The use of Theo van Leeuwen's stylistic framework provides a theoretical basis for reading how representational choices in film reflect value-laden social practices (Leeuwen, 2005). Van Leeuwen maps style into three dimensions: (a) individual style, which relates to the aesthetic preferences of the film director; (b) social style, which refers to the social practices of the production community and the interactions between cultural actors; and (c) lifestyle, which relates to the lifestyle patterns that influence stylistic decisions. These three dimensions are relevant to reading *Penginyongan* because each director brings a particular perspective, habitus, and social environment that are internalized in their visual works.

In Indonesian religious studies, the concept of cultural Islam refers to the expression of Islamic values woven into local culture without being tied to formal institutional symbols (Azra, 2000; Howell, 2008). Cultural Islam is expressed through social ethics that shape relationships within a community, such as respect for community leaders, deliberation, communal solidarity, and humor as a mechanism of social control. Mayward (2017) argues that religious meanings in cinema are often conveyed implicitly through narrative and aesthetic choices, allowing cultural values to be embedded within everyday representations (Mayward, 2017). These values are manifested in the *Penginyongan*'s film narrative aesthetics through character development, dialogue style, scene structure, and the director's chosen social setting.

The four films that form the focus of this research, *Pegatan* (2023), *SETAN: Seni Tani* (2023), *Dolanan Layangan* (2020), and *PUR* (2024), demonstrate varying representations of Islamic cultural values. *Pegatan* presents family issues and the ethics of early marriage not through verbal preaching but through emotional relationships among characters. *SETAN: Seni Tani* maps the connection between humans, land, and agrarian values, which in local Islamic traditions are often associated with simplicity and blessings. *Dolanan Layangan* uses childhood nostalgia as a metaphor for social solidarity and harmony. Meanwhile, *PUR* addresses the issue of digital consumption among the younger generation and negotiates it with communal social values.

The urgency of this research lies in understanding how local cinema functions as a space for the articulation of religious and cultural values that operate through everyday social practices. In the context of Indonesian cinema, community-based short films like *Penginyongan* serve not only as a vehicle for creative expression but also as a medium for maintaining cultural identity amid the onslaught of digital modernity. The representation of Islamic cultural values through language, humor, and social relations in *Penginyongan* demonstrates that religion is not always expressed in ritual symbols, but rather through social ethics that govern interpersonal relationships. This approach enriches understanding of how visual aesthetics and film production practices can reflect communal values and evolving cultural dynamics.

At the national and global levels, this research contributes to expanding research on the relationship between religion and media, particularly in non-Western Muslim traditions. Amid the tendency in international studies to focus heavily on Western commercial cinema and formal religious representations, the findings from the *Penginyongan* film offer an alternative perspective on how local communities construct moral narratives and identities through audiovisual media. This demonstrates that regional cinema plays a significant role in negotiating cultural and religious values amidst the currents of globalization. By grounding reading in local experiences, this research enriches the global discourse on the role of film in shaping social solidarity, cultural memory, and moral values across various societies.

The visual ethnographic approach used in this study allows for observation of the layers of culture internalized in the film. This approach views film not merely as a visual text, but as a cultural practice (Banks, 2007; Pink, 2013). Therefore, interviews with the director, crew, local film observers, and audiences are crucial to understanding how social and religious values are articulated in the creative process. The researcher's field notes also indicate that the Banyumas film production community maintains a collaborative, equal relationship, reflecting its egalitarian ethics.

The relationship between visual style and religious values has long been a focus of media representation studies. Previous research has shown that aesthetics and symbols in film can serve as a medium for internalizing moral values (Kraidy, 2017). However, in the context of the *Penginyongan* film, these values are not explicitly expressed through rituals, but rather through everyday dialogue, social interactions, and dramatic situations that represent societal ethical norms. This confirms that visuals and narratives in local films can serve as a sublime space for cultural Islamic values.

Several previous studies provide an important foundation for the study of local cinema in Indonesia. Anwas (2013) and Hanan (2017) demonstrate that language, humor, and everyday narratives are key elements in the formation of cultural identity in regional films. A linguistic and social study of Banyumas by Sad Tanti and Ginanjar (2020) further emphasizes the role of humor and egalitarian communication within the community's social ethics. Recent studies, such as those by Ferdinanda et al. (2025), Larasati (2025), and Ratnasari et al. (2025), broaden understanding through analyses of community ecosystems, digital distribution, and audience reception. However, these studies have not specifically examined how Islamic cultural values are articulated through the visual style, communal production process, and narrative structure of community-based short films like *Penginyongan*. Furthermore, there is limited research that combines film text analysis with a visual ethnographic approach to uncover the relationship between local cultural practices and religious values that operate immanently in everyday life.

Addressing this gap, this article offers a new perspective on how regional cinema can serve as a medium of cultural da'wah that operates through social ethics rather than formal ritual symbols. Through a combination of visual style analysis, field observations, and readings of audience experiences, this research demonstrates how Islamic cultural values are represented, negotiated, and lived within the cultural context of Greater Banyumas. Therefore, the purpose of this article is to analyze how the dimensions of individual style, social style, and lifestyle in the *Penginyongan* film represent cultural Islamic values, and to explain how these representations relate to broader social and cultural dynamics.

METHODS

This research uses a qualitative, ethnographic approach. This approach was chosen because films are not only understood as visual texts that can be analyzed semiotically, but also as social practices and cultural artifacts that reflect the value systems, ideologies, and identities of the communities that produce them (Banks, 2007; Pink, 2013). A visual research methods approach treats images and films as culturally produced representations whose meanings are shaped by social context and visual practices (Rose, 2014). Ethnographic knowledge emerges through multimodal and multisensory engagement, where visual materials must be understood in relation to narrative, social context, and lived experience (Pink, 2011). Ethnography allows researchers to explore how social values, in this case, cultural Islamic values, are internalized and manifested in the aesthetic construction of local films. This approach emphasizes observation of the production process, filmmakers' creative discourse, and the resulting visual stylistic representations, thereby providing a more comprehensive understanding of the relationship between culture, religion, and cinematic style.

This research paradigm is descriptive-interpretive, with an orientation towards the discovery of meaning (meaning-centered inquiry) as recommended in qualitative research (Creswell, 2015). The research does not aim to measure effects, but rather to interpret the meaning contained in film cultural practices. The research conceptual framework combines Theo van Leeuwen's (2005) theory of style with the concept of cultural Islam in the context of religious anthropology (Azra, 2000; Beatty, 2003; Geertz, 1960; Woodward, 2011). Van Leeuwen views style as a social practice that contains values, not merely an individual aesthetic expression. Thus, the *Penginyongan*'s film visual style is read as the result of negotiations among social structures, religious experiences, and the cultural context of Banyumas Raya.

