

# Framing Discourse Legislative Council Faction Against The Jakarta Government Policy 2017-2018

<sup>1</sup>Eddy Guridno

<sup>1</sup>*Universitas Nasional Jakarta*

## Abstract

Political conflicts between political elites in the Jakarta government continue, even though the 2017 Jakarta Pilkada has ended. This conflict was seen in the early days of Anies-Sandi's administration, when he made a policy to stop the Alexis Hotel's activities, because it was considered to have prostitution practices. Even though it is not visible in the public eye, this conflict is present in a latent manner. Its presence can be seen from the discourses that have been rolled out regarding the Regional Government policies of each faction in the Jakarta DPRD which support and oppose the Regional Government. The discourse that they rolled out shows the framing of each side towards the local government policies which indicate a political conflict. The pro-camp sees local government policies as legitimate actions, while the opposition sees them as arbitrary. The two camps base their frame on two different basic views. The pro-government camp departs from the view of the moral interests of the people prevailing in Jakarta, the opposition camp departs from the viewpoint of economic interests. These two views coincide with the views of community groups in Jakarta related to this Regional Government policy. Religious mass organizations view him with a moral perspective, the business association groups in Jakarta view him with a view of economic interests.

**Keywords:** political conflict, discourse, public policy.

## I. Introduction

The 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada contains conflicts related to national-level political dynamics. This conflict stems from a dispute between the Great Indonesia Coalition (KIH) which supports the government of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi), and the Red and White Coalition (KMP) led by Prabowo Subianto, Jokowi's opponent in the 2014 Presidential Election. Despite changes in the body of the coalition, for example Many parties from the KMP have moved to the KIH, the conflict between the two coalitions tends to last, until the 2019 presidential election. -Sandi) represented the politics of the KMP (Habib, 2018). The regional election was won by the Anies-Sandi pair.

Even though the pilkada was over, this conflict was still felt. In DKI Jakarta the political groups that represent the KMP in the DKI Jakarta

DPRD are the Gerindra Faction and the PKS Faction. Meanwhile, the PDI-P faction, the Golkar faction, and the Nasdem faction stand out in representing the KIH in the Jakarta DPRD. The two camps clashed with each other within the wheels of the DKI Jakarta administration. Political conflict between political elites in Jakarta is a natural thing, considering that Jakarta as the capital is a representation of politics at the national level. In contrast to developed countries, the political dynamics in the capitals of developing countries are representative of the political dynamics at the national level (Baswedan, in Nordholt & Klinken, 2007, ix-x; Baswedan, 2007: 193-205).

In the early days of Anies and Sandi's leadership, the DKI Jakarta Regional Government (Pemda) made a policy to stop the business activities of the

Alexis Hotel, which includes the Alexis Massage Studio. It is called a business termination — not a closure — because this action was initiated by refusing to extend the business licenses of the two business units. Both are under the umbrella of Hotel Alexis, which is managed by PT. Grand Ancol Hotel. This policy received a response among the political elite in the DKI Jakarta DPRD. Although in general they support local government policies, there are still criticisms and defenses against this policy.

Alexis, which is located in the Jakarta area, provides entertainment service facilities, including prostitution practices. The issue of Alexis and the constitution became a political issue in the 2017 Jakarta Pilkada. This issue became one of the campaigns of the Anies-Sandi pair, which was supported by elements of mass organizations who supported this pair. After Anies and Sandi were elected as the new governor and deputy governor of DKI Jakarta, their campaign promises began to be realized, one of which was about closing Alexis.

In plain view, it seems that the conflict between the two camps of the political elite about Alexis is not obvious. However, it happened lately. The polemic about him is still present among the political elite, especially in the DKI Jakarta DPRD. This polemic is seen as a political conflict. Even though it is not big, this conflict still exists in the form of criticism and defense between the respective factions in the DPRD, which represent the views of each of the political elite groups there. This is normal, because Alexis' problem is a matter of enforcing regional regulations in Jakarta. So the DPRD has the duty to monitor local government actions against it. The DPRD plays a role as regional government observers to enforce regional regulations in the form of policies that are made and implemented. This was emphasized by the deputy chairman of the DPRD, Muhammad Taufiq (11/7/2019).

This conflict is seen as a discourse. Many of their opposing views have been published in the mass media, with the aim of influencing public perceptions of local government policies, in accordance with the wishes of each opposing faction. The discourse conveyed contains certain frames that indicate the position of each political group against the Regional Government. The matter of framing that is made by each faction in the DPRD against the Regional Government's

policies to Alexis is what will be discussed in this paper.

## II. RESEARCH METHODS AND DATA SOURCES

The conflict that occurred within the DPRD was subtle, only visible in the views expressed by each party. This view can be seen in the framing made by each party to the Regional Government's policies. This framing then shows whether there is political conflict surrounding the local government policy towards Alexis.

This study uses a qualitative approach, because the aim of this research is whether or not there is conflict between political elites in the DKI Jakarta DPRD, which is in the form of differences in views and attitudes towards local government policies to stop Alexis Hotel's business activities. The method used in this research is the framing analysis method proposed by William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani. Gamson saw reality constructed in the human mind. In relation to the environment, humans construct meaning and 'reality'. The result of the construction in the form of this discourse consists of a number of packages (packages) in the form of framing. The framing of this discourse is called by Gitlin (1980) as things that are not voiced and are not known in the text (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989: 3).

This research uses sources of statements from representatives of the conflicting elements in local government policy issues. The sources used in this paper are the results of interviews with sources from several factions in the DPRD. Other sources are the mass media which contain direct statements from the factions that were part of the conflict participants. Each of these interviews is positioned as a discourse. This discourse takes place within a certain frame made by the speakers who produce statements / discourses in seeing the reality of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's policy of stopping Alexis Hotel activities.

In the statements of each of the political elites in the DKI Jakarta DPRD, six themes emerged. These themes are in the form of: (1) policy theme with Perda, (2) policy theme and campaign promise, (3) theme of Regional Original Income (PAD), (4) theme of investment, (5) theme of former Alexis

employees and their livelihoods. , and (6) the theme of the expansion of the HIV disease outbreak. Each of these themes is then analyzed using a framing approach. The text that is dissected is the text units from each source that are collected into one whole text, according to the pro and contra categories of local government policies. This category division refers to the fact that the political dynamics that occur within the DKI Jakarta government are part of the political dynamics of the two coalition groups, the KIH and the KMP at the national political level. Political dynamics at the political level in DKI Jakarta is a representation of political dynamics at the national level (Habib, 2018; Guridno, 2019). Then, in the discussion, other sources are also included to strengthen the context of the arguments of each group that contradicts one another. These sources are in the form of literature sources and online mass media.

