Emotions, Politics and War

Edited by
Linda Åhäll and Thomas Gregory

Contents

7 On 'being bored'

Street ethnography on emotions in Banda Aceh after the tsunami and conflict[1]

Marjaana Jauhola

This chapter draws on the initial insights gained from my street ethnography of the lived experiences in the provincial capital of Banda Aceh in Indonesia.[2] It focuses on the embodied experience of 'boredom' and how it offers affective maps of a gendered/ing city, and challenges the government practices that aim at totalising the 'political presence'. By focusing simultaneously on 'being bored' as a research method and 'punk boredom' as a focus of ethnographic study, I suggest that these affective research encounters – at times smelly, dirty, gross and hallucinatory – offer insights into the modes of political engagement with the aesthetic ordering and disordering of the city.

I approach the city of Banda Aceh and the ideal of 'civilised city'[3] from the perspective of everyday lived experience – as social practices that function as sites of struggle over legitimate subjectivities. Understood in this way, Banda Aceh is formed through social practices and multitudes; it breathes life, and is fluid rather than stable and unchanging.

As the closest major city to the epicentre of the Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami in 2004, Banda Aceh made it onto the mental disaster maps of most people globally. However, the tsunami and its aftermath is just one way in which the Banda Acehnese narrate their stories, as the city is also rebuilding itself after a three-decade-long armed conflict between the Indonesian army and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM). Thus 'war' in this text refers specifically to how narratives of 'now' in Banda Aceh are built through the experiences of political violence, conflict and militarisation. The focus on the experiential and lived everyday also illustrates the absurdity of dividing analysis into separate spheres of 'conflict' or 'natural disaster', or even assumptions that post-conflict stands for 'after', or 'end of' violence.

Stressing the Islamic identity and history of Aceh is part and parcel of the wider project of strengthening the provincial self-governance, stipulated in the peace agreement signed in 2005 between the Free Aceh Movement and the Government of Indonesia, and in the Law on Governance of Aceh approved in 2006 (Feener 2012; Miller and Feener 2010). Since 2006, Banda Aceh's mayoral leadership have taken several steps to execute their formal duties as guardians of Shari'a Islam implementation. One of the key ideological concepts used is *kota madani* (civilised city), which has specifically focused on

public guidance of adolescents and young adults, emphasising the importance of building their *ahklah dan aqidah* (morality and belief).[4] In my previous research I argued that emphasising gender difference with rhetoric on religion, morality and piousness has become part of disciplining post-disaster subjectivities and attempts to re-establish 'normalcy' in the aftermath of disasters, in particular through the policing of bodies and behaviours of adolescents and young adults (Jauhola 2013). However, focusing on ritual performances and everyday practices of Islam, anthropological research has attempted to challenge approaches that are limited to the 'governmentality' of Islamic jurisprudence, and rather focus on the varied ways in which Muslims orient themselves towards normative codes and expectations of piousness (Dupret *et al.* 2012).

The chapter is structured as follows: first, I discuss some of the conceptual and methodological debates that currently drive my research. I then move on to the ethnographic encounters of being bored, in order to focus on 'punk boredom' in Banda Aceh. I conclude by arguing that an analytical focus on the experienced post-disaster and post-conflict city benefits from the practices of academic unlearning and ethnographic orientation towards mindful research practice.

Ethnography as mindful research practice

> Materialistic slaves
> Fixed ideology and idealism
> So be prepared!
> His/her brain is imprisoned
> Prison of thoughts
> Flow of indoctrination
>   (Totaliter: 'Prison of
>   thoughts')[5]

The initial postmodern and postcolonial critique of ethnographic methods in the 1980s and 1990s, also described as the crisis in anthropology, has since produced reflexive debate upon the possibilities and restrictions of ethnographic endeavours with lived experience: focus on power, exploitation and colonial reproduction, on the one hand, and possibilities of resisting the Enlightenment-driven ontologies without having to discard the method altogether, on the other: 'the desire was not to know the other as other, or to study the other as a way of knowing oneself, but to understand how previously marginalised groups existed in the circuits of meaning, cultural formation and structural location' (Skeggs 1999: 36).

