

# Worldview In Conflict Politics In Local Government Policy On Jakarta

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## Abstract

To simplify the analysis of this issue, a case study of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's Policy in stopping the Alexis Hotel's activities has drawn political conflicts. This conflict is filled with elements of interest groups in Jakarta. Promotional interest groups based on their ideas from religious values supported the local government policies, protective interest groups protecting Alexis entrepreneurs opposed this policy. This conflict was also accompanied by conflicts between political elites in Jakarta. Two factions in the Jakarta DPRD argued with each other regarding local government policies, pro and contra policies. These arguments took place around local government procedures when creating and implementing this policy. This inter-political conflict is a continuation of the political conflict in the Jakarta Regional Head General Election in 2017. This conflict is also part of the national conflict between the two camps of the Great Indonesia Coalition against the Red and White Coalition, considering that the DKI Jakarta Pemilukada is also part of the conflict between these two national coalitions. This political conflict is also a reflection of the conflict between the world views of the people in Jakarta. This conflict of life views is in the form of a religious view of life against a secular view of life in the form of hedonism.

**Keywords:** Policy, political conflict, worldview.

## I. INTRODUCTION

"At Alexis, the 7th floor is heaven on earth, you know," said Basuki Tjahaja Purnama on an occasion in 2016 (TribunNews.com, 30/10/2017). At that time, Basuki served as the Governor of DKI Jakarta Province. At least this is the first time a government official has openly acknowledged the practice of prostitution at the Alexis Hotel. The hotel, which is located in North Jakarta, is called Tempo.co (9/2/2018) providing prostitution services. This practice that violates moral and legal norms has been widely opposed by the community, but there has been no formal and firm policy from the DKI Jakarta Government at that time (Sr, 28/3/2019; AA, 17/6/2019)

Prostitution is defined by Gagnon as access to sexuality provided by a person in exchange for services for a fee, either in the form of money or economic goods, depending on the economic system in precise reality (Truong, 1990: 11-13). This practice is an open secret in Jakarta society. Apart from the lower class, high-class prostitution is also present in Jakarta, one of which is by using hotel services. Hotel Alexis is part of a top level prostitution service. Alexis with his prostitution is known by international tourists as a form of tourism (Jamran, 17/7/2019). In fact, this is not included in the Indonesian tourism agenda which emphasizes Nusantara culture as tourism sales (S, 20/6/2019). In 2011, cases of prostitution and human trafficking emerged at the hotel. The victim is a woman from

Sukabumi (CNN Indonesia, 1/11/2017a). The case was later tried at the Sukabumi District Court. The suspects were found guilty, with three decision numbers: 83 / Pid.Sus / 2011 / PN.SMI, 84 / Pid.Sus / 2011 / PN.SMI, and 85 / Pid.Sus / 2011 / PN.SMI. Alexis's name was sticking out again in the arena for the 2017 Jakarta Regional Head Election (Pemilukada Jakarta 2017). This issue is one of the campaign merchandise for candidate pairs (paslon) Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno (Anies-Sandi). Closing Alexis is one of the eight promises of the Anies-Sandi candidate pair campaign at the 2017 Jakarta Pemilukada (Kumparan.com, 14/10/2017). The issue of prostitution in Alexis has also become a political issue.

In the second round of the 2017 Jakarta Pemilukada, there were at least eleven mass organizations that supported the Anies-Sandi candidate pair. Apart from FPI, several others are Al-Ittihadiyah, the Islamic Community Association (PUI), the Islamic Union (Persis), Mathla'ul Anwar, Wahdah Islamiyah, the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council (DDII), and Syarikat Islam / Sarekat Islam (SI) (Habib, 2018: 195). Paslon Anies-Sandi won the second round of the 2017 Jakarta Pemilukada by candidate pairs Basuki Tjahaja Purnama and Djarot Saiful Hidayat (Ahok-Djarot). The political conflict in the 2017 Jakarta Pemilukada continued during the Jakarta era led by Anies and Sandi. Anies-Sandi supporters and Ahok Djarot supporters are still fighting each other even though the General Election is over. In the focus of the study examined

in this paper, this political conflict was also born around the policy of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government to stop the activities of Hotel Alexis. When Anies-Sandi was elected to lead Jakarta, the mass organizations that won the pair collected campaign promises, one of which was to close Alexis. The new governor and deputy governor of Jakarta hastened to formulate a policy to stop Alexis. The policy began with the rejection of the extension of the Tourism Business Registration Certificate (TDUP) license numbered 60U0HG for the Alexis Hotel, and TDUP number Z35DNU for the Alexis Massage Studio by the DKI Jakarta Investment and One Stop Integrated Services (Dinas PMPTSP) / 2017b). The reason is in the form of reports from the public and the media about the practice of prostitution in Alexis (Surat DPMPTSP DKI Jakarta Prov. 6866 / -1. 858.8, 27/10/2017). Then, on March 29, 2018 the local government continued by deploying 30 female Satpol PP personnel to seal Alexis. This sealing action was carried out because there were reports that Alexis was still operating, one of which was the Tempo magazine investigation report (4/2/2018: 42-53 edition).

