



## **Political Dynamics and Conflict of Interest in the Implementation of Jakarta Government Policies for the 2017-2018 Period**

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**Abstract**

**Background:** Political dynamics and conflicts of interest play a significant role in shaping local government policies, especially in urban areas with diverse stakeholders. The closure of Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Griya in Jakarta (2017–2018) is a key example of how public policy intersects with political conflict, interest group mobilization, and governance legitimacy.

**Objective:** This study aims to analyze the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's policy on the closure of Alexis, exploring the motivations behind the policy, the responses of interest groups and political factions, and the impact of the political conflict that arose from this decision.

**Methods:** A qualitative case study approach was used, involving in-depth semi-structured interviews, document analysis, and observation of DPRD sessions. The data were analyzed using thematic coding, focusing on political conflict theory and public policy theory to explain the underlying dynamics.

**Results:** The study finds that the closure was influenced by campaign promises, the moral preferences of the governor and deputy governor, public support, and regulations. Political conflict arose from differing views on life, political elites' desire to maintain legitimacy, and inter-coalition conflicts. The policy led to fairer law enforcement, fewer regulatory manipulations, increased popularity for the DKI Regional Government, and similar cases in Jakarta.

**Conclusion:** The closure of Alexis Hotel was driven by moral preferences, political legitimacy, and legal considerations. The conflict within the DPRD arose from differing worldviews and political interests. This study enhances political conflict theory by emphasizing worldview differences and the influence of national politics on local conflicts.

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### **INTRODUCTION**

The Regional Government of DKI Jakarta on October 27, 2017, refused to extend the business license for Hotel Alexis and Griya Massage Alexis due to their involvement in prostitution practices. This process was followed by the sealing of the establishment on March 28, 2018. This policy led to conflicts in the form of both support and opposition from various societal elements, including interest groups and political factions within the DKI Jakarta DPRD (Buwono et al., 2024; Dewantary et al., 2023; Mahardika et al., 2023). The discourse surrounding the closure of Alexis, initiated by the Anies-Sandi pair during the 2017 Jakarta Pilkada campaign, was one of their key campaign promises. Upon their election, the Anies-Sandi pair fulfilled this promise by closing Alexis (Guridno & Guridno, 2025).

In the initial findings, several points were observed: (1) the policy aimed to fulfill campaign promises and enforce regional regulations; (2) the policy triggered support and opposition from interest groups such as the Jakarta Entertainment Entrepreneurs Association (Aspija, *Asosiasi Pengusaha Hiburan Jakarta*) and the Indonesian Hotel and Restaurant Association (PHRI, *Perhimpunan Hotel dan Restoran Indonesia*) Jakarta, which opposed the closure, and the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI, *Front Pembela Islam*) Jakarta and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI, *Majelis Ulama Indonesia*) Jakarta, which supported it; (3) the reasons behind these positions were based on economic motives (Aspija and PHRI) and moral concerns (FPI and MUI); (4) political factions within the DPRD DKI Jakarta were divided, with some supporting the government's policy and others opposing it; (5) these divisions represented political conflict in the form of disagreement between political factions regarding public interest; and (6) the political conflict appeared to be influenced by both political interests and the desire to either reinforce or delegitimize the power of the regional government.

This research explores the following questions: (1) What were the considerations of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government in implementing the policy to close the Alexis Hotel and its prostitution business? (2) What were the responses of interest groups and political factions of the DPRD to the policies of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government? (3) Why was there political conflict between the opposition factions of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government in DPRD and the Regional Government of DKI Jakarta? (4) What were the impacts of the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's policy to close the Alexis Hotel business after the political conflict?

### METHOD

The method used in this research is a case study method with a qualitative approach. A qualitative research approach is research that uses a natural approach to understand the phenomena studied in the context of a specific setting (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Qualitative referring to meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and descriptions of something, as well as an attempt to build interpretations, emphasizes the behavior of the object under study, and is characterized by the meaning of researchers in investigating cases in the form of certain phenomena in their natural environment (Hillebrand & Berg, 2000).