Further, instead of assuming that positionalities and hierarchies are identifiable, knowable and communicable prior to the research encounter, I draw on the works of scholars who suggest that positionalities and differences in research gain their meaning 'right here and now' through social practice (Elliston 2000: 178; Skeggs 2001: 432; Penttinen 2013: 35; Puumala 2013: 126): we are produced through our experience (Skeggs 1999: 39, 42) and this experience

has to be translated into a perspective before it can become a standpoint (Skeggs 2001: 432). The method of 'here and now' is an active stand against 'mindlessness', i.e. conducting research through an automatic pilot function and using preconceived beliefs, categories and frames (Penttinen 2013: 37).

As the lyrics of the song 'Prison of thoughts' by Banda Acehnese punk band Totaliter (engl. Totalitarian) suggest, the focus on 'here and now' is a call for understanding of concepts as accomplishments at the *end* of an investigation, rather than before, with the aim of creating possibility for imagining alternative worlds and political imaginaries (Shapiro 2013: xii, xiv). Thus, instead of producing the researcher's 'Me self' through 'navel-gazing' reflexivity and confessing potential positionalities, this approach rather focuses on the experiences of states of temporal becoming through intersubjectivity and relational forms of being that are not restricted to the physical bodies, but form connectedness to and resonance[6] with bodies, materiality, space, and how the body and affects move within that space (see also Solomon, Chapter 5 in this volume).

What does it mean concretely? Instead of identifying and verbalising the researcher's encounter with the researched as always already dichotomous and hierarchical, I draw on a body of literature that understands such research encounters as active processes of becoming, of being touched and moved (Puumala 2013: 126). Or, that gender is a process of becoming relationally, rather than a state of being of a sovereign gender-specific embodied subject (Skeggs 1999: 42). Mindful research practice thus deconstructs the constructed illusions of a researcher-subjectivity that is a whole, autonomous and sovereign entity (see e.g. Jackson 2007).

For example, Eeva Puumala explores 'exposure', or 'being exposed' as a method as well as an analytical focus on the governmental practices of migration policies. 'Being exposed' as an ethnographical research method requires perceptive focus on presence in 'here and now' and being through shared encounters, it reactivates the connectedness of self into a sense of temporality and spatiality of politics, understanding political communities as experiential and touching – in which bodies are in flux, open, and form through corporeal junctures (Puumala 2013: 125–126). To Puumala, this creates a tension between politics and acts that insist ontologically upon sovereign subjectivity, distinctions between inside/outside, and self/other (ibid.: 127–128). Furthermore, Hanna Väätäinen (2003, 2009) proposes an ethnographic methodology that connects affects to engaged and embodied practice – ethnographic orientation that is aligned with changes and transformation. Ethnographic improvisation requires both careful planning and preparedness, yet is combined with the ability to discard those plans, willingness to let go. Improvisation does not mean acting without any frames or boundaries, but rather, accepting permeability and inability to know what happens next (Väätäinen 2009: 43). This requires openness to intuition, immediate experience, which according to Elizabeth Grosz allows us to get closer to movement, resonation and transformation that resides the outside of all senses. Intuition is creativity, ability to see and do things that elude everyday need, or use-value (Grosz 2005: 136).

However, understanding ethnographic encounters taking shape 'here and now' does not refer to endless possibilities or freedom opening up in all possible directions. Rather, it refers to studying connectedness consisting of dimensions of ethics and responsibility relating to 'our receptivity to others … the voices to which we listen and the experiences we account for – and in how we craft our explanations: whether our analytics remain attuned to the intricacy, openness, and unpredictability of individual and collective lives' (Biehl and Locke 2010: 318). The task for the researcher is to problematise conceptualisations that insist upon the sovereign subjectivity and its independence, and recognition that the researcher's body is connected to unseen forces and flows (Väätäinen 2009: 47).

What does a mindful researcher do during ethnographic encounters? Experience of conducting street ethnography in Banda Aceh has been a major process, personally, of undoing and unlearning the practices of a neoliberal university geared towards mindless multitasking, and the inherent goal of output orientation of being a scholar. It has resulted in dealing with the feelings of being frustrated and bored in the face of not being able to evaluate the usefulness of certain daily research practices, such as walking in the rain, taking shelter, and waiting for hours. The attempt to observe events non-judgementally opens up possibilities to move beyond the predetermined concepts, analytical frameworks and explanatory models. The possibility to seize moments such as 'being stuck' for hours because of the rain allowed me to challenge my pre-set ideas of what was to happen next, and refocus on 'non-events', mundane activities 'imperceptible events … that are outside the great events of history' (Bhabha 1994: 243 quoted in Löfgren and Ehn 2010: 229, n3). It was through the initial feelings of frustration that I gained an appreciation of 'going along' as a method (Kusenbach 2003) and of exploring extended 'time-space paths' (Tani and Surma-aho 2012): squatting or sitting still for hours, walking, and following flows of objects, texts and bodies – both online and offline. Similarly to how Unni Wikan explored silence in her research, I 'gave in' to boredom: focused on the experience of boredom 'not as a void or an absence but as a space full and pregnant with meaning' (Wikan 1992: 470).

