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Political Conflict Around the Political Policy of the Dki Jakarta Regional Government to Close the Alexis Hotel

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Abstract

The DKI Jakarta Regional Government's policy to stop the activities of the Alexis Hotel has resulted in political conflict. This conflict is filled with elements of interest groups in Jakarta. This article discusses how this policy was created by the DKI Jakarta Regional Government, and how political conflicts occurred around this policy. Frank R. Pfetsch's theory is used to read how this policy was made, and Maswadi Rauf's political conflict theory is used to read how political conflict occurred around this policy. The findings of this research are as follows. The policy of stopping Alexis Hotel activities was influenced by factors: the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election campaign promises, the Regional Government's perception of what an ideal Jakarta would be, the existence of applicable laws, support from promotional interest groups and the press, support from parties supporting the Regional Government, and the small number of challenges from local government opposition parties. This policy then reaped conflict. Promotional interest groups that base their ideas on religious values support the Regional Government's policy, protective interest groups that protect Alexis' businessmen oppose this policy. This conflict was also accompanied by conflict between political elites in Jakarta. Two factions in the Jakarta DPRD are arguing with each other regarding regional government policies, the pros and cons of policies. This argument occurred around the local government's procedures for implementing this policy. This conflict between political elites is a continuation of the political conflict in the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election. 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 Regional Election is also part of the conflict between these two national coalitions. This political conflict is also a reflection of the conflict between people's worldviews in Jakarta. Each opposing political elite uses arguments from conflicting interest groups with opposing views on life. This conflict of views on life takes the form of a religious view of life facing a secular view of life in the form of hedonism.

Keywords: Policy, Political Conflict, Worldview.

Introduction

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

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Alexis and her prostitution are known to international tourists as a form of tourism (Jamran, 17/7/2019). In fact, this is not included in Indonesia's tourism agenda which emphasizes Indonesian culture as a tourism selling point (S, 20/6/2019). In 2011, cases of prostitution and human trafficking emerged at the hotel. The victim was a woman from Sukabumi (CNN Indonesia, 1/11/2017a). The case was then 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' name emerged again in the 2017 Jakarta Regional Head Election (Pemilukada Jakarta 2017). This issue has become one of the campaign merchandise for candidate pair (paslon) Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno (Anies-Sandi). Closing Alexis is one of the eight promises of candidate pair Anies-Sandi's campaign program in the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election (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 Regional Election, there were at least eleven mass organizations that supported candidate pair Anies-Sandi. Apart from FPI, several others are Al-Ittihadiah, Islamic Community Association (PUI), Islamic Association (Persis), Mathla'ul Anwar, Wahdah Islamiyah, Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council (DDII), and Syarikat Islam/ Sarekat Islam (SI) (Habib, 2018: 195). The Anies-Sandi candidate pair won the second round of the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election for the candidate pairs Basuki Tjahaja Purnama and Djarot Saiful Hidayat (Ahok-Djarot). The political conflict in the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election continued during the time when Jakarta was led by Anies and Sandi. Anies-Sandi supporters and Ahok-Djarot supporters are still fighting each other even though the regional elections are over. In the focus of the study examined in this paper, this political conflict was also born around the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's policy to stop the activities of the Alexis Hotel.

When Anies-Sandi was elected to lead Jakarta, the mass organizations that won the pair made campaign promises, one of which was to close down Alexis. The new Governor and Deputy Governor of Jakarta immediately made a policy to stop Alexis. This policy began with the rejection of the extension of the Tourism Business Registration Certificate (TDUP) number 60U0HG for the Alexis Hotel, and TDUP number Z35DNU for the Alexis Massage Center by the DKI Jakarta Capital Investment and One-Stop Integrated Services Service (Dinas PMPTSP) (CNN Indonesia, 1/11 /2017b). The reason was in the form of reports from the public and the media about the existence of prostitution practices in Alexis (Letter DPMPTSP Prov. DKI Jakarta no. 6866/-1. 858.8, 27/10/2017). Then, on March 29 2018 the Regional 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 an investigation report by Tempo magazine (edition 4/2/2018: 42-53).

This policy has reaped pros and cons among political elites and interest groups in Jakarta. In short, there was a political conflict in Jakarta because that policy. Among the political parties in the Jakarta DPRD that are also involved in the conflict are the Greater Indonesia Movement (Gerindra), the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), against the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), Golkar, the Democratic National (Nasdem), and the People's Conscience. (Hanura). Among the interest groups involved in the conflict are the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI Jakarta Region), the Indonesian Ulama Council of DKI Jakarta Province (MUI DKI Jakarta), the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership Council of DKI Jakarta (DPW Muhammadiyah Jakarta), the Ulama and Habaib Forum (FUHAB) , the Betawi Community

Consultative Body (Bamus Betawi), the Indonesian Hotel and Restaurant Association of DKI Jakarta Province (PHRI DKI Jakarta), and the Jakarta Entertainment Entrepreneurs Association (Aspija).