This policy reaps pros and cons among the political elite and interest groups in Jakarta. In short, there was a political conflict in Jakarta because of this policy. Among the political parties in the Jakarta DPRD who participated in the conflict were the Greater Indonesia Movement (Gerindra) stronghold, the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), against the stronghold of the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), Golkar, the National Democrats (Nasdem), and the People's Conscience (Hanura). Among the interest groups participating in the conflict are the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI Jakarta Region), the Indonesian Ulema Council for the DKI

### **Jakarta Province (MUI DKI Jakarta), the Muhammadiyah Regional**

Leadership Council DKI Jakarta (DPW Muhammadiyah Jakarta), the Ulama and Habaib Forum (FUHAB), The Betawi Community Musawarah Council (Bamus Betawi), the Association of Indonesian Hotels and Restaurants of DKI Jakarta Province (PHRI DKI Jakarta), and the Jakarta Entertainment Entrepreneurs Association (Aspija).

### **Regarding how political conflicts can occur around the policy of the DKI Jakarta Regional**

Government to close this Alexis Hotel which is raised in this paper. The purpose of this paper is to describe: (1) how the DKI Jakarta Regional

Government considers it to close the Alexis hotel and massage parlor, and (2) how the response of interest groups and political party elites through the DKI Jakarta DPRD to it which then becomes a vortex of political conflict.

## **II. RESEARCH METHODS AND THEORIES USED**

The research in this paper uses a qualitative approach. This approach uses a natural approach, to understand phenomena with specific situation settings (Golafshani, 2003: 600; Creswell, 2007: 18-20). The research model that the author uses in this paper is the case study method, which is a model for examining a series of specific cases bound by a particular system framework. This is done by looking at a phenomenon that is analyzed in various ways within a certain period of time, in detail, collecting in-depth data, including using multiple sources of information in the form of observations, interviews, audio-visual materials, documents and reports, which based on a particular theme (point of view) in the study (Grigsby, 2012: 22; Creswell, 2007: 73-75).

The author's data collection was done by taking sources in the form of interviews with parties related to this research, mass media coverage, literature studies, and official documents from agencies related to this research. To analyze the cases raised, the authors use theories of sources of political conflict, theory of policy formulation in the midst of political conflict, and theory of the role of interest groups in political policy.

### **Political conflict**

Conflicts in social life inevitably occur. Conflict cannot be avoided, considering that each individual or group has their own interests, which often conflict with each other. Instead of eliminating conflict, the democratic system absorbs and channels community conflicts, to be managed and channeled into things that are relatively acceptable to the conflicting parties. In Giovanni Sartori's words, conflict is what makes democracy exist. In a political system, conflict will always be present. Political parties controversy with each other, in order to gain and maintain power. (Sartori, 1995: 14-71).

Political conflicts do not only occur in political elections, but also occur throughout the course of political governance. Political parties that are opposed to the rulers can continue their conflict after political contestation. This can be done by applying political pressure to the authorities, political lobbies, to coercion in the administration

of government (Della Porta in Crouch & Streek, 2006: 64).

The sources of political conflict according to Maswadi Rauf are as follows. First, because in the relationship between the ruler and the ruler, if the ruler is considered to be acting arbitrarily in the eyes of the ruler (the people). Second, because of the struggle for power positions. The public is highly valued by a rare political position. With so many people fighting over it, conflict arose. Third, the cause to get the pleasure of life. Political power is considered to be an access to the pleasures of life. Because positions of power are scarce, and those who want them are many, conflict cannot be avoided (Rauf, 2001: 26-30). One of the functions of political parties is to aggregate and articulate the interests of the community into the political system (Kantaprawira, 2004: 62; Budiardjo, 2008: 405-410). The interests of society that are aggregated and articulated by political parties can be obtained from interest groups. An interest group is defined as a group of individuals or institutions that join in a group based on common opinion or interests, organize themselves in achieving goals to influence political output, and influence government political policies for the interests of interest groups aimed at (Grigsby, 2012: 192; Watts, 2007 : 10). In relation to their interests, this group is divided into two: first, promotional if the interests promoted are the interests of the general public; and second, protective if the interests it promotes are those of the group members (Watts, 2007: 30-31; Hague & Harrop, 2004: 167-168).

There are at least six general strategies used by interest groups to influence political policy. These strategies are in the form of: (1) direct lobbying of the government which targets the part of the government that makes policies, (2) trying to influence political parties to convey their objectives, (3) influencing indirectly through the mass media, (4) using lobbyists to aim for goals to the government, (5) participating in the political process, which can be in the form of joining a political party or supporting one of the candidates, and (6) soft money, financial contributions in the development of political parties (Hague & Harrop, 2004: 169-193; Grigsby, 2012: 192-199; Sloof, 1998: 18-19).

### **Political policy in political conflict**

Political policy is actually a form of struggle between political interests in allocating and managing resources (Thahir, 2011: 83). Therefore, political policy is not devoid of political conflicts. Miriam Budiardjo defines political policy as decisions taken by political actors or groups that have the

authority to make policies, in choosing goals or to achieve political goals (Budiardjo, 2008: 20). In line with him, Hallsworth et al., See the political aspect of policy as the direction and political desire that contribute to policy making (Hallsworth et.al., 2011: 5). Political policies are characterized by several characteristics: (1) made by state managers, (2) regulating life together / the public, (3) the benefits of this policy received by the community / public are far greater than the small elements that get the benefits directly ( Dye, 1995: 3; Dwidjowijoto, 2006: 23-27).

From this, Maswadi Rauf sees that political conflict is a conflict related to policies made by political authorities and positions occupied by political authorities. This includes the interests of political rulers (Rauf, 2001: 20).