'Street as my teacher'[7] – searching for the punk Banda Aceh

The Banda Acehnese punk community became part of the global media circuit two years ago when 65 punks (62 males and three females) were arrested on the evening of 11 December in 2011 at Taman Budaya, a stage and event venue administered by the municipality of Banda Aceh. The event was followed by tens of punks and metal fans from different parts of Aceh, but also Northern Sumatra and Jakarta. All in all, some 15 bands were planned to perform, and formal permission for the event was applied for and granted by the municipality administration and the Ulama Consultative Assembly (MPU). Using a commonly known strategy to get official permission for such a public event (Idria 2013: 189); it was explicitly advertised by the local organisers, punk and metal rock bands as a charity event aiming to support orphanages in Aceh.

The arrests led to three days of detention at the police station and then a further ten days of 're-education camp' or 'moral rehabilitation' at the police academy compound. It was not the first punk arrest in the city. Rather, it took place after the local police had officially banned twelve local punk communities by publishing a list of banned groups in the local media (Idria 2013: 195). As the arrest and detention coincided with the campaigning period for the 2013 mayoral elections, the December 2011 arrests were narrated by the members of one banned group, Museum Street Punks, not as a coincidental arrest, but rather as a carefully planned intervention to discipline 'out of control' bodies and practices that were claimed to be incompatible with Acehnese and Islamic culture (Idria 2013: 185; see also Syam and Hasan 2013).

Both the global English-speaking media and the rhetoric by the local government portray the events of December 2011 in a well rehearsed binary of the implementation of Shari'a law in Aceh. The international media narrated the story as a threat of Shari'a law, a crackdown on punks in the name of Islam. The local media and authorities repeated the story of punks being a Western phenomenon, inherently alien to Islam, and thus to Islamic and Acehnese way of life and culture (for a more general discussion on punk and Islam see e.g. Fiscella 2012). Authorities further constructed their and the state's responsibility to speak the language of concerned parents. For example, the police chief reasoned: 'they are our nation's children[8] who need to be saved' (Anon. 2011), and Deputy Mayor Illiza specifically elaborated her motherly feelings to express her concern and firm action: 'as a mother I feel very bad to see a child behave like that' (Jinnmonkey 2012). By expressing her emotions, she made a direct connection between maternal emotions, her mayoral position and the gendered state ideology of 'state momism' (Suryakusuma 1996) and its normative assumptions of women's roles and duties as mothers: bearers of the future generations of Acehnese citizens, and her moral duty to act. State power, embodied and vocalised through a concerned and motherly caring executive power, did not formally fulfil any of the legal requirements of arrest, nor of detention. Instead, it was framed as an act of affection.

Once the punks were arrested and detained, journalists were let in to document the spectacle of their re-education on *akhlak* (Islamic character). Furthermore, the arrest and the re-education camp became a performance of state violence and authority, illustrating a contestation of political and legal power in Aceh (Kloos 2013: 225–226, 234): negotiation between the multiple legal and moral realms, and moving the responsibility of dealing with breaking of social norms from internally within family and within the village or neighbourhood structure (*adat*) to mayoral power assisted by formal military and civilian state security – parties that are formally mandated to maintain the order and mainstream implementation of Shari'a law (for a similar case of 'restoring moral order' see Kloos 2013: 220–223).

After my arrival in Banda Aceh, however, I became more interested in exploring the kinds of experiential maps of Banda Aceh created and enabled by the retelling of the December 2011 arrests – to journalists and researchers

alike – or the repetitious watching of YouTube videos of the demonstrations and other expressions of solidarity, the media coverage of their re-education camp, and the release ceremony. What kinds of stories do the singing of well known Indonesian anarchist and punk songs in the streets of Banda Aceh repeatedly every evening after evening prayer, DIY patches and T-shirts, and daily routines tell of the complexities and precariousness, gendered and embodied politicisation of urban post-conflict and post-disaster urban space, in a (post)-colonial yet also a global imaginary? (For previous analyses of punks in the Indonesian context – Jakarta, Bandung and Bali – see Wallach 2005, 2008; Baulch 2007; Pickles 2007; Martin-Iverson and Ryan 2011).

