

I'm From Ngruki, but Don't Judge Me As A Terrorist: Critical Victimology Study of Muslims Community in Ngruki, Sukoharjo, Indonesia

Saya dari Ngruki, tapi Jangan Tuduh Saya Teroris: Studi Viktimologi Kritis Masyarakat Muslim Ngruki, Sukoharjo Indonesia



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<p>Keywords <i>Victimization;</i> <i>Symbolic Violence;</i> <i>Critical Victimology;</i> <i>Identity;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRACT <i>The Ngruki area has been in the spotlight after the Bali bombings and several acts of terrorism. Causes there are perpetrators who are caught by police in Ngruki. Also, there is a boarding school led by Abu Bakar Bakar Ba'asyir who become convicts of terrorism. This puts Ngruki Muslims associated with, even often accused of radicalism and terrorism. Ultimately, it made them uncomfortable with the behavior. The problem is accused of the Ngruki community by other people, making them perceive suffering. It is indicate that they experience victimization. This paper aims to describe the experience of the Ngruki people, who received victimization. The question is, how is the victimization experienced by the Ngruki community?. This study uses the conceptual approach of critical victimology initiated by Sandra Walklate. This study uses a qualitative method to explore the victimization experiences of from the Ngruki community. by conducting in-depth interviews with five people who experience bad behavior due to their Ngruki identity. This study finds that their identity as Ngruki makes them victims. They get bullying, ribbing, and even discrimination from other people. Nevertheless, there are no resistances, and realize that is normal. It shows that found "misrecognize" such as symbolic violence.</i></p>
<p>Kata Kunci <i>Viktimisasi;</i> <i>Kekerasan Simbolik;</i> <i>Viktimologi Kritis;</i> <i>Identitas;</i></p>	<p>ABSTRAK <i>Wilayah Ngruki menjadi sorotan pasca Bom Bali dan beberapa aksi terorisme. Penyebabnya, terdapat pelaku yang tertangkap. Juga, terdapat pondok pesantren yang dipimpin Abu'bakar Ba'asyir yang menjadi terpidana terorisme. Hal ini mejadikan masyarakat muslim Ngruki sering dikaitkan dengan radikalisme dan terorisme. Pada akhirnya membuat mereka merasa tidak nyaman dengan hal itu. Permasalahannya adalah, tuduhan tersebut membuat mereka merasakan penderitaan. Hal ini mengindikasikan bahwa mereka mengalami viktimisasi. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui pengalaman viktimisasi mereka. Pertanyaannya adalah bagaimana pengalaman viktimisasi yang dialami mereka. Tulisan ini menggunakan teori viktimologi kritis yang digagas Sandra Walklate. Tulisan ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan wawancara terhadap masyarakat Ngruki yang pernah mengalami perlakuan buruk. Studi ini menemukan bahwa identitas mereka sebagai Ngruki membuat mereka menjadi korban. Mereka mendapatkan intimidasi, ejekan, dan bahkan diskriminasi dari orang lain. Namun demikian, tidak ada perlawanan, dan menyadari bahwa itu normal. Hal ini menunjukkan adanya "misrecognize" dalam kekerasan simbolik.</i></p>
<p>Article History Send 30th November 2022 Review 12th December 2022 Accepted 17th December 2022</p>	<p>Copyright ©2023 <i>Jurnal Aristo (Social, Politic, Humaniora)</i> This is an open access article under the CC-BY-NC-SA license. Akses artikel terbuka dengan model CC-BY-NC-SA sebagai lisensinya.</p>



Introduction

This paper explains the broader definition of victims from terrorist incidents. What is so interesting about this research is that terrorist incidents not only cause direct victims but there are forgotten victims. Namely, Muslims are labeled as terrorists. The findings from the article (Mythen et al., 2009) "I'm Muslim but I'm Not Terrorist" explain that victims of terrorism do not only represent one party, Muslims who are often associated with terrorists also become victims of the victimization. This case will be explained as the problem concerning the victimization of Ngruki communities who get labeled terrorists. The uniqueness of this paper is that it discusses from a critical victimology perspective the impact of the terrorist label received by the Ngruki community. Which is rarely discussed in sociology, criminology, and even victimology studies.

