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THE COMPLEXITY IN COPING CONFLICTING GROUPS IN SURROUNDING NUSAKAMBANGAN ISLANDS CENTRAL JAVA INDONESIA¹

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Abstrak : This study explores social and political conflicts in grassroots level, specifically, the challenge of natural degradations on a mangrove-fringed lagoon in Central Java, Indonesia. Segara Anakan is a significant environmental zone, with many unique ecosystem features, all of which are under threat from illegal land reclamation and timber theft, which have caused great damage. This study analyses how conflict arises between groups and how the rulers interact with villagers in Kampung Laut surrounding Nusakambangan Island. The result shows, as Reichel et al. (2009) notes, population growth and lagoon sedimentation indeed have directing to crucial conflicts between groups. However, historical and the rulers approach factors also contribute to Kampung Laut conflicts. Long historical journey contribute to the formation of Kampung Laut villagers' characters. It is the history of Galuh and Mata-ram Kingdoms' networks through Babad Pasirluhur and Tanah Jawi in conquering Nusakambangan. More importantly, rulers' policies and state apparatuses approaches also contribute to the creation of Kampung Laut villagers' identity. The policies are often inconsistent and create more problems than solutions. Thus, dissatisfaction has directing to the creation of Kampung Laut identity marker as rebellions. In short, this hard situation led to conflicts between villagers and rulers. Our study suggest that it is very important to bring the state back in on the isolated and poor area like Kampung Laut Sub-

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District through more affirmative regional public policies and more over create additional income resources, for example eco-tourism that could support its sustainable outcomes.

Keywords: Kampung Laut villagers, identity marker, society-government relationships, social and political conflict

INTRODUCTION

This paper will examine the conflicts in grassroots level on coastal area, especially the Segara Anakan Lagoon in Kampung Laut sub-district, which is in surrounding Nusakambangan Island, Cilacap regency Central Java, Indonesia. I argue that conflicts dynamics in Segara Anakan Lagoon are the result of how these isolated community formed their identity through their long historical journey and how the rulers (the national government and local government) interact and approached these isolated coastal community in surrounding Nusakambangan Island. It appears that conflicts arise not only because of the increasing of population and sedimentation in the lagoon (Reichel, 2009) but also were closely related to their long history and kind of state approaches applied by national and local governments.

Historically, Nusakambangan area, includes Segara Anakan lagoon, is located in two conflicting political and cultural area, which are Galuh Kingdom (Sundanese) and Mataram Kingdom (Javanese). It also as border area of these two kingdoms powers, includes their cultural identity.

The rulers used contradict and inconsistent policies. The national and local governments used different types and directions of policies in dealing with Kampung Laut community. As a result, these contradict and inconsistent policies create tensions among villagers, for the policy makers in Cilacap, and for the governments themselves.

SETTING OF KAMPUNG LAUT SUB DISTRICT

Geography and Ethnicity

Before further discussion of conflicts in Segara Anakan Lagoon in surrounding Nusakambangan Island, it is necessary to identify the geography, ethnicity and socio-economic conditions of Kampung Laut Sub-district in order to recognize the complexity in coping conflicting groups in surrounding Nusakambangan Island territory, which is more prone to conflict situations. As Monica Toft illustrates, the existence of regional concentration of a particular group is very nearly a necessary condition for ethnic conflicts (Toft, 2003). This factor appears obtained in Kampung Laut Sub district, as most of the Javanese ethnic group was concentrated in Kampung Laut territory. Moreover, Kampung Laut is act as a border area to West Java Province, which dominated by Sundanese ethnic groups.

Geographically, Kampung Laut, include Segara Anakan Lagoon is located in Cilacap Regency specifically in surrounding Nusakambangan Island at southern coastal area of Central Java

Province. Kampung Laut and Segara Anakan Lagoon is a mangrove-fringed shallow coastal lagoon located in south central Java ($108^{\circ}46'E-109^{\circ}03'E$, $8^{\circ}35'S-8^{\circ}48'S$; Figure 1).