Interview sources from the DKI Jakarta DPRD and political parties in DKI Jakarta are as follows.

(1) Mr AA, a member of the Jakarta Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). (2) Endah Setia Dewi, Gerindra Faction — member of Commission 2 DPRD DKI Jakarta. (3) Muhammad Taufiq, Gerindra Faction — Deputy Chairman of the DKI Jakarta DPRD. (4) Prasetyo Edi Marsudi, PDIP Faction — Chairman of the DPRD DKI Jakarta. (5) Abdurrahman Suhaimi, PKS Faction — Chairman of Commission B DPRD DKI Jakarta.

The sources of statements made by DPRD factions in the mass media are as follows. (1) Judistira Hermawan, Secretary of the Golkar Faction in the DKI DPRD, in a news entitled "Golkar DKI: Termination of Alexis' Permit Must Observe Perda" (Kumparan.com, 31 October 2017, 15:42 WIB). (2) Ruslan Amsari, a member of the PDIP faction, in the news entitled "The PDIP F-PDIP Attitude of the DKI DPRD Is Split Regarding Alexis Closure" (SuaraJakarta.co, no date). And, (3) Bestari Barus, a member of the National Democratic Faction (Nasdem), in the news entitled "DKI Nasdem Faction Throwing Criticism on Anies about Alexis Closing" (Kumparan.com, 30 October 2017, 16:20 WIB).

### III. POLITICAL CONFLICT AND DISCOURSE FRAMING

In a democratic government system, political parties are always in conflict. And conflict is the essence of democracy itself (Sartori, 2005: 14). As stated by Steinberger (2015: 62), political conflict can be in the form of contestation, opposition, disagreement, debate, dispute, as well as differences of opinion. Conflicts between political parties can also occur in the form of discourse. The aim is for the public to understand the discourse, and to approve and support the content / ideas of the discourse presented. Discourse is a product of the subject's framing of the reality being discouraged.

Social reality is an arrangement made by the subject (human) who perceives the state of himself and his environment. Individuals (as well as groups) perceive reality and arrange elements from it based on the abstract value view that they / they have, as well as based on their experience of the social reality they do in everyday life. In a simple sense, humans / groups construct reality in their minds (Berger & Luchmann, 1991). To find out how the perceptions of individuals / groups in discourse, one way is to map what frames are placed in composing the discourse that is shared with the social / political reality. To see the frames that shape this discourse, this study borrows the viewpoint of mass media analysis, because the politicians' statements studied in this study are similar to the patterns of mass media reporting, which seem neutral and straightforward, and refer to the facts. Empirical in the arguments it makes.

Framing is done through the form of symbols arranged into a package (packaging). The packaging of this discourse can be dissected through discourse analysis. William Gamson and Andre Modigliani offer to dissect the discourse under study by looking at the packaging made in the discourse. Packaging is a series of ideas that show what issues are raised and the selection of relevant events. Packaging is an understanding framework used by the discourse to construct the meaning of the message he conveys, as well as to understand the message he receives (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989: 3-6).

Packaging has an internal structure. In it there is a core idea that contains the core elements to

interpret the events being discouraged, and directs them through condensing symbols. These condensing symbols consist of two sets: the framing device and the reasoning device. Framing devices are concerned with how discourse is created and directed, it presents the core ideas that become the frame of the discourse. These devices are characterized by the use of vocabulary, sentences, or metaphors in certain ways. The indicators that show the framing device in the discourse text are: (1) metaphors used in the discourse, (2) catchphrases (interesting phrases); (3) exemplars - linking the frame to examples, descriptions, or anything that can clarify the core idea conveyed, (4) depiction in the form of depicting issues raised in discourse in a connotative way, and visual images in the form of illustrated images present in the text to support the whole text framing. In this study, visual images are not used to dissect the object under study, because the text here does not contain illustrations.

Reasoning devices revolve around reasons of justifying the elements that direct discourse into the meaning of certain messages. The reason behind this text is not only to confirm the core idea of the discourse presented, but also to make the idea appear correct and valid. Reasoning devices can be seen from the following indicators: (1) roots, in the form of causal relationships between elements of ideas in the discourse as a whole, (2) appeals to principles in the form of basic premises or moral claims to provide reasons for the validity of the discourse presented, and (3) Consequences, in the form of effects or consequences resulting from the framing of the discourse (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989: 3-4, footnote number 2).

## IV. DISCUSSION

### 4.1. Framing debate in six themes

Local government policy to stop Alexis from reaping pros and cons among members of the DKI Jakarta DPRD. In this dispute, the data findings contain six themes. These themes are in the form of: (1) policy theme with Perda, (2) policy theme and campaign promise, (3) theme of Regional Original Income (PAD), (4) theme of investment, (5) theme of former Alexis employees and their livelihoods, and (6) the theme of the expansion of the HIV disease

outbreak. Those (1) and (2) seem to overlap, but they highlight two different sides. For the theme (1) the aspect that was emphasized was the legal aspect, and for the theme (2) the aspect that was emphasized was the aspect of the promise of a political campaign. The author formulates ten tables of framing of each political elite group of local government policies on these issues. Each theme and table is described as follows.

#### A. Policy themes with Perda

The opposition criticizes the Pemda that the Pemda has violated the Perda. From the statements of these sources, the following framing is obtained. The opposition sees that the Regional Government has violated the law, in the form of violating regional regulations (Perda No. 6/2015 on Tourism, article 99). In the article in this regional regulation, the closure of a tourism business is only carried out if it is proven that it is related to the distribution, sale and use of drugs.

This view of the opposition can be seen in its emphatic statement that violations must be proven legally. The regional government stopped the activities of the Alexis Hotel based on community reports to the local government, and news from the mass media, particularly the Tempo media (Tempo magazine, edition 4 February 2018, pp. 42-53; Tempo.co, 9/2/2018). For the opposition factions, the actions of the Regional Government are not correct, because proof must be based on an investigation by the authorities, in this case the police (DetikNews.com, 28/3/2018). So, in the eyes of this party, the Regional Government has violated procedures, with its strong statement, the Regional Government has crashed the perda-perda. The ideal / moral statement is that regulations must be enforced, and that the Regional Government as a government must not violate regional regulations, they must even enforce them. In addition, by enforcing the law, Jakarta can become a city with good governance. As a consequence of this logic flow, the Regional Government's actions are considered inappropriate, because they are considered to have violated the procedures stated in the laws and regulations, especially perda. The local government's action to stop Alexis was a violation of the law.