About how political conflict can occur around the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's policy to close the Alexis Hotel is discussed in this article. The purpose of this article is to explain: (1) how the DKI Jakarta Regional Government considered closing the Alexis hotel and massage parlor, and (2) how interest groups and political party elites through the DKI Jakarta DPRD responded to this, which then became a vortex of political conflict.

Research Methods and Theories Used

The research in this paper uses a qualitative approach. This approach uses a natural approach, to understand phenomena in specific situational 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 researching a series of specific cases tied to a particular system framework. The method is to look at a phenomenon that has been studied in various ways over a certain period of time, in detail, collecting in-depth data, including using multiple sources of information techniques in the form of observations, interviews, audio-visual material, documents and reports, which based on certain themes (points of view) in the study (Grigsby, 2012: 22; Creswell, 2007: 73-75).

The author collected data by taking sources in the form of interviews with parties related to this research, mass media reports, literature studies, and official documents from agencies related to this research. To analyze the case raised, the author uses 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 instead absorbs and channels society's conflict, 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 are in conflict with each other, in order to gain and maintain power. (Sartori, 1995: 14-71).

Political conflict does not only occur in political elections, but also occurs throughout the course of political government. Political parties that are at odds with the authorities can continue their conflicts after political contestation. This can be done by putting political pressure on the authorities, political lobbying, and even coercion in administering government (Della Porta in Crouch & Streek, 2006: 64). The forms can take the form of political contestation, disagreement, debate, dispute, and also differences of opinion (Steinberger, 2015: 62).

The sources of political conflict according to Maswadi Rauf are as follows. First, because in the relationship between the ruler and the ruled, the ruler is considered to act arbitrarily in the eyes of the ruled (the people). Second, because of the struggle for positions of power. Rare political positions are highly valued by the public. With so many people fighting over it, conflict arises. Third, the reason for getting pleasure from life. Political power is considered to be an access to the pleasures of life. Because positions of power are rare, and there are many who want them,

conflict cannot be avoided (Rauf, 2001: 26-30).

Interest Groups and Politics

One of the functions of political parties is to aggregate and articulate the interests of society into the political system (Kantaprawira, 2004: 62; Budiardjo, 2008: 405-410). Community interests 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 who join a group based on a common opinion or interest, organize themselves to achieve goals to influence political outcomes, and influence government political policies for the interests of the interest group (Grigsby, 2012: 192; Watts, 2007 : 10). Regarding 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 they promote are the interests of their group members (Watts, 2007: 30-31; Hague & Harrop, 2004: 167-168).

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

Political Policies in Political Conflicts

Political policies are actually forms of struggle between political interests in allocating and managing resources (Thahir, 2011: 83). Therefore, political policy is not devoid of political conflict. Miriam Budiardjo interprets political policy as a decision taken by political actors or groups who have the authority to make policies, in choosing goals or to achieve political goals (Budiardjo, 2008: 20). In line with this, Hallsworth et al., see the political aspect of policy as the political direction and desires that contribute to policy making (Hallsworth et.al., 2011: 5). Political policy is characterized by several characteristics: (1) it is made by state managers, (2) it regulates collective/public life, (3) the benefits of this policy received by the community/public are much greater than the small elements that benefit 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 the positions occupied by political authorities. This includes the interests of political rulers (Rauf, 2001: 20).

In the context of the case that the author raises, the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's political policy was made in the midst of political conflict. This conflict is a continuation of the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election conflict. Frank F. Pfetsch compiled parameters in the form of three aspects in making political policies in the midst of political conflict. First, the internal aspect. Policymakers will consider the pressures that must be faced and opportunities for support within the government. Second, the external aspect. Policymakers will consider pressures, challenges and support from outside government. Third, consider the perceived interests of the policy-making group, and the political opposition from opponents who will stand in the way (Pfetsch, 2007: 18). In the context of this paper, the external aspects referred to by Pfetsch are defined as interest groups and the Central Government, and the internal aspects are the Regional

All the theories that the author describes in the sections above will be used to dissect the phenomenon that the author raises in this article, in the form of the reasons for the policy made by the Regional Government of DKI Jakarta to close down the Alexis Hotel, and the pro and con responses from political elites, as well as groups. -interest groups against this policy.

Discussion

The Alexis issue in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election

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, 10/30/2017) was the beginning of the emergence of the Alexis issue in the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election. This statement was processed by the winning Anies-Sandi campaign team as one issues in the campaign (Muhammad Taufik, 11/7/2019). In the first round of the regional election candidate debate, the fifth segment on January 13 2017, this issue came to the fore. In the debate, candidate pair Anies-Sandi attacked candidate pair Ahok-Djarot regarding the practice of prostitution at the Alexis Hotel. Anies-Sandi saw that Ahok gave the impression of being selective in eradicating the practice of prostitution in Jakarta. Ahok responded to Anies' attack by saying that Stadium and Miles, the entertainment venues where drugs were found, had been closed (Tirto.id, 14/1/2017).