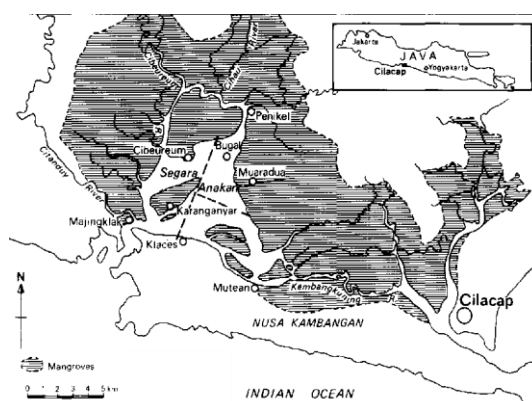


Figure 1. Location of Kampung Laut Sub-district and Segara Anakan Lagoon (Segara Anakan Conservation Development Project, 2009)

Kampung Laut Sub-district and Segara Anakan Lagoon is separated from Nusakambangan Island. Kampung Laut Sub-district stretches over a distance of 17.512,05 ha with 5.330,33 ha used for housing compounds, 7445 ha consists of state forest, 2,550,90 ha used for rice field and most of the rest (over 40 per cent), consists of mangroves. Kampung Laut sub-district consists of four villages, which are Panikel, Klaces, Ujung Alang and Ujung Gagak (Cilacap Central Board of Statistics, 2009). Segara Anakan Lagoon dominantly consists of mangrove forest and it is believed that Segara Anakan is the largest mangrove forest in the south coast of Java. The lagoon expands over a distance of 23,836.5 ha and consists of a 931.8 ha expanse of water (Ardli and Wolff, 2006) that is bordered by the largest (9,597 ha) mangrove forest territory in Java (Ardli, 2007). Various habitats exist in the area, such as mangroves, and swamp. This lagoon offers perfect conditions as a nursery and feeding ground for many different fish and crabs. Furthermore, the lagoon provides economic resources for fishing households as well as for the coastal and high sea fishermen along the entire southern coast of Java. It is because the lagoon is used for many aquatic animals in nursery before carrying on to the open sea during adolescence.

Kampung Laut and Segara Anakan Lagoon are dominated by tidal water movement and indirectly by the discharge of the Citanduy, Cibereum and Cikonde rivers are pushed towards the centre from the incoming flood current during high tide and eventually create lagoon mud sedimentations. This sedimentation, finally, create new lands.

According to Cilacap Regency Statistical Center since 2002 to 2009, there are 15.734 inhabitants of Kampung Laut Sub-district in 2009. It means that in seven years, since Kampung Laut became a new sub-district separated from Kawunganten Sub district in 2002, Kampung Laut inhabitants' increase 18.88% or 2.972 villagers. (Tabel 1.)

**Tabel 1. Inhabitants of Kampung Laut
from 2002–2009**

Year	Number of Inhabitants
2002	12.762
2003	13.644
2004	13.540
2005	14.540
2006	14.845
2007	15.170
2008	15.490
2009	15.734

Source: *Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) Kab. Cilacap* (Cilacap Central Board of Statistics), 2002–2009.

Ethnically, Kampung Laut Sub district dominated by Javanese ethnic groups 85 percent, while the minority ethnic group is the Sundanese 14 percent, as immigrant came from West Java Province, and other ethnic groups for about 1 percent only (Tabel 2.).

**Tabel 2. Ethnic groups
in Kampung Laut Sub district**

Ethnic Groups	Number of Inhabitants	Percentage (%)
Javanese	13.374	85
Sundanese	2.203	14
Others	157	1
Total	15.734	100

Source: *Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) Kab. Cilacap* (Cilacap Central Board of Statistics), 2009.

Through history, the Sundanese and the Javanese in Cilacap area, includes surrounding Nusakambangan Island, claims that Cilacap is part of their historical Kingdoms. The Sundanese claim that Cilacap was part of Galuh Sundanese Kingdom. At the same time, the Mataram Javanese Kingdom also claims the area as part of their territory (Zuhdi, 2002). Moreover, after the success of Mataram Kingdom dominate Cilacap, they put their four knights as strong guardians in Nusakambangan Islands, which is further I will discuss. Their duty is pushing the Galuh Kingdom to East Priangan area in West Java. Therefore, in recent situations, the Javanese in Kampung Laut still considered Nusakambangan as their area.