In this context, the research also refers to Stuart Hall's thinking on representation as a cultural process that shapes meaning through a system of signs and social practices (Hall & Gay, 2003). Hall's representational approach is relevant to understanding how film becomes an arena for articulating Islamic cultural values without resorting to explicit religious symbols. Cultural Islam here is interpreted as explained by Azra (2000) and Howell (2008), namely, Islam that is embodied in everyday social life through ethical values such as cooperation, egalitarianism, simplicity, and social respect. Spatially, the research focuses on the Banyumas Raya region, which includes the regencies of Banyumas, Purbalingga, and Cilacap. This region was chosen because it has an egalitarian, open social and linguistic character, as well as a strong agrarian tradition, both of which shape the local community's Islamic cultural identity. The research was conducted over 2023–2024, with primary data collection taking place throughout 2024. However, informal observations of the development of *Penginyongan* films have been conducted since 2017, when researchers began participating in local film festivals, creative communities, and cultural discussion forums. This longitudinal observation allows researchers to understand the dynamics of social styles and values that have developed over nearly a decade.

The main unit of analysis in this study is four short films produced by Banyumas Raya filmmakers representing the 2020–2024 period, namely: (1) *Pegatan* (2023), directed by Bagas Wisnuardi, presents a social narrative about family relations and the ethics of early marriage. (2) *SETAN: Seni Tani* (2023), directed by Dismas Panglipur, raises the theme of agrarianism and

human–nature relations as a source of local spirituality. (3) *Dolanan Layangan* (2020), by Riyanto Husnoh, represents childhood nostalgia, social solidarity, and the value of harmony. (4) *PUR* (2024), directed by Nanda Barokah, explores the digital lifestyle and shifting social values of the younger generation of Banyumas Raya. The four films were selected because they met three criteria: (1) they used the *Ngapak* language and the social context of Banyumas Raya, (2) individuals or local film communities produced them, and (3) they displayed a cinematic style that reflected the social values and cultural ethics of the community. These films span a relatively long period (2020–2024), allowing researchers to trace the evolution of visual style and shifts in social values within the Banyumas Raya filmmaking community.

Figure 1. Posters for the Films *Pegatan* (2023), *PUR* (2024), *Dolanan Layangan* (2020), and *SETAN: Seni Tani* (2023)

Research data was collected through three main sources: film texts, in-depth interviews, and field observations. First, film text analysis was conducted by watching, noting, and mapping scenes, visual composition, language use, music, and character gestures relevant to the cultural Islamic theme. This process follows the principles of textual analysis in cultural studies (Fairclough, 1995) and social semiotics (Leeuwen, 2005). Second, in-depth interviews were conducted with four main directors, two film crew members, one local film observer, and several audience members. The interviews were semi-structured and aimed to understand how they interpreted social, cultural, and religious values in the creative process. The interview technique followed the in-depth interview guidelines in qualitative research (Spradley, 1997). Third, field observations were conducted in local film communities and discussion forums in Purwokerto, Purbalingga, and Cilacap. The researcher served as an observer, without directly intervening in the film production process, to maintain the objectivity of the description of the phenomenon. These observations documented the social dynamics behind the filmmaking process, interactions between community members, and audience responses to local films. Furthermore, a focus group discussion (FGD) with local audiences was conducted in December 2024 to gather data on public reception to *Penginyongan*. These group discussions helped us understand the extent to which audiences associated the film with social and religious values in their lives.

Data analysis was conducted inductively and interpretively through three main stages: data reduction, data presentation, and concluding (Miles & Huberman, 1992). Data reduction involved organizing observation notes, interview transcripts, and film data into thematic categories related to Islamic cultural values. Data presentation was carried out as a thematic map (coding) that linked the film's visual elements to social values. The final stage, interpretation, was carried out by linking field findings with Theo van Leeuwen's stylistic theory and Azyumardi Azra's concept of cultural Islam. In practice, the analysis was carried out using a multi-level analysis approach, namely: (1) Individual Style Analysis, identifying the aesthetic preferences of each director (camera, color tone, tempo, framing), (2) Social Style Analysis, exploring social relations in the film production process, such as community collaboration, forms of collective work, and role distribution, (3) Lifestyle

Analysis, observing the lifestyle, values, and habitus of the Banyumas community reflected in the film's narrative, such as simplicity, humor, and communal solidarity. These three layers of analysis are combined with the interpretation of Islamic cultural values, as conceptualized by Geertz as *abangan, santri, and priyayi* Islam (Geertz, 1960), but with an emphasis on the everyday dimension of Islam as explained by Howell (2008) and Beatty (2003), namely, Islam that lives in everyday social practices.

Data validity was maintained through source triangulation (between film, interviews, and observations) and method triangulation (text analysis and visual ethnography). To strengthen the validity of interpretation, the researcher applied the principle of member checking with several key informants, ensuring that the interpretation of the analysis results did not deviate from their understanding of the meaning (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). In addition, the researcher used a thick description approach (Geertz, 1960) to provide a rich cultural context, describing in detail the social behavior, dialogue, and atmosphere of the film production, so that readers can understand the meaning of actions in their context. The entire research process followed the principles of scientific ethics. Each informant gave informed consent for the interviews and data recording. The researcher also ensured that the interpretation of the film and the community was not stigmatizing or morally judgmental but rather interpreted within the socio-cultural context that underlies it. As a non-participant observer, the researcher's direct involvement was limited to maintain objectivity and avoid confirmation bias.

This research has several limitations. First, as an observation-based qualitative study, the results cannot be generalized to all local film communities in Indonesia. Second, because some of the observation data collected non-participatory, the understanding of the community's internal dynamics may not be as in-depth. Third, although this research attempts to link visual style with Islamic cultural values, this relationship is interpretive and contextual and therefore remains open to scholarly debate. Nevertheless, these limitations strengthen this research's position as a first step in expanding ethnographic studies of regional films within the context of religious and cultural studies. With a comprehensive ethnographic design, this research positions the *Penginyongan* film as a space for articulating cultural Islamic values that operate at three levels: individual aesthetic expression, collective social practice, and community lifestyle. This approach allows for the reading of local films not merely as artistic works, but as living cultural texts that negotiate religious and social values within the framework of Greater Banyumas' identity. Through systematic methodological procedures based on primary data, this research is expected to make an academic contribution to the development of studies of religion, culture, and visual media in Indonesia.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Penginyongan Film: Culture and Identity

Field findings indicate that the development of the *Penginyongan* film in Greater Banyumas is driven by an increasing collective awareness of the importance of preserving local cultural identity through audio-visual media. The film community in this region developed organically through creative forums, film discussion spaces, and local festival activities (Taufiqurrohman et al., 2017). The researchers observed that during the production process and after screening, social interactions occurred that illustrated the typical egalitarian ethos of Banyumas, characterized by fluid, open communication free of a rigid hierarchy. These characteristics align with the tendency of Banyumas culture, which is known for its straightforwardness and places humor as a lubricant for social relations (Uskharini, 2017). In general, *Penginyongan* films emerge from a community-based creative ecosystem, rather than from the professional film industry. This fosters a collaborative work pattern in which roles and responsibilities are often flexible. Crew members, actors, and production teams can support one another beyond their formal roles. In an interview with one crew member, for example, it emerged that the creative process involved contributions from various team members, not just the director. Polarization of creative authority is low, and decisions are often made through brief discussions that reflect deliberation as a social value. This phenomenon

correlates with the concept of cooperation in cultural Islam, where social solidarity is the basis of communal work (Azra, 2000).