In the context of the case that the author raised, the political policy of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government was made in the midst of a political conflict. This conflict is in the form of a continuation of the 2017 Jakarta Pemilukada conflict. Frank F. Pfetsch compiles parameters in the form of three aspects in making political policy in the midst of political conflict. First, the internal aspect. Policy makers will consider how the pressures to be faced and opportunities for support within the government. Second, the external aspect. Policy makers will consider pressures, challenges, and support from outside of government. Third, consider the perceptions of the interests of the policy-making group, and the political opposition from their opponents who will face them (Pfetsch, 2007: 18). In the context of this paper, the external aspect that Pfetsch refers to, is defined as interest groups, and the Central Government, and the internal aspects are the Regional Government and the DKI Jakarta DPRD.

All of the theories that the author describes in the above sections will be used to dissect the phenomena that the author raises in this paper, in the form of the reasons for the policy made by the DKI Jakarta Regional Government to close the Alexis Hotel, and the pros and cons responses from political elites, - interest groups against this policy.

### **Alexis Issues in the 2017 Regional Head Election of DKI Jakarta**

Ahok's statement when he served as Governor of Jakarta regarding the existence of prostitution in Alexis which was quoted by the media (TribunNews.com, 30/10/2017) was the beginning of the emergence of the Alexis issue in the 2017 Jakarta General Election. This statement was processed by the winning team of the Anies-Sandi campaign as one issues in the campaign (Muhammad

Taufik, 11/7/2019). In the first round Pemilukada candidate debate, the fifth segment on January 13, 2017 this issue came to the fore. In the debate, the Anies-Sandi candidate pair attacked the Ahok-Djarot candidate regarding the practice of prostitution at the Alexis Hotel. Anies-Sandi saw that Ahok seemed to be selective in eradicating the practice of prostitution in Jakarta. Ahok responded to Anies' attack by calling Stadium and Miles, the entertainment places where the drugs were found, had been closed (Tirto.id, 14/1/2017).

After that debate, the Anies-Sandi pair often brought up the issue of prostitution in their campaign. Paslon Anies-Sandi clearly wants Jakarta to be free from prostitution (Tempo.co, 30/10/2017), and promises that if elected later, he will take firm action against Alexis (Kompas.com, 19/10/2017). The debate between the two candidate pairs regarding Alexis carries the Perda No. 8 of 2015 concerning Tourism. In the eyes of Ahok, Hotel Alexis did not violate the regional regulations (Kompas.com, 21 / 4/2017), while in Anies' eyes it was the opposite, Alexis violated the Perda (Republika.co.id, 21/4/2017).

The campaign to close Alexis, which was carried out by the Anies-Sandi candidate, received a positive response from his supporters. In general, his supporters were elements of society who strongly held religion as their way of life, as well as those who were hurt by Ahok's actions which were considered insulting religion. This issue is of interest to these mass organizations, because the religious values that form the platform of these mass organizations clearly prohibit the practice of prostitution (Muhammad Taufik, 11/7/2019; Muhammad Husnil, 28/6/2019; Risman Muchtar, 17/7 / 2019). Anies-Sandi's promise to eradicate immorality was exchanged for the promise of religious organizations to support Anies-Sandi (Merdeka.com, 24/7/2017; Tempo.co, 2/1/2017).

### **Regional Government Policies of DKI Close Alexis**

In the first round of Pemilukada, the Agus-Sylvi candidate pair was in the last position, so they could not continue their contestation. The groups that supported Agus Sylvi such as Fuhab and Bamus Betawi then directed their choices to the Anies-Sandi candidate pair. The choice of mass organizations that support Anies-Sandi is mainly based on judgments from a religious perspective. The role of religious values is very important in political matters (Habib, 2018).

Anies-Sandi candidate defeated the Ahok-Djarot candidate in the second round of the General Election. The Anies-Sandi candidate pair received

3,240,987 votes (57.96%), compared to the Ahok-Djarot candidate pair with 2,350,366 votes (42.04%). Anies and Sandi became the Governor and Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta for the 2017-2022 period. Immediately, the public began to collect political promises from Anies and Sandi during the previous campaign period.

The remnants of the battle from the 2017 Jakarta Pemilukada are still present in the form of conflicts between the two camps supporting Anies-Sandi and supporters of Ahok-Djarot. In the midst of this vortex of conflict, the DKI Jakarta Regional Government under the leadership of Anies and Sandi must make political policies with full consideration. This includes the policy of closing Alexis.

### **Internal and External Aspects Around the Formulation of Alexis Closing Policy**

#### **Support and challenges within the Jakarta political system**

The political leadership of Governor Anies and Deputy Governor Sandi are supported by two political parties: Gerindra and PKS. These two parties supported Anies and Sandi in the 2017 Jakarta Regional Head Election. Support for the Regional Government is also based on the party platform, the commitment of the coalition at the national level, and the interest in gaining votes in the next political contestation. In the context of this incident, it is the 2019 presidential and legislative elections.

PKS is a political party that makes Islam its platform (AD / ART PKS). The Islamic nuance that it carries, makes this party's immoral practices one of the important things that must be handled (Mr AA, 11/6/2019). The idea of 'amr ma'ruf nahiy munkar (doing good and preventing evil) was used as their political path. 'Amr ma'ruf must be carried out simultaneously with nahiy munkar (Mr AA, 11/6/2019; Abdurrahman Suhaimi, 22/7/2019). The Gerindra Party also has a platform similar to PKS, prioritizing religiosity within the nation (Gerindra Manifesto). The morality of national religiosity is put forward as the basis for building the country, as well as a reference for making policies and political steps (Endah Setia Dewi, 23/6/2019).