Most of Kampung Laut inhabitants' religions is Moslem for 94,35 per cent (14.846 villagers, Catholic 3,5 per cent (552 villagers), Protestant 0,9 per cent (142 villagers), Buddhist 0,2 per cent and others 0,9 per cent (142 villagers) (Tabel 3.)

Tabel 3. Religion Affiliations of Kampung Laut Sub district.

Religion Affiliations	Number of Followers	Percentage (%)
Moslem	14.846	94,35
Catholic	552	3,5
Protestant	142	0,9
Buddhist	32	0,2
Others	142	0,9
Total	15.734	100,00

Source: *Cilacap in Figures* (Cilacap Central Board of Statistics), 2009.

Related to their religions, their places of worship also show the number of religion followers in Kampung Laut. There are 43 mosques for Moslem, and 6 churches for Catholic followers. However, Protestant, Buddhist, and the others religions followers have no places of worship due to small number of followers.

Socio-economic Conditions

Kampung Laut socio-economic conditions are in a very poor and less state facilities. Most of villagers in Kampung Laut are fishermen estimated 80 per cent and the rest is farmers. Because the lagoon surrounds the islands, water transportation is vital. The villages are accessible only by river, tidal channels, or the waters of the Segara Anakan, and dugout canoes or commercial ferryboats are the only means of transportation. Nearly 80 percent of the households own canoes, which are used for daily fishing (Sobandi, 2006 and Cilacap Regency's Statistical Center, 2009). The low income earned by the fishermen in the Kampung Laut villages is reflecting their prosperity of the households. In general a family owns the small household compound on which their dwelling stands. Usually they have a table and chair, some cooking utensils, and a wooden or bamboo bed covered with a mat (Sobandi, 2006).

There is no electricity supply in most of Kampung Laut villages from *Perusahaan Listrik Nasional* (National Electricity Company, PLN) due to the obstacle in reaching Kampung Laut area and high cost in building electricity infrastructures, except in Ujung Gagak village. Ujung Gagak village gets their electricity supply from PLN since 2007 for 413 houses. Meanwhile the rest of villagers in Kampung Laut only used diesel fuel and its gears. Therefore, the villagers in Kampung Laut only gets very limited electricity supply starting from 18.00 WIB, in the afternoon, to around 21.00 WIB in the evening (Tabel 4.).

Tabel 4. Source of Electricity supply for Kampung Laut Households.

Villages	Source of Electricity Supply	
	PLN	Non-PLN (Diesel Fuels)
Ujung Gagak	413	387
Ujung Alang	0	806

Villages	Source of Electricity Supply	
	PLN	Non-PLN (Diesel Fuels)
Klaces	0	153
Panikel	0	156
Total	413	1.502

Source: *Cilacap in Figures* (Cilacap Central Board of Statistics), 2009.

In the dry season there are no fresh water supplies from streams or tanks. Domestic water is obtained only from springs near Klaces, on Nusakambangan Island, or occasionally from the Citanduy River. Water must be carried in drums an average of five kilometers to most villages, and up to ten kilometers to some Penikel village. Most houses have small concrete tanks to collect rainwater in the wet season.

Kampung Laut houses conditions reflecting their low prosperity. More than one third of their houses include to inappropriate living houses and unhealthy for about 37,48 percent. There are 26,26 percent who owned proper enough because they have a more healthy conditions. While, there are only 36,25 percent villagers owned permanent and healthy houses. In short, Kampung Laut sub-district includes to an isolated and poor area in Cilacap Regency.

Kampung Laut villagers' education levels are very low. It shown by the fact that only 35,10 percent of villagers graduated from primary schools and there are 56,67 percent is not graduated from primary schools and even uneducated or illiterate. Only 5,01 percent graduated from junior high schools and only 2, 83 percent graduated from senior high schools and less than 1 percent (0,39%) who have higher educations such as diploma and undergraduate levels (Tabel 5.).