The cultural representation of Greater Banyumas in the *Penginyongan* film is based on the community's egalitarian and straightforward social character and on language and humor as important instruments for maintaining social relations. The Ngapak language serves as a linguistic identity that demonstrates honesty and closeness to the community's lived experiences. This is evident in the statement of one director, *"I chose the Ngapak language to be more authentic and closer to the daily lives of the Banyumas people"* (Wisnuardi, 2024). FGD participants reinforced this by stating that the use of Ngapak made the film feel "at one with oneself" and in harmony with everyday life (FGD, Audience, 2024). This linguistic choice also serves as symbolic resistance to the hegemony of refined Javanese culture, as Bagas emphasized: *"The Ngapak language does not need to embarrass us; it is our identity"* (Wisnuardi, 2024). On the audience side, the FGD results showed that the majority of audiences appreciated *Penginyongan* films not only for their technical quality, but also for their closeness to their social reality. Audiences considered the stories, language, and characters in the films to reflect the daily experiences of the Banyumas people, including humor and egalitarian interaction patterns (Researcher's Notes, 2024). This reinforces the view that cultural representation in digital media (film) works effectively, namely through emotional closeness and collective memory. Audiences feel like they "see themselves" in the films, so this cultural closeness increases public acceptance of local aesthetics.

The *Penginyongan* production process also demonstrates the strong influence of the agrarian socio-cultural environment of Greater Banyumas. The researcher's field notes reveal that many filming locations were in rural areas, fields, or small settlements. This visual simplicity aligns with the values of *qanā'ah* and *tawāḍu'*, which are social ethics in cultural Islam: simplicity, acceptance of circumstances, and respect for physical labor and agrarian life. Therefore, the emergence of a rural setting is not merely a technical preference but a reflection of the community's social values. Furthermore, field findings also indicate that the use of the *Ngapak* language is not merely a linguistic choice, but a form of identity articulation. Filmmakers position the local language as a form of authentic cultural representation. Audience responses indicate an increase in linguistic pride, where the local language is no longer considered inferior to refined Javanese (palace). This phenomenon can be explained through Scott's (1990) concept of everyday resistance, in which language serves as a mechanism of subtle resistance to the dominance of central culture. Thus, language in the *Penginyongan* film functions as an arena for negotiation between local identity and the hegemony of elite language. In the context of visual production, interviews with filmmakers reveal a tendency to adopt a simple shooting style, with minimal camera movement and compositions that do not emphasize the superiority of any particular character. This choice demonstrates an aesthetic bias towards egalitarian social relations. Compositional patterns that place characters in medium or long shoot, without excessive dramatization, emphasize their connection to their social environment. This aesthetic choice aligns with van Leeuwen's idea that visual style reflects social practices that contain moral values (Leeuwen, 2005).

Another finding is the presence of humor as a dominant narrative element in almost all *Penginyongan* films. Humor is used not to demean characters, but to relieve dramatic tension, convey social criticism, and build emotional closeness. In Banyumas culture, humor is part of social pedagogy, educating without being patronizing and resonating with Islamic cultural values rooted in social etiquette. This aligns with Beatty's view that religious values in society often emerge through non-verbal ethics and everyday social practices, rather than through formal ritual symbols (Beatty, 2003). Humor is also an integral part of the Banyumas social aesthetic, incorporated into the *Penginyongan* film to maintain a relaxed atmosphere and convey criticism subtly. Riyanto explains that *"Banyumas humor is simple but touching, making the atmosphere calmer and less tense"* (Husnoh, 2024), while Dismas adds that humor is a way for the Banyumas people to "lighten the mood" (Panglipur, 2024). Thus, the *Penginyongan* film not only replicates the communication style of its people, but also articulates local identity through language, egalitarian humor, and a resistance

to the dominance of central culture, forming a strong cultural foundation for the cinematic expression of the Greater Banyumas community.

Overall, the field findings indicate that the *Penginyongan* film is a collective expression of the community, operating through social ethics, egalitarian humor, agrarian proximity, and the use of local language as an identity strategy. The film's emphasis is not on the presentation of explicit religious symbols, but on the internalization of ethical values that govern social relations. Narrative structures in films serve as meaning-making frameworks that influence personal and collective identity formation, showing how cinematic narratives function beyond entertainment into cognitive and emotional engagement (Dodlek, 2024). Thus, local films in Greater Banyumas can be understood as an arena for the representation of cultural Islamic values that operate subtly, yet consistently, through visual aesthetics, social narratives, and communal production practices.

Individual Style: Expression of Cultural Islamic Values

Within Theo van Leeuwen's (2005) framework, individual style reflects personal aesthetic choices rooted in social experiences and individual value systems. In the context of the *Penginyongan* film, the directors' individual styles not only reflect technical preferences but also the Islamic values embedded in the culture of Greater Banyumas. These values manifest as simplicity, social ethics, and egalitarianism, internalized in the visuals, narrative, and character interactions. Religious meaning in film can be communicated through ordinary objects and everyday semiotics, indicating that religion may operate implicitly within cinematic representation rather than through overt ritual depiction (Endong, 2022). The simple visual style is evident in the dominance of medium and long shots, which place characters and environments on equal footing. This composition avoids perspectives that emphasize social hierarchy. In an interview, Bagas Wisnuardi stated that he prefers to photograph ordinary people in a natural, not dramatic, way (Wisnuardi, 2024) because he believes the *Penginyongan* film should be close to people's daily lives. This choice aligns with the ethics of simplicity (*qanā'ah*) and respect for equality, which are at the heart of cultural Islam (Azra, 2000; Woodward, 2011). These values are articulated through a visual that is "humble," not cinematically grandiose, but honest to social reality.