A year after the arrest, finding the punks was not an easy task, although I knew the city centre quite well; it was after all my fifth visit to Banda Aceh since 2006. Despite walking the streets of Banda Aceh in September 2012 and asking around for help, I wasn't able to find a single punk in town. Just tags, graffiti and litter left on the riverbank. I returned to the city in June 2013, and it was when I gave up walking one day that our time-space paths collided and I found their rhythm in the streets. I was handed a flyer advertising a 'food not bombs' event, by a group of punks walking towards the tsunami museum. Once I introduced myself as a social movement activist and researcher, they welcomed me with open arms. Connecting with the outside world, mostly journalists, has been their strategy since December 2011 in order to get their stories heard and to raise solidarity outside the province. During the time I spent with the community, I slept a few nights at a deserted house used as their night shelter. However, due to regulation on gender segregation and Shari'a police raids at night, it would have been too risky to stay overnight on the street with a community consisting of mostly male punks. We would meet before noon, and I would leave when I received several hints that it might not be safe for a female at night-time. So when the male street punks explored the city until dawn, I returned to my room to write, and thus slowly adapted myself to their waking hours.

This meant literally adjusting my body, sense of temporality and spatiality into punk time and space, which consisted mostly of spending hours and hours at the museum. The initial feelings of anxiety and feeling bored, combined with an aching body from sitting on the tiled floor for hours, retrospectively opened up a possibility for practice of sensing and listening to emotions; to reflect upon what 'being bored' tells me, and to focus on the awareness that arises from this reflection. Here, a basic meditation technique of 'stopping'/ 'praise of non-doing' became useful. I let go of the idea that something will be gained, or something new revealed. I just watched the moment unfold, without trying to change it. In stopping, I reflected upon the following questions: What is happening, what do you feel? What do you see? What do you hear? It is important to note, however, that stopping is not a passive act: 'There is nothing passive about it [stopping]…[it] makes going more vivid, richer, more textured' (Kabat-Zinn 1994: 12). Stopping does lead to a change of rhythm, though. For someone raised in the world of hyper-activeness –

making oneself busy and useful – stopping can be frightening, an experience that offers reconnecting with the consciousness of one's body and emotions. When the body stops, the mind keeps on wondering and travelling. Only by 'stopping doing' can one become aware of the present moment, as a researcher, for example. As with mindfulness, adjusting oneself into the 'new' embodied temporality and spatiality of punks required repetition and effort. Thus it was only once I let go of my pre-planned ideas of what street ethnography consists of, such as walking and conducting life-history interviews, that I was able to find myself in the microcosmos of the street punks.

Once the analytical focus is on the details, they become so talkative and noisy that they can no longer be sidelined as unimportant (Palin 2004: 46). Thus, whilst practicing the idea of 'stopping', I turned my focus onto the ways the punks occupy the urban space and use their bodies to form resistance towards the attempts to govern urban adolescence. I discovered how they form new kinds of intimate and caring relationships through bodily practices; establish 'home' rhizomatically, with their belongings hidden across the town; and establish friendships across the Indonesian archipelago and the rest of the globe using social media and visitors from outside, such as researchers, documentarists, journalists, punk rockers and anarchist tourists, who would retell these stories outside Aceh.

'Being bored' at the museum

Each day, between five to ten punks, mostly males in their twenties, would gather at the tsunami museum after just a few hours of sleep in the streets, parks and abandoned houses. The raised ground floor of the museum provided shelter both from the hot sun and from the rain, and thus was ideal for hanging around. Leaning on the pillars, smoking, watching cars go by, checking out motorbikers and museum visitors, flirting with giggling and shy teenage girls, checking and mocking the Shari'a police patrols passing by. Other hanging around activities included making DIY (do-it-yourself) T-shirts, patches, bracelets, earrings and necklaces, shining boots, regulating the punk street political economy by punishing those stealing money, sharing and debating punk and anarchist ideology, squatting, sleeping, daydreaming, playing guitar and self-made drums – described as *bosan* (boring) – in anticipation of eventfulness, destruction of the routine. Yet the fact that most of the 'being bored' time was spent at the tsunami museum can be read to signify multiple things. As one of the punks explained to me, hanging around at the museum was their way of becoming visible.