After that debate, the Anies-Sandi couple often brought up the issue of prostitution in their campaign. Candidate candidate Anies-Sandi firmly wants Jakarta to be free from prostitution practices (Tempo.co, 10/30/2017), and promises that if elected, he will take firm action against Alexis (Kompas.com, 10/19/2017). The debate between the two candidate pairs regarding Alexis involved Regional Regulation no. 8 of 2015 concerning Tourism. In Ahok's eyes, Alexis Hotel does not violate the Regional Regulation (Kompas.com, 21/4/ 2017), whereas in Anies' eyes, on the contrary, Alexis violates the Regional Regulation (Republika.co.id, 21/4/2017).

The campaign to close down Alexis, which was promoted by candidate pair Anies-Sandi, received a positive response from its supporters. In general, his supporters are elements of society who strongly hold religion as their way of life, and who are also injured by Ahok's actions which are considered insulting religion. This issue is of interest to these mass organizations, because the religious values that are 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 promises by religious mass organizations to support Anies-Sandi (Merdeka.com, 24/7/2017; Tempo.co, 2/1/2017).

DKI Regional Government Policy to Close Alexis

In the first round of the Regional Election, candidate pair Agus-Sylvi was in last place, so they could not continue their contest. Groups that supported Agus Sylvi, such as Fuhab and Bamus Betawi, then directed their choice to candidate pair Anies-Sandi. The choice of mass organizations that support Anies-Sandi is mainly based on an assessment from a religious perspective. The role of religious values is very important in the political issues of the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election, in the form of identity politics (Habib, 2018).

In the post-conflict regional elections, candidate pair Anies-Sandi won the contest against candidate pair Ahok-Djarot in the second round of the Regional Election. Anies and Sandi are officially the Governor and Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta for the 2017-2022 period.

Immediately, people began to pay attention to Anies and Sandi's political promises during the previous campaign.

Even though the post-conflict regional elections are over, remnants of the struggle between political elites are still present in the form of conflict 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 Surrounding the Formulation of the Policy to Close Alexis

Support and challenges within the Jakarta political system

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

PKS is a political party that makes Islam its platform (AD/ART PKS). The Islamic nuances that it promotes make the party's immoral practices considered one of the important things that must be addressed (Mr. AA, 11/6/2019). The idea of 'amr ma'ruf nahiy munkar (doing good and preventing evil) is 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 in nationality (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 forming a coalition is also another factor that makes these two parties support the DKI Jakarta Regional Government. As PKS admitted, this party supported Anies-Sandi during the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election, and also supported the DKI Jakarta Regional Government led by Anies and Sandi for national coalition reasons (Habib, 2018: 248). The main target of the Anies-Sandi pair to gain voter support in the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election is elements of society in DKI Jakarta who feel their religious feelings have been hurt by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama's statement. These elements are also targeted by PKS and Gerindra who are running candidate pair Anies-Sandi. The hope is that by carrying out this agenda of mass aspirations, PKS and Gerindra hope that the public will make their political choices with 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 down Alexis. First, Regional Regulation of the Province of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta Number 6 of 2015 concerning Tourism. In this law, it is stated that the implementation of tourism activities must uphold Indonesian religious norms and cultural values (article 3 paragraph a, article 14 paragraph a); and participate in preventing immoral acts from occurring (article 14 paragraph k). Second, Regional Regulation of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta Province Number 8 of 2007 concerning Public Order. It states that every person or institution is prohibited from committing immoral acts, becoming a commercial sex worker (PSK), ordering, facilitating, persuading and forcing other people to become prostitutes, and using the services of prostitutes (article 42). Third, Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 29 of 2007 concerning the Provincial Government of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta as the Capital of the Unitary

State of the Republic of Indonesia. In this law, the authority of the Regional Government of DKI Jakarta is stated 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 made Regulation of the Governor of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta Province Number 18 of 2018 concerning the Implementation of Tourism Businesses. In this Gubernatorial Regulation 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 permits 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 assessed by the DKI Jakarta Regional Government as having violated the articles of these regulations.

Political conflict throughout the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election continued within the Jakarta government led by Governor Anies Baswedan and Deputy Governor Sandiaga Uno. In the DKI Jakarta DPRD, only two political factions firmly defend the DKI Jakarta Regional Government. Meanwhile, of the other factions, there are those who are firmly in opposition to the Anies-Sandi government, there are those who see possibilities for opposition or to support the regional government. This opposition comes from parties that supported the Ahok-Djarot candidate pair during the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election. PDIP, Nasdem, and Golkar are among the factions that often criticize the DKI Jakarta Regional Government.

Support and Challenges External to the Jakarta Political System

Promotional Interest Group Support

Support for the Regional Government to close down Alexis in the Anies-Sandi campaign during the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election came from elements of society, in the form of interest groups. When the Anies-Sandi couple was elected to lead Jakarta, these interest groups began to collect promises from the previous campaign.