Commitment to a coalition is another factor that makes these two parties support the DKI

Jakarta Regional Government. As PKS admits, this party supported Anies-Sandi during the 2017 Jakarta Pemilukada, also supported the DKI Jakarta Regional Government led by Anies and Sandi for reasons of a national coalition (Habib, 2018: 248). The main target of the Anies-Sandi pair to gain

voter support in the 2017 Jakarta Pemilukada are elements of society in DKI Jakarta who feel hurt by their religious feelings by the statement of Basuki Tjahaja Purnama. PKS and Gerindra are also targeting these elements, who carry the Anies Sandi candidate pair. The hope is that by carrying out the agenda for the aspirations of the masses, PKS and Gerindra expect the public to make their political choices for these two parties (Abdurrahman Suhaimi, 22/7/2019; Endah Setia Dewi, 23/6/2019).

Several laws and regulations support the DKI Jakarta Regional Government to close Alexis. First, the Provincial Regulation of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta Number 6 of 2015 concerning Tourism. In this law, it states that the implementation of tourism activities must uphold the religious norms and cultural values of Indonesia (article 3 paragraph a, article 14 paragraph a); and participate in preventing immoral acts (Article 14 paragraph k). Second, the Provincial Regulation of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta Number 8 of 2007 concerning Public Order. In it, it is stated that every person or institution is prohibited from committing immoral acts, becoming a Commercial Sex Worker (PSK), ordering, facilitating, persuading, and forcing others to become a prostitute, and using the services of a prostitute (article 42). Third, Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 29 of 2007 concerning Provincial Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta as the Capital of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. In this law, it states the authority of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government to be able to make regulations containing technical implementation in enforcing regional regulations in Jakarta (article 1 paragraph 15; article 26 paragraph 4). From this authority, the Governor issued a Regulation of the Governor of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta Number 18 of 2018 concerning the Implementation of Tourism Business. In this Pergub it is stated that tourism entrepreneurs are obliged to respect the religion, culture and values of the local community, the Regional Government can also evaluate business licenses on the basis of mass media information and public complaints (article 38 paragraph 2 point a, and article 50 paragraph 1 point f). Hotel Alexis is considered by the DKI Jakarta Regional Government to have violated the articles of these regulations. The political conflict during the 2017 Jakarta Pemilukada continued in the Jakarta government led by Governor Anies Baswedan and Deputy Governor Sandiaga Uno. In the DKI Jakarta DPRD, only two political factions have firmly defended the DKI Jakarta Regional Government. While other factions, there are those who are firmly in opposition to the Anies-Sandi

government, others see the possibility of being in opposition or to support the Regional Government. This opposition came from parties that supported the Ahok-Djarot candidate pair during the 2017 Jakarta Pemilukada. PDIP, Nasdem, and Golkar are among the factions that often criticize the DKI Jakarta Regional Government.

In addition, some elite elements in the Jakarta government are also suspected of enjoying the entertainment that the Hotel Alexis offers. This was acknowledged by several sources whom the author interviewed (Mr S, 20/6/2019; Mr MW, 17/6/2019; Crishandi, 6/7/2019).

Support and challenges external to the Jakarta political system

### **Promotional interest groups and the press**

Support for the Regional Government to close Alexis in the Anies-Sandi campaign during the 2017 Jakarta General Election was obtained from elements of society, in the form of interest groups. When the Anies-Sandi pair were elected to lead Jakarta, these interest groups began to collect promises from the first campaign.

The demands for Anies and Sandi's promises came from FPI, FUHAB, Forum 212, and MUI Jakarta. FPI will reprimand Anies and Sandi if the campaign promises, including closing Alexis, are not implemented by the local government (CNN Indonesia, 8/5/2017). A similar sentiment was conveyed by the Chairman of Tanfidzi DPD FPI Jakarta, Abdul Majid, that the Regional Government must issue policies that comply with the aspirations of the people (CNN Indonesia, 19/8/2017). Even though on 27 October 2017 DPMPTSP DKI Jakarta refused Alexis's business license extension, MUI Jakarta was not satisfied with this policy. MUI Jakarta wants the Governor to issue an official and binding decree, so that it can be followed up legally (CNN Indonesia, 31/10/2017). This pressure from interest groups was seen by the Regional Government as a form of support for the Regional Government's desire to close Alexis (Husnil, 28/6/2019; Taufan Bakri, 11/6/2019). In front of the clerics who had gathered at City Hall on November 14, Anies stated that he would make sure Alexis was closed (Rappler.com, 14/11/2017). Support was also provided by the mass media, such as Tempo and BBC News Indonesia. Through its report on the 100 days of Anies-Sandi's reign, BBC News Indonesia put pressure on Anies and Sandi's campaign promises, including closing the Alexis Hotel (BBC News Indonesia.com, 24/1/2018). Tempo Magazine also published its investigative report on the practice of prostitution in Alexis (4/2/2018: 42-53). Alexis's meaning is relatively

negative in the eyes of the media (Kompas.com, 31/10 / 2017a; 31/10 / 2017b). News coverage in the online mass media shows a negative value (60%) to Alexis (Palupi & Atmaja, 2018: 10). This means that the local government also gets support from the mass media. This view also prompted the Regional Government to close Alexis (Budhy Novian, 11/6/2019).