Informants were selected purposively based on their direct involvement in the policy process, political factions, and interest groups related to the Alexis closure case. Informants included representatives from the DKI Jakarta Regional Government, members of DPRD DKI Jakarta from supporting and opposition factions (PKS, Gerindra, PDIP, Nasdem, Golkar), leaders of relevant interest groups (FPI Jakarta, MUI Jakarta, PHRI, Aspija), and legal representatives of the Alexis Hotel management. A total of [X] informants was interviewed. Data collection was conducted through in-depth semi-structured interviews, observation of public hearings and DPRD sessions, and document analysis (official policy documents, DPRD records, official statements, and credible media texts from 2017–2018). Data analysis followed a thematic coding procedure: (1) open coding to identify patterns in interview transcripts and documents, (2) axial coding to relate categories to each theoretical construct (Pfetsch's policy parameters, Rauf's sources of conflict, interest group roles), and (3) selective coding to develop overarching themes. Trustworthiness was established through source triangulation (interviews, documents, media), member-checking with key informants, and an audit trail of coding decisions. Research ethics were maintained through informed consent and anonymization of sensitive responses.

In this study, the political theory of public policy and political conflict theory are used as the two main theories. These theories are used to explain the general phenomena raised. The theories were operationalized by translating each theoretical construct into observable analytical indicators applied to the empirical data: Pfetsch's policy parameters (internal pressures, external pressures, party interests, political opposition) were coded from DPRD records, official statements, and interview data; Maswadi Rauf's conflict sources (power structure, struggle for positions, pragmatic interests) were identified through patterns in faction debates, media texts, and informant accounts; and interest group roles (protective vs. promotional) were categorized based on stated positions and actions documented in interviews and official records. The coding procedure involved thematic coding followed by pattern matching to link empirical evidence to each theoretical construct. While other supporting theories are the theory of the role of interest groups in politics and the functions of political parties (aggregation and articulation of interests)

to read how elements of society in the form of interest groups participate in conflicts. [Note: The conceptual definition of political conflict in this paragraph should be relocated to a Theoretical Framework section. In the Methods, operationalize “political conflict” by specifying observable indicators (e.g., forms of contestation, opposition statements, and debates recorded in DPRD sessions, official documents, interviews, and media texts), the data sources used to capture them, and the coding/analytic procedure applied to categorize these forms.]

The political aspect of public policy is the direction and political will that contribute to policy making. The policies taken by the government in formulating and implementing public policies are also loaded with political preferences that participate in influencing and giving direction to the public policies that are made (Kurhayadi, 2023). Political decisions that arise from it are essentially the determination of the conflict of interest between each political actor. Usually, it is the minority interests that are defeated by the new political policies.

Political conflict is a social conflict that has ties to the state/government, political officials/government officials, and government policies, with regard to public, national interests, or values related to politics, as well as those concerning public issues. Forms of political conflict can be: political contestation, political opposition, disagreement, debate, disputes, also differences of opinion. [Note: Relocate this conceptual paragraph to the Theoretical Framework section. In the Methods, operationalize Pfetsch’s parameters by defining observable indicators for each: (1) internal pressures/constraints/support → coded from faction positions and DPRD voting records; (2) external pressures/support → identified from interest group statements and media; (3) party interests → derived from party platforms and interview responses; (4) political opposition → coded from official objections and legislative debates. Justify the classification of external actors as “interest groups” by specifying the criteria used for this categorization.]

In relation to policy politics, the parameters for making policies are as follows. From the internal aspect, internal pressure in the political system, internal constraints or support. From the external aspect, pressure, challenges and support from outside the political system in the case raised by Pfetsch (2007), the international community. These supports and challenges in this research are identified as interest groups. The third aspect is to consider the perception of his party’s interests, and see the political opposition that will confront him.

Three sources of conflict in Rauf’s view are as follows. (1) From the structural dimension of the relationship between the ruler and those who are controlled, when the ruler exercises his power it is considered arbitrary. (2) The struggle for positions of power: each party to the conflict tries to fight over certain limited political positions. This position is highly valued in the eyes of those who fight for it. (3) The principle of pleasure: political power can enable people who hold it to achieve high pleasure and keep away from pain and discomfort.

In this study, parties outside the political system in the form of interest groups participate in playing their political roles. Each group plays this role to convey his political will to the political system, in the form of political parties. An interest group is a group of individuals or institutions who join a group based on common interests, organize themselves in achieving goals to influence political output carried out by the government, and membership is voluntary (Bond et al., 2021; Grigsby, 2012; Love, 2016). In terms of their goals, between pragmatic and idealistic, interest groups can be divided into two forms: the protective type which defends the material interests of its members, and the promotional type which fights for its ideas for the benefit of the general public (Heath, 2024).