Demands for Anies and Sandi's promises came from FPI, FUHAB, Forum 212, and MUI Jakarta. FPI will reprimand Anies and Sandi if the regional government's campaign promises, one of which is to close down Alexis, are not implemented (CNN Indonesia, 8/5/2017). The Chairman of Tanfidzi DPD FPI Jakarta, Abdul Majid, said a similar thing, that the Regional Government must issue policies that comply with the aspirations of the people (CNN Indonesia, 19/8/2017). Even though on October 27 2017 DPMPTSP DKI Jakarta refused to extend Alexis' business permit, 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, 10/31/2017). The pressure from these interest groups is seen by the Regional Government as a form of support for the Regional Government's desire to close down Alexis (Husnil, 28/6/2019; Taufan Bakri, 11/6/2019). In front of the ulama gathered at City Hall on November 14, Anies stated that he would ensure that Alexis was closed (Rappler.com, 11/14/2017).

The groups that support this regional government policy are groups that use Islamic religious teachings as their platform. As discussed in the previous section of this article, these groups are groups that support the Anies-Sandi candidate pair in the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election. However, there are also many other groups that do not support the Anies-Sandi candidate pair, who also support the policy. this local government. Other religious organizations also support this, because in the religious teachings adhered to by the people in Jakarta, the practice of adultery is considered an act that is prohibited by religion (Taufan Bakri, 11/6/2019).

Press support

Even though Alexis' TDUP application was rejected, and Alexis was automatically not allowed to carry out business activities, this hotel was still operating secretly. This was captured by the press in its reports. The press is putting pressure on the DKI Jakarta Regional Government to take this issue seriously. Through its report on the 100 days of the Anies-Sandi government, 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 (2/4/2018 edition: 42-53) published its investigative news about exclusive prostitution places in Jakarta, one of which described prostitution activities in Alexis. The news also shows pressure for the government to be more serious in dealing with Alexis. The issues raised in the investigative column in Tempo Magazine are matters that are considered important and related to public life, according to the magazine's editors. The practice of prostitution in Jakarta, including Alexis, is crucial in the eyes of Tempo editorial staff.

The meaning of Alexis is relatively negative in the eyes of the media (Kompas.com, 10/31/2017a; 10/31/2017b). Reporting in online mass media showed a negative value (60%) for Alexis (Palupi & Atmaja, 2018: 10). This means that the regional government also gets support from the mass media. This view also made the Regional Government hasten to close down Alexis (Budhy Novian, 11/6/2019).

The Alexis Issue Is in the Vortex of Conflict Between 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 at the national scale (Baswedan, in Nordholt & Klinken, 2007: ix-x; Baswedan, 2007: 28, 87). In the context of this article, political contelations and dynamics in Jakarta are a representation of 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 entrenchment of these two coalitions is also present. In fact, at the DKI Jakarta DPRD the Red and White Coalition was inaugurated at the DKI level (Datiknews.com, 19/11/2014). This conflict was seen in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election. Each candidate and their supporting parties were extensions of political will at the national level. Especially in the second round of the Regional Election, national level elites took part in the Regional Election contestation. Megawati Sukarnoputri who represented KIH and Prabowo Subianto who represented KMP participated in political lobbying in the Jakarta Regional Election (Habib, 2008: 256).

This Alexis issue later became a national scale political issue. Political elites in the DPR rallied 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 (KMP) camp against the Jokowi (KIH) camp (Mr. MW, 23/7/2019), and is also related to future political contestation, in the form of the 2019 legislative and presidential elections (Habib 2008; Mr. MW, 7/23/2019). At least some of the national political elite have commented on the Alexis issue. Fadli Zon, from the Gerindra faction in the DPR supports the DKI Regional Government's policy to close down Alexis. According to him, so far there has been 'neglect' carried out by the previous government towards Alexis (CNN Indonesia, 2/11/2017). Fadli Zon's words contextually refer to Ahok's government.

Perception of Local Government Interests and Possible Political Opposition

Local Government's Internal Perception

The Anies-Sandi couple has moral preferences that stem from religion. Religion here is the values that are present in every religion. For Anies-Sandi, the development and management of Jakarta is to build and develop human morals, which means humans as creatures who worship God, whose ways are enshrined in 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 adhered to by each of its adherents (DatikNews.com, 16/10/2017; Kumparan.com, 17/10/2017; Muhammad Husnil, 28/6/2019).

The DKI Jakarta Regional Government interprets Pancasila from the first principle, Belief in One Almighty God, as a pillar for realizing the fifth principle, Social Justice for All Indonesian People. This fifth principle is what Anies and Sandi believe to be the ultimate goal of their government. This first principle is the basis for the people of Jakarta to live and build Jakarta. The First Principle then becomes the basis of the Second Principle, to become a just and civilized human being. Justice and human civilization will then be present in practice to uphold the Fifth Principle, Social Justice for All Indonesian People, in the context of this article, the people of Jakarta.