As starting the problem, phenomenon of radicalism and terrorism was first actively discussed globally due to the 9/11 incident that occurred in America. This incident occurred on the morning of September 11, 2001. A total of 19 al-Qaeda terrorists hijacked four commercial airliners. They crashed two planes into the top floors of the North and South Towers of the WTC complex and a third plane into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia. The top of the Twin Towers collapsed from the crash. The fourth aircraft, Flight 93, crashed into an empty field in western Pennsylvania about 20 minutes by air from Washington, DC. As a result of this attack, there were 2,977 people from 93 countries, namely 2,753 people, died in New York; 184 people were killed at the Pentagon by offenders, and 40 people were killed on Flight 93 by offenders (Krisnawati, 2021).

The incident of 9/11 sparked the association of terrorism with Islam. Indeed, it happens had a reason. The actions of 9/11 led to the suspicion of the perpetrators of Osama bin Laden and the Al Qaeda network in Afghanistan, which led to Islam (Chomsky, 2017). This is what causes terrorism always to be associated with Islam. (Kaufman & Niner, 2019) also explained that in November 2016, the American government accused terrorist acts of being carried out by Muslims because they disliked America, and the American government banned Muslims from entering America.

Muslims are getting accused of being the perpetrators of acts of terrorism which is harmful to Muslims. The negative impact of the accusation is that there is discrimination against Muslims, and in the end, it causes suffering. Work on Awan and "We are accused of being ISIS terrorists" The experiences of non-Muslim men who have Islamophobia because they look Muslim" (Council, 2020) describes the various discriminations experienced by people who look like Muslims in the United Kingdom (UK). From insults that think they are

related to terrorism, or related to murder, to being banned from traveling to the United States. As in his interview with Samuel, a Muslim living in the UK:

“Being held at the airport consistently and being treated as a suspect. Because I’m mixed race and I look Muslim, I get stopped and get abused at airports. The association with looking like a Muslim is a problem for me. (Samuel)”(Council, 2020)

These interviews show that the image of Muslims is described as what has happened so far (radicalism and terrorism). So the identity as Muslim often receives discriminatory treatment. This discriminatory treatment is influenced by accusations of Muslims, who are always associated with acts of terrorism. Besides that, (Mythen et al., 2009) “I am a Muslim, but I'm not a Terrorist': Victimization, Risky Identities and the Performance of Safety” also describe how Muslims are always the target of accusations of violent or terrorist behavior. This can be said that Muslims who experience discrimination are victims.

In Indonesia, The link between Islam and terrorism is due to the news about terrorism. News of terrorism against Islam in Indonesia occurred due to the Bali Bombing as the perpetrators were a network of “Jama'ah Islamiah” associated with Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. Of the various acts of terrorism in Indonesia, the police concluded that Islamic groups were involved (Wibowo 2015: p 21). The connection between Islamic groups and terrorism leads to one of the Ngruki Islamic communities in Solo, Central Java.

In the last 15 years, mass media has often discussed the Ngruki community about terrorism. Ngruki has become famous on a national and international scale since the 2001 Bali Bombing tragedy. The names of the perpetrators included Fathur Rahman Al-Ghazi, Ali Gufron (alias Mukhlas), Hutomo Pamungkas (alias Mubarok), and Asmar Latin Sani (Purwaidada, 2014; Purwawidada, 2014). Meanwhile, in the Ngruki area, there is the Al Mukmin Islamic Boarding School led by Abu Bakar Ba'asyir. Abu Bakar Ba'asyir is well-known because of his association with the terrorist organization Jama'ah Islamiah. In this case, Abu Bakar Ba'asyir became one of the advisory boards of Jama'ah Islamiah and Darul Islam, which constituted terrorism in Indonesia (Purwaidada, 2014). Because of this, Ngruki received a label and stigma as terrorist territory. From here, the label and stigma become the identity image of the Ngruki communities associated with terrorism.