Table 1. Framing the Policy theme with Regulation: Opposition

<i>Frame:</i> Jakarta Government in violation of regulations	
<i>Framing device</i>	<i>Reasoning device</i>
<i>Metaphor:</i>	<i>Roots:</i>
	The Regional Government has hit the applicable rules (regulations and so on), then the act of the Government of DKI deemed unlawful <i>Appeals to the principle:</i> 1. The regulations should be enforced, should not hit the law. 2. Jakarta be great if the legislation enforced by the Government
<i>Catchphrase:</i> 1. pelanggaran harus dibuktikan secara hukum 2. perda ditabrak-tabrak 3. tidak sesuai prosedur	<i>Appeals to principle:</i> 1. Perda harus ditegakkan, tidak boleh menabrak Perda. 2. Jakarta menjadi hebat jika Perda ditegakkan oleh Pemda.
<i>Exemplars:</i> 1. The reason for the closure is based on the media publication about the hotel, which is considered inaccurate 2. Local Government is not responsive there are law violations that have occurred in Jakarta by the DKI Regional Government (even from the previous era). Many areas in Jakarta that have been designated residential zones have even become zones for business. Zones such as the Kemang, Mulawarman, and so on are residential zones, if referred to in the Spatial Planning (RDRT), these places are not commercial areas. However, it becomes a commercial area (businessplace).	<i>Consequences:</i> Local Government action is not appropriate, because bumping regulations. Therefore, the Regional Government must make policies by making regional regulations as their legal reference. The local government's action to stop Alexis was a violation of the law.
<i>Depiction:</i> 1. Hit-regulation 2. Not according to the rules 3. Arbitrary	

Framing of local government policies related to regional regulations is also carried out by the political elites who support the local government in the DKI Jakarta DPRD. Supporters also use the legal framework to justify the validity of local government policies. The Anies-Sandi pair made the termination of the Alexis Hotel activities a campaign promise (Kumparan.com, 14/10/2017). This campaign promise is a form of enforcing local regulations. This is because Alexis and her prostitution practice are a violation of the local regulation. In Perda No. 6 of 2015 concerning Tourism, articles 42 paragraphs 1-3, and Perda No. 8 of 2007 concerning Public Order, Article 42 describes the prohibition of prostitution in the form, vocation, use, and omission. Strong statements in the form of campaign promises that are actually in accordance with the law (based on perda- perda) and the Regional Government upholding the perda are the pressing points of the arguments of the supporters of the Regional Government.

Through public reports and mass media coverage, Alexis is deemed proven to have

committed prostitution that violates laws and norms. This party considers Alexis to have violated two local regulations. Anies-Sandi has been aware of the violation since the 2017 Jakarta Pilkada political contestation. The pair's commitment to close Alexis as a campaign promise is a form of their commitment to upholding the local regulation. When they served as chief executive of the Jakarta government, they fulfilled their commitment, enforced local regulations. For local government supporters, regulations must be enforced. Stopping Alexis is a form of enforcement.

Table 2. Framing the Policy theme with Regulation: Supporters

<i>Frame:</i> The local government's action to close the Alexis Hotel is a form of enforcement of the local regulation	
<i>Framing device</i>	<i>Reasoning device</i>
<i>Metaphor:</i>	<i>Roots:</i> Anies campaign promise-password based on the existing local regulations. Fulfillment of a campaign promise Jakarta Government is a form of enforcement of regulations.
<i>Catchphrase:</i> 1. Promise campaign by the local regulations in Jakarta 2. Local governments enforce local regulations	<i>Appeals to principle:</i> Regulations must be enforced Hotel Alexis and Alexis Massage Studio should be closed. Local government action to close is the right move.
<i>Exemplars:</i>	<i>Consequences:</i>
<i>Depiction:</i>	

B. Policy themes and campaign promises

In this second part, it connects with the first part, however what is highlighted in this section is the political aspect. From the data obtained, there is framing from the opposition. The framing is as follows.

The opposition sees that the Regional Government is only fulfilling its political campaign promises during the 2017 Jakarta Pilkada to its supporters. Fulfillment of this political promise is considered to be in the interests of regional government power politics, to the point that they dare to break the law. The fulfillment of political promises to his supporters can be seen in community groups pressuring the local government to stop Alexis. These groups are in the form of the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), the Ulama and Habaib Forum (FUHAB), the 212 Alumni Association (PA- 212), and the DKI Jakarta Indonesian

Ulema Council (MUI Jakarta), which are supporters of the Anies-Sandi pair in the Jakarta Pilkada. (see: Habib, 2018). In relation to the first part that has been described, the opposition sees the Regional Government as more concerned with its political promises, rather than law enforcement. This can be seen from his firm statement, that the Regional Government is only fulfilling campaign promises, and for the sake of prioritizing its political popularity / electability. The argument that the Regional Government is merely carrying out political promises without heeding the applicable law, resulting in a consequence that this local government action was wrong and violated the law.

Table 3. Pembingkai dalam tema kebijakan dan janji kampanye: Oposisi

<b>Frame:</b> Government of DKI only fulfill campaign promises only to increase popularity	
<b>Framing device</b>	<b>Reasoning device</b>
<b>Metaphor:</b>	<b>Roots:</b> Jakarta Government close the Hotel Alexis and Alexis Massage Griya driven by a campaign promise alone. The government did not heed therefore legal.
<b>Catchphrase:</b> 1. Simply fulfill campaign promises. 2. It is not permissible to fulfill campaign promises. 3. This is good, but not just because you are pressured by campaign promises. 4. Alexis and his business have complied with the applicable regulations in DKI Jakarta. 5. How come just because of something for the sake of popularity / electability finally put aside existing norms	<b>Appeals to principle:</b> 1. The law must be enforced, 2. Measures must be attested violations according to law provisions
<b>Exemplars:</b> 1. Alexis and his business have complied with the applicable regulations in DKI Jakarta. PT Grand Ancol Hotel has fulfilled all permits to register its businesses with Alexis, in accordance with the administration set forth in theregulations. 2. Measures Jakarta Government to close the hotel and massage parlor Alexis was more due to the current political appointments Jakarta Election campaign 2017. That is, the Jakarta Government considered only act in the interests of the mass of supporters. 3. "Because it's nothing, once again, the positions of governor and DPRD are political positions, not executive positions. The governor is in charge of the executive, I am in charge of the legislature, it is not an easy matter to lead Jakarta."	<b>Consequences:</b> The action of the DKI Regional Government to close the Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Studio was due to fulfilling campaign promises alone. His actions were not based on the applicable law. Therefore, the action of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government is an act of violation of the law.
<b>Depiction:</b> 1. Political promises 2. Don't say things 3. Gaining popularity 4. Leaving the law (norms)	