In the eyes of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government led by Anies and Sandi, ownership rights to Jakarta must take into account the general moral and ethical values held by its citizens, in order to obtain benefits from Jakarta in the form of employment opportunities, 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 which is opposed by religion must be eradicated.

Possible Political Opposition

In the DKI Jakarta DPRD, only two political factions firmly defend 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 that are firmly in opposition to the Anies-Sandi government. This opposition stems from the continuing political battle in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Election, especially between the parties supporting the Anies-Sandi pair and the parties supporting the Ahok-Djarot pair. These factions are PDIP (28 seats), Golkar (9 seats), Hanura (10 seats), and Nasdem (5 seats). Meanwhile, the rest in the form of PKB (6 seats), PAN-Democrat (12 seats), and PPP (10 seats) are floating and wait and see. From all this, it can be seen that if the case of the Regional Government's policy towards Alexis is brought to the DPRD, and a vote takes place, it is clear that the Regional Government will lose badly.

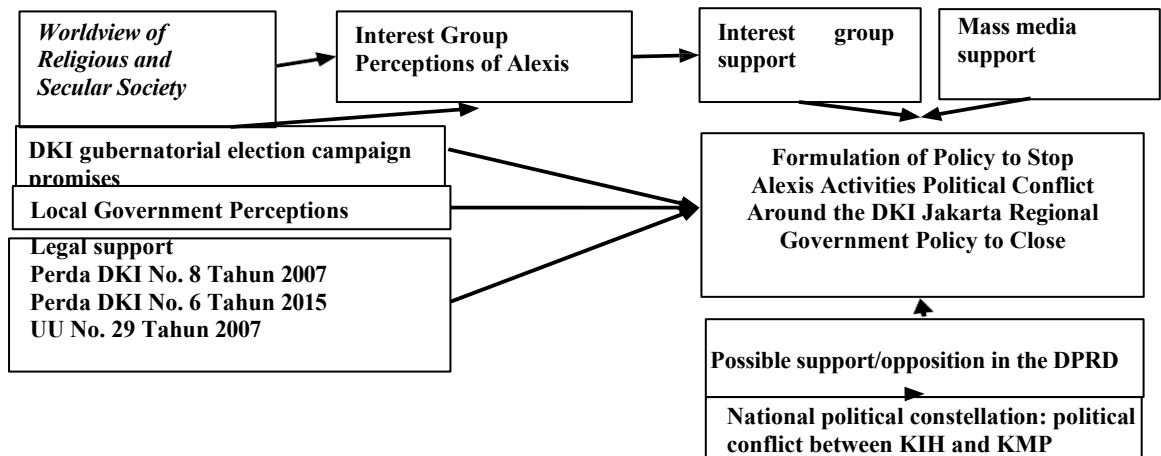
Disturbances from the opposition to the regional government's efforts to close down Alexis could happen, because one of the duties of these parties who sit in the DPRD is to monitor the running of regional government (UU No. 23 of 2014, article 1 paragraph 14). As mentioned by Della Porta, parties can continue their conflicts in the course of government administration.

However, the possibility of this opposition disappeared, because public and mass media pressure to close the Alexis Hotel was so extensive. Opposition parties will reconsider opposing the DKI Jakarta Regional Government, considering 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 practices in Alexis will lose sympathy from the public, and lead to minimal votes in the next political contestation. (MW, 17/6/2019; 23/7/2019; Abdurrahman Suhaimi, 22/7/2019).

From the discussion above, a causal relationship was found between the factors that caused the policy to stop the Alexis Hotel business as shown in the following chart.

Chart of Factors Influencing the Formulation of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's Policy to Stop Alexis' Activities



Political Conflict Surrounding the Closure of the Alexis Hotel

Support and Opposition to Interest Groups

After Alexis' TDUP application was rejected, the hotel was still operating secretly. Tempo Magazine (2/4/2018 edition: 42-53) published its investigative news about exclusive prostitution places in Jakarta, one of which described prostitution activities in Alexis. The news also shows pressure for the government to be more serious in dealing with Alexis. Apart from that, community groups from the North Jakarta Community Forum (Formaju) also intend to demonstrate in front of Alexis, to pressure the regional government to immediately officially close Alexis. However, Formaju received terror via telephone calls from unknown parties. To avoid physical clashes, Formaju canceled its demonstration (Republika.co.id, 19/10/2017).

On March 29 2018, Governor Anies officially sealed Alexis. The process of sealing Alexis was also accompanied by the drama of the leak of the DKI Jakarta Satpol PP order 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 by Alexis employees and pushing and shoving between Satpol PP and Alexis security (Tempo.co, 10/31/2017; CNN Indonesia, 3/29/2018).

This regional government action was welcomed by Islamic mass organizations in Jakarta, such

as the FPI, MUI Jakarta, and FUHAB. Apart from that, elements of non-Islamic religious organizations in Jakarta also welcomed this regional government policy. This is because for any religion adhered to 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 to be an empty political promise (Risman Muchtar, 17/7/2019).