One of the ways political parties are formed is as part of an effort to integrate the various interests present in society, one of which may conflict with another another (Anggono, 2020; Najib, 2020). This effort is then fought for in the process of making and implementing political decisions. In that role, political parties act through interest aggregation and interest articulation. In the aggregation of interests, political parties try to synthesize the diverse aspirations of the people. Then, the will is stated and fought for by the ruling government (executive) so that it is considered and formulated into political policy.

Groups convey their political will to political parties through certain channels. This is in the form of: (1) Lobbying directly to a small group of government which is the key to policy making; (2) influence political parties in order to convey their goals; (3) influencing indirectly through the mass media, as a mouthpiece for disseminating agendas to influence public perception; (4) using lobbyists to point (1); (5) participate in the political process, join a political

party, or support a candidate; (6) bundling, contributing to one of the candidates in the form of a combination of contributions from many people into one big contribution; (7) soft money, contributing financially to the development of political parties.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Results

#### *Campaign promise*

In the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada, the Anies-Sandi pair raised the issue of prostitution at Alexis as one of their campaign promises. In the reign of Basuki Tjahaja, Purnama Alexis seemed left alone. Basuki even mentioned this. This was captured by the Anies-Sandi candidate pair. Alexis became part of the campaign promises he carried.

The prostitution business is seen by the Anies-Sandi couple as a form of violation of the ethics of just and civilized human morality based on divinity. All religions in Indonesia, especially in Jakarta view prostitution as an unethical and immoral act. Anies promised to eradicate the practice of prostitution in Jakarta. At that time, he said that if he was elected later, he would close Alexis, which (that is, the hotel) also violated DKI Jakarta Regional Regulation No. 6 of 2015 concerning Tourism, and Regional Regulation No. 8 of 2007 concerning Public Order.

Community elements provide support for the Anies-Sandi pair. The support came generally from Islamic mass organizations, including figures from the Jakarta MUI, Muhammadiyah, Forum 212, Bamus Betawi, and FPI. The pair has been supported from the start by two political parties: Gerindra and PKS. These two political parties are the core of the KMP national coalition led by Prabowo Subianto. PKS, which is a missionary party, sees prostitution as something forbidden. Gerindra also emphasized the same thing formally. This party is committed to maintaining public morality, because that is the capital of Indonesia's development.

Gerindra supports the will of the people as a necessity. Thus, the party shows a commitment to the masses of the people in order to get support later in future political contests. Gerindra is trying to show that it is the right party to be entrusted with the public's mandate, and to play a role as a channel for channeling people's interests. PKS agreed on the same thing, showing the public that the party and its cadres are pro-people. PKS hopes for the sympathy and support of the prospective voters to cast their vote for this party in future political contests. Sitting in power for PKS cadres is the most effective form of public preaching, "...[A] signature of a ruler is stronger than signatures of 1,000 doctors."

#### *Challenge*

In the Jakarta Pilkada, the parties that nominated candidate pairs had many reasons for their support. One of them is because he joined a political coalition on a national scale (Gaudart, 2018). One of the reasons for PKS's support for Anies-Sandi is the national coalition for Gerindra. The same thing was conveyed by PKB and PPP, that this was one of their commitments to the Great Indonesia Coalition. The political parties that support the Basuki-Djarot pair even fielded the chairman of the coalition, Megawati Soekarnoputri, to directly lobby each party that is part of the KIH. This will later determine the position of Anies and Sandi in the Jakarta government.

It is important to take into account the balance of seats in the parties in the DPRD to prevent the failure of the policy that will be made by the Regional Government to stop the Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Griya, due to rejection from the Jakarta legislature. The balance of seats also determines the policies made. Even though the number of seats that definitely support the Regional Government (Gerindra and PKS) is quite small, the issue of morality that is played by the Regional Government to get support from the community has made the opposing parties in parliament think again if they reject the policy. This is because they need support from the public so that they can appear to dominate political seats, which in the following year there will be elections in 2019, this is a consideration for all parties in the opposition.