Supporters of the Regional Government admit that the Regional Government is carrying out its political campaign promises during the 2017 Jakarta Pilkada. However, this local government action is not a violation of the law, it is law enforcement. This campaign was carried out because it was discovered that the previous governor of Jakarta (who was also a participant in the Pilkada) did not emphasize Alexis, even though the practice of prostitution there has become an open secret. And they think it is clear

that Alexis has violated Perda No. 6 of 2015, and Perda No. 8 of 2007. The issue of Alexis' closure in this campaign was a form of political contestation at that time, because Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), as the incumbent party, had a weakness in this arena. From there, the promise to close Alexis began. This can also be seen from the narrative conveyed by the supporters of the Regional Government which stated that Ahok ignored this, while he clearly had the authority to take action.

From the arguments obtained, the pressure is on the enforcement of perda, and the promise of political campaigns as a promise to enforce the perda. Alexis clearly violated the perda, and the local government must enforce the perda, which is reinforced by a campaign promise as a commitment to it. So the actions of the local government in the eyes of these support groups are legal, and must be.

Table 4. Framing the theme policies and campaign promises: Support

<b>Frame:</b> Jakarta Government action to close the Griya Hotel Alexis and Alexis Massage is a form of fulfillment of campaign promises such as the enforcement of regulations.	
<b>Framing device</b>	<b>Reasoning device</b>
<b>Metaphor:</b>	<b>Roots:</b> Bylaw prohibits the actions and the provision of facilities for prostitution, Alexis has done and become a means of prostitution. Then local governments should shut Alexis as a form of enforcement of regulations. The promise of a political campaign is a promise to enforce local regulations.
<b>Catchphrase:</b> 1. There is a ban in the legislation relating to the provision of prostitution 2. Campaign promises based on existing regional regulations in Jakarta.	<b>Appeals to principle:</b> Regulations should be enforced, and prostitution should be eradicated because it is a violation of the regulation. The campaign promise is a commitment to that.
<b>Exemplars:</b> Criticism of Basuki: The local government of Basuki did not follow up legally on the practice of prostitution in Alexis. He just said, while political power and legal authority in his hands, because he served as Governor of Jakarta.	<b>Consequences:</b> Regulations should be enforced, and the Jakarta Government action to close the Alexis Hotel and Griya Massage is the right move. Because this form of campaign promises redemption is also a commitment to uphold the regulations must be eradicated because it is a violation of the regulation. Campaign promise is a commitment to it.
<b>Depiction:</b> Prohibition of local regulations on the practice of prostitution.	

C. The theme of Local Own Revenue (PAD)

Strict phrases given by the opposition in the form of tax value, reducing taxes, and regarding the compliance of entrepreneurs in fulfilling their obligations to pay taxes and levies to the Regional Government of DKI Jakarta. The opposition sees Alexis as a contributor to Jakarta's PAD. Regarding the source of this tax, the opposition provides a pressing point. Alexis

is considered to have fulfilled his obligation to pay taxes set by the government. It is stated that one of DKI Jakarta's revenues comes from the hotel and entertainment sector. These two sectors are part of the tourism business line. The third source of income for PAD Jakarta is income from tourism business taxes, in addition to land and building taxes and motor vehicle taxes (Tempo.co, 30/1/2018). Alexis' line of business is part of the tourism business. According to the admission of the manager (PT. Grand Ancol Hotel), every year Alexis has contributed taxes to Jakarta in the range of 20-30 billion rupiah (Kompas.com, 1/11/2017).

The argument given by the opposition is that Alexis is a tax contributor to Jakarta, and Jakarta really needs taxes from the tourism business sector (including Alexis' business), so it is important not to disturb Alexis. The regional government policy to stop Alexis' business activities is seen as having reduced DKI Jakarta's tax revenue. This is a loss. The opposition wants the local government to make policies that have clear relevance, not by obtaining unclear information.

Table 5. Framing in the theme of Regional Original Income (PAD): Opposition

<b>Frame:</b> Jakarta Government action close the Hotel Alexis and Alexis Massage Griya impact on the decreasing value of taxes for Jakarta.	
<b>Framing device</b>	<b>Reasoning device</b>
<b>Metaphor:</b>	<b>Roots:</b> Hotel Alexis and Alexis Massage Studio are two tax-generating businesses for Jakarta. The second closing effort by Jakarta Government is the removal of the two tax sources for Jakarta
<b>Catchphrase:</b> 1. Reduce the tax revenue of Jakarta. 2. Employers Alexis has fulfilled its obligations for payments set by the government 3. really those whose relevance is clear, don't just say words, shut down muzzled 4. DKI Jakarta's revenue (one of them) from the hotel business and entertainment business.	<b>Appeals to principle:</b> DKI Jakarta requires taxes from the Alexis Hotel business and the Alexis Massage Studio.
<b>Exemplars:</b> 1. "Even though the entrepreneur pays taxes levies, he carries out everything the local government orders him todo." 2. "I ask the executive, whoever the governor is, it has to be really clear whose relevance is, not just the words, shut down and muzzle them. We die Sir, where do we earn from, this is the capital, you know ... Where's the income from Sir? From their place of business, all of them. There are entertainment venues, restaurants, all kinds of places."	<b>Consequences:</b> The actions of the DKI Jakarta Government have closed two tax sources for DKI Jakarta.
<b>Depiction:</b> 1. (the reason the local government stopped Alexis) "not just the words" 2. "the businessman pays taxes, levies,	

In contrast to the opposition, in this issue the supporters of the Regional Government say that Regional Government policies are driven by careful consideration. Regarding Alexis with his prostitution practice, the supporters attach great importance to law enforcement. Even though

Alexis made a tax contribution, it must also be viewed in terms of the good and the bad. On the one hand, it is good that Alexis has contributed to PAD Jakarta, but on the other hand, what is bad is that Alexis has committed illegal practices and hurt people's sense of morality. For this reason, for them the local government's action to stop Alexis was the right thing. Strict phrases containing law enforcement, and good and bad considerations show the pressure point of the supporters on this issue.