The DKI Jakarta Regional Government found opposition from the management of Alexis, the Jakarta Entertainment Entrepreneurs Association (Asphija) and the Indonesian Hotel and Restaurant Entrepreneurs Association in the Jakarta area (PHRI Jakarta). The management told the mass media that they would file a legal complaint. Relations and hotel business associations also criticized the regional government's policies.

PT Grand Ancol Hotel as the manager of Alexis wants to sue the Regional Government in court. However, that plan failed. Alexis' party only made denials in the mass media. Through one of his attorneys, Lina Novita, Alexis denied Governor Anies' statement regarding the existence of prostitution and human trafficking practices there (CNN Indonesia, 29/3/2018). Then, some time later Alexis threatened to reveal the CCTV video at the hotel which contained several politicians who were Alexis' customers.

Asphija and PHRI Jakarta defended Alexis and criticized regional government policies. These two professional organizations are where Alexis is part of the membership. Asphija sees the regional government's actions as arrogant, because they cannot include clear evidence of prostitution practices 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, 10/31/2017c). The impression for Asphija is that the regional government does not side with entrepreneurs (Kompas.com, 10/30/2017). The reason the government does not want to accept Asphija's lobbying is because it is a clear violation of the law and does not want to accept the effects of this lobbying which have the potential to disrupt the government (Muhammad Husnil, 28/6/2019). In fact, Asphija then challenged Anies to close down other businesses that contained similar practices (prostitution) to Alexis's in Jakarta (Tempo.co, 28/3/2018).

PHRI wants the Regional Government to support entrepreneurs in the tourism sector. Additionally, according to them, Alexis contributed quite significant taxes to DKI Jakarta (Kompas.com, 10/30/2017). However, PHRI Jakarta seemed half-hearted in defending Alexis. According to 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's policy of looking at the business strategy of each hotel and restaurant is left to each business actor, and PHRI will not be responsible if there are business actors whose members act in violation of the law (Krishnadi, 6/7/2019).

The regional government is considered by Asphija and PHRI Jakarta to have acted arbitrarily towards 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 carried out arbitrary actions.

Conflict Among Political Elites

Among opposition politicians, this regional government policy is not without criticism. There is opposition, but it seems that the factions that are in opposition to the Regional Government are opposing it half-heartedly. Within the opposition factions, opposition is below 50% (Endah Setia

Dewi, 21/6/2019). This is normal, because the issue being played by the Regional Government is a sensitive issue which, if the parties make the wrong move, will have an impact on vote acquisition in future political contestations (Abdurrahman Suhaimi, 22/7/2019; MW, 23/7/2019). Opposition factions created conflict around the procedures carried out by the Regional Government to stop Alexis' activities. The author found field findings in the form of criticism from opposition factions towards regional government policies, and defense from supporting factions. This defense and opposition circulated in the mass media.

The PDIP, Nasdem and Golkar factions questioned public reports and mass media findings as evidence of violations listed in Gubernatorial Regulation No. 18 yrs. 2018 (article 50 paragraph 1 point f). In the eyes of both factions, Governor Anies has violated many applicable regulations in processing the closure of Alexis, in order to fulfill political campaign promises. He views Governor Anies and his deputy, Sandi, as placing more emphasis on the popularity of their policies than on applicable legal norms (Kumparan.com, 10/31/2017; 10/30/2017; Prasetyo Edi Marsudi, 11/7/2019). In the eyes of the factions in the Jakarta DPRD which are in opposition to the Regional Government, the policy of closing Alexis is suspected to contain several legal violations. For them, closing Alexis on the basis of public and media reports alone is invalid. This must be based on the results of investigations carried out by the police.

Opposition factions see that the regional government does not consider the consequences of the tax sector, and ignores the interests of entrepreneurs. Stopping Alexis' business means reducing Jakarta's Original Regional Income (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 businesses in Jakarta is the largest. The PDIP faction even accused the regional government of scaring investors (Prasetyo Edi Marsudi, 11/7/2019). Apart from that, the PDIP faction saw that Alexis had stopped operating, giving rise to new unemployment from former Alexis workers (Prasetyo Edi Marsudi, 11/7/2019).

The closure of Alexis was also assessed by opposition factions as causing the spread of venereal diseases in Jakarta, including HIV/AIDS. The argument is, if there is localization of places of prostitution, then the development of this dangerous disease will be easy to monitor and control. However, if the place is muzzled, the phenomenon of spreading 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 campaign promises. 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 the regional regulations (Muhammad Taufiq, 11/7/2018). PKS supports the actions of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government because it is a form of enforcement of Regional Regulation 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. Even though Alexis contributes to Jakarta taxes, other positive and negative aspects must be considered, whichever is greater of the two (Muhammad Taufiq, 11/7/2019). Jakarta's PAD increased from 43.90 trillion rupiah (2017) to 44.57 trillion rupiah (BPS DKI Jakarta, 2017: 533; BPS DKI Jakarta, 2018: 483-484).