In *Dolanan Layangan* (Husnoh, 2020) Individual style is evident in the calm narrative rhythm and lighthearted humor that unite the characters. Riyanto explained in an interview that his film *"Does not need a hero; everyone is important in their own environment"* (Husnooh, 2024). This statement illustrates the egalitarian ethos of Banyumas Raya society, where social relations are horizontal. Beatty (2003) calls this phenomenon everyday ethics, namely a form of religiosity manifested in everyday social practices rather than through ritual symbols. Thus, the director's individual style does not stand solely in the aesthetic realm; rather, it expresses how society understands Islamic values through everyday life. Another apparent trend is the use of humor as a moral communication strategy. Dismas Panglipur stated, **"Humor is the most subtle way to give advice, and Banyumas people do not really like being lectured"** (Panglipur, 2024). The humor in the film *SETAN: Seni Tani* (2023) is not a tool for mockery, but a lighthearted reminder, a form of cultural da'wah that fits the friendly and contextual character of local Islam (Panglipur, 2023). In line with Geertz's (1960) view, these forms of religious expression demonstrate "down-to-earth Islam," where social ethics are more prominent than formal symbols.

The individual styles of the *Penginyongan* directors demonstrate a strong attachment to the Islamic cultural values entrenched in the daily lives of the people of Greater Banyumas. Visual expressions that tend to be simple de-emphasize character hierarchies and emphasize proximity to social space reflect the ethics of simplicity (*tawāḍu'*) and openness that are part of local cultural morality. One director emphasized this orientation by stating, *"I really want the images to be simple, so they are closer to everyday life and not artificial"* (Wisnuardi, 2024). A similar approach is evident in the creative process of the film *SETAN: Seni Tani*, where Dismas explains that the shooting style was chosen to follow the rhythm of village life, *"I adapt the images to their daily activities; it doesn't need to be dramatic, just show what they do"* (Panglipur, 2024). These findings

suggest that the directors' aesthetic preferences stem from social values internalized in their habits, rather than from an attempt to construct a formalistic style separate from the cultural context.

This consistent individual style is also evident in the use of dialogue, camera movement, and character development, which prioritize spontaneity and naturalism. The directors interpret this approach as a way to maintain honest representation and avoid positioning characters as superior figures. This practice aligns with the egalitarian principles of cultural Islam. This is reflected in Riyanto's comment, *"I want the actors to appear like ordinary people, not heroic, so that the audience feels like they are people like them"* (Husnoh, 2024). This awareness of maintaining naturalism was also confirmed by focus group discussion (FGD) participants, who stated that the acting style and dialogue in the film felt "real, like our own lives" (Audience, 2024). Thus, the directors' individual styles not only reflect technical preferences but also serve as a medium for expressing the social and moral values entrenched in the culture of Greater Banyumas.

According to Branco (2022), scholarly analyses of religion and cinema emphasize that films do not merely depict religious symbols but frame experiential engagements between audiences and religious meanings across diverse cultural contexts, suggesting that cinematic narrativity itself shapes how viewers perceive religious identity and practice (Branco, 2022). Meanwhile, Nanda Barokah's individual style in *PUR* (2024) demonstrates a negotiation of modern values and social morality. Through scenes depicting young people from Banyumas trapped by digital loans, the film uses a more dynamic visual style, while maintaining the simplicity of the dialogue and relationships between the characters (Barokah, 2024). Nanda emphasized that his film *"Does not want to judge but rather invites us to think together"* (Barokah, 2024). This stylistic choice demonstrates the principles of *adab* and deliberation in cultural Islam by conveying values without confrontation, reminding without moralizing.

Table 1. The Relationship between Individual Style and Cultural Islamic Values

Elements of Individual Style	Visual Practice Examples	Cultural Islamic Values
Equivalent camera framing	Medium shot and long shot	Egalitarianism, *Adab*
Natural dialogue & light humor	Casual, non-confrontational conversation	Deliberation, harmony
Simple & realistic narrative	Focus on everyday life	*Qanā'ah*, simplicity
Conflict avoidance	Resolution through communication	Ethics of peace, *Tawāḍu'*

In general, the individual styles of *Penginyongan*'s directors display a non-elite aesthetic, focusing on social harmony and the balance of human relations. There is no exploitation of extreme conflict, no glorification of characters, but rather a visual honesty toward social reality. This demonstrates what Azra (2000) calls "social Islam," that is, an Islam that operates in social practice rather than in formal symbolism. Simplicity and humility are key values articulated visually. Documentary film can effectively represent and transmit values of religious tolerance in Indonesian cultural contexts, illustrating how audiovisual media communicates subtle socio-religious ideologies (Abdullah et al., 2023). Thus, the individual styles in *Penginyongan* are a visual manifestation of non-verbal Islamic cultural values. Aesthetic simplicity is not merely an artistic choice, but a cultural strategy to present a gentle, social, and down-to-earth face of Islam. The directors' personal styles reflect Banyumas culture, which rejects hierarchy, is humorous, and embodies religious values in everyday relationships.

The Production Process of the *Penginyongan* Film

Within Theo van Leeuwen's (2005) framework, social style refers to patterns of social interaction, work practices, and collective relationships that influence the form of a work. In the Banyumas Raya film community, the production process for the *Penginyongan* film exhibits a distinctive social character: egalitarian, fluid, collaborative, and supported by humor as a social glue. This pattern aligns with Islamic cultural values that function as everyday social ethics, such as deliberation, brotherhood, *ukhuwwah*, *basyariyah*, and *ta'āwun* (Azra, 2000; Woodward, 2011).

Fieldwork findings indicate that the production process takes place without a rigid hierarchical structure. Hana stated, *"In the team, everyone can make suggestions; no one feels they are the most correct"* (Hanan, 2024), illustrating the practice of deliberation in creative decision-making. The director acts as a coordinator rather than a sole authority, so technical decisions are often discussed informally. This pattern demonstrates the Banyumas Raya social values that reject communication feudalism, which are internalized in production relations. Field observations revealed that task division is flexible; a crew member can perform dual roles, such as serving as a camera assistant and an art director simultaneously. This flexibility reflects the spirit of *ta'āwun* (mutual assistance), in which individual capacities are used for the collective good. Furthermore, this collective work structure reinforces a visual style that is not technically demanding but socially powerful.