### **Influence of national political elites**

In third world countries, local politics in the nation's capital is a representation of national politics. Politics in the capital is "the same and congruent" with politics at the national level, politics in Jakarta is a reflection of politics on a national scale (Baswedan, in Nordholt & Klinken, 2007: ix-x; Baswedan, 2007: 28, 87). In the context of this paper, the political context and dynamics in Jakarta represent the national political dynamics in the form of KIH and KMP. The political conflict in Jakarta is closely related to the political conflict between these two coalitions at the national level (Habib, 2008). In the political elite in Jakarta itself, the faction of these two coalitions was also present. In fact, at the DKI Jakarta DPRD, the Red and White Coalition was inaugurated at the DKI level (Detiknews.com, 19/11/2014). This conflict can be seen in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pemilukada. Each candidate and their supporting parties are an extension of the political will at the national level. Especially in the second round of Pemilukada, elites at the national level participated in this Pemilukada contest. Megawati Sukarnoputri representing the KIH and Prabowo Subianto representing the KMP participated in political lobbying in the Jakarta General Election (Habib, 2008: 256).

The Alexis problem later became a national scale political consumption. The political elites in the DPR demonstrated to oppose or defend the Regional Government's policy to close the hotel. The closure of the Alexis Hotel is a form of 'victory' for the Prabowo camp (KMP) against the Jokowi (KIH) camp (Mr MW, 23/7/2019), and is also related to future political contestations, in the form of the 2019 legislative and presidential elections (Habib 2008; Mr. MW, 23/7/2019). At least some of the national political elite have commented on Alexis' problems. Fadli Zon, from the Gerindra faction in the DPR supports the DKI Regional Government's policy of closing Alexis. According to him, all this time there had been "omissions" made by the previous administration against Alexis (CNN Indonesia, 2/11/2017). Fadli Zon's utterance contextually refers to the Ahok government.

## **Perceptions of LG interests and possible political opposition**

### **Local government internal perceptions**

The Anies-Sandi pair have moral preferences that depart from religion. Religion here is the values that are present in every religion. For Anies-Sandi, the development and management of Jakarta is to develop and develop human morals, which means that humans are creatures who worship God as embodied in their way of religious teachings. Indonesia in the eyes of this couple actually stands on the basic principles of human life in relation to God, which are present in the religious values of each adherent (DetikNews.com, 16/10/2017; Kumparan.com, 17/10/2017; Muhammad Husnil, 28/6/2019).

Pemda DKI Jakarta Pancasila which they interpret from the first principle, God Almighty as a stake to realize the fifth principle, Social Justice for All Indonesians. This fifth precept is what Anies and Sandi believe is the ultimate goal of their government. This first precept is the foundation for Jakarta people to live and build Jakarta. The First Precept, which later becomes the basis of the Second Precept, becomes a just and civilized human. Justice and human civilization will later be present in practice to uphold the Fifth Precept, Social Justice for All Indonesians, in the context of this paper the people of Jakarta.

In the eyes of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government led by Anies and Sandi, ownership rights to Jakarta must pay attention to the moral values and general ethics adhered to by its citizens, in order to benefit from Jakarta in the forms of employment, access to education, health, and moral education. creating human beings with noble character. Noble morals can only be pursued if moral and ethical values are upheld in Jakarta. So, in the view of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government, the practice of prostitution that is opposed by religion must be eradicated.

### **Possible political opposition**

In the DKI Jakarta DPRD, only two political factions have firmly defended the DKI Jakarta Regional Government led by Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno, in the form of Gerindra (15 seats) and PKS (11 seats). Meanwhile, there are other factions who are firmly in opposition to the Anies-Sandi government. This opposition stems from the continuation of the political struggle in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Head Election, especially between the parties supporting the Anies-Sandi pair and the parties supporting the Ahok-Djarot pair. These factions are in the form of PDIP (28

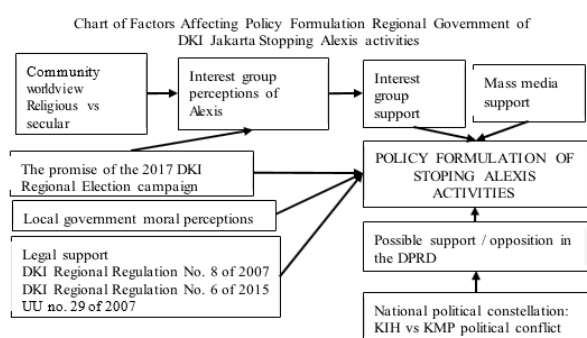
seats), Golkar (9 seats), Hanura (10 seats), and Nasdem (5 seats). While the rest are PKB (6 seats), PAN-Democrat (12 seats), and PPP (10 seats) floating and waiting and see. From all of these, it can be seen that if the case of the Regional Government's policy against Alexis is brought to the DPRD, and there is a vote, it is clear that the Regional Government will lose badly.

Disturbances from the opposition to the local government's efforts to close Alexis can happen, because one of the tasks of these parties who sit in the DPRD is to supervise the running of regional government (Law No. 23 of 2014, article 1 paragraph 14). Here, as mentioned by Della Porta, the parties can continue their conflict in the running of government.

However, the possibility of this opposition was dashed, because the pressure from the public and the mass media to close the Hotel Alexis was so wide. Opposition parties will reconsider opposing the DKI Jakarta Regional Government, given the need for these parties to get votes in the 2019 legislative and presidential elections. Parties need sympathy from the public. Parties that openly oppose the closure of prostitution in Alexis will lose sympathy from the public, and lead to a minimum number of votes in subsequent political contestations. (MW, 17/6/2019; 23/7/2019; Abdurrahman Suhaimi, 22/7/2019).

From the above discussion, it was found that the causal relationship of the factors that caused the DKI Jakarta Regional Government to make a policy to close the Alexis Hotel business.

The relationship of these causal factors can be described as follows.