The same visibility, however, also made them vulnerable to the violence of museum security staff and military police. In fact, hanging around at the museum was a result of having been evicted from the nearby recreation park owned by the military. Some of the punks slept under the counter of an unused cafeteria space, however they were warned not to use the premises outside the museum's opening hours. After a violent attack by civilian-clothed military police at the end of June, punks were forbidden to enter the museum

premises. A few weeks later, however, once the situation had cooled down, they made their return. Forbidden or otherwise risky locations were commonly referred to as *panas* (hot), signalling a potential confrontation with the state apparatus, be it military, regular police, or civil service and Shari'a police.

This has meant periodic nomadism from one locale to another, leading to extended periods of chronic sleep deprivation. It is thus no surprise that mixed substance use formed, at least for some of the punks, a way to regulate affects: slowing and toning down fears and anxiety and replacing them with utopian euphoria and hallucinations, out-of-body experience and detachment, feelings of losing oneself, and being united with the surrounding environment with boundless and bodiless consciousness, as described to me. However, moments of euphoria and clarity were followed by days of confusion and agony, potentially a result of a bad 'mixture', or withdrawal symptoms. Confusion and agony were accompanied with loss of items, such as needle and thread used to stich patches, unrealised plans to hire a car and go to the beach, or problems that seemed trivial becoming multiplied and causing enormous stress. Thus what I was observing as 'boredom' was potentially also partially a result of trying to deal with it: 'It [drugs] is just such an easy way to cope with boredom (bosan)'.

Without wanting to romanticise or demonise such experiences, let alone support the common claim that all punks in Aceh use drugs, I argue that being bored and being high construct alternative ways to occupy the city, and provide a means to deconstruct the 'self' and normative temporality that results from embodied governmental practices, such as being beaten up or arrested for several days. In fact, these acts and experiences, I would argue, can also be seen as a resistance to post-disaster governmentality and a simultaneous reconstruction of utopian punkness, an escape from boredom, anxiety and negative thoughts, instead seeking punk aesthetic creativity such as writing lyrics and drawing.

Confrontation with the police and security apparatus, such as the arrest of three punks for three days in June, was echoed on the grounds of the museum through the repeated singing of anarchist songs[9], sometimes by altering the original lyrics, as in the band Sosial Sosial's song 'Difference is not a war':

> learning is not the enemy
> respect it, do not abuse/scold it
> clear observation, it's totally clear:
> of course there are differences
> yea, your narrow thinking
> does not accept difference
> I am proud of my principles
> DIY guides me
> difference is not a war, when he was born it was there already
> difference is not a war, yea, we do exist
>   (Sosial Sosial: 'Difference is not a war')

Figure 7.1 'Upgrade your senses': motto at the local internet café
Source: Photo by Marjaana Jauhola

Becoming an eyewitness to the punk everyday was an invitation to pay attention to the silent marks of physical violence: the residues of pain and suffering and the bruises left on bodies functioning as visual markers of their identity and politics as male punk bodies. As one person explained to me: 'our bruises are a reminder of the ongoing violence and discrimination in Aceh. Punks are here because of that violence.'

Punks have gained more visibility in urban spaces since the 2005 peace process, as occupying streets at night-time was nearly impossible during the conflict. However, it does not mean that this invisibility meant 'non-existence'. In fact, many told of the vibrant punk scene in Aceh that has existed at least since the early 1990s, and which shares an ideological collective history with the punk and anarchist communities within the rest of the Indonesian archipelago: opposing the authoritarian regime of President Suharto, militarism, neoliberalist economic reforms and corruption, but also reflecting upon Aceh's specific situation, i.e. the armed conflict and political disputes (Aiyub 2011; Idria 2013: 194; see also e.g. Wallach 2008).