Humor plays a crucial role in maintaining social cohesion during production. In an interview, Aldy stated, jokes create a pleasant atmosphere; if it is tense, nothing happens (Aldy, 2024). The humor used is not derogatory but rather egalitarian, reducing the distance between individuals. Beatty (2003) states that humor in Indonesian society often serves as a nonverbal etiquette to avoid interpersonal tension. The Banyumas Raya film community uses humor as a soft negotiation strategy to prevent creative conflicts from devolving into personal ones. Social interactions in production also demonstrate respect for experience and age, despite the absence of a formal seniority structure. In field notes, researchers noted that when differing views arose, younger members still demonstrated good communication etiquette. This aligns with *adab al-ḥiwār* (ethics of dialogue) in Islamic cultural traditions, where differences of opinion are conveyed politely. This value is also evident in the way the community organizes production logistics. When tools are limited, community members often lend personal equipment without compensation. This practice reflects communal solidarity as part of the agrarian cultural habitus that remains strong in Greater Banyumas. Azra (2000) views this ethos of solidarity as part of "social Islam," that is, Islam that lives in social practices rather than formal symbols.

The social style of *Penginyongan* film production is characterized by communal work patterns that reflect the social ethics of the Banyumas Raya community, particularly the values of cooperation, equality, and flexibility in work relationships. In many production processes, technical role boundaries are not rigidly enforced, allowing team members to switch roles as needed in the field. This phenomenon was acknowledged by one crew member who said, *"Roles often switch, the important thing is to get the job done. Not being rigid is what it has called community"* (Aldy, 2024). Another crew member expressed a similar sentiment, saying, *"Working on a film is cooperation, the important thing is to be united"* (Hana, 2024). Films with ritual and political dimensions reveal how regional cinematic narratives encode cultural values and collective identities, suggesting that representational politics in Asian films contribute to broader socio-cultural meaning-making (Sohn, 2025). These findings demonstrate that the *Penginyongan* film's work structure operates on a strong principle of equality, differing from the professional production model, which tends to be hierarchical. The study argues that spectatorship is an active interpretive practice in which viewers use film to enter, test, or suspend commitments, making cinema a site where moral and existential meanings are negotiated (Pamerleau, 2020). These social values are intertwined with the concept of cultural Islam, in which collective work and solidarity are considered manifestations of everyday ethics.

This social dimension is also evident in the way creative decisions are made through informal and spontaneous discussions on set. This deliberative practice reflects the culture of deliberation in Banyumas society, which emphasizes participation and equality of voice. A local film observer explained that *"Paginyongan film production is fluid and egalitarian, unlike professional productions with very strict work structures"* (Trianton, 2024). This non-hierarchical character contributes to the film's visual nuance, which tends to be natural and familiar with the community's social space. Thus, the social style in *Penginyongan* films is not only related to technical work patterns but also demonstrates how social values and cultural ethics are articulated in the collective creative process.

Table 2. The Relationship between Social Style and Cultural Islamic Values

Social Practices of Production	Forms of Behavior	Cultural Islamic Values
Creative deliberation	Informal discussion, collective proposals	*Syura* (deliberation)
Role flexibility	Cross-departmental multitasking	*Ta'awun* (helping each other)
Egalitarian humor	Reduce tension	*Adab* and social harmony
Non-hierarchical coordination	Horizontal decision making	Anti-feudalism; *Ukhuwwah*
Borrowing and lending tools	Sharing resources	Communal solidarity

Audience reception also affirmed this social pattern. In a focus group discussion (FGD), one participant described the *Penginyongan* film as a neighborhood conversation: close, intimate, but still polite. This statement indicates that the social style of production directly impacts the narrative atmosphere experienced by the audience. Thus, the social style in the production of *Penginyongan* is not merely an operational choice, but a manifestation of the social ethics of the people of Greater Banyumas. It reflects Islamic cultural values of cooperation, equality, and polite communication, values that may not appear as ritual symbols but are powerful as everyday morals. From van Leeuwen's perspective, these social practices form aesthetic patterns that are then reflected in the film's visual and narrative style.

Lifestyle: The Banyumas Raya Community as a Representation of "Everyday Islam"

The third dimension of style, according to van Leeuwen (2005), namely lifestyle, refers to the lifestyle patterns, value preferences, and social habits that shape aesthetic choices in cultural works. In the *Penginyongan* film, lifestyle is not only represented in the agrarian environment and domestic simplicity, but also in the ethics of interaction, humor, and social relations of the people of Banyumas Raya. Field findings show that Islamic cultural values are manifested in everyday contexts, not through ritual symbols such as mosques or certain clothing, but through social practices that shape everyday life. This is also in line with the views of previous researchers (Geertz, 1960; Howell, 2012; Beatty, 2003).

Agrarian traditions are an important aspect of the lifestyle in the *Penginyongan* film. In *SETAN: Seni Tani* (2023), visuals of fields, gardens, and farming activities emphasize the ethos of human closeness to nature (Panglipur, 2023). This ethos is related to the values of *tawāḍu'* (humility before Allah's creation) and gratitude for the sustenance received. Dismas Panglipur stated, *"Life here is simple; what matters is togetherness and sufficiency"* (Panglipur, 2024). This statement aligns with the value of *qanā'ah* in cultural Islam, where the enjoyment of life is measured not by material accumulation but by social sufficiency. The nostalgic representation of childhood in the film *Dolanan Layangan* (2020) also depicts a communal lifestyle oriented toward solidarity. The children in the film play openly, help each other, and resolve conflicts through compromise (Husnoh, 2020). Riyanto Husnoh explained that Banyumas people do not like to make noise; they discuss small problems together (Husnoh, 2024). This pattern of conflict resolution reflects the Islamic cultural ethic of social peace. Visual causality to this value is evident in scenes of character emotional management through dialogue and humor.

Meanwhile, *PUR* (2024) showcases the lifestyles of Banyumas's youth as they negotiate digital culture. The film depicts the pressures of a consumerist lifestyle, the financial anxiety caused by online loan applications, and the dependence on K-pop visuals. However, this lifestyle is not portrayed in a repressive manner. Nanda Barokah stated that young people today can be confused if they do not understand their limits (Barokah, 2024); thus, the film seeks to offer a moral reflection without judgment. In the context of cultural Islam, this negotiation demonstrates the values of *takhayyur* (value discrimination) and *tawāzun* (balance), where modernity is selectively accepted. In the film *Pegatan* (2023), the social life and ethical considerations surrounding early marriage are depicted through family dynamics (Wisnuardi, 2023). Dialogue between characters demonstrates the values of *adab* (good manners), respect for parents, and *shura* (deliberation). Bagas Wisnuardi

emphasized that the film is not preaching, but rather a gentle reminder (Wisnuardi, 2024). This affirms the idea that religious values emerge through a communal lifestyle that politely reminds each other (Woodward, 2011).