#### *Polemics around policy*

Policy rolled out. Alexis closed. Various elements of society expressed their support for the representatives of the people. Politicians from the Anis-Sandi faction support the regional government's policies. The mass organizations that previously questioned the determination of the local government have now turned to support the regional government. The support was

provided by FPI Jakarta and MUI Jakarta. Something similar emerged from the Central MUI. The North Jakarta Community Forum (Formaju), the Ulama and Habaib Forum (Fuhab), and the 212 Alumni Forum. The 212 Alumni Presidium also supports Anies-Sandi's actions, as well as the 212 Alumni Brotherhood. MUI feels benefited from the local government's policy of stopping the Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Griya. These mass organizations are aware that they do not have the political authority to eradicate immorality. For that, political will is needed from the local government.

The DKI Jakarta Regional Government's policy to close the Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Griya has also penetrated into the community. Various responses emerged from netizens on social media. Various hashtags have been used in discussions among netizens on Twitter, in the form of "#betawigratismaksiat", "#alexis" and "#alexis Tutup". The negative sentiment towards Alexis is higher than the positive sentiment which is 38.5%. On October 30-31, a total of 8,880 conversations, it was stated that 71% of the conversations about Alexis showed the level of public trust in the Regional Government of DKI Jakarta. Alexis rejected the local government's policy, denying that there was prostitution at the hotel. The management of the Alexis Hotel stated that what was alleged by the Regional Government of DKI Jakarta actually did not exist. He even emphasized that Alexis had never once made a guilty plea for that.

Aspija and PHRI defended Alexis. They see the regional government's actions as being hasty and arrogant. Aspija sees that the Regional Government cannot include evidence of prostitution that is clear, does not embrace and does not side with businessmen. In their eyes, Alexis contributes taxes that are important to DKI. PHRI wants the Regional Government to support the interests of entrepreneurs, because it improves the economy of the people in Jakarta.

Even though there were criticisms, PHRI's defense seemed half-hearted. This is due to the attitude of Hotel Alexis as a member, and the PHRI's lack of authority to manage its members, because that authority has been removed by the government. Apart from that, PHRI itself admits that Alexis has violated the law, on the other hand PHRI also sees other opportunities to gain profit without breaking the law, such as making hotels Muslim friendly, and so on.

The interest groups that defended Alexis then submitted their complaints to the PDIP faction. However, the Gerindra and PKS factions said that the argument was weak and could be resolved. It was stated that Lina Novita (the lawyer for the management of the Alexis Hotel) had come to Commission B, DPRD DKI Jakarta. However, Commission B firmly rejected the objections raised by the management of the Alexis Hotel, who was accompanied by her lawyer. For Commission B, public morality is an important thing that must be protected.

Formally, factions in the DKI Jakarta DPRD support the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's action to stop the Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Griya businesses. However, several factions, such as the PDI-P, had an unclear attitude in the end. The factions that are in opposition to the DKI Regional Government Anies-Sandi (members of the KIH coalition) agreed half-heartedly, and half-heartedly opposed it. This stance was taken considering that the issue that was rolled out by the DKI Regional Government Anies-Sandi was classified as a sensitive issue which was supported by many people, especially Muslims in Jakarta, as well as consideration of the chances of getting votes for the 2019 Election.

However, behind that there is conflict in the form of debate and opposition between the supporting and opposition factions. The debate took the form of: (1) the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's policy towards regional regulations, (2) the DKI Jakarta Regional Government's policy whether it was merely a campaign promise or not, (3) regarding Alexis as a PAD contributor, (4) investment issues, (5) the issue of the fate of workers, (6) the problem of the impact of the disease: (1) Reasons for the Regional Government of DKI Jakarta to violate the Regional Regulation. PDIP sees that the regional government has violated regional regulations in force in Jakarta. If it is true that there is prostitution at the Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Griya, it must be legally proven. Golkar sees that the regional government is not acting according to the official mechanisms and procedures. Gerindra said it was true that the regional government was doing this as a form of fulfilling a campaign promise. As a supporting party, Gerindra fully supports the actions of the Regional Government. However, the campaign promise was based on a regional regulation that prohibited the practice of prostitution. The same thing was stated by PKS, supporting the Regional Government to close Alexis not only because of moral issues (cultural ethics), but also because of legal issues, (2) The reason that the Regional Government of DKI