**Tabel 5. Educational Level
of Kampung Laut Inhabitants.**

Level of Educations	Number of Villagers	Percentage (%)
No school/illiterate	8.916	56,67
Primary schools	5.523	35,10
Junior High Schools	788	5,01
Senior High Schools	445	2,83
Higher Educations	62	0,39
Total	15.734	100,00

Source: *Cilacap in Figures* (Cilacap Central Board of Statistics), 2009.

The cost of education is considered very high and the schools are far away, most of them in hinterland of Cilacap even thought now in Klaces already have a Senior High School. In fact, ironically, none of the Kampung Laut State Senior High School students is graduated in 2010 (Suara Merdeka Newspaper, 2010). The local people see nothing to be gained from a formal education. High school graduates find it very difficult to obtain wage employment. Thus, many children and youths do not continue their formal education beyond elementary school, and stay in the village to assist their parents.

IDENTITY DOES MATTERS

Concept of Identity

Identity seems so very important for individual and groups, especially in recent day. Castells (1997) stated that identities are about the human experiences through history geography, collective memory and personals fantasies, power apparatuses and religious revelations. In fact, identity creates meanings through the collective experiences. In this sense, he argues that there are various cultural attributes of identities and thus people put priority upon the cultural attributes surrounds them. When people put difference priority, they tend to have conflict each other (p. 6-7).

Korostelina (2007) argue that social identity prevent people from the threat of the interpersonal conflict by providing the protection for a group with common space. The formation of identity is resulted from the identification that is evolving process of socialization, shared values, beliefs, expectation, norms etc. Identity is a structure with complex interrelations among different sub identities. Four components characterizes the systemic identity, which are: (1) as a part of its class or type, which defines the regularities of its development and functioning; (2) as a system that has specific characteristic; (3) as a set of subsystems that influences its functioning; and (4) by its external interactions in the processes of developing and resolving social conflicts (pp.31-32).

Specifically, Korostelina (2007) pointed out the identity in order to explain the relationship of identity and conflict, which mainly because of the inter-group prejudice. Prejudice is measured using standardized scales that contain statements about attribute of the group, feeling about the group, and support for policies that affect the group. In this sense, stereotype is one of prejudice component that used to creates the beliefs of the out-groups, usually as the enemies. Hence, prejudice is an attitude that negative, antipathy based on faulty and rigidity of generalization (pp. 127-131). At this point, identity could make conflict in the circumstances of inter-group prejudice from one party to other parties. The prejudice can easily come out because of lack of information, credible commitments, and the security dilemma to the out-groups.

Korostelina (2007) mentioned that the dominant identities take the form of a mobilized collective identity and contain ideologies. Thus, the in-groups define themselves as a positive sides and the out-group as the negatives side. Furthermore, fighting with the out-group is viewed as necessary for in-group survival (pp. 146-153). The dominant institutions can and often construct identities.

The dominant institution set up the identity in use to expand their domination in dealing with the other actors. In this point, Castells (1997) analyze that the identity construction have always in the context of power relationships. He proposes three forms of identity, these three forms of identity are very much depending on the social contexts, which are: (1) legitimizing identity, (2) resistance identity, and (3) the project identity (pp. 7-10). The legitimizing identity is the identity that is produced by the dominant institutions of society in order to broaden and rationalize their domination in facing the other social actors. Identities start as resistance may induce projects, along the course of history, become dominant in the institutions of society, thus becoming legitimizing identities to rationalize their domination.

The second type is resistance identity. Resistance identity is a collective identity to resist the oppression. History, geography, and biology are the vital basis of the resistance.

The third type of identity is the project identity. Castells stated, "... when social actors, on the basis of whichever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by doing so, seek the transformation of overall social structure" (Castells, 1997, p.8). For instance, he mentions about the feminism resistance of the women's identity and women's right in dealing with the patriarchal value of the family. These identity have moves all the values and its beliefs in the society as a whole to see the importance of women's identity in the society and equal right of women with the men in society.

In broader sense, Malesevic (2006) define the identity into the identitarianism. Identitarianism is the concept of identity in purpose to filling the gap and vacuum of the other three concepts, which are the race (after the collapse of Nazi project), the national character, and social consciousness (with the end of the Cold War). He argues that in the contemporary situation, identitarianism has become an umbrella term for anything and everything.