Political Conflict, Support and opposition of interest groups to the policies of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government

After the Alexis TDUP application was rejected, the hotel was apparently still operating quietly. This was proven by the Tempo media by publishing its investigative news about exclusive prostitution places in Jakarta (edition 4/2/2018: 42-53). The news also shows pressure for the government to be more serious in dealing with Alexis. In addition,

community groups from the North Jakarta Community Forum (Formaju) also intend to demonstrate in front of Alexis, to pressure the local government to immediately officially close Alexis. However, Formaju received terror by telephone from unknown parties. To avoid physical clashes, Formaju canceled his demonstration (Republika.co.id, 19/10/2017). On March 29, 2018, Governor Anies officially sealed Alexis. The Alexis sealing process was accompanied by a drama that the Jakarta Satpol PP order was leaked to seal Alexis. This letter is circulating in cyberspace. A total of 30 female personnel from Satpol PP came to seal the Alexis Hotel. The sealing action was marked by demonstrations of Alexis employees and shoving action between Satpol PP and Alexis security (Tempo.co, 31/10/2017; CNN Indonesia, 29/3/2018).

This action by the local government was welcomed by Islamic mass organizations in Jakarta, such as FPI, MUI Jakarta, and FUHAB. In addition, elements of religious organizations outside of Islam in Jakarta also welcomed this regional government policy. This is because for any religions practiced in Jakarta, the practice of prostitution is prohibited in the eyes of religion (Taufan Bakri, 11/6/2019). MUI Jakarta was initially a bit pessimistic, and considered Anies-Sandi's promise as an empty political promise (Risman Muchtar, 17/7/2019).

The DKI Jakarta Regional Government has found opposition from the management of Alexis, the Jakarta Entertainment Entrepreneurs Association (Asphija) and the Association of Indonesian Hotel and Restaurant Entrepreneurs in the Jakarta area (PHRI Jakarta). The management mentioned to the mass media that they would file a lawsuit. The associations of entertainment and hospitality entrepreneurs have also criticized local government policies. PT Grand Ancol Hotel as the manager of Alexis wants to sue the local government in court. However, the plan failed. Alexis only made rebuttals in the mass media. Through one of his attorneys, Lina Novita, Alexis denied Governor Anies' statement regarding the practice of prostitution and human trafficking there (CNN Indonesia, 29/3/2018). Then, some time later Alexis 'party threatened to reveal a CCTV video at the hotel containing several politicians who were Alexis' customers.

Asphija and PHRI Jakarta defended Alexis and criticized local government policies. These two professional organizations are the places where Alexis is a part of its membership. Asphija saw the actions of the Regional Government as arrogant, because they could not include clear evidence of the practice of prostitution in deciding policies.

They are ready to sue the government (Tempo.co, 2/11/2017). Asphija tried to meet Governor Anies face to face, but the Governor refused (Kompas.com, 31/10/2017c). The impression for Asphija is that the local government does not take sides with entrepreneurs (Kompas.com, 30/10/2017). The reason the government does not want to accept Asphija's lobby is because it is clear a form of violation of the law and does not want to accept the effects of that lobby that have the opportunity to disrupt the government (Muhammad Husnil, 28/6/2019). In fact, Asphija then challenged Anies to close down other businesses that contain similar practices (prostitution) with Alexis in Jakarta (Tempo.co, 28/3/2018).

PHRI wants the local government to support entrepreneurs in the tourism sector. In addition, according to them, Alexis contributed significant taxes to DKI Jakarta (Kompas.com, 30/10/2017). However, PHRI Jakarta seemed half-hearted to defend Alexis. Call the chairman of PHRI Jakarta, Khrisnadi, this is because PHRI's authority to monitor hotel businesses has been cut by the Ministry of Tourism, and PHRI policies that see the business strategy of each hotel and restaurant are left to each business actor, and PHRI will not be held responsible. If there are business actors whose members act against the law (Krishnadi, 6/7/2019). The regional government is considered Asphija and PHRI Jakarta to have acted arbitrarily against Alexis, who is a member of these two interest groups. This shows a form of conflict between the people (represented by interest groups) and the authorities, who are considered to have committed arbitrary acts. Conflict among the political elite Among politicians who are in opposition, this local government policy is meaningless without criticism. There is opposition, but it seems that the factions that are opposed to the Regional Government are half-heartedly opposing it. Within the opposition factions, opposition was below 50% (Endah Setia Dewi, 21/6/2019). This is natural, because the issue played by the local government is a sensitive issue which, if the parties take a wrong step, will have an impact on voting for future political contestations (Abdurrahman Suhaimi, 22/7/2019; MW, 23/7/2019)). Opposition factions created conflict around the procedures the local government had implemented to stop Alexis' activities. The findings in the field that the writer got were forms of criticism from the opposition factions against the local government policies, and the defense of the supporting factions. This defense and opposition circulated in the mass media.

PDIP, Nasdem and Golkar factions questioned public reports and mass media findings as evidence of violations listed in Pergub No. 18 Yrs. 2018

(article 50 paragraph 1 point f). In the eyes of the two factions, Governor Anies has violated many applicable regulations in processing Alexis' closure, in order to fulfill a political campaign promise. According to him, Governor Anies and his deputy, Sandi, emphasize the popularity of their policies more than the prevailing legal norms (Kumparan.com, 31/10/2017; 30/10/2017; Prasetyo Edi Marsudi, 11/7/2019). In the eyes of the factions in the Jakarta DPRD who are in opposition to the Regional Government, the policy of closing Alexis is suspected to contain several violations of the law. For them, closing Alexis on the sole basis of public and media reports is illegitimate. This must be based on the results of an investigation by the police.