Furthermore, research (Windiani, 2016) explains that the people of Solo and its surroundings, who are always reported on terrorism by mass media, admit that their area is labeled as terrorist by other people. 54% of them realize that their area gets labeled terrorism. It is described that the arrest of perpetrators from Ngruki caused them to receive labels and stigma. Besides that, labels and stigma often experience polarization of identity, so it causes

generalizations about what has been labeled or stigmatized (O'Leary, 2021) In this context, the label or stigma has generalized the identity of the Ngruki community as radicalism or terrorism. In the end, the identity of the Ngruki people is always associated with terrorist incidents.

Besides that, labeling has a harmful impact on one's identity. Worked (Bernburg, 2009) that people who are labeled tend to be treated and viewed negatively. The label of terrorism, embedded into the group's identity, causes them to be seen and treated differently. It was explained (Council, 2020) that Muslim identity which is labeled as a terrorist, causes different treatment to people with that identity. Explained by (Mythen et al., 2009) that terrorist incidents have polarized Muslim identities because of the existence of labels and stigma against them. In the end, the label of identity as terrorism has an impact on their daily lives.

In this case, the impact of labeling terrorism was also experienced by the Ngruki people. Their identity as Ngruki residents who incidentally received the label of terrorism makes them feel uncomfortable, ashamed, and afraid of their identity. Only 40% of them do not feel uncomfortable and embarrassed because of the label of terrorism (Windiani, 2016). Meanwhile, the negative impact of labeling on the Ngruki community also affected their interactions with other communities. In (Suri, 2009), it is explained that the Ngruki people often experience accusations, undesirable behavior, and even discrimination. Unpleasant behavior, such as being accused of making a bomb, related to terrorism and other incidents. On the other side, discrimination is like a ban on going to the island of Bali (Suri, 2009). It indicates the risk of victimization experienced by society due to the impact of the label terrorism. The other word that Ngruki's Communities be in the victim's position

This paper's problem is that labels and stigma have resulted in more comprehensive victims of terrorism. Phenomenon problems arise because of the terrorist label embedded in the identity of the Ngruki people, who often do not see the side of the definition of the victim. In (Walklate, 2007; Milanovic 2000) explained that the victims are harmful and lose their rights as a human. The argument in this paper leads to the fact that Ngruki communities who get labeled and stigma in terrorism-related crimes are victims. Basically, not all forms of victimization lead to physical injury. However, the powerlessness to choose symbols and values constructed in social form is the turning point that shows they are neglected victims.

Therefore, This article addresses victims of label and stigma terrorism. In this case, describe in perspective criminology studies with a critical victimology approach. In criminology, a critical victimology approach defines a broader victim. In this case, They are Ngruki communities who get harmful and lose their right to get the same rights. In this paper, Ngruki communities are people who have Ngruki identity and belonging Ngruki residents. This

paper aims to describe the experience of the Ngruki communities, who received victimization because of the label and stigma of terrorists. The question is, how do the Ngruki communities experience victimization because of labels and stigma as terrorists?

Before entering into the discussion of critical victimology, we need to study victimology. In the study of victimology, there is something called victimization. Victimization is an asymmetrical interpersonal relationship that is abusive, painful, destructive, parasitic, and unfair (Karmen, 2010: p. 8). Besides that, victimization is defined as the process of becoming a victim (Rock, 2012). In simple words, victimology studies reveal an understanding of victims of crime and the process of becoming a victim.

Over time, victimology studies have also renewed regarding the definition of victims. One of them is by criticizing the definition of victims. As explained by (Ballinger et al., 2016; Mawby & Walklate, 1994; Miers, 1989, 1990; Victimology, 1992; Walklate, 2007) that, during this time, victimology has only looked at victims in the criminal justice system. The definition of the victim only looks at the relationship between crime and criminal justice. So the victim is only seen from what is defined based on criminal justice by positivist victimology. It makes for a critical approach to understanding victims.