In addition, they view that Alexis' contribution to PAD is insignificant. This is another phrase that is emphasized. The amount of PAD Jakarta in 2017 is Rp. 43,901,488,800,000, -, with a total value of the tourism sector in the amount of Rp. 755,397,510,000, - (11.54% of the total PAD). In 2018, the total value of the tourism sector decreased to Rp. 548,990,000,000, -. However, the amount of PAD increased to Rp. 44,570,508,023,737,000, - (BPS, 2018: 483; www.online-pajak.com). In addition, prostitution business is not a legally legal business, so that from this business practice, it will not get a tax value for PAD Jakarta.

Table 6. Framing in the theme of Regional Original Income (PAD): Support

<b>Frame:</b> Framing in the theme of Regional Original Income (PAD): Supporters Frame: The action of the DKI Regional Government to close the Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Studio does not significantly reduce the tax value for DKI Jakarta.	
<b>Framing device</b>	<b>Reasoning device</b>
<b>Metaphor:</b>	<b>Roots:</b> Hotel Alexis and Alexis Massage Studio do not have a significant impact in contributing to DKI Jakarta taxes. Closing the two businesses did not significantly reduce the tax value of DKI Jakarta.
<b>Catchphrase:</b> 1. Must be seen the good and the bad. 2. Alexis' contribution to PAD was insignificant 3. Law enforcement	<b>Appeals to principle:</b> Hotel Alexis and Alexis Massage Studio do not have a significant impact in contributing to DKI Jakarta taxes. Closing the two businesses did not significantly reduce the tax value of DKI Jakarta.
<b>Exemplars:</b> 1. Must also consider the positive and negative sides. It must be seen which of the two is greater. 2. Losing a source of income from Alexis, instead DKI gets a bigger tax value on other sources to fill PAD. 3. "Prostitution is not allowed, you know, because it is not prohibited by us. So if you go in there, surely VAT is not included. Because once he was entered it was a violation of the law."	<b>Consequences:</b> The actions of the DKI Regional Government are correct because they are more concerned with moral values and law enforcement.
<b>Depiction:</b> -	

D. The investment theme

The opposition emphasizes the Regional Government's policies to make investors afraid of the applicable regulations, and the losses suffered by entrepreneurs because of it. In their eyes Anies- Sandi's political promises are

detrimental to businessmen. Because of the campaign promise, the regulations made by the local government made potential investors afraid to invest in businesses in Jakarta. Meanwhile, the business line is important for Jakarta's income. This local government policy made the business climate in Jakarta worse, and closed the potential tax for Jakarta.

The emphatic phrase emphasizes this in the form of 'fear of the rules' which refers to local government actions making investors afraid to invest in Jakarta, 'entrepreneurs becoming losers' which refers to local government actions that harm the business of business actors, and 'political promises'. which emphasizes negative local government actions, solely to seek support at the expense of the community. The regional government is seen as scaring investors and has the potential to disrupt the business climate in Jakarta. Local government actions are also seen as detrimental to entrepreneurs.

Table 7. Framing on the investment theme: Opposition

<i>Frame:</i> The action of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government to close the Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Studio business has caused fear to investors.	
<i>Framing device</i>	<i>Reasoning device</i>
<i>Metaphor:</i>	<i>Roots:</i> Anies-Sandi's political promise to close Alexis' business has cost the entrepreneur (Alexis) a loss. The local government's action to close the Alexis Hotel and Massage Studio has caused fear among investors.
<i>Catchphrase:</i> 1. Fear of rules 2. Entrepreneurs are at a loss 3. Political promises	<i>Appeals to principle:</i> The government must pay attention to entrepreneurs so as not to lose money. This is important, because entrepreneurs contribute tax value to the state (province).
<i>Exemplars:</i> 1. "So now it's like Alexis's place, it is sealed. That's a person's place of business, meaning that people buy it. Yes, it should be after Alexis isn't there, where people want to be a hotel, do they want to be given convenience. But until today I can't." 2. How do investors want to enter Jakarta, if all are afraid of the rules. 3. Do not make political promises to make entrepreneurs lose	<i>Consequences:</i> The regional government's policy of stopping Alexis is a wrong policy, because it scares investors. This makes the business climate in Jakarta not good.
<i>Depiction:</i> -	

In this section, there are no arguments from local government supporters related to investment issues.

E. The theme of the former Alexis workers and their livelihoods

The termination of Alexis' business activities resulted in the hotel workers losing their jobs. Of

the approximately 500 workers who lost their jobs, 104 of them were foreign workers. The former employees also demanded that the local government pay attention to their fate (DetikNews.com, 29/3/2018). This has become an issue that has been criticized by the opposition in the DKI Jakarta DPRD. The opposition sees that the local government has made the workers lose their livelihoods. According to the opposition, the LG has created unemployment. Phrases that are firmly emphasized in this discourse are 'reckless' which refers to local government policies,' employment 'which refers to Alexis' contribution, and' the fate of workers' which refers to former Alexis employees who have lost their jobs. These phrases were strengthened by the statement conveyed by the opposition that Alexis as a company absorbs a lot of workers. And according to them, it should be considered by the local government in making policies.

Table 8. Framing on the theme of former Alexis workers and their livelihoods: Opposition

<i>Frame:</i> The Regional Government of DKI Jakarta does not pay attention to excess unemployment due to workers at Alexis who lose their jobs.	
<i>Framing device</i>	<i>Reasoning device</i>
<i>Metaphor:</i>	<i>Roots:</i> The DKI Jakarta Regional Government stops the business of the Alexis Hotel and the Alexis Massage Studio. As a result, many workers have lost their livelihoods.
<i>Catchphrase:</i> 1. Rash 2. Labor absorption 3. The fate of the workers	<i>Appeals to principle:</i> Alexis assigns work to audiences
<i>Exemplars:</i> "Of course in one company there is a tremendous absorption of manpower, Sir. That's what we count."	<i>Consequences:</i> The local government has created unemployment by making a policy to stop the Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Studio.
<i>Depiction:</i> -	

The local government responded to the demands of the former Alexis employee. The local government said that this matter was the responsibility of PT. Grand Ancol Hotel as the manager of Alexis. In addition, former employees are actually aware of the practice of prostitution at Alexis. They are considered to have ignored this prohibited practice. So, according to the local government, they are not victims, but are part of the parties who have



participated in violating the law (DetikNews.com, 29/3/2018).