As previously known, many of the workforce lost their source of livelihood when Alexis stopped operating. Gerindra answered this accusation, that the former Alexis workers should be the

responsibility of PT Grand Ancol Hotel as the manager of Alexis, because this company has violated the law. According to Gerindra, the Regional Government has acted firmly so that entrepreneurs who work in the hotel and entertainment sector will not act as they wish by breaking the regulations (Muhammad Taufiq, 11/7/2019).

6. Political Conflict and Clash of Views on Life

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

At least differences in people's views on sex in Jakarta emerged in the 1970s. In his study of the phenomenon of prostitution, Daniel Dakhidae calls the prohibitions against free sexual behavior by religious norms as 'repressive ethics', in contrast to the sexual behavior adopted by some Jakartans who use Western cultural values as a 'sexual revolution' (Prisma, 5/6/1976: 25-26).

The Hotel Alexis case is an example of conflicting views on life. For people who make religion their way of life, of course sexual activities outside of marriage are prohibited. On the other hand, in the view of a society that uses secular values as its outlook on life, sexuality is a human right, falling into the category of life enjoyment services (Taufan Bakri, 11/6/2019). Elements of society who want the closure of Alexis see the phenomenon of prostitution in Alexis from a religious perspective, while those who regret the closure of Alexis see it from a secular perspective with free will and economic motives.

Jakarta is inhabited by 10,467,629 residents, with the number of religious facilities in 2014 amounting to 10,129 buildings (DKI Jakarta Provincial Statistical Center, 2018: 6). The number of community organizations in Jakarta in 2017 was 750 organizations, 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 (DKI Jakarta Kesbangpol Office, 2017). The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), the Indonesian Ulema Council of DKI Jakarta Province, the Muhammadiyah Regional Leadership Council of DKI Jakarta, the Ulama and Habaib Forum (FUHAB), are included in the religious-based mass organizations. The Betawi Community Consultative Body (Bamus Betawi) is an ethnically based organization. The Indonesian Hotel and Restaurant Association of DKI Jakarta Province (PHRI DKI Jakarta) and the Jakarta Entertainment Entrepreneurs Association (Aspija) are profession-based mass organizations. From these data it can be seen that religion is one of the values held by the people of Jakarta, even in institutional form.

These espoused values can be interpreted as a worldview. A view of life is a series of belief systems, each of which is interconnected, from which humans understand how humans should act in relation to the natural world, including other humans (DeWitt, 2010: 10). When it comes to values, philosopher G.F.W. Hegel called the view of life "the moral view of the world", this view unites the reality of objects and morality in human actions towards them (Hegel, in Naugel, 2002: 69-70). This view of life is assumed to be integral to humans, otherwise humans will have a fragmented view of reality, and in the end they will not be able to understand reality as a whole, nor will they understand the parts of reality well.

FPI, MUI Jakarta, Muhammadiyah, and FUHAB base their respective members' views of life on the Islamic religion (Habib, 2018). Moreover, the first four groups are organizations based on the Islamic religion. Bamus Betawi, which is based on ethnicity, also contains a view of life that is in line with the four previous 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 outlook on life. Politics must be based on things 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).

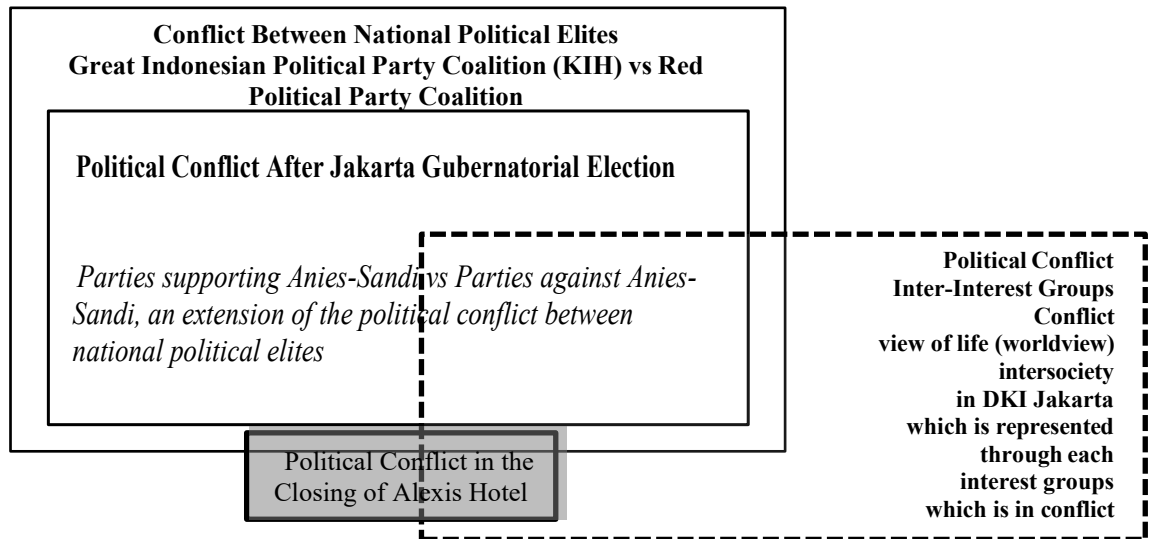
Asphija and PHRI have different views from the interest groups mentioned above. The view of organizations operating in this economy is based on added value, which is an economic principle. If we look at its relationship to norms and morality, this group relies on whether or not it violates applicable positive law. Regarding morality, in the view of this organization, it is up to each individual (Krishnadi, 6/7/2019).