Critical victimology is a paradigm with a critical perspective to explain victims in the scope of victimology and criminology. This concept exists from a critique of conventional victimology. Critical victimology sees the failure of conventional victimology in defining victims of crime. The conventional paradigm only sees victims as those directly affected by crime (Mawby & Walklate, 1994; Victimology, 1992; Walklate, 2007). As explained (Ballinger et al., 2016, p. xi), the conventional victimology paradigm fails to reveal the definition of victims experienced daily. That there are actors who cause a person to experience suffering and loss. In simple terms, Spencer & Walklate would like to address that Critical Victimology cannot be separated from the role of social agents that cause suffering and loss experienced by someone.

Meanwhile, Quinney 1972 (Ballinger et al., 2016; Walklate, 2002, 2012) explains in the article "Who is the victim?" that Victims are the result of social construction. It means that the existence of victims cannot be separated from the existence of social construction carried out by agents in producing crime. So that the victim is no longer only seen in the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator of the crime. However, the victim is seen from the social construction that causes loss and suffering to be experienced by someone. In comparison, Constitutive Criminology explains that the victims are a social construction of the crime effect. Constitutive criminology articulates that crime is suffering. The definition of crime as suffering

defines victims into two (1) reduction and (2) repression. (1) The reduction of crime occurs when a person loses some of the quality of life they currently have. (2) The crime of repression occurs when someone experiences restrictions and prohibitions that prevent them from getting the quality they want (Henry & Milovanovic, 1996, 2000)

On the one hand, victims of social construction cannot be separated from society's social, cultural, and political structures. It is what critical victimology uses in explaining victims. Critical victimology uses the structural theory approach by Giddens on the experience of victimization (Walklate, 2007, p. 161) The point is that critical victimology in viewing victimization cannot be separated from the process of social, political, and cultural structures in society. This process creates a social construction of victims. On the other hand, critical victimology tries to discover the process of victimization that has been going on invisible. Low material conditions and experiences of suffering that others ignore (Walklate, 2015, 2019; Woolford & Wolejszo, 2006). Simply put, Critical Victimology sees a process of victimization that doesn't show that they are victims while their suffering is neglected. Therefore, critical victimology prioritizes looking at victims broadly. It is not only related to what is defined in criminal justice between the perpetrator and the victim. However, looking at it from another perspective seen from social construction includes social, political, and cultural structures. That there is a process of victimization in social construction that puts them in a victim position

According to critical victimology, there are three concept approaches. First, examine the state's role in the social construction of victimhood. Second, looking at the broader scale of the victim of crime, including those unaware of being victims. Third, looking at the broader scale of the victim of crime include those unaware of being victims critiquing the victim's blaming (Ballinger et al., 2016)It means there were other unseen victims, in other words, those who had been forgotten. Such as people who get stigma as a terrorist. They have more risk become victims.

Furthermore, this is also related to the existence of symbolic violence that is received because of the terrorist label. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 167) explain that symbolic violence is defined not as physical violence but rather as the involvement of the dominant group by using a symbolic system. So, violence is a legitimate form (Anderson, 2013, p. 691). Symbolic violence is centered on analyzing the theory of domination (Anderson, 2013, p. 691). Bourdieu sees social practices as central to the reproduction of society. In this context, power is important in social interaction (Joyce, 2005). What's more, Foucault (Foucault, 1980) and (Bourdieu, 1979) add that power arises because of different relations in people's social interactions.

Symbolic violence occurs because of the symbolic power possessed by the dominant group. (Bourdieu, 1979, 1990, 1991) explains that symbolic power practices are often considered an aspect “taken-for-granted” for culture and, therefore, often hidden or “misrecognized” (Link & Phelan, 2014) and recognized as something legitimate. Individuals experience various forms of violence (limited in their social mobility, treated as subordinates, etc.) and instead see what is happening to them as usual. Symbolic violence forces the party that dominates to accept domination from the dominant party with the internalization of values set by the dominant party itself and the diffusion of general knowledge and beliefs, and rules that have been made to be obeyed by all (Moukarbel, 2009, p. 162). When the dominant group constructs the perspective of the dominated group, which in turn makes power relations occur naturally (Sturzaker & Shucksmith, 2011).