Furthermore, he explain that although the recognition of cultural difference is usually seen as a source of self-liberation and collective emancipation there is a darker side to identify politics which has received far less attention. Instead of a 'celebrating of difference', many identity projects and often institutionalized by powerful structures of the modern state, tend either to reinforce group centric views of social reality and discriminatory forms of domination. Identity often becomes a potent device for the ideological justifications of political inequality. Identity is nearly universal and all embracing popularity, apparent normality, and general acceptance are the very ingredients that constitute its ideological power (Malesevic, 2006, pp. 23-36).

In addition, Radhakrishnan (1993) stated that identity is in fact a normative measure that totalizes heterogeneous "selves" and "subjectivities" and that the normative citizenship of any identity within its own legitimate time or history is an ideological effect that secures the regime of a full and undivided Identity. This political gerrymandering of a heterogeneous people into nation-state identification for purposes of control and domination unfortunately creates long-term disturbances that last well into the post-colonialist/nationalist phase. Further, he explain that identity is a matter of choice, relevance and feeling of rightness and thus it also means that ruling out certain options as incorrect or inappropriate. In certain situations, the majority is dominant-repressive and other situations where the minority represents top-down oppression.

Identity Markers

It is broadly acknowledged that cultural identity is constructed (Kahn 1993). As King and Wilder argue "... the historical dimension of identity also demonstrates that rather than identities being fixed, constant and immutable, they frequently change and can be acquired" (2003:198).

For this reason, the more recent academic emphasis has been to view identity and identity construction as the result of a dynamic interaction between contexts (and history) and construct. At this point, if we relate ethnicity with culture then we would see that the relation between them is

not fixed. Here, for David Eller, 'ethnicity is consciousness of difference and the subjective salience of that difference' (1999:9). Eller further notes that even when ethnicity is associated with, refers to, or evokes 'objectives' or shared cultural or historical markers, it is nonetheless a subjective category (p. 9). Ethnic groups usually do not utilise all aspects of their culture or history as markers of their identities. Besides, some elements of their culture may be found amongst other groups, which can make it difficult to distinguish them from others (p. 9).

The use of certain cultural markers as the basis of group identity is itself subject to change. Eller notes that the changes of certain identity marker, for example certain group choose religion as their identity marker, however, they may at a later phase decide to choose class relations of other cultural elements (1999:9). An important feature of this discussion of ethnicity is therefore the extent to which the labelling of what constitutes a specific ethnicity is made and remade (Eller 1999:10). Eller gives an example of the shifting of identity from *black* to *African American* in the United States. For Eller, this shift does not change the membership as much as transforms the marker of ethnicity from that of 'skin colour to ancestral origin in the broadest sense' (1999:10-11). Similarly, Barth (1969) argues that the formation of ethnic groups involves social processes of exclusion and incorporation and the selection of social and cultural aspects, which are considered relevant for the construction of identity and boundaries.

The apparently arbitrary way in which cultural markers are selected and the importance of context in determining which elements are selected is further evidence of the constructedness of cultural identities. Winzeler (1997) notes how governments often manipulate cultural identity in order to lessen the unity of powerless groups. Therefore, which elements are selected is also negotiable and situational and moreover identity marker composed in relation to other groups. However, overlapping may occur among different ethnic groups. In the grey areas where markers of identities overlap, the existence of cultural difference is particularly problematic (Kahn 1995). Such grey areas and difficulties in delimiting distinct ethnic groups often colour the process of identity formation.

In the case of Bali, Vickers (1989) describes how the Dutch colonialists redefined the image of Bali from one of a savage place to that of an island paradise.

"There is much that has been forgotten in the world's image of Bali. Early European writers once saw it as full of menace, an island of theft and murder, symbolised by the wavy dagger of the Malay world, the kris. Although the twentieth-century image of the island as lush paradise drew on the earlier writings about Bali, these were only selectively referred to, when they did not contradict the idea of the island Eden. The overall negative intent of most of the earlier western writings about Bali has been discarded" (Vickers 1989:11).