Supporters of the local government have made the same argument that this is the responsibility of the Alexis manager. This is shown in strong phrases in the form of "the responsibility of the Alexis manager", and "The Manpower Office does its job". The DKI Jakarta Manpower Office, which is an extension of the Regional Government, is considered to have carried out its duties properly with support for elaboration in exemplars (3) and (4).

The flow of argumentation obtained is as follows. Alexis is seen as having violated the law. Hence, Alexis was not allowed to do his business. Because of this, Alexis employees lost their jobs. For this reason, the Grand Ancol Hotel as the manager of Alexis must be responsible for the fate of its employees. Regarding the Regional Government's own policies, the DKI Manpower Office has tried to overcome this problem by adopting and providing opportunities for job channels to them. However, most of the former Alexis employees do not accept it, and are still doing the old job, which is against the law.

Table 9. Framing on the theme of former Alexis workers and their livelihoods: Supporters

<i>Frame:</i> The local government has handled the workers well	
<i>Framing device</i>	<i>Reasoning device</i>
<i>Metaphor:</i>	<i>Roots:</i> 1. Alexis has violated the law which resulted in the business being stopped. This action caused the workers to lose their livelihoods. 2. The local government has handled the former Alexis employees well. However, workers who work as prostitutes do not follow government guidance. They still prefer to choose as prostitutes.
<i>Catchphrase:</i> 1. the responsibility of managing Alexis 2. The Manpower Office performs its duties.	<i>Appeals to principle:</i> The Grand Ancol Hotel must be responsible for the fate of Alexis' former employees, because they have violated the law.
<i>Exemplars:</i> 1. Actually this is the responsibility of the manager 2. The Gerindra faction asked the Grand Ancol Hotel to place its former workers in decent work places. 3. The Manpower Office must immediately accommodate them. Is not it? Transferring what was their previous life into a better life, and changing their mindset, lifestyle, and mindset in pursuing life, that is. 4. Where are they going? Eighty percent don't want to be adopted by us.	<i>Consequences:</i> The issue of the fate of former Alexis employees is the sole responsibility of the Alexis management. Even so, the Regional Government is still trying to solve this problem through the DKI Jakarta Provincial Manpower Office.
(Commercial sex workers) professionals. 80% has disappeared. So the remaining 20% is what works. So like that. So 80% disappeared. Twenty percent that has been handled, caught red-handed."	
<i>Depiction:</i>	

F. The theme of the expansion of the HIV/AIDS epidemic

On this theme, the local government opposition group raised the theme of the spread of HIV / AIDS as an excuse to criticize local government policies. This issue is particularly emphasized by Prastyo Edi Marsudi who is also the Chairperson of the DKI Jakarta DPRD. This group emphasizes with explanations that prostitution cannot be suppressed, it can only be localized so that it does not become epidemic. This group admits that one of the bad sides of prostitution is the transmission of a dangerous venereal disease: HIV / AIDS. According to them, Jakarta is the second largest place for HIV / AIDS sufferers in Indonesia, after Papua. The basic principle is that prostitution cannot be eliminated, it can only be controlled. Their argument is that prostitution is a disease, and the container for HIV / AIDS is something that cannot be lost. Prostitution is easy to spread massively and massively destroy society. On the basis of these two things, prostitution must be localized.

They see Alexis as a place of localization to prevent disease transmission. With the localization of prostitution, the spread of venereal disease in Jakarta can be controlled and monitored. The Jakarta government action to stop Alexis is seen as an act of eliminating one of the prostitution brothels, a forum for monitoring the development of HIV / AIDS.

Table 10. Framing on the theme of the expansion of the HIV / AIDS epidemic: Opposition

<i>Frame:</i> The actions of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government have had an impact on the widespread spread of HIV / AIDS.	
<i>Framing device</i>	<i>Reasoning device</i>
<i>Metaphor:</i>	<i>Roots:</i> Prostitution as a disease, and the vessel for HIV / AIDS is something that cannot be lost. Prostitution is easy to spread massively and massively destroy society. On the basis of these two things, prostitution must be localized.
<i>Catchphrase:</i>	<i>Appeals to principle:</i> Prostitution cannot be eliminated, it just has to be controlled
<i>Exemplars:</i> 1. Prostitution as a disease cannot be eradicated, but it can be localized in a certain place, so that its impact does not spread to the people of Jakarta. 2. Alexis can be used as a place for prostitution localization, so that it does not spread throughout DKI Jakarta. 3. The name lokalisasi must be localized, you have to give a place Sir. 4. Localization allows the impact of disease to be monitored 5. Every country in the world exists. If it gets more closed, there will be many disease outbreaks. There must also be a way out... Must be regulated. Don't just think about things that are just incidental. This is the impact now Pak HIV is number 2 after Papua there.	<i>Consequences:</i> The local government of DKI Jakarta is trying to eradicate prostitution rather than localizing it. This caused prostitution to spread in society and became difficult to control. As a result, the spread of HIV / AIDS has become massive and difficult to detect. The action of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government is an act of wrongdoing, because it causes the spread of disease and is difficult to detect.
<i>Depiction:</i> Localization	

From the supporters of the local government itself, this theme was not raised. This is reasonable because in the view of this group, prostitution must be stopped, not managed (Muhamad Taufiq, 11/7/2019; Abdurrahman Suhaimi, 22/7/2019).

#### 4.2. Between moral interests and business interests: The position of factions on local government policies

Guridno's study (2019) shows that the two conflicting parties surrounding this local government policy stand on two value positions: moral interests and business interests. This position can be seen in the two types of interest groups that are present in the political conflict over this Regional Government policy. The two types of groups are religious mass organizations in DKI Jakarta, such as the DKI Jakarta Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), and business association groups consisting of the Association of Indonesian Hotels and Restaurants (PHRI) DKI Jakarta, and the Jakarta Entertainment Entrepreneurs Association (Asphija). The first type of group stands on a moral basis, so seeing Alexis must be muzzled, and the local government policy to stop Alexis is the right thing to do. Meanwhile, the second group of which Alexis is a member, stands on reasons of business interests and defending the interests of its members.