Bourdieu reveals that symbolic power is subordinate power that incarnates, for example, through “misrecognition” that are legitimate from other forms of power (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 170). Bourdieu explains that stigma and labeling are formed from the existence of power relations that lead to symbolic violence. Also enhanced by Bourdieu (1987), that symbolic power or symbolic power is the ability to impose on others a legitimate and justified purpose or vision of the social world and the divisions within that world. Symbolic power has implications for understanding stigma or labels. First, regarding Bourdieu's theory of "cultural distinction of value and worth" is one of the mechanisms by which power is carried out. Stigma presents a statement about "value" and "worth" made by stigmatizers against people who are stigmatized (Link & Phelan, 2014).

Second, according to Bourdieu, people who experience disadvantage because of symbolic power are often influenced to accept a cultural assessment of the value of their position in a social order without realizing it. According to (Corrigan & Watson, 2002a, 2002b) stigma and labels are evidence of 'internalized' or 'self-stigma'. (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2013) added that many ways could be used to drop, exclude, avoid, reject, and discriminate against people; that is, when motivation and power are available, stigma processes and labels offer ways to get that desire (Link & Phelan, 2014, p. 25).

Method

This study uses a qualitative approach with phenomenological methods. Phenomenological methods seek answers to phenomena that occur in society and identify objects based on their experiences (Creswell, 1998). The phenomenon studied is victimization due to the impact of labeling and stigmatization as terrorism. In this study, data collection was

carried out through observation and interviews. The observation aims to find out the general description of the Ngruki community. Interviews were conducted with the Ngruki community to examine their experiences of victimization. In the interview, informants were chosen deliberately by the researcher. Sampling was carried out by purposive sampling, where the selection of informants was determined based on special considerations. Methodologically, this technique can be interpreted as a sampling process by first determining the sample to be taken, then selecting the sample based on a specific purpose as long as it does not deviate from the characteristics that have been previously determined. the Analysis data uses deskriptive analysis with discribe of experiences Ngruki Communities along phenomenon labeling, stigmatization, and victimization, then drawing conclusions from the interview data.

In this case, data collection was carried out in two stages. The first stage by observing the Ngruki community. Observations were made for approximately one month. Observations were also made to determine the informants to be interviewed based on recommendations from community administrators (Hamlet head). From the observation, it was determined that five interviewees met the criteria for the interview; they were people who had experienced lousy treatment because their identity as Ngruki residents was associated with terrorism. This study uses a triangulation technique to validate the data. Triangulation was carried out by comparing the results of observations with interviews, and the results of interviews with the first informant with subsequent informants, until the data experienced saturation, and then validity was carried out again against community administrators (Hamlet heads) on their recommendations. After that, the data analysis and interpretation process is carried out using critical victimology theory and symbolic violence. Data interpretation is made by narrating the findings into a patterned story. The first step in analyzing data is to collect data. Second data reduction. Third, presentation and analysis of data. Fourth, drawing conclusions.

Results and Discussion

Critical Victimology and Victimization of Muslims as Terrorism

Before entering into further explanation and discussion, it is necessary to provide a disclaimer in this explanation without reducing respect and justice for the real victims of terrorism. The development of victimology with the paradigm of critical victimology helps explain the victims of terrorism more extensively than we know (Ewald & TurkovicfEds, 2006, p. 57)(McGarry & Walklate, 2015). In this case, there are invisible victims of terrorism occurrence.

(McGowan, 2022, p. 51) had been explaining that in the two decades after war-on-terrorism, victims of terrorism had failed to look more comprehensively. As long after an occurrence terrorist attack, Victims was defined as just those directly becoming victims by positivist. They look at the victims who are only get attacked directly. However, there are people at risk of becoming victims in this situation. This study opens our critical view against the invisible victims of terrorism. They are a community that gets the label and stigma because of their identity (O'Leary, 2021).