The lifestyle dimension in the *Penginyongan* film refers to the Banyumas people's simple lifestyle, close to agricultural spaces, and oriented towards everyday life. This simplicity is evident in the choice of filming locations, which are dominated by village settlements, fields, and social spaces that are not overly engineered. The filmmakers consciously maintained this representation so that the film still reflects the real life of the Banyumas people. This was emphasized by Nanda Barokah, who stated that the daily lives of the people are the film's main strength, *"I want what is shown in the film to be truly like everyday life; so that it does not distance itself from the audience"* (Barokah, 2024). This statement shows that aesthetic decisions regarding space and lifestyle are not merely technical considerations but an effort to maintain honesty of cultural representation.

The simplicity that characterizes the Banyumas lifestyle is also reflected in how the film's characters carry out their daily activities, interact, and solve problems. Physical activities such as working in the rice fields, gathering in public spaces, or chatting on the porch become an important part of the film's narrative structure. Values such as *qanā'ah* (acceptance of what is), communal closeness, and respect for physical labor appear implicitly in this representation. One informant described the rhythm of community life that underpins the film's aesthetic, stating, *"Their activities are like that every day, they are not artificial; we just recorded them according to the flow"* (Panglipur, 2024). Thus, the lifestyle aspect of *Penginyongan* demonstrates how the moral values and social rhythms of the Banyumas community are internalized in the choice of visual and narrative representation.

Table 3. Relationship between Lifestyle and Islamic Cultural Values

Lifestyle Aspects	Representation in Film	Cultural Islamic Values
Agrarian tradition	Fields, rice fields, domestic	*Syukur*, *Tawāḍu'*
Communality	Children's games, deliberation	*Ukhuwwah*, *Iṣlāḥ*
Negotiating modernity	Online loans, digital fandom	*Tawāzun*, *Takhayyur*
Polite attitude	Non-confrontational communication	*Adab*
Simplicity	Anti-pretentious visuals	*Qanā'ah*

Fieldwork also shows that the Banyumas Raya lifestyle is characterized by situational humor that relieves social pressure. One focus group discussion (FGD) participant stated that humor makes problems lighter, so you do not feel like you are being lectured (Audience, 2024). In Banyumas tradition, humor functions as cultural pedagogy, namely moral education through non-injurious jokes. Beatty (2003) calls this non-verbal ethics, namely, religious values taught without ritual symbols.

The film's representation of social space also depicts a simple home, a domestic space, and interactions on the terrace, a transitional space between the private and the public. This space serves as a locus of communal ethics, where people share food, chat, and counsel each other. From the perspective of the anthropology of religion, the domestic space plays a spiritual role because it is there that the values of *raḥmah* (compassion) and *silaturaḥmi* (friendship) are practiced (Howell, 2008). Thus, the lifestyle in *Penginyongan* embodies Islamic cultural values lived out in everyday life. These values are not present in symbolic forms such as rituals or ornaments, but rather through social ethics, moral negotiation, and the balance between modernity and tradition. From van Leeuwen's perspective, lifestyle becomes a social tool that shapes visual style. In the context of Greater Banyumas, it represents "flowing Islam," grounded in social practices and subtly present in the film's narrative.

Articulation of Cultural Islamic Values: Visual Style, *Ngapak* Language, and Humor

The representation of Islamic cultural values in the *Penginyongan* film is subtle, conveyed through three main media of expression: visual style, *Ngapak* language, and humor. These values are not expressed through ritual symbols but through social ethics internalized in the daily practices of the people of Banyumas Raya. In line with van Leeuwen (2005), audio-visual style is understood as a social practice that mediates societal values and norms, while from a cultural Islamic perspective, religious values live in "social customs" through morals, etiquette, and communality (Azra, 2000; Woodward, 2011). The visual style of the *Penginyongan* film tends to display egalitarian camera compositions, with medium and long shots predominating. This choice avoids visual character domination and places the characters in equal social relationships. In an interview, Bagas Wisnuardi stated that he did not want the characters to appear superior to others, as everyone has their own weight in life (Wisnuardi, 2024). This composition emphasizes the value of *tawāḍu'* and respect between individuals. Theoretically, this egalitarian visualization reflects the anti-feudal spirit, a strong characteristic of cultural Islam in peripheral regions of Java (Beatty, 2003).

The conflict-resolution style in *Penginyongan* films is often through polite dialogue and compromise rather than dramatic confrontation. This is evident in *Pegatan* (2023), where family tensions are resolved through domestic negotiations, rather than violent confrontation. This representation aligns with the concept of *islah*, a peaceful resolution within Islamic social ethics. The natural visual tones and rural settings in several films reinforce the ethos of simplicity (*qanā'ah*), demonstrating that religious values can emerge through human closeness to the environment. *Ngapak* language in the *Penginyongan* film is an arena for identity negotiation. This language is often perceived as inferior within the feudal structure of Javanese culture, but in local films it is promoted as a marker of collective dignity. From Scott's (1990) perspective, language becomes a tool of everyday resistance, asserting identity without directly rejecting the dominant culture. This egalitarian language aligns with the values of '*adl* (social justice) and deliberation in communication relations. The film's representation of language demonstrates that Islam can be present through speech, not just through supernatural symbols.

Humor serves as a social tool that articulates moral values in a lighthearted manner. In an interview, Aldy stated that joking is the most subtle way to correct (Aldy, 2024). In the film *Dolanan Layangan* (2020), humor is used to defuse conflict between children and negotiate differing understandings. Humour can function as a culturally coded mode of negotiating religious sensibilities and social critique, where linguistic style helps audiences process moral tensions without direct didacticism (Adekunle, 2022). This kind of humor functions as soft pedagogy, namely, moral education without sanctions. Beatty emphasized that religious ethics in society often emerge through nonverbal expressions, including humor, that maintain social harmony (Beatty, 2003). From an Islamic perspective, this aligns with the spirit of *raḥmah* (compassion) and *ukhuwwah* (brotherhood), expressed through comforting communication.

The articulation of Islamic cultural values in the *Penginyongan* film is evident through a combination of a natural visual style, the use of the *Ngapak* language, and egalitarian humor that reflect the social ethics of the people of Banyumas Raya. The non-hierarchical visual style, with its simple composition and spatial proximity between characters and their surroundings, emphasizes the values of equality and openness that are part of everyday morality. The *Ngapak* language serves not only as a medium of communication but also as a symbol of honesty and an affirmation of local identity, as emphasized in an interview, *"The Ngapak language doesn't need to embarrass us; it's our identity"* (Wisnuardi, 2024). Humor in the film serves to convey social criticism and strengthen interpersonal relationships, in line with the values of politeness and flexibility in Islamic culture. This is reflected in the statement, *"Humor is important because the people of Banyumas are accustomed to lightening the mood through jokes"* (Panglipur, 2024). Thus, language, visuality, and humor form a unified expression that presents the social and moral values of the Banyumas people without explicitly invoking religious symbols, but rather through social practices and ethics that animate everyday interactions.