Being openly against militarism in Aceh (both the army and the ex-combatants of the independence movement), in addition to hanging around in highly militarised locations in the city, pose a visible threat to dominant forms of masculinity in the post-conflict context of Aceh (Jauhola 2013). The punks' inaction and boredom actively mediated and negotiated their masculinities vis-à-vis the dominant forms of militarised hyper-masculinity in post-conflict Aceh, and more widely *babak* masculinity, through which senior men of a family have authority over everyone else and might thereby subject younger men and females to forms of control and subordination (Boellstorff 2004: 470; Nilan 2009: 333); the family orientation of the overall Indonesian, and Acehnese, society (Beazley 2003); and the collective norm of *malu* (shame or embarrassment) (Boellstorff 2004: 474–475; Lindquist 2004: 487–490).

Girlfriends of male punks reiterated these forms of hyper-masculinity and heteronormativity in the public sphere. Girls provided the punks with cash and other material resources, lending their mobile phones and motorbikes; supplied T-shirts for DIY; but also offered emotional and physical intimacy. As the Shari'a policing and raids in Banda Aceh specifically control female clothing and behaviour, few girlfriends would use visual signs of being a punk or hang out late in the evenings. This, in turn, facilitated other heterosexual hyper-masculine practices such as flirting with waiters and teenage girls hanging out in the alleys, as well as the consuming of pornographic materials on mobile phones.

Interestingly, these periods of socialising also included moments of homo-sociality; not necessarily explicitly expressed eroticism, but rather touching and caring. The focus on details allowed me to see how the male punks constructed alternative ways of intimacy, familial relations and, importantly, care of the self. The streets became their home, and punk friends in Aceh and elsewhere their immediate family – although most Banda Acehnese punks would return to their parents and formal guardians regularly to eat, wash up and

change clothes. Items kept in hidden storage around the city provided a sense of belonging, of community and of 'home', but also allowed, very concretely, practices of self-care such as sewing, tattooing, bathing, brushing teeth and so on.

Leander and McKim suggest that space-time (or social space) 'is not simply a static background "upon" which human activity is played out, but rather on-going production of space-time is a rich process that draws upon multiple material and discursive resources, is imbued with relations of power, and is malleable through individual agency and imagination' (Leander and McKim 2003: 212). Thus hanging around at the museum and appropriation of public places through wrongly positioned bodies, for example laying on the ground and thereby breaking the Shari'a regulation of separating space according to female and male spaces, formed 'geographies of resistance' (Beazley 2003: 182) and constructed 'punk spatiality' in the sense that it provided space for the construction of social identity and forming of 'hidden transcripts' (Scott 1990) of the city: 'critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant' (ibid.: xii).

Conclusions

This chapter has suggested that in order to find oneself tuned into studying emotions, affects and landscapes of political violence and disaster, researchers would benefit from unlearning to plan, project and imagine their research outputs. By introducing ethnographic orientation towards the 'here and now' through mindful research practice, I argue that one is more capable of connecting with the experienced post-disaster and post-conflict city. Using the example of 'being bored', the chapter explores how the lived and embodied experiences of museum street punks contest and rupture the 'political present' in Aceh. It also shows how ethnographic encounters that are thickly embodied, at times violent, gross, embarrassing, and sometimes, with traces of hallucinations, provide ways of seeing the practice of politics, utopian punk temporality and spatiality being formed in the grounds of the tsunami museum.

Notes

1 I would like to thank the editors and Ferdiansyah Thajib for their valuable comments of the draft versions of this chapter. Earlier versions presented at ECPR General Conference in Bordeaux, September 2013 and Indonesia Research Network Seminar in Helsinki, November 2013.
2 The focus of the street ethnography (2012–14) is anchored on the urban neighbourhoods of Banda Aceh around the riverbank of *Krueng Aceh* that cuts through the centre of the city, less than a square kilometre in size.
3 '*Madani*': Indonesian concept deriving from Arabic, translates into 'civil', but also 'sophisticated' or 'refined'. The widened use of the concept '*masyarakat madani*', often translated into 'civil society' or 'civilised society', emerged during the early 1990s, the final years of authoritarian regime of President Suharto. It has been

specifically used in debates calling for democracy, yet debating the role of religion and the state, and offered as an alternative for '*sipil*', antonym of '*militer*' (military). For a detailed analysis, see e.g. Bakti 2005. The concept '*madani*' also refers specifically to the city-state of Medina and Muhammad's role in building the city after having departed from Mecca in the seventh century. In the Banda Acehnese urban governance usage, however, it seems to be harnessed more directly to be used for conceptualisation of full implementation of Shari'a law. See also the uses of '*madani*' in relation to the Arab Spring in Hill 2013.