In short, there are a number of powerful constructions and representations that derive from the elite groups. In particular state agencies, intellectuals, and ruling and elite groups, have added to the complexity of representation and identity formation.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN VILLAGERS AND RULERS

Conflicts through History

The construction of Kampung Laut villagers is created through long historical journey. The history of Kampung Laut Sub district close related to the history of Cilacap Regency. Susanto Zuhdi stated that history of Cilacap is closely related to the dominant local elite of Cilacap, which is dominated by the Javanese. Furthermore, he notes that there is two major claims in the history of Cilacap, includes Kampung Laut area, which is deal with ethno-Kingdom claims. These claims came from Galuh, as Sundanese Kingdom, and Mataram, as Javanese Kingdom (Zuhdi, 2002). In fact, Sundanese ethnic groups dominate two of five districts in Cilacap Regency. Surprisingly, in recent situations, these Sundanese dominated districts intended to create new regency called *Kabupaten Cilacap Barat* (West Cilacap Regency) in the area of Sidareja and Dayeuhluhur Sub-districts.

Furthermore, Zuhdi (2002) argue that Galuh Kingdom claimed the name of Cilacap is originally come from Sundanese because linguistically, Cilacap is the abbreviation from *Ci* or *Cai* means "water". This language shows the Sundanese ethnic group language nuance. Meanwhile, Javanese ethnic groups stated that Cilacap is the abbreviation of *Tlacap* (Sharp Land). Etymologically, Cilacap is taken from the word *cacab/mencacab*, which means the ways of planting something on wetland area.

There are two competing chronicles about Cilacap, include Nusakambangan Island. The first chronicle came from Sundanese ethnic groups, which stated on what they called as "Babad Nusa Tembiri or Babad Pasirluhur" (Priyadi, 2007). It was a heroic chronicle of Kamandaka or Banyakakra warrior, which actually the descendant and the heir of Pajajaran Sundanese Kingdom. A heroic actions taken by Kamandaka who succeed killed Nusa Tembini or Pule bahas King as the ruler of Nusakambangan Island. Here, Kamandaka became the ruler of Nusakambangan area. Eventually, Kamandaka rewarded as son in law and furthermore, he became the replacement of Kandedaha King in Banyumasan area.

The second chronicle came from the chronicle of Java (Babad tanah Jawi). On this chronicle stated that Trunojoyo troops assigned in getting Wijaya Kusuma flowers. The goal of this assignment was a perquisite for Prata-Taka to seize Mataram throne. This kind of flowers only located in Nusakambangan Island. Prabu Mangkurat, as the ruler of Mataram Kingdom, order Prata-Taka not to gone back before he got the flowers even in a very long time (Zuhdi, 2002).

Furthermore, based on the interview with Mr. Darmono in 2006, the cultural affairs leader in Kampung Laut, stated that Mataram Kingdom send their troops in finding Wijaya Kusuma flowers and also in guarding the area from Galuh Kingdom influences.

In the early 19 Century (1800's) the first person came to Nusakambangan Island, they are the soldiers of Mataram Kingdom. There were four persons in guarding the area of Nusakambangan Island, includes Segara Anakan lagoon. The four guardians were Ki Jaga Playa, Ki Jaga Praya, Ki Jaga Rasmi and Ki jaga Laut. Each of them has their own area to guards the island, which were (Tabel 6.):

**Tabel 6. The Four Mataram Kingdom
Guardians and their guarding area
in Surrounding Nusakambangan Island.**

No	Guardian Names	Guarding Area
1.	Ki Jaga Playa	Pelawangan Wetan area (now, it is Cilacap Regency)
2.	Ki Jaga Praya	Kali Dayak dangkal (now, it is Ujung Alang/Motean village)
3.	Ki Jaga Rasmi	Citanduy river lower course until west Pelawangan (now, it is Kalipucang Village)
4.	Ki Jaga Laut	Gebang Kuning area in surrounding Nusakambangan Island (now, it is Klaces and Panikel Villages)

Source: *Data gathered by the author from an Interview with Mr. Darmono as Kampung Laut cultural affairs leader in 2006.*

The guardians eventually stayed in surrounding Nusakambangan Island not only a year but also for unknown periods until the King Mataram Kingdom told to return to Mataram again. Hence, these guardians life with their families in Nusakambangan Island and work as farmers. They were the first groups who came to Nusakambangan Island. Therefore, they claimed that the island belong to Mataram area.