In this case, the Muslim community is at risk of becoming a victim of terrorism effect (McGowan, 2016, p. 15). In simple terms, McGowan explains that Muslims are at risk of becoming another victim of terrorism. This is based on anti-Muslimism and discrimination that arose after acts of terrorism that occurred in America and European countries. It shows that critical victimology sees victims of terrorism not only as those who are directly affected. Critical victimology sees Muslims as a person or group at risk of victimization. Critical victimology tries to explain that victims of terrorism do not only represent one party. More than that, the victims of terrorism are the wives of the perpetrators of terrorism, in which they become victims of the treatment of their husbands, which makes them terrorists (Taskarina, 2020).

Besides that, Critical Victimology also sees that the victims of terrorism are Muslim groups who often get hate crimes, anti-Muslim, and discrimination. (Kaufman & Niner, 2019) tries to analyze using a critical victimology framework to explain the position of Muslims towards hate crime and anti-Muslim crimes influenced by terrorist incidents. The fact that effect of terrorism incidents is more comprehensive than we know. Meanwhile, the writings of (Mythen et al., 2009) explain how young Pakistanis suffer because of accusations of being terrorists. For Mythen, G., Walklate, S., & Khan, F., critical victimology sees that victims of terrorism do not only represent one party. However, other parties have suffered because of the accusations they received. So it is necessary to listen to the voices of other parties who feel they are victims.

It is similar to what will be discussed in the next part, that the Ngruki community experiences the same as Muslims in Amerika and Europe. The Ngruki community is often accused of terrorism incidents in Indonesia by people. Their identity as Ngruki people often gets unpleasant treatment and even experiences discrimination. It is that their identity makes them experience victimization.

Ngruki Community Victimization

This chapter will explain the result of interview with people of Ngruki who victimization experienced because of label and stigma as terrorism. The victimization occurred within questions, even the point of discrimination because of their identity as Ngruki people. Every Ngruki resident who meets other people and introduces himself as coming from the Ngruki residents, they will ask about his connection with terrorism and are constantly accused of acts of terrorism. From their bearded appearance and their clothes, they were always accused of being terrorists. Not only that, in this chapter there is also an acknowledgment of people who have been discriminated against so that they feel disadvantaged by this.

Evi, as respondent currently studying at the Indonesian Arabic Education Institute (LIPIA) Jakarta. Her status as a resident of Ngruki makes him feel uncomfortable with the status as a resident of Ngruki. Because when the respondent reveals his true identity, people's questions will go directly to the terrorism cases that are developing in the media. In fact, because of this, respondents then prefer to "blur their identity" as Ngruki residents and claim to be Surakarta residents (Suri, 2009).

"As usual, if I admit that I am from Ngruki, they will immediately ask about the making of the bomb. (Do you know the terrorists who came from there?) Moreover, the longer the conversation leads to accusations of religious knowledge studied at Ngruki. So I chose to confess from Solo, which is safer." (Evi; LIPIA Jakarta student, resident of Ngruki, October 2008 Suri, 2009)

The same thing happened to Syafiq, whom we interviewed in August 2022. He admitted that until now, he still feels the accusations from the Ngruki community regarding terrorism. When he meets people, not from Ngruki or solo, he is often surprised and asks about the Ngruki people, who have a culture of radicalism and terrorism.

"Last time, during the Asean Para Games, many of my colleagues came from Jakarta. At first, I admitted that I was from Solo, then they asked me which Solo?. I answered from Ngruki. They were astonished and surprised at my home. They immediately worked on the truth. Is it true that the Ngruki people have radicalism and terrorism?, I'll just answer those people who happen to live in Ngruki. They asked again, (jokingly) (do you know Pancasila by heart?) Suddenly I was shocked and just spoke to myself (not all Ngruki residents are like that). I just answered, memorized, I don't understand radicalism" (Syafiq; Ngruki resident who works as an Event Organizer, August Interview, 2022)

Not only Syafiq who experienced something like that. Our investigations and interviews also found that their identity as Ngruki residents makes them seen as radical and carrying terrorism. So often, other people see them as they have been so far. It was disclosed by Rusdi,

one of the sources we interviewed. Rusdi is an alumnus of Al Mukmin Junior high school and lives in the Ngruki area. He often encounters situations that always corner him because he never went to school and lives in Ngruki.