Jakarta makes policies is solely driven by campaign promises. Nasdem strongly criticized the actions of the regional government which he considered only to fulfill his political campaign promises in the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada. PDIP conveyed the same thing, (3) The argument that Alexis contributed to the Regional Original Revenue (PAD) of DKI Jakarta. PDIP said that DKI Jakarta really needs taxes from the hotel business and the entertainment service industry. The entrepreneurs have fulfilled all obligations based on regional laws and regulations. Stopping Alexis' business means reducing Jakarta's PAD. Pemda supporters dispute this issue. Gerindra said that the argument was out of place. Loss of income from Alexis is not significant for PAD Jakarta. Although Alexis contributes taxes to Jakarta, the positive and negative sides must also be considered. The development of PAD from 2014 to 2019 has successively increased from 4% per year, rising to 5%, until now it is above 6%. In the prostitution business, which is the mainstay of Alexis' business, the Regional Government of DKI does not receive taxes. If it goes into taxes, even that is against the law, (4) The argument that the DKI Jakarta Government's actions deterred potential investors from investing in Jakarta. PDIP regrets that the regional government's actions have disrupted people's businesses.

The local government did not follow up positively on the excesses of the closing of Alexis to parties who had the potential to do business there. PDIP is worried about the impact this will have on investment potential in Jakarta. For this faction, the Pemda DKI with its regulations has frightened investors to invest in Jakarta. Governor Anies and Deputy Governor Sandi considered these regional government regulations to have been violated by making a governor regulation—Pergub No. 18 of 2018 concerning Tourism, and closed the Alexis Hotel and Alexis Massage Griya. In 2017, the amount of money invested in hotel and restaurant services was: domestic investment (PMD) of Rp. 576,481,500,000,000, - and for investment from abroad (PMA) worth US \$ 122,961,200, - or Rp. 1,598,495,600,000,-. In 2018 the total investment realization reached Rp. 114,200,000,000,000,-. The number increased by 5.1% compared to 2017. For investments related to the tourism business, Rp. 9,096,310,000,000.- for PMD, and US\$ 86,890,000,000.- (worth Rp. 1,129,570,000,000,000.-), the total is Rp. 1,138,666,310,000,-, (5) The reason for the fate of the workers at Alexis. The PDIP faction criticized the regional government's policies without considering the impact of unemployment. The hotel business and entertainment services according to PDIP are labor-intensive services, absorbing a large number of workers. Gerindra said that the 1,000 Alexis workers should be the responsibility of PT Grand Ancol Hotel. This should be the responsibility of the managing company, because the company has violated the law.

The regional government has acted decisively, so that entrepreneurs engaged in this kind of field will not dare to act in violation of regulations. The DPRD has asked the Manpower Service to temporarily accommodate former prostitutes at Alexis. Commission B asked the Department of Manpower to care for, guide and invite them to choose respectable jobs. However, they do not want to change professions. Most of them see their work pragmatically. 80% of them disappeared to return to work as prostitutes. The remaining 20% were again caught red-handed as prostitutes elsewhere, (6) Rationale to Prevent Expansion of Impact. PDIP assesses that the regional government's actions also have an impact on expanding the spread of community diseases. Prostitution as a social problem cannot be eradicated, but it can be localized in certain places so that it does not spread. In the eyes of some people, prostitution is seen as a form of entertainment, pleasure (happy needs), and even a kind of lifestyle. Jakarta, as a metropolitan city that is filled with people with various backgrounds and views on life, certainly also includes businesses like this. Regarding the spread of HIV/AIDS in Jakarta, localization creates a great opportunity for the spread of HIV/AIDS to be monitored and controlled. However, if prostitution is suppressed, then sexual acts outside of marriage become latent and not easy to detect.

### *Policy impact*

Impact on law enforcement. The local government is seen as having applied the law indiscriminately. Local government action is a symbol of law enforcement that is sharp up and down. The law in the form of a tourism regional regulation, and related to the concept of tourism which is regulated by the regulations above it, is enforced in Jakarta. Impact on entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurs can no longer play around with the law, and against the law. This impact was also felt by Endah Setia Dewi when she tested Griya Massage Delta, which served prostitution. When he pretended to book a place, Delta said it was temporarily closed. Hospitality and entertainment

businesses are careful to break the law.

The impact on the popularity of DKI Jakarta Regional Government (Anies-Sandi Leadership). The actions of the regional government have made most of the community, in this case the Muslims in DKI Jakarta, become somewhat calmer. Netizens also show this popularity. Positive sentiment to local governments averaged 38.5% (2017), October 2007 71%. In 2018, the name Alexis has a negative meaning in cyberspace, associated with the Alexis Massage Hotel and Griya. Positive values towards the Regional Government, and negative towards 'Alexis' are also found among the residents.

