APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

- BS: Well in this I say we can know how's like to the counts and speak to incredible man climbing victory any selection Prabowo Subianto, Prabowo Subianto welcome to Impact on BBC world news. Welcome to
- PS: Well good evening thank you for having me
- BS: We tend days away for the official result. What do you think uhh result for today?
- PS: All of the real counts that is coming in shows that I'm leading. So I think I'm very confident that I have gotten the mandate of the Indonesian people.
- BS: A lot of polls that we have been looking at, many are reliable in the past, some representing 2,000 polling stations around the country, I just want to give you an idea what may have told us: Indonesia's think-tank CSIS has Widodo at 52% yourself at 48; Kompas.com who I know you know well, has the similar Widodo 52% and you have 48, and Saiful Mujani puts Mr Widodo at 52.76% and yourself at 47%. A lot of the people have been looking at the polls and they are saying you are out of the race.

- PS: No...no..... It's completely the other way around. Those institutions that you mentioned, they are all very partisan, they have openly supported Joko Widodo for the last may be one year. And they are actually parts of the Joko Widodo campaign supporters, so they are not completely objective, and I think they are part of this grand design to manipulate perception. Let us rely on the legal institution of Indonesia; there is a general election commission, er....there is a process of counting, real counting coming in; we have witnesses in every errr.... voting stations, and we have voting certificates of the witnesses, which have all the required signatures, so let us go through the due process of counting, verification and let the general election commission decide.
- BS: Absolutely....you are complete
- P S: All thisthis all all.. all yeser....all these surveys companies err....yes.....is one moment
- BS: You are completely correct to say that we should of course wait until the official results come out in ten days time.
- PS: One moment....
- BS: Let me just ask you why you are so sure that you think you will win?
- P S: Yes....yes... No, no excuse meexcuse meexcuse me....excuse me. Can I finish? All the survey companies that you mentioned they are commercial

companies. They are commercial companies. I can bring you 16 survey companies that put me ahead. So I don't think it is really fair to use those three or four companies as reference point.

- BS: Let's talk about your style of politics compared to your rival Joko Widodo who is seen as a man of the people appealing to the will of people of Indonesia. He seems to have done particularly well in addressing the voter community that you have not been able to approach. Many saying that your politics is traditional and conservative to establishment. Do you think that will cost you votes in this election?
- PS: No no no no. That is a perception that the other side has concocted. It's a complete concoction. I think my rival is a product of PR campaign; completely the other side; he is actually a tool of the oligarch and I don't think that's the correct picture. He is not a man of the people. He claims to be humble but that's just an act. In my opinion that's just an act.
- BS: He just shows clean reputation and his campaign has not been played unlike yours.....
- P S: Clean?Clean?
- BS: Unlike yours...
- PS: Clean?Clean?

- BS:by allegations of human rights abuses committed under the Suharto regime. And If I can just remind of you is the unit that you commanded in 1998 accused of kidnapping torturing and