Table 4. Articulation of Cultural Islamic Values in the Visual, Language, and Humor Aspects

Representation Aspect	Aesthetic/Social Practice	Cultural Islamic Values
Visual style	Egalitarian framing, natural colors	*Tawāḍu', Qanā'ah, Iṣlaḥ*
Ngapak language	Straightforward, non-hierarchical	*'Adl*, *Musyāwarah*, anti-feodalism
Humor	Subtle criticism, mediating tension	*Raḥmah, Akhlāq al-Karīmah*

Fieldwork reveals that these three aspects mutually support each other in shaping the narrative atmosphere. Humble visuals, egalitarian language, and polite humor together create a cinematic experience that reflects Islamic cultural values without being explicitly ritualistic. Thus, the articulation of cultural Islamic values in the *Penginyongan* film operates through social aesthetics, encompassing ways of looking, speaking, joking, and resolving conflict. These values operate within the realm of interpersonal interaction rather than formal ritual. From a theoretical perspective, the *Penginyongan* film serves as a visual representation of "everyday Islam," namely, Islam presented through social ethics, rather than formalistic symbols. This demonstrates that local audiovisual media can serve as a grounded, gentle, and contextual vehicle for cultural da'wah.

Negotiating Modernity and Communality in the Meaning of Cultural Islam

Field findings indicate that the *Penginyongan* film is set amid the tension between the modern lifestyle of the younger generation and the deeply embedded communal values of the Banyumas Raya culture. Modernity is present in digital consumption practices, the global aesthetic of K-pop, and patterns of interaction through online applications. In the film *PUR* (2024), for example, financial anxiety due to online loans is a prominent theme. However, this issue is not approached through harsh morality; instead, the film invites the audience to reflect on the reasonable boundaries of digital consumption. Director Nanda Barokah stated that young people today can be confused if they do not understand the boundaries (Barokah, 2024), illustrating the moral confusion of a generation amid a changing social landscape.

From a cultural Islamic perspective, such pressures are often responded to through the principles of *tawāzun* (balance) and *takhayyur* (value selection), namely the ability to choose values that align with local culture without completely rejecting modernity (Azra, 2000). The *Penginyongan* film navigates modernity in a non-confrontational manner while still offering subtle ethical warnings. Although modernity brings changes to shameful cultures and prestige, local films display social buffers in the form of communal ethics. In *Dolanan Layangan* (2020), a conflict between children is resolved through compromise and lighthearted laughter. This aligns with Howell's (2008) idea that everyday Islam in Indonesia operates through an "ethics of closeness" rather than ritual symbols. Domestic spaces in the film, such as house terraces and village intersections, serve as informal arenas for exchanging values. Researchers note that key scenes often unfold in the transitional space between the private and the public, suggesting that advice and humor are open yet social. In the anthropology of religion, spaces like this become a locus of *raḥmah* (love), friendship, and social control that is not shameful (Beatty, 2003).

From an emic perspective, some directors consider their films to be "mere depictions of everyday life." This statement suggests that Islamic cultural values operate in the cultural subconscious, emerging not from explicit da'wah goals but as social habits. From an etic perspective, this kind of representation is actually attractive, revealing how Islamic ethics live as a social practice (Geertz, 1960). This difference in perspective is important to understand because it avoids the mistake of judging local films as "not religious" simply because they lack ritual symbolism. However, the negotiation between modernity and communality is not always smooth. Several cultural ambivalences emerge. First, the egalitarian humor that characterizes the *Penginyongan* style can normalize social tensions if implemented without sensitivity. Second, the representation of local culture in films is vulnerable to the commodification of folklore, especially if *Ngapak's* uniqueness is reduced to mere entertainment. Third, the use of polite values to avoid direct conflict can hinder more incisive social criticism.

The negotiation between modernity and communality in the *Penginyongan* film is evident through how directors and audiences understand social change while maintaining local ethical values rooted in cultural Islam. Films like *PUR* depict the tension between the digital lifestyles of the younger generation and the values of togetherness that remain the foundation of the people of Banyumas Raya. One director stated that he sought to reconcile these two worlds, saying, *"I want to show the changes in today's youth, but they still uphold the values of togetherness"* (Barokah, 2024). Audiences also acknowledged that the *Penginyongan* film portrays this reality intimately, *"The stories are very similar to our daily lives"* (Audience, 2024), allowing cultural Islamic values, such as simplicity, solidarity, and honesty, to remain legible in the visual representation and dialogue despite the ever-changing social context. Thus, the *Penginyongan* film functions as a mediating space that demonstrates how the Banyumas Raya people interpret modernity without relinquishing communality as the basis of their social ethics.

Table 5. Dialectics between Modernity and Cultural Islamic Values

Challenges of Modernity	Social Symptoms	Cultural Islamic Values
Digital consumerism	Online Loans	*Tawāzun*
Social fragmentation	Individualization	*Ukhuwwah*, solidarity
Global fandom	Imitation of style	*Takhayyur* (value selection)
Fast communication style	Social misperception	Polite humor, *Adab*

The analysis reveals that cultural Islam functions as a "harmonizing" ethic that frames social responses to modernity. In many scenes, conflict resolution is achieved through deliberation and the presence of neighbors or peers as mediators. Muhammad demonstrates that contemporary cinema constructs Muslim identity through character representation, narrative roles, and cultural values, reinforcing the understanding that film can mirror evolving communal identities within specific socio-religious contexts (Muhammad, 2019). The value of *shura* (deliberation) is a fundamental part of community ethics. From an etic perspective, the *Penginyongan* film can be read as a practice of cultural resilience, namely the ability of local culture to maintain moral values through creative expression. From an emic perspective, these films appear ordinary and reflect everyday community practices. The discrepancy between "cultural awareness" and "academic awareness" confirms this study's findings, which demonstrate that Islamic cultural values flow unconsciously.

Critically, researchers note that the film's representation of social ethics is idealized. In reality, society continues to face economic disparities and digital pressures. However, the *Penginyongan* film offers a cultural model that exemplifies how conflict is resolved through social closeness. Thus, the negotiation between modernity and communality in *Penginyongan* demonstrates that Islamic cultural values are not static but adaptive. They serve as moral resources that subtly navigate social change, shape collective identity, and teach ethics through polite dialogue, humor, and egalitarian visuals. Local films are not only entertaining but also simulate ethical scenarios that strengthen social cohesion amidst the pressures of the times.