4 For the analysis of gendered adolescence, Indonesian/Acehnese nationalism, religion and neoliberalism, the discourse of moral and successful self see e.g. (Jauhola 2013; Parker and Nilan 2013)

5 For a video of the song made with my audiovisual data, see www.youtube.com/watch?v=xbJfFljc9vU.

6 See further e.g. Unni Wikan's exploration of the concept 'resonance' by which she refers to 'a willingness to engage with another world, life, or idea: an ability to use one's experience … to try to grasp, or convey, meanings that reside neither in words, "facts," nor text but are evoked in the meeting of one experiencing subject with another' (Wikan 1992: 463).

7 Detail that most punks in Aceh give as their formal education in Facebook (*alam raya sekolahku*). *Alam raya* translates literally as the great nature, or universe.

8 It is common in Indonesia to call punks as *anak punk*, punk kids or children, although their age varies from twelve to mid-twenties and beyond.

9 The songs that the street punks perform in the streets are popular anarchist and punk songs by well known Jakartan bands such as Marjinal, Romi & the JAHAT, Bunga Hitam, Sosial Sosial, and Toni Rastafara adapted to ukuleles and self-made drums, and thus not necessarily recognisable by their music genre as punk songs, but rather as folk.

Bibliography

Aiyub, A. (2011) 'Saya azhari, saya punker: apa ada masalah besar?', *Acehkita.com*, 15 December. Available online at: www.acehkita.com/berita/saya-azhari-saya-punker-apa-ada-masalah-besar (accessed 9 January 2014).

Anon. (2011) 'Punk rockers sent to rehab in Indonesian province', *McClatchy-Tribune Business News*, 14 December.

Bakti, A. F. (2005) 'Islam and modernity: Nurcholish Madjid's interpretation of civil society, pluralism, secularization, and democracy', *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 33(3): 486–505.

Baulch, E. (2007) *Making Scenes: Reggae, Punk and Death Metal in 1990s Bali*. London: Duke University Press.

Beazley, H. (2003) 'Voices from the margins: Street children's subcultures in Indonesia', *Children's Geographies*, 1(2): 181.

Biehl, J. and Locke, P. (2010) 'Deleuze and the anthropology of becoming', *Current Anthropology*, 51(3): 317–351.

Boellstorff, T. (2004) 'The emergence of political homophobia in Indonesia: Masculinity and national belonging', *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology*, 69(4): 465–486.

Dupret, B., Pierret, T., Pinto, P. and Spellman-Poots, K. (2012) 'Introduction', in *Ethnographies of Islam: Ritual Performances and Everyday Practices*, Dupret, Pierret, Pinto and Spellman-Poots (eds). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1–10.

Elliston, D. A. (2000) 'Geographies of gender and politics: The place of difference in Polynesian nationalism', *Cultural Anthropology*, 15(2): 171–216.

Feener, R. M. (2012) 'Social engineering through Shari'a: Islamic law and state-directed Da'Wa in contemporary Aceh', *Islamic Law and Society*, 19(3): 275–311.

Fiscella, A. T. (2012) 'From Muslim punks to taqwacore: An incomplete history of punk Islam', *Contemporary Islam*, 6(3): 255–281.

Grosz, E. (2005) *Time Travels: Feminism, Nature, Power*. Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin.

Hill, P. (2013) '"The civil" and "the secular" in contemporary Arab Politics'. Available online at: http://muftah.org/the-civil-and-the-secular-in-contemporary-arab-politics/#.U1McoseoV5U (accessed 20 April 2014).

Idria, R. (2013) 'Cultural resistance to Shariatism in Aceh', in *Regime Change, Democracy and Islam: The Case of Indonesia*. Leiden: University of Leiden, 180–201. Available online at: www.hum.leiden.edu/lias/research/news/march-2013-final-irp-report.html.

Jackson, M. (2007) 'Intersubjective ambiquities', *Medische Antropologie*, 19(1): 147–161.

Jauhola, M. (2013) *Post-Tsunami Reconstruction in Indonesia: Negotiating Normativity through Gender Mainstreaming Initiatives in Aceh*. London: Routledge.

Jinnmonkey (2012) 'Aceh Punks Arrested & Sent to Re-Education Camps' [Video file 10 February] Available online at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=6HS8cci2T0M%3E (accessed 9 January 2014).