Opposition factions see that the Regional Government does not consider the consequences of the tax sector, and neglects the interests of entrepreneurs. Stopping Alexis's business means that he has reduced Jakarta's Regional Original Revenue (PAD). The PDIP faction sees the business tax sector as an important and vital sector for Jakarta (Prasetyo Edi Marsudi, 11/7/2019). For PDIP, Alexis and his business have complied with the regulations in force in DKI Jakarta. Meanwhile, tax revenue from entertainment business in Jakarta is classified as the largest. Even the PDIP faction accused the regional government of frightening investors (Prasetyo Edi Marsudi, 11/7/2019). In addition, the PDIP faction saw Alexis stop operating, creating new unemployed workers from former Alexis workers (Prasetyo Edi Marsudi, 11/7/2019).

Opposition factions also assess Alexis' closure as causing the spread of venereal disease in Jakarta, including HIV / AIDS. The argument is, if there is a localization of prostitution places, then the development of this dangerous disease will be easily monitored and controlled. However, if the place is muzzled, the phenomenon of the spread of this disease will be latent, and difficult to detect (Eko Prasetyo Marsudi, 11/7/2019).

The Gerindra faction admitted that one of the reasons for closing Alexis was the fulfillment of a campaign promise. However, this is based on a regional regulation that prohibits the practice of prostitution. According to Gerindra, the Regional Government did not violate the regional regulations, but instead enforced them (Muhammad Taufiq, 11/7/2018). PKS supports the actions of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government because it is a form of enforcement of Perda No. 8 of 2007 (Abdurrahman Suhaimi, 22/7/2019).

Regarding the tax sector, this criticism was answered by the Gerindra faction, that the loss of tax revenue from Alexis did not significantly

reduce Jakarta's PAD. Although Alexis contributes to Jakarta's taxes, there are other positive and negative aspects that must be considered, which is bigger than the two of them (Muhammad Taufiq, 11/7/2019). Jakarta's PAD increased from IDR 43.90 trillion (2017) to IDR 44.57 trillion (BPS DKI Jakarta, 2017: 533; BPS DKI Jakarta, 2018: 483-484).

As previously known, many of the workforce lost their livelihoods when Alexis stopped operating. Gerindra answered that accusation, that these former Alexis workers should be the responsibility of PT Grand Ancol Hotel as Alexis manager, because this company has violated the law. According to Gerindra, the Regional Government has acted decisively so that entrepreneurs engaged in hospitality and entertainment will not act on their will to break through regulations (Muhammad Taufiq, 11/7/2019).

#### Sex and the Battle of Life (Worldview)

As a cosmopolitan city, Jakarta has a variety of cultures and values embraced by its people. This sometimes creates conflicts in society, because one value from one view of life conflicts with the value from another view of life. This conflict includes issues of sexuality.

At least the difference in the perspective of the people in Jakarta regarding sex had surfaced in the 1970s. In his analysis of the phenomenon of prostitution, Daniel Dakhidae calls the prohibitions on free sex behavior by religious norms as 'oppressive ethics', dealing with sexual behavior adopted by some Jakartans who use Western cultural values as a 'sex revolution' (Prisma, 5/6/1976: 25-26).

The Hotel Alexis case is an example of a contradicting view of life. For people who make religion as their way of life, of course sexuality activities outside of marriage are prohibited. On the other hand, in the view of people who use secular values as their view of life, sexuality is a human right, which falls into the category of service to enjoy life (Taufan Bakri, 11/6/2019). Those elements of society who want Alexis 'closure see the phenomenon of prostitution in Alexis from a religious perspective, while those who regret that Alexis' closure see it from a secular perspective with free will and economic motives.

Jakarta is inhabited by 10,467,629 people, with a total of 10,129 religious facilities in 2014 (Badan Pusat Statistik DKI Jakarta, 2018: 6). The number of community organizations in Jakarta in 2017 was 750, with a composition of 37 organizations based on ethnicity, 39 based on religion, 50 youth organizations, 73 women's organizations, 65 professional organizations, and 28 labor organizations (Dinas Kesbangpol DKI Jakarta, 2017). The Islamic

Defenders Front (FPI), the Indonesian Ulema Council of the DKI Jakarta Province, the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership Council of DKI Jakarta, the Ulama and Habaib Forum (FUHAB), have joined religious-based mass organizations. The Betawi Community Musawarah Body (Bamus Betawi) belongs to an organization based on ethnicity. The Association of Indonesian Hotels and Restaurants of DKI Jakarta Province (PHRI DKI Jakarta) and the Association of Jakarta Entertainment Entrepreneurs (Aspija) are included in professional-based mass organizations. From these data, it can be seen that religion is one of the values adhered to by the people of Jakarta, even in its institutional form.

These values can be interpreted as a worldview. The view of life is a series of belief systems, each of which has interrelated nets, from which humans understand how humans should act in relation to the universe, including other humans (DeWitt, 2010: 10). When it comes to values, the philosopher G.F.W. Hegel calls this view of life as "the moral view of the world", this view unites the reality of objects and morality in human actions towards him (Hegel, in Naugel, 2002: 69-70). This view of life is assumed to be integral to humans, if not, then man will be divided in his view of reality, and in the end he will not be able to fully understand reality, nor do he understand well the parts of his reality.

MUI Jakarta, Muhammadiyah, and FUHAB base the view of life of their respective members on Islam (Habib, 2018). Moreover, the first four groups are organizations based on Islam. The ethnic-based Bamus Betawi also contains a view of life that is similar to the previous four organizations. This is due to the strong relationship between the Betawi ethnic group and Islam as a way of life (Taufan Bakri, 11/6/2019). The realities of the world, including socio-political issues, are assessed by these groups with their religious views of life. Politics must be based on things that are commanded by God and must stay away from His prohibitions. Thus, according to this group, this country will be safe and prosperous (Risman Muchtar, 17/7/2019).