“Perhaps, feel often, when I meet people outside the area. But what I remember the most when I was visiting Jakarta. Incidentally, I joined a student organization and often visited student organizations outside the city. Long story short, because they know that I am an alumnus of Ngruki and also live there, they directly corner me with the teachings of radicalism and terrorism. From what was said, I had a strong understanding of being accused of being able to make bombs. Maybe they thought that everyone who came from there could build a bomb. Because Ngruki is known for its radicalism and terrorism.” (Rusdi; University Students X Alumnus of Al Mukmin Ngruki Boarding school and Ngruki Residents, August *Interview*, 2022)

Negative stereotypes about Ngruki as radicalism and terrorist make people related to Ngruki's identity always seen as they have been so far. They think the treatment is normal because of a negative image attached to their identity. It is what often makes them afraid of their identity as Ngruki residents. They always feel uncomfortable when they claim to be from Ngruki.

It is not only accusations and sayings of making bombs and having radical views. Their identity as Ngruki residents makes them feel afraid of their identity. As is the research case (Suri, 2009, p. 78) most of them claimed to be from Solo because when they came from Ngruki, the conversation became lengthy, and accusations related to radicalism and terrorism arose. In tracing the interviews, they also preferred to admit they were from Solo or outside of Ngruki.

“ So every time I meet new people, especially people from other regions, I better admit that I come from Solo. I was a little scared when I claimed to be from Ngruki because, every time I come from Ngruki, questions and discussions have always led to the relations of the Ngruki community and radicalism and terrorism.” (Rusdi; University Students X Alumnus of Al Mukmin Ngruki Boarding school and Ngruki Residents, August *Interview*, 2022)

However, their identity has always been associated with the perpetrators of the bombing. Moreover, when they were looked at have whiskers and wore flood pants. as did one of the informants we interviewed. he shared that his identity and appearance were always said to be part of a radicalization.

“ At that time when I had work in Jakarta. Incidentally, I handled the election for Governor Anis. there were some people who saw me wearing a beard and wearing cropped pants. they directly linked it to my identity as a Ngruki resident. "This must be one of the radical groups of Ngruki brought by Anis." because at that time it was thick with religious identity politics. I only responded by joking. because it couldn't be helped, they already prepared that Ngruki, his cropped pants, and beard must be radical” (Iwan; Ngruki Residents, August *Interview*, 2022).

Meanwhile, interviews with Ngruki residents found that few Ngruki residents were afraid of their identity as Ngruki residents. It is due to the traumatic Ngruki residents who are always associated with radicalism. In the end, they do not admit their identity. Also, keep silent when getting questions surrounding radicalism and terrorism related to the Ngruki community.

“The people of Ngruki choose to be silent, sir, because the discussion of radicalism and terrorism for the residents here is a sensitive matter. It is possible that they are afraid of being associated with terrorists and then being accused and arrested as perpetrators of terrorism. Also, when asked, most people here would admit they are from outside the Ngruki area. According to them, admitting Ngruki risks being accused of being part of radicalism or terrorism. Some residents here are afraid of their identity as Ngruki residents, so they change their identity to become solo residents.” (Darsono; Halmet Heads Ngruki Communities, Cemani, August *Interview*, 2022)

Furthermore, the Ngruki area's connection with acts of terrorism means that the Ngruki people sometimes receive discrimination and different treatment. One of the sources we interviewed admitted that he was having difficulty when he was about to fly to Bali. The existence of strict supervision of the sources made them feel the impact they received because of their identity as Ngruki residents.