In 1825, there was a big war between Diponegoro troops, which came from Sumatra, and the Dutch colonialist. The Dutch colonialist finally won this war. The colonialist brought all Diponegoro troops to Nusakambangan Island as prisoners. In short, they were dump in a very isolated Nusakambangan Island.

Five years latter (1825's) these Dutch colonialist prisoners met the Mataram Guardians' community. These prisoners were hunger of foods and wealth. Hence, these prisoners rob everything they could think of. The worse violence they act was they rape women of the Mataram Guardians' community. By these actions, they ruling Nusakambangan Island, include the community in Segara Anakan lagoon. Eventually, they all become a community.

They build some villages such as: Ujung Alang, Ujung Gagak, and Panikel village. Interestingly, these three villages had their own justification in naming them. They made the name of Ujung Alang village because this village located in the end of Malang River. For Ujung Gagak village, they named it so because the place located in the end of Ujung Gagak River and this location signed by the existence lots of Crow bird groups. For Panikel village, Panikel is taken from a story in Ki Jaga Laut guarding area as a Mataram guardian. This story began with an ambush by Dutch colonialist in attacking and clearing Nusakambangan Island from pirates and local peoples. A woman, who had a very long hair, ran away when the Dutch ambush her community and suddenly, she fell to the ground because she step her own hairs and thus, since that happen the villagers, then they called their village "Panikel", which means the hair is stepped. Consequently the myth in Panikel village is that there is no woman wanted to have long hair and even not allowed having long hair.

After they create these three villages in Segara Anakan Lagoon, consequently, they must change their habits as farmer into fishermen. Due to this shifting, they learn through times becoming fishermen in the lagoon and gained some life from the lagoon. In supporting their new living as fishermen, they build houses above the lagoon's shallow water. They build houses from mangrove woods combined with trees taken from near Nusakambangan. As a result, people marked this community as "Kampung Laut", which means Sea Villages.

However, the story told very different pictures of Kampung Laut peoples. Their identity markers that received and spreads out to the mainland of Cilacap, especially their local rulers, is Kampung Laut villagers are a place for criminals and rebellious people to the government. Similarly, Mr. Darmono, the chief of cultural affairs in Kampung Laut, told that the image of Kampung Laut is a place for rebellions, for example, the state rebellions of Indonesian Communist Party (*Partai Komunis Indonesia*, PKI) followers. Soeharto regimes, through his military apparatuses, dump the political prisoners like PKI followers, or at least considered as PKI followers by Soeharto regimes, to Nusakambangan Island. Consequently, the Kampung Laut villagers' political identity marker is the governments' rebellion. Here, subsequently, Kampung Laut villagers also depict themselves as the governments' oppositions or the rebellions.

The Rulers Approaches

The rulers used contradict and inconsistent policies. The national and local governments used different types and directions of policies in dealing with Kampung Laut community. For example, the national government cooperate with Asian Development Bank (ADB) under the Project of Segara Anakan Conservation and Development in three important problems: a) mangrove habitat destruction, b) disappearance of the Segara Anakan lagoon, and c) the continued growth of the villages in the area so that there are more houses, roads, *tambaks*, and people who compete for decreasing resources (Dudley et al., 2000). This project funded by ADB as soft loans for Indonesian government in conserving Segara Anakan Lagoon. However, the ADB study of environmental management in Segara Anakan failed to acknowledge the causes of conflicts, because it was too focused on environmental management. They try, but fail, strengthen Kampung Laut community's socio-economic and institutional features of environmental management in Segara Anakan Lagoon environment.