The *Penginyongan* Film: Cultural Preaching and Collective Entertainment

The *Penginyongan* film operates in two seemingly opposing yet complementary domains: as a medium for local entertainment and as an arena for transmitting values, which can be called cultural preaching here. This approach is not normative preaching in the form of ritual or doctrinal teachings, but rather the dissemination of ethical norms and social guidelines through everyday aesthetic practices (visuals, language, humor) that are easily accessible to audiences. In the terminology of mediatization, media, including community short films, act as agents that reconstruct how communities experience and convey religious values in public discourse (Hjarvard, 2008). The power of *Penginyongan*'s cultural da'wah is evident in how his films implicitly convey moral messages through stories and dialogue that are "close" to the audience's lives. One viewer in a FGD remarked, *"The stories are very similar to our daily lives"* (Audience, 2024), a statement that

confirms the film's affective effect: audience identification with characters and situations facilitates the internalization of norms without coercion. Recent studies have shown that this kind of affective experience is one of the primary pathways through which media shape religious and ethical orientations in contemporary society (Ding et al., 2025).

Cultural da'wah in *Penginyongan* operates through linguistic and comedic devices that function as social pedagogy. The use of the *Ngapak* language, for example, not only affirms identity but also facilitates the acceptance of moral messages because of its linguistic familiarity. As Bagas explained, *"I chose Ngapak so that it is more authentic and closer to the daily lives of the Banyumas people"* (Wisnuardi, 2024). Humor also plays a pedagogical role: it reduces the audience's resistance to social criticism. It allows moral messages to be conveyed through laughter, a mechanism widely recognized in everyday religious studies as non-didactic pedagogy. Film's role as collective entertainment does not obscure its ability to influence values; rather, its audience-engaging nature enables a more effective transmission of values through emotional engagement and collective memory. Fieldwork confirms this: one crew informant stated that the production was designed to "close the audience" (Nanda, 2024), and audience members later reported feeling they saw "themselves" on screen (Researcher Notes, 2024). Theoretically, this aligns with literature showing how popular media often functions as a secondary normative source, informing everyday morality while not explicitly religious (Morgan, 2013).

Finally, the cultural da'wah practices showcased in *Penginyongan* are also closely linked to an egalitarian community production ecosystem: collaborative processes and creative discussions instill the values of solidarity and deliberation within the film's text. The crew stated, *"Working on a film is a collaborative effort; the important thing is to be united"* (Hana, 2024). This statement demonstrates that the film's message is conveyed not only narratively but also through production practices that reflect shared values. From a media-religion perspective, the existence of such production mechanisms strengthens the claim that local media can be an effective platform for culturally grounded ethical learning (Hjarvard, 2008), as messages and practices reinforce one another within a single cultural ecology.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that *Penginyongan* films articulate the values of cultural Islam embedded in the everyday social practices of the Banyumas Raya community. Through *Ngapak* language, egalitarian humor, and a naturalistic visual style, these films portray ethical orientations such as modesty, openness, solidarity, and respect in social relations. These findings reinforce the arguments of Azra (2010), Woodward (2011), and Beatty (2019) that cultural Islam is manifested not primarily through formal religious symbols but through moral dispositions embedded in daily life. Within cinematic discourse, this aligns with the work of Lyden (2003), Plate (2017), and Hjarvard (2008), who posit that film can function as a site of moral meaning-making and immanent religious experience. Compared with previous studies on regional cinema and Banyumas cultural expressions Anwas (2013), Hanan (2017), Sad Tanti and Ginanjar (2020), this article makes a new contribution by showing that Islamic cultural values are expressed not only at the narrative level but also in the production practices of *Penginyongan* filmmaking. The egalitarian, collaborative, and non-hierarchical dynamics observed in the production process, such as collective labor, shared decision-making, and flexible roles, reveal how cultural Islamic ethics shape the filmmaking habitus itself. While recent studies on digital creative communities (Ferdinanda et al., 2025; Larasati, 2025; Ratnasari et al., 2025) highlight participation and audience dynamics, they do not address how religious values are internalized within community-based film production. This research fills that gap. At the production process level, a non-hierarchical collaborative work pattern supported by humor, deliberation, and role flexibility ultimately forms a social style that reflects the values of *ta'āwun* and *ukhuwwah*. This practice emphasizes that the agrarian cultural habitus of Greater Banyumas serves not merely as a visual backdrop but also as an ethical framework that influences creative logic. The link between the community's social structure and aesthetics produces

a specific expressive style, supporting van Leeuwen's argument that visual style is a meaningful social practice. The representations of lifestyle in the films *Pegatan* (2023), *PUR* (2024), *Dolanan Layangan* (2020), and *SETAN: Seni Tani* (2023) demonstrate that Islamic cultural values are adaptable to the pressures of modernity, particularly digital consumption, online lending, and the globalization of popular culture. This adaptation mechanism is evident in the negotiation of the values of *tawāzun*, *takhayyur*, and *iṣlāḥ*, in which the younger generation chooses relevant values without severing ties to their community's social ethics. This strengthens the anthropological argument that religiosity in Indonesia is manifested in flexible, situational moral practices and is rooted in social relations. Film viewing can be approached as an embodied mode of "dwelling" in meaning, where spectators negotiate ethical and spiritual sensibilities through affective engagement rather than explicit doctrinal content (Alzola Cerero, 2019). Theoretically, this study broadens the understanding of the intersections between religion, local culture, and cinema. By integrating film text analysis, interviews, ethnographic observation, and audience reception, it provides a holistic perspective on how religious values are expressed through visual aesthetics, linguistic practices, and humor as a form of social pedagogy. This contributes to interdisciplinary discussions in religious studies, visual anthropology, and film studies, illustrating how Muslim communities outside urban centers negotiate modernity through culturally grounded forms of expression. From the standpoint of cinematic practice, the findings affirm that *Penginyongan* films serve not only as entertainment but also as a medium of cultural da'wah—one that communicates ethical values through emotional resonance, the portrayal of everyday life, and collective viewing experiences. The use of local language and accessible humor enhances the delivery of moral messages without overt religious instruction. The egalitarian creative process further demonstrates how filmmaking can serve as an educative space in which social values are internalized from pre-production to post-production. These insights are relevant for regional filmmakers across Indonesia who seek to preserve local identity while responding to contemporary social change. Overall, this study shows that *Penginyongan* cinema performs a dual role: as collective entertainment and as a vehicle for transmitting cultural values. Its distinctive visual style, linguistic choices, and humor play a pivotal role in sustaining Banyumasan's identity while revealing how cultural Islamic values are organically lived within the community. By highlighting the close relationship between local cinema, regional culture, and religious social ethics, this research opens avenues for further inquiry into the role of visual media in shaping communal identity and mediating religious experience in Indonesia and beyond.

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