



ABSTRACT

The aim of this research is to understand political economic considerations that construct hotel moratorium policy in Yogyakarta. Furthermore we analyze how stakeholders respond to this controversial issue. Although many other papers describe moratorium policy but people rarely use a political economy perspective. Therefore this research becomes important.

We used two theories to analyze this case, public choice and public capture theory. Public choice theory argues that every stakeholder interacts and uses strategies to achieve their own agenda. In fact, not all actors can be accommodated by regulators. Groups that have power and access tend to be able to influence regulators. This phenomenon is in accordance with the theory of policy capture proposed by Dasgupta (2007) who finds transactional activities among stakeholders. Stakeholders try to achieve profit or minimize the losses incurred by the new policy.

Entitled the Policy Failure of hotel moratorium in Yogyakarta, this research used a qualitative method. We collect data using interviews, observations, and literature studies. Then research data will be divided and triangulated to obtain accurate data.

Our findings show that public pressure, in mass media and social media, pushes local government to make hotel moratorium policy. Not only society, even the Governor and Senate see this matter as crucial. Then both of them proposed to stop construction hotel permission, although it was temporary. On the other side, local government continues to release 67 new and 7 old hotel permissions. This action is driven by local government needs of investment, employment and tourist accommodation facilities.

In the end local government is able to solve the problem by making moratorium policies. They used a personal approach to stakeholders such as Society, Hoteliers, Investors, Senate and Yogyakarta Governor. After that action, stakeholders slowly reduce their resistance. However this moratorium policy doesn't solve crucial problems like environmental pollution, traffic jam, eviction and change city form.

Keywords: *Stakeholders*, policy capture, public choice, political economic perspective.



INTISARI

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memahami pertimbangan ekonomi politik dibalik kebijakan moratorium hotel di Kota Yogyakarta. Lebih lanjut, Peneliti menganalisis respon *stakeholder* terhadap isu kebijakan ini. Penelitian ini penting karena kelangkaan penelitian yang mengkaji kebijakan moratorium dari perspektif ekonomi politik.

Penelitian dianalisis dengan menggunakan dua teori; teori pilihan publik dan *policy capture*. Teori pilihan publik berargumen, setiap *stakeholder* saling berinteraksi dan menggunakan strategi untuk mencapai agenda masing-masing. Faktanya, tidak semua kepentingan aktor dapat diakomodasi oleh regulator. Kelompok yang memiliki kekuasaan dan akses cenderung mampu mempengaruhi regulator. Fenomena demikian sesuai dengan teori *policy capture* yang dikemukakan oleh Dasgupta (2007) yang menemukan aktivitas transaksional diantara *stakeholder*. *Stakeholder* berupaya untuk mencapai keuntungan atau meminimalisir kerugian yang ditimbulkan oleh kebijakan baru.

Penelitian yang berjudul Kegagalan Kebijakan: Studi Kasus Moratorium Hotel di Yogyakarta, menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif. Data diperoleh melalui wawancara, observasi, dan studi literatur. Selanjutnya, Data penelitian dikelompokkan dan ditriangulasi untuk mendapatkan data yang akurat.

Penelitian ini menunjukkan, tekanan publik di media massa dan media sosial mendorong Pemerintah Kota menginisiasi kebijakan moratorium hotel, tidak terkecuali Gubernur dan DPRD. Keduanya mengusulkan penghentian sementara pembangunan hotel. Sebaliknya, Pemerintah Kota tetap menerbitkan 67 izin IMB hotel baru dan 7 izin IMB hotel lama. Tindakan Pemerintah Kota bertujuan untuk meningkatkan Pendapatan Asli Daerah, investasi, lapangan pekerjaan dan fasilitas akomodasi bagi wisatawan.

Pada akhirnya, Pemerintah Kota menyelesaikan masalah melalui kebijakan moratorium. Pemerintah Kota menggunakan pendekatan personal terhadap masyarakat, pelaku usaha hotel, investor, DPRD dan Gubernur DIY. Pendekatan personal menurunkan resistensi terhadap kebijakan. Meskipun, kebijakan moratorium hotel tidak sepenuhnya menyelesaikan masalah substansi terkait pencemaran lingkungan, kemacetan, penggusuran warga lokal dan perubahan bentuk kota.

Kata Kunci: Pemangku Kepentingan, *Policy capture*, pilihan publik, kebijakan moratorium, ekonomi politik.