

## ABSTRACT

While the advocacy for religious freedom seemingly remains complicated and stagnant, the advocacy for indigenous religion community, especially the case of Marapu community in Sumba Island, gives hope. This advocacy has succeeded in elevating citizenship status and strengthening social relation among citizens of Sumba Island, East Nusa Tenggara. There are two NGOs that involved in the advocacy: Wali Ati (Yasalti) Foundation in East Sumba Regency and Donders Social Foundation (Donders) in Southwest Sumba District. Prior to the advocacy, Marapu followers did not obtain legal documents like those of the mainstream religious followers, and the social relationship between Marapu and non-Marapu citizens was not in harmony. After being advocated by the two NGOs, these two problems have improved.

This study seeks to explain the success story of the Marapu's advocacy and to comprehend the changing of Marapu's citizenship status by using formal and informal citizenship theory. It uses qualitative research method. All data of this study were collected through interview, fieldwork observation, and reading Yasalti's and Donders' advocacy documents throughout 2015-2018. This research processes the data using a framework of social inclusion analysis as the key to collective action to explain the success of advocacy and the theory of inclusive democracy to understand the changing citizenship of Marapu people who are the result of this advocacy.

This study finds that there are three factors that explain the success of Marapu's advocacy in East Sumba and Southwest Sumba Districts. First, using social inclusion both as a frame and an advocacy approach. Second, mobilizing resources within the Marapu communities and networks in the government and other religious leaders. Third, maximizing the existing policies at the national and regional level, and political actors that support for policy advocacy. These three factors show that the NGO's activists treat advocacy as a collective action, using representation and participation strategy at the same time. The experience of Marapu's advocacy shows that the explanation of formal and informal citizenship is inadequate. This research proposes an alternative argument in the form of inclusive democracy, which emphasizes deliberative democracy based on differentiated solidarity like Marapu's followers.

*Keywords:* advocacy, collective action, framing, resource mobilization, political opportunity structures, formal citizenship, informal citizenship.

## ABSTRAK

Di tengah advokasi pluralisme agama yang cenderung stagnan, advokasi penghayat kepercayaan, khususnya komunitas Marapu di Pulau Sumba, memberi harapan. Advokasi penghayat Marapu telah berhasil meningkatkan status kewarganegaraan dan relasi sosial dengan warga lainnya di Pulau Sumba, Nusa Tenggara Timur. Advokasi tersebut melibatkan dua lembaga: Yayasan Wali Ati (Yasalti) di Kabupaten Sumba Timur dan Yayasan Sosial Donders (Donders) di Kabupaten Sumba Barat Daya. Sekitar 500 penghayat Marapu kini memperoleh Akta Pernikahan yang artinya diakui negara setelah didampingi kedua lembaga di atas sejak 2015. Selain itu, advokasi ini juga telah relatif berhasil memperbaiki relasi sosial antara penghayat Marapu dengan warga lainnya yang sebelumnya renggang akibat stigma buruk dan pandangan negatif di antara kedua pihak.

Penelitian ini hendak menjelaskan keberhasilan advokasi penghayat Marapu tersebut dalam perspektif kewarganegaraan. Untuk itu, penelitian ini menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif. Seluruh data yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini dikumpulkan melalui wawancara tatap muka, observasi lapangan, dan membaca dokumen-dokumen advokasi Yasalti dan Donders sepanjang 2015-2018. Penelitian ini mengolah data tersebut menggunakan kerangka analisis inklusi sosial sebagai kunci aksi kolektif untuk menjelaskan keberhasilan advokasi dan teori demokrasi inklusif untuk memahami perubahan kewarganegaraan penghayat Marapu yang merupakan hasil advokasi ini.

Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa inklusi sosial sebagai konsep kunci keberhasilan advokasi penghayat Marapu di Sumba Timur dan Sumba Barat Daya yang terepresentasi pada tiga faktor: bingkai advokasi; memobilisasi sumber daya; dan, struktur kesempatan. Baik sebagai hasil maupun pendekatan, inklusi sosial yang terdiri dari tiga pilar, penerimaan, pelayanan, dan kebijakan, memungkinkan para aktivis LSM meletakkan advokasi sebagai aksi kolektif. Pengalaman advokasi penghayat Marapu memperlihatkan penjelasan kewarganegaraan formal dan informal tidak memadai. Penelitian ini mengajukan penjelasan alternatif berupa demokrasi inklusif, yang menekankan demokrasi deliberatif berdasarkan *differentiated solidarity* seperti penghayat Marapu.

*Kata kunci:* advokasi, aksi kolektif, pembingkai, mobilisasi sumber daya, struktur kesempatan politik, kewarganegaraan formal, kewarganegaraan informal, klientelisme.