The position pattern between moral interests and business interests is also seen in the framing foundation of the two political elites who are pro and contra with local government policies. From the discussion in the previous section, it can be seen that the morality point of view is the basis for the framing of the political elites supporting the Regional Government, and an economic point of view, in the form of the interests of entrepreneurs and state income which are the basis for the framing of political elites who are in opposition to the Regional Government.

In the six themes discussed, arguments from local government support groups were seen in the following themes: (1) policy themes with Perda, (2) policy themes and campaign promises, and

(3) PAD themes. On these three themes, pro-local government groups provide confirmation to enforce local regulations. The two regional regulations which contain articles on the practice of prostitution are based on aspects of

the morality of the people present in DKI Jakarta, especially Perda No. 8 of 2007.

This moral point of view relates to generally the constituents of the two parties — Gerindra and PKS — who are supporters of the Anies-Sandi regime. Especially PKS, religious moral values become the political platform of this party. Generally, their constituents are Islamic mass organizations in Jakarta, which supported Anies-Sandi's rise to the leadership of the executive branch of the Jakarta government (Habib, 2018). This also prompted the opposition to the Regional Government to raise the issue of Anies-Sandi's campaign promise, which was the reason Alexis stopped his activities.

Even on the third theme, supporters of the Regional Government said that seeing Alexis must be considered the good and the bad side, not just the economic side. In the context of this discussion, the good and the bad are also seen from the point of view of the morality of the people of Jakarta. The theme (4) of the former Alexis workers and their livelihoods is also linked to the perspective of enforcing local regulations related to morality.

In contrast to the support groups, the opposition groups view this Regional Government policy from the main point of view in the form of economic value. On the theme (3) and theme (4) the theme of investment, it can be seen that the strong alignments of this group towards entrepreneurs. Themes (1) and (2) also illustrate this view. It seems that this group consistently plays an economic point of view. Theme (3) and theme (4) are clearly economic themes. The arguments raised by this group are side by side with arguments from the PT. Grand Ancol Hotel, PHRI, and Asphija. Apart from business and added value, the three of them played the theme of tax contributions, employment and investment, when criticizing local government policies (Tempo.co, 2/11/2017; Kompas.com, 30/10/2017; 31/10/2017); Bisnis.com, 8/1/2018

## V. CLOSING

The discourses that surfaced from the political elites in the DPRD against the regional government policies stopped Alexis' efforts to cover six themes. From it there are frames of the right or wrong values of local government

policies. On the policy theme with a perda, the opposition frame in the form of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government is committing violations of the perda, while the supporting frame in the form of the Regional Government's action to close the Alexis Hotel is a form of enforcing the perda. On the theme of policy and campaign promises, the opposition frame in the form of the DKI Regional Government is only to fulfill campaign promises to increase popularity, while the supporting frame in the form of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's action to close the Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Clinic is a form of fulfilling campaign promises in the form of enforcing local regulations. On the theme of Regional Original Income (PAD), the opposition frame in the form of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's action to close the Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Clinic has an impact on reducing the tax value for DKI Jakarta, while the Support frame in the form of the DKI Regional Government's action to close the Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Studio is insignificant. reduce the tax value for DKI Jakarta. On the investment theme, the opposition frame in the form of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's action to close the Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Studio businesses caused fear for investors. On the theme of former Alexis workers and their livelihoods, the opposition frame in the form of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government does not pay attention to excess unemployment due to workers at Alexis who have lost their jobs, and the supporting frame in the form of the Regional Government has handled the workers well. On the theme of the expansion of the HIV / AIDS disease epidemic, the opposition frame in the form of actions by the DKI Jakarta Regional Government has an impact on the widespread spread of HIV / AIDS.

From the aforementioned framing, it can be seen that the two groups have conflicting views on Regional Government policies. This conflicting framing shows a position of support and opposition to LG policies. This support was provided by the factions that raised the Anies-Sandi pair in the 2017 Jakarta Pilkada. Opposition was given by the factions that supported the Ahok Djarot pair in the elections. Even though the local elections were over, this conflict still continues. This can be seen in the views of each of these groups on Regional Government policies (Anies- Sandi). Even though it is not clear in the eyes of the public that

the conflict on this issue is, but behind it a real conflict occurs.

Each party in the political elite in conflict with its frames generally bases its frames with two general views. The viewpoint of moral values forms the basis of the framework for local government supporters, and economic and entrepreneurial views generally underlie the opposition's framing. These two views also represent the two views that exist in elements of society regarding Alexis. The first view is side by side with the religious organizations in Jakarta, and the second view is side by side with the entrepreneur groups. It can be seen that the two conflicting parties play their role as a vehicle for conflict between groups in Jakarta society.

## References

- [1] Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi DKI Jakarta. Jakarta dalam Angka: 2018, Jakarta: Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi DKI Jakarta, 2018.
- [2] Berger, Peter L. 1991. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. London—New York—Victoria—Toronto—Auckland: Penguin Books.
- [3] Nordholt, Henk Schulte (ed), Gerry van Klinken (ed), Bernard Hidayat (pent). 2007. *Politik Lokal di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia-KITLV.
- [4] Sartori, Giovanni. 2005. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*, Colchester: European Consortium for Political Research.
- [5] Steinberger, Peter J. 2015. *The Politics of Objectivity: An Essay on the Foundations of Political Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [6] Habib. 2018. *Peran Politik Ulama dalam Pemilihan Gubernur Provinsi DKI Jakarta 2017*. Disertasi pada Ilmu Politik-Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Nasional, Jakarta: Universitas Nasional.
- [7] Baswedan, Anies Rasyid. 2007. *Regional Autonomy and Patterns of Democracy in Indonesia*.
- [8] Disertasi pada Departement of Political Science, Dekalb: Northern Illinois University.
- [9] Guridno, Eddy. 2019. *Dinamika Politik dan Konflik Kepentingan dalam Penerapan*