“My job as a car rental driver makes me often take guests outside the area, especially Bali. My experience is three to four times mas. Every time I crossed to Bali, I was always detained for a long time at the Gilimanuk port, Banyuwangi. Because the officers saw my identity as a resident came from Ngruki. A situation like this makes me feel a bit disadvantaged because I, along with my customers. So I feel bad for my mass customers.” (Pujiono ; Ngruki Residents, August *Interview*, 2022)

Meanwhile, Ngruki residents who will apply for jobs get different treatment. According to him, one of the sources who did not want to reveal his identity had experienced very discriminatory treatment. His identity as a resident of Ngruki made him receive several job rejections. As his confession follows:

"Maybe I am one of the Ngruki residents who feel the negative impact because the Ngruki area is often associated with terrorism. It might be said that it happened a while ago when the news about Ngruki was so hot. At that time, I had just graduated with bachelor's degree, I happened to have a job interview call in Jakarta and Bandung. Long story short, the company I applied for alluded to my regional origin in Ngruki. In the end, they considered accepting me. They just said they would be called again if accepted. But for several months there was no call again, mas. I saw during the interview that they were a bit surprised when my address came from Ngruki. It seems they are afraid that I will be related to radicalism and terrorism" (Informant; Ngruki Residents, August *Interview*, 2022)

From tracing the interviews with the informants, it was found that their identity as Ngruki people made them receive unpleasant treatment. Although it is not clearly can describe, this can illustrate the process of victimization experienced by the Ngruki residents. It is what is said (Ballinger et al., 2016) the experience of the Ngruki community is included in a wider process of victimization that has not been seen so far. In this case, there were insinuations, accusations, and even unpleasant treatment of the Ngruki people. Even regarding (Henry & Milovanovic, 2000, p. 272) it was a "reduce of crime" Because they lost something that became their right.

It is like what was said by (Bourdieu, 1989, 1990, 1991) the treatment received by the Ngruki community defined that there was symbolic violence. They did not realize that getting violent. It was Bourdieu's said as (misrecognized). Also, (Bourdieu, 1990) said, "taken for granted" when they receive consent. According to them, it was already usual because they misunderstood the Ngruki community and generalized each person as the same. As simply, Ngruki's community gets dominated when they mention their identity. This research is based on the theoretical framework that Ngruki's community is the victim. Victims of domination from other people who generalize as a terrorist. Finally, this research has already shown that critical victimology (Ballinger et al., 2016; Mawby & Walklate, 1994; Walklate, 2007) and symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1979, 1989, 1990, 1991; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) can define the position of Ngruki's community as victims.

Conclusion

Based on what has already been explained above. This article argues that the experience received by the Ngruki people could be more evident and is only felt by those who experience it. However, the Ngruki community experienced a process of victimization based on the social construction of the community. The existence of satire, always associated with matters related to radicalism and terrorism, makes the Ngruki people feel insecure and even afraid when they

claim to be Ngruki residents. In this case, the victimization experienced by the Ngruki people is symbolic. Indirectly they receive symbolic violence from society which generalizes Ngruki society.

Indeed what has been said regarding critical Victimology that the crime of terrorism has made the people who are Ngruki in the position of the victim wider than we know. People's understanding of the Ngruki community is misinterpreted, which puts them at risk of becoming more comprehensive victims. The widespread stigma against the description of the Ngruki area causes people with the Ngruki identity to feel the effects of the social construction that has existed so far. People's views of someone who comes from Ngruki are always associated with problems they have never done.

In conclusion, it is essential to realize that the Ngruki people are a diverse society. This article describes what happened to the Ngruki people who interacted with the majority community in general. They accept this treatment because they are aware of (reconciled) what has been happening, and there has been news about the Ngruki area, which is a hotbed of radicals and terrorists. However, with a critical victimology perspective, we can see that victims are not only those who are accurate. They are the Ngruki people who experience stigma every day that is always associated with radicalism and terrorism.

Finally, this conclusion explains this research's contribution to the criminology field, especially victimology. However, in criminology studies, labeling and stigma are only discussed regarding secondary deviants. This paper also expands on the writings by Burnberg that labels cause discrimination and make the lously. Moreover, with a critical victimology approach, we can see forgotten victims. Their status as victims is never seen or observed. Also clarifies the contribution of this research to constitutive criminology, the fact that crime as harm is a product of society itself which ultimately creates more comprehensive victims

Declaration

Conflicts of Interest The authors declare no competing interests

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