It implies that the national government put their priority in protection and conservation of the lagoon and Nusakambangan area. It also strengthened by Cilacap government's policy by issuing District Regulation No. 16/2001 on Conservation Zone in Segara Anakan Lagoon and surrounding Nusakambangan Area. This regulation limits villagers in exploiting the lagoon from *apong* net for fishing. This limitation has made some villagers got problems and eventually arrested by the police. It creates tense relationship between Kampung Laut villagers and Cilacap government officers. A more conflicting relationship between them is a program from Cilacap local government in asking Kampung Laut to participate in planting mangroves around Segara Anakan Lagoon. At the beginning, the villagers were willing in helping the government succession of mangroves planting. However, after the villagers' plants the mangroves, the government surprising the villagers by stating that all mangroves area in Segara Anakan Lagoon is belongs to Cilacap local government. Con-

sequently, the villagers rebelling to the government by cutting mangroves because they considered the government did not respect their Kampung Laut local rules and regulations (Reichel, 2009).

Interestingly, at the same time, Cilacap government permit and even initiate the creation of Kampung Laut sub-district, separated from Kawunganten sub-district in 2002. At the beginning, the villagers give very positive responses because the government finally listens to their people at grassroots level. The villagers promised by the officers that they would get facilities immediately after the creations of Kampung Laut sub district especially, financial supports, public facilities, economic resources. Nevertheless, Cilacap officers' promise had never been fulfilled as they promised before in providing more infrastructures for new sub district of Kampung Laut. The villagers again felt very disappointed to the officers and thus, the villagers ignored whatever the sub district officers said and told them. The villagers reluctant interact with the officers except they would get money directly from the office (Reichel, 2009).

At last, Cilacap Regency's government gives lots of facilities toward the new sub district of Kampung Laut under Segara Anakan Conservation Project. The first set of facilities is the creation of Kampung Laut sub district office, Segara Anakan Conservation Project (SACDP) office, paving all around Kampung Laut sub district office and SACDP office. Through the ADB project, the sub district officers coping the ADB charities facilities for villagers such as cattle, houses, fresh money, boats, and even eco-tourisms for villagers by creating new road in reaching the beach in coastal area of Nusakambangan Island (Dudley et al., 2000).

However, the villagers gives negative responses to this charities project because they felt that they did not get what they needs for their living, but they only receiving the facilities without the officers considers the community needs. Likewise, Reichel (2009) notes that the villagers in Kampung Laut felt very disappointed and further angry to the government officers who were very corrupt and take benefits for themselves from the ADB's project through SACDP mega project and from certain investors.

As a result, these contradict and inconsistent policies create confusions, uncertainty, and eventually conflicts among villagers, for the policy makers in Cilacap, and for the governments themselves. In short, these complexities of political and cultural identity of Kampung Laut community and governments' approaches have created a dynamic in coping conflicting groups in surrounding Nusakambangan Island.

CONCLUSIONS

Cultural Identities obviously become very important to be acknowledged. The formation of identities through history have shows the dynamics within the formation. In the case of Kampung Laut villagers in surrounding Nusakambangan Island, the formation of identities is through long historical journey.

The Kampung Laut villagers' identity is formed through the networks of Galuh and Mataram Kingdoms, specifically, Banyumasan and Javanese Mataram Chronicle (*Babad Pasirluhur* and *Babad tanah Jawi*). Furthermore, the local elites such as Mr. Darmono, as the cultural affairs in

Kampung Laut is more take sides on Javanese Mataram Kingdom. While the Galuh Kingdom gives less influences due to the Kampung Laut elites dominantly influenced by the Javanese Mataram chronicle.

In fact, Mr. Darmono follows the footprint of Javanse Mataram guardians and acts as same as the guardians of Nusakambangan Island from outside influences, especially the challenges from the rulers in colonial period (the Dutch colonialist) and the continuation of the rulers is the national and Cilacap governments through their state policies. Thus, the villagers in Kampung Laut become a cultural pot and create their unique feature of identity marker as the rebellion of the rulers. The uniqueness of their identities can be seen on their social structure.

Our study suggest that it is very important to bring the state back in on a more soft faces to the isolated and poor area like Kampung Laut Sub-District through more affirmative regional public policies and more concrete to create additional income resources, for example eco-tourism that could support its sustainable outcomes.

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