The emergence of other cases of prostitution in Jakarta to be handled by the Regional Government. There was a development of covert prostitution in several hotels in Jakarta with a gap in the meeting time when Alexis was stopped by the local government. With the closure of major prostitution, prostitution appeared elsewhere. Prostitution in the new place eventually grew and underwent a similar cycle. Reports from the public indicated that other prostitution activities had emerged at lower-tier venues across the city.

## Discussion

### *Moral concept*

The vision of the Anies-Sandi candidate pair for Jakarta is "Jakarta is an Advanced and Civilized City with All Citizens Feeling Justice and Prosperity". Building Jakarta must be based on the spirit of realizing a humane and civilized city. Jakarta must have morals for the welfare of its citizens. In Anies Baswedan's view, religious values, faith in God are important assets for the community to develop Jakarta. This notion of morality was later used by the Regional Government of DKI Jakarta as capital to develop DKI Jakarta. Jakarta residents must be human beings who have a sense of humanity; treat others as treat human beings ethically.

Society in general, and Jakarta is no exception, consists of two moral views: religious and secular (Masduki, 2011; Mu'asyara, 2019; Mumtaz, 2020). Religious groups are making religious values as their way of life. In the view of religion, sexual relations are strictly regulated: permitted only within marriage and between a man and a woman. Beyond that is forbidden. Meanwhile, secular groups make human needs and desires in their daily lives an ethical basis. This secular society sees humans as measuring tools and determining ethical truth. Related to the phenomenon of sexuality, in a secular view, sexual relations in any form and type is a human right. Meanwhile, religious ethics is considered as a 'pressing ethics'. So there is a difference of opinion between the two groups of people who are secular and religious. The concept of morality initiated by Anies and Sandi comes from the views of the religious community.

### *Political considerations in policy formulation*

Anies and Sandi won the Pilkada. They were elected as the new Governor and Deputy Governor of DKI Jakarta. The two parties supporting Anies-Sandi during the 2017 DKI Jakarta Pilkada put pressure on the Regional Government to immediately fulfill their campaign promises. PKS and Gerindra have interests, because that is their means to show that the two parties are worthy of receiving the mandate of their constituent masses. At that time, Gerindra wanted to raise its leader, Prabowo Subianto, to climb the presidential election contest which would be held in 2019. Gerindra saw that Muslim constituents who were part of or intersected with the Basuki rejectionist movement (the 212 movement and similar groups) as potential voters (Septiana et al., 2020). At least, the mass of voters who previously made their choice of the Anies-Sandi pair, in general, are the masses of DKI Jakarta who make moral values a guide for their daily lives. PKS and Gerindra targeted these masses to face political contestation in 2019 (Gaudart, 2018).

On the other hand, there is a possibility that the DKI Jakarta Regional Government will face challenges in the internal political system of government. The first possibility is a challenge from the opposition. This party is a supporter of the candidate pair that lost in the 2017 Pilkada (Dasuki-Djarot), a pair supported by the Great Indonesia Coalition, supporters of the central government. The regional government and this group in parliament can be read as a micro form of the conflict between KIH and KMP (KMP was then left with Gerindra and PKS, the two parties supporting Anies-Sandi). This conflict is also an extension of the political conflict between KIH and KMP.

Capital politics has a close relationship with national politics. Indonesia as a developing country, its development and politics are concentrated in the capital. Political issues in developing world countries that implement a democratic political system are important in the eyes of the people, and are important in managing the country. In third world countries, the local politics of the capital is a micro form of national politics. Political dynamics in DKI Jakarta, which is the capital, reflects political dynamics at the national level.

It can be seen that the role of national politics in local politics, in this case DKI Jakarta, is felt strong. Even the Anies-Sandi pair themselves see that the ideas that underlie nationalism at the national level must also be present at the local level: Jakarta. With regard to the two coalition camps facing each other nationally, the political winners of the Governor and Deputy Governor of Jakarta as an extension of national politics must stand on one of the two camps. This will then burden the governor and deputy in making executive decisions in the Jakarta administration.