Kabat-Zinn, J. (1994) *Wherever You Go, There You Are: Mindfulness Meditation for Everyday Life*. London: Piatkus Books.

Kloos, D. (2013) 'Strengthening local leadership. Sharia, customs, and the dynamics of vigilante violence in Aceh', in *Regime Change, Democracy and Islam: The Case of Indonesia*. Leiden: Universiteit Leiden, 202–236. Available online at: www.hum.leiden.edu/lias/research/news/march-2013-final-irp-report.html.

Kusenbach, M. (2003) 'Street phenomenology: The go-along as ethnographic research tool', *Ethnography*, 4(3): 455–485.

Leander, K. M. and McKim, K. K. (2003) 'Tracing of everyday 'sitings' of adolescents on the internet: A strategic adaptation of ethnography across online and offline spaces', *Education, Communication & Information*, 3(2): 211–240.

Lindquist, J. (2004) 'Veils and ecstasy: Negotiating shame in the Indonesian Borderlands', *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology*, 69(4): 487–508.

Löfgren, O. and Ehn, B. (2010) *The Secret World of Doing Nothing*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Martin-Iverson, S. R. (2011) 'The politics of cultural production in the DIY hardcore scene in Bandung, Indonesia', PhD thesis. School of Social and Cultural Studies, University of Western Australia.

Miller, M. A. and Feener, R. M. (2010) 'Emergency and Islamic law in Aceh', in *Emergency Powers in Asia: Exploring the Limits of Legality*, Ramraj and Thiruvengadam (eds). New York: Cambridge University Press, 213–236.

Nilan, P. (2009) 'Contemporary masculinities and young men in Indonesia.' *Indonesia & the Malay World*, 37(109): 327–344.

Palin, T. (2004) *Oireileva miljöömuotokuva. Yksityiskohdat sukupuoli-ja säätyhierarkian haastajina*. Helsinki: Kustannus Oy Taide.

Parker, L. and Nilan, P. (2013) *Adolescents in Contemporary Indonesia*. London: Routledge.

Penttinen, E. (2013) *Joy and International Relations: A New Methodology*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Pickles, J. (2007) 'Punk, pop and protest: The birth and decline of political punk in Bandung', *RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, 41(2): 223–246.

Puumala, E. (2013) 'Politiikan tuntu, mieli ja merkitys: tapahtuva yhteisö ja poliitisen kokemus kehollisissa kohtaamisissa', *Tiede & Edistys*, 2: 125–138.

Scott, J. C. (1990) *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Shapiro, M. J. (2013) *Studies in Trans-Disciplinary Method: After the Aesthetic Turn*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Skeggs, B. (1999) 'Matter out of place: visibility and sexualities in leisure spaces', *Leisure Studies*, 18(3): 213–232.

Skeggs, B. (2001) 'Feminist ethnography', in *Handbook of Ethnography*, Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland and Lofland (eds). London: Sage, 426–442.

Suryakusuma, J. I. (1996) 'The state and sexuality in new order Indonesia', in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, Sears (ed.). London: Duke University Press, 92–119.

Syam, H. M. and Hasan, E. (2013) 'Perkembangan komunitas anak punk di kota Banda Aceh: pandangan masyarakat dan kebijakan pemerintah kota', *Jurnal Pendidikan Sains Sosial dan Kemanusiaan*, 6(2): 159–168.

Tani, S. and Surma-aho, O. (2012) 'Young people and the hidden meanings of the everyday: Time-space path as a methodological opportunity', *International Research in Geographical and Environmental Education*, 21(3): 187–203.

Väätäinen, H. (2003) *Rumbasta rampaan: Vammaisen naistanssijan ruumiillisuus pyörätuolikilpatanssissa*. Åbo: Åbo Akademi University Press.

Väätäinen, H. (2009) *Liikkeessä pysymisen taika: Etnografisia kokeiluja yhteisötanssiryhmässä*. Turku: Eetos.

Wallach, J. (2005) 'Underground rock music and democratization in Indonesia', *World Literature Today: A Literary Quarterly of the University of Oklahoma*, 79(3/4): 16.

Wallach, J. (2008) 'Living the punk lifestyle in Jakarta', *Ethnomusicology*, 52(1): 98–116.

Wikan, U. (1992) 'Beyond the words: The power of resonance', *American Ethnologist*, 19(3): 460–482.