If we look further, this view departs from the secular view which takes the form of hedonism as a derivative. In this view, something is right if it can fulfill the needs of people who hold that view. This view collides with the 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 worldviews. This conflict finds its channel in the political system, which ultimately makes the way out of this conflict tend to be safe, not causing horizontal conflict in the midst of society.

Fractions in the DPRD that are pro and those that are in opposition to the Regional Government bring arguments put forward by their respective conflicting interest groups. This conflict between political elites indirectly becomes a forum for conflict between communities with conflicting views on life. Although not strictly speaking, it can be seen that both camps of the political elite carry the agendas of their respective interest groups which contain different views of life, which in this case are in conflict with each other. In short, indirectly the debate between supporting and opposing factions of the Regional Government becomes a channel for conflict between worldviews that exist in society.

Political elites who support policies use moral arguments such as those promoted by promotional interest groups. In the findings of this research, PKS and Gerindra chose the moral reasons promoted by MUI, FPI, FUHAB and others. Meanwhile, opposing political elites also use arguments put forward by business association interest groups, with themes such as tax value, investment, employment, and several others. PDIP, Golkar and Nasdem tend to use economic reasons as a form of criticism. These reasons coincide with the reasons put forward by Asphija and PHRI.

Chart of Political Conflicts in DKI Jakarta Regional Government Policies Closed Hotel Alexis



Conclusion

Indeed, the case raised in this article is a small case. 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 is a campaign issue that was discovered by the winning team of candidate pair Anies-Sandi, this issue represents the wishes of interest groups that stand on the basis of religiosity. These groups are at least a representation of the views of the people who adhere to the values of a religious way 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 her practice of prostitution, both of them view the phenomenon of prostitution with different assessments. The first group considered it negative, the second group considered it not negative, although no clear statement was found to support prostitution efforts by the second type of group.

Second, this conflict is also part of the aftermath of the political conflict in the DKI Jakarta Regional Election. The Jakarta Regional Election resulted in two large camps in the DKI Jakarta DPRD: supporters and opponents of 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 became an arena of struggle between these two camps. The issue of stopping Alexis' business has become part of the dispute between the two camps. In another sense, there is a connection between the political conflict in DKI Jakarta in this case and the national scale political conflict.

However, this dispute is relatively subtle, because the camp that rejects the regional government's policy does not dare to openly oppose the substance of the regional government's policy, stopping the practice of prostitution. This is due to their consideration of the good and bad of the public's perception, especially those who are religious, of these parties. The public's perception of whether it is good or bad will also determine the number of votes in future political contestations. The closest contests are the 2019 presidential and legislative elections. However,

this does not mean that there is no political conflict in this case. Political conflict here comes in the form of differences of opinion and mutual criticism between one political camp and another. The fight revolves around procedures and criticism of the impact of the regional government's policy in stopping Alexis. The form of conflict that occurs is a form of conflict of opinion between political elites in DKI Jakarta.

Third, the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's policy to stop Alexis' activities because evidence of prostitution was found is a safe policy for the Regional Government in the midst of political conflict between 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 influence the perception of the people of Jakarta towards political parties.

Fourth, these two opposing political camps also represent the desires of elements of society. The local government and its supporting camps stand in support of the views of religious morality promoted by promotional interest groups, while the opposition camp carries the voice of business groups promoted by protective interest groups. Thus, these political camps in their differences of opinion and mutual criticism represent the agendas of both opposing interest groups with opposing views on life in assessing the Alexis phenomenon.

Fifth, the conflict between protective interest groups and the Jakarta Regional Government also shows dissatisfaction from elements of society, in this case entertainment entrepreneurs (also Alexis workers) with the Regional Government. This is a form of political conflict between the authorities and the people, considering that these entrepreneurs are part of Jakarta society.

Sixth, stopping Alexis' activities is an effort to fulfill Anies and Sandi's political campaign promises, as well as representing the wishes of some Jakarta residents. Apart from that, 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 research, the author then got two other interesting questions to be raised in future research. The two questions are: (1) what is the actual relationship between entrepreneurs and political parties in politics in DKI Jakarta? And (2) what is the political relationship between the management of the Alexis Hotel and the political elites in Jakarta?

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