- Kebijakan Pemerintah di DKI Jakarta Periode 2017-2018. Disertasi pada Ilmu Politik-Sekolah Pascasarjana Universitas Nasional. Jakarta: Universitas Nasional.
- [10] Gamson, William A., Andre Modigliani. (1989). "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach", dalam *American Journal of Sociology*, volume 95, nomor 1, Juli 1989, h. 1-37.
- [11] Bapak AA, anggota Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Jakarta, tanggal 17 Juni 2019, di Depok, Jawa Barat. Ibu Endah Setia Dewi, anggota DPRD DKI Jakarta Fraksi Gerindra—anggota Komisi 2 DPRD
- [12] DKI Jakarta, tanggal 21 Juni 2019, di Koffie Home, Jagakarsa, Jakarta Selatan.
- [13] Ibu Endah Setia Dewi, anggota DPRD DKI Jakarta Fraksi Gerindra—anggota Komisi B DPRD DKI Jakarta, melalui aplikasi Whatsapp ponsel android, tanggal 23 Juni 2019.
- [14] Bapak AA, anggota Partai Keadilan Sejahtera Jakarta, melalui aplikasi Whatsapp ponsel android, tanggal 3 Juli 2019.
- [15] Bapak Muhammad Taufiq, Wakil Ketua DPRD DKI Jakarta, tim sukses pasangan Anies-Sandi, tanggal 11 Juli 2019, di Ruang Fraksi Gerindra, DPRD DKI Jakarta, Jalan Kebon Sirih Nomor 18, Jakarta Pusat.
- [16] Bapak Prasetyo Edi Marsudi, Ketua DPRD DKI Jakarta, fraksi PDIP, tanggal 11 Juli 2019, di Ruang Fraksi PDIP, DPRD DKI Jakarta, Jalan Kebon Sirih Nomor 18, Jakarta Pusat.
- [17] Bapak Abdurrahman Suhaimi, anggota DPRD DKI Jakarta, Fraksi Partai Keadilan Sejahtera—Ketua Komisi B DPRD DKI Jakarta, tanggal 22 Juli 2019, di Kantor Komisi B DPRD DKI Jakarta, Gedung DPRD DKI Jakarta, Jalan Kebon Sirih, Jakarta Pusat.
- [18] Tempo, edisi 4 Februari 2018, h. 42-53
- [19] Bisnis.com, 8 Januari 2018, 15:14 WIB, "PHRI DKI Berharap Anies-Sandi Probisnis". Diunduh dari <http://jakarta.bisnis.com/read/20171015/77/699462/phri-dki-berharap-anies-sandi-probisnis>.
- [20] DetikNews.com, 29 Maret 2018, 18:24 WIB, "Eks Karyawan Alexis: Nasib Kami Bagaimana, Pak Anies?", diunduh dari: <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3943757/eks-karyawan-alexis-nasib-kami-bagaimana-pak-anies>.
- [21] ----, 28 Maret 2018, 14:54 WIB, "PDIP ke Anies: Ada Bukti Perdagangan Manusia di Alexis?", diunduh dari: <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3941360/pdip-ke-anies-ada-bukti-perdagangan-manusia-di-alexis>.
- [22] Kompas.com, 1 November 2017, 09:31 WIB, "Benarkah Pajak Alexis Mencapai Rp 30 Miliar?", diunduh dari: [//ekonomi.kompas.com/read/2017/11/01/093110326/benarkah-pajak-alexis-mencapai-rp-30-miliar](http://ekonomi.kompas.com/read/2017/11/01/093110326/benarkah-pajak-alexis-mencapai-rp-30-miliar).
- [23] ----, 31 Oktober 2017, 15:46 WIB, "Pengusaha Hiburan Merasa Tak Dirangkul Anies-Sandi", diunduh dari: <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2017/10/31/15463401/pengusaha-hiburan-merasa-tak-dirangkul-anies-sandi>.
- [24] ----, 30 Oktober 2017, 15:42 WIB, "Alexis Ditutup, Asosiasi Pengusaha Hiburan Jakarta Minta ArahanAnies", diunduh dari: <https://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2017/10/30/15420111/alexis-ditutup-asosiasi-pengusaha-hiburan-jakarta-minta-arahan-anies>.
- [25] Kumparan.com, 31 Oktober 2017, 15:42 WIB, "Golkar DKI: Pemberhentian Izin Alexis Harus Perhatikan Perda", diunduh dari: [//kumparan.com/balad-siliwangi/golkar-dki-pemberhentian-izin-alexis-harus-perhatikan-perda](http://kumparan.com/balad-siliwangi/golkar-dki-pemberhentian-izin-alexis-harus-perhatikan-perda).
- [26] ----, 30 Oktober 2017, 16:20 WIB, "Fraksi Nasdem DKI Lontarkan Kritik ke Anies soal Penutupan Alexis", diunduh dari <https://kumparan.com/@kumparannews/fraksi-nasdem-dki-lontarkan-kritik-ke-anies-soal-penutupan-alexis>.
- [27] ----, 14 Oktober 2017 - 10:51 WIB, "8 'Janji Suci' Anies-Sandi: Tutup Alexis hingga Bangun Stadion", diunduh dari: [//kumparan.com/muhamad-iqbal/8-janji-suci-anies-sandi-tutup-alexis-hingga-bangun-stadion?ref=body&type=mbcjugal](http://kumparan.com/muhamad-iqbal/8-janji-suci-anies-sandi-tutup-alexis-hingga-bangun-stadion?ref=body&type=mbcjugal).
- [28] SuaraJakarta.co, "Sikap F-PDIP DPRD DKI Terbelah Soal Penutupan Alexis", diunduh dari: <http://suarajakarta.co/news/sikap-f-pdip-dprd-dki-terbelah-soal-penutupan-alexis/>.
- [29] Tempo.co, 9 Februari 2018, 13:23 WIB "Ini 4 Bisnis Seks Paling Moncer di Dekat Istana Presiden Jokowi", diunduh dari:

- <https://www.msn.com/id-id/berita/nasional/ini-4-bisnis-seks-paling-moncer-di-dekat-istana-presiden-jokowi/ar-BBITZ5x>.
- [30] ----, 30 Januari 2018, 15:34 WIB, “After Alexis“, diunduh dari:
- [31] //en.tempo.co/read/news/2018/01/30/314915294/After-Alexis.
- [32] ----, 2 November 2017 07:46 WIB, “Hotel Alexis Ditutup, Pengusaha Hiburan Bersiap Gugat Pemerintah”, diunduh dari: //metro.tempo.co/read/1029948/hotel-alexis-ditutup-pengusaha-hiburan-bersiap-gugat-pemerintah.
- [33] Www.online-pajak.com, “Pajak DKI: Ini Sumber Utama Pemasukan Jakarta”.
- [34] Provinsi Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta, Peraturan Daerah Provinsi Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta Nomor 6 Tahun 2015 tentang Kepariwisataaan.
- [35] ----, Peraturan Daerah Provinsi Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta Nomor 8 Tahun 2007 tentang Ketertiban Umum.