The regional government also has to deal with elements in its executive government unit, as well as with party members in parliament who are linked to Alexis. Alexis targets the upper middle class social group segment. Alexis provides prostitution services at the elite level, with good supporting facilities. Board members became one of the targets. Unscrupulous board members become customers. Individual officials of the state apparatus participated in the prostitution business at Alexis, and there were members of the DPRD who enjoyed the services there.

During the campaign, Anies had promised in front of the mass organizations that supported him to eradicate immorality. Then, the mass organizations collected promises from Anies and Sandi who had occupied DKI 1 and 2. The Alexis Hotel case became one of the prominent issues to be billed. These interest groups pressured the Regional Government to immediately realize its promise to close the Alexis Hotel. These interest groups convey their agenda of political interests, namely the moral agenda for the Regional Government to hear. They lobbied the grassroots masses to get support in putting pressure on the regional government, through mass media coverage. This is one pattern of the relationship between political institutions and interest groups.

The political will of these promotional interest groups can be interpreted as representing the will of the majority of Anies-Sandi's electorate, bearing in mind that most of the electorate is a mass of people who have ideological and religious moral values. This pressure from the mass media can be seen as a good moment for the Regional Government of DKI Jakarta to close the Alexis Hotel business. And this is read by the Regional Government as a momentum of support.

Tourism business in the eyes of formal laws must pay attention to the moral values, customs and culture of the local community. The Tourism Office is aware that in order to bridge the gap between this Perda and real conditions, regulations are needed. Governor Regulation No. 18 of 2018 appears as a bridge. This Pergub contains a mechanism for revoking tourism business permits, closing mechanisms, and so on (Aulia Imanullah, 2019).

The local government sees that the practice of prostitution is disgraceful and disrupts people's lives in Jakarta. Governor Anies and Deputy Governor Sandi made moral values an ethical pillar of Jakarta's political management. These moral values are the ethics that are present in the religions that are adhered to by the people in Jakarta. Regarding morality in the tourism business, all laws and regulations have included aspects of morality as one of the ethical standards in tourism business activities. Laws relating to tourism always include moral values as one of the main guidelines. This is because the tourism business has a broad impact (multiply effects) on various aspects of people's lives. For this reason, this business must be guarded, supervised, and regulated so as not to cause negative effects.

### *Alexis Conflict in National Politics*

DPR RI politicians from both sides of the coalition spoke up. Fadli Zon from Gerindra openly supports Anies-Sandi's policy. Ruhut Sitompul, who supports Jokowi, strongly criticized the regional government's policies. MW said that closing Alexis was a symbol of victory for the Prabowo camp against the Jokowi camp. This is reasonable considering that the contestation of the Jakarta Pilkada is also the contestation between the two camps at the local level, Jakarta reflects politics at the national elite level. There is a conflict of interest between coalition groups within the DPRD DKI Jakarta. This is also related to the years Anies-Sandi took office, the years

leading up to the election, especially the presidential election. Joko Widodo will fight again to maintain his power. Prabowo Subianto became his rival. Joko Widodo is supported by the KIH coalition, and Prabowo is supported by the KMP. AA and Endah Setia Dewi also mentioned this statement implicitly.

### CONCLUSION

This study highlights that the closure of the Alexis Hotel by the DKI Jakarta Regional Government was driven by a combination of moral values, law enforcement, and political considerations. The local government's action sparked significant debate among interest groups, with protective groups defending Alexis for its economic contributions, while promotional groups supported the closure based on moral values. The political conflict surrounding this issue mirrored broader national political dynamics, with different factions in the Jakarta Legislative Council either supporting or opposing the decision. The study emphasizes that policies in such contentious situations are influenced by a range of factors, including moral preferences, political dynamics, previous political events, and the views of society. The findings also reveal the critical role of worldview in shaping the perspectives of opposing interest groups, with moral-religious framing versus secular-pragmatic framing driving much of the conflict. These dynamics underline the complex nature of public policy formulation in political conflict contexts.

To enhance future policy-making, it is crucial to consider the varying worldviews and interests of different societal groups, ensuring that policies are inclusive and address the concerns of all stakeholders. Moreover, the role of political dynamics and previous events should be incorporated into the policy design process to ensure a more comprehensive approach. Future research could further investigate the impact of differing worldviews on political conflict resolution, particularly in the context of moral versus pragmatic policymaking.

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### AUTHOR CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

Eddy Guridno: Conceptualization, data collection, analysis, writing, and manuscript review.

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