Asphija and PHRI have a different view from the interest groups mentioned above. The view of the organization operating in the economy is based on added value, which is the principle of the economy. If it is viewed as being related to norms and morality, this group relies on whether or not it violates the applicable positive law. The issue of morality, in the view of this organization, is up to each individual (Krishnadi, 6/7/2019).

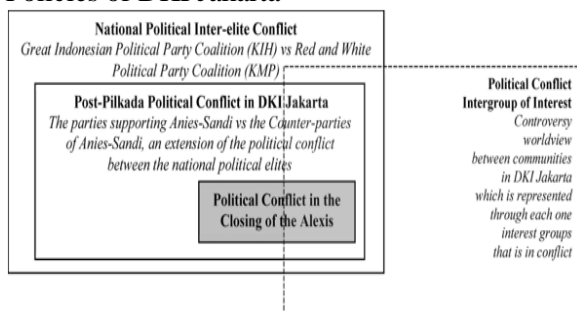
If we look further, this view departs from a secular view in the form of hedonism as its derivative. In

this view, something is true if it can meet the needs of the person with that viewpoint. This view collides with religious views that are also present in Jakarta society. This then became a clash in Jakarta, regarding prostitution, especially Alexis (Taufan Bakri, 11/6/2019). So, it can be seen that the political conflict that occurred in the termination of the Alexis Hotel business was also a clash of world views. This conflict gets its channel in the political system, which in the end makes the solution to this conflict tend to be safe, not to the point of causing horizontal conflict in the midst of society.

This conflict was also continued by factions in the DPRD who were pro and who were in opposition to the local government. PKS and Gerindra chose moral reasons put forward by promotional interest groups, while PDIP, Golkar, and Nasdem — in the findings of this study — tended to use economic reasons as a form of criticism. These reasons coincide with the reasons put forward by Asphija and PHRI. In short, the debate between the supporting and opposition factions of the Regional Government indirectly becomes a channel for conflicts between views of life that exist in the midst of society.

The political conflict in this case can be seen in the following chart.

Chart of Political Conflict on Regional Government Policies of DKI Jakarta



### III. CONCLUSION

Indeed, the cases raised in this paper are small cases. However, this case is a reflection of a larger political and social phenomenon. From the discussion above, it can be concluded as follows.

First, even though the issue of stopping Alexis was a campaign issue that the Anies-Sandi candidate pair winning team discovered, this issue represents the desire of interest groups that stand on the foundation of religiosity. At least, these groups represent the views of the people who adhere to the values of a religious view of life in Jakarta. This religious view of life is at odds with the secular view of life in the form of hedonism. In the case of

Alexis and his prostitution practice, both see the phenomenon of prostitution with different judgments. The first group considers it negative, the second group considers it not negative, although there is no clear statement to support prostitution by the second type of group.

Second, this conflict has also become part of the aftermath of the political conflict in the DKI Jakarta Regional Head Election. The Jakarta Pemilukada resulted in two major camps in the DKI Jakarta DPRD: supporters and opposition to the DKI Jakarta Regional Government. These two camps are extensions of the KIH and KMP camps at the national level. The Jakarta Pilkada and its aftermath have become a battlefield between these two camps. The issue of terminating Alexis' business has become a part of the conflict between the two camps. In another sense, there is a relationship between the political conflict in DKI Jakarta in this case and the national scale political conflict.

However, this dispute is relatively subtle, because the faction that rejects this regional government policy does not dare to openly oppose the substance of the regional government policy, to stop the practice of prostitution. This is due to their consideration of the good and bad perceptions of the community, especially those who are religiously obedient to these parties. The good and bad perceptions of this community are seen to be instrumental in determining the vote acquisition in future political contestations. The closest contestation is the 2019 presidential and legislative elections. However, that does not mean that there is no political conflict in this case. Political conflict here is present in the form of differences of opinion and mutual criticism between one political camp and another. The battle was around procedures and criticism of the impact of the local government policy in stopping Alexis. Third, the policy of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government to stop Alexis's activities because it is found that prostitution is a safe policy for the Regional Government in the midst of political conflicts between groups of political elites in Jakarta. This is because the case raised is a sensitive issue in Indonesian society, including in Jakarta, and as concluded above, this issue will affect the perception of the Jakarta community towards political parties. Fourth, these two opposing political camps also carry representations of the desires of elements of society. The regional government and its supporting camps stand to support the view of religious morality promoted by promotional interest groups, while the opposing camp brings the voice of businessmen groups promoted by protective interest groups. Fifth, the conflict between protective interest groups and the Jakarta local government also

shows the dissatisfaction of elements of society, in this case the entertainment entrepreneurs (also Alexis workers) with the local government. This is a form of political conflict between the rulers and the people, considering that these entrepreneurs are part of Jakarta society. Sixth, the termination of Alexis' activities is one of the efforts to fulfill Anies and Sandi's political campaign promises, as well as a representation of the wishes of some of the people of Jakarta. In addition, this policy is also an indicator of the moral perception of the Jakarta Regional Government under the leadership of Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno. From the findings of this study, the authors then get two other interesting questions to be raised in future studies. The two questions are: (1) what is the actual relationship between entrepreneurs and political parties in politics in DKI Jakarta? And (2) how is the political relationship between the management of Hotel Alexis and the political elites in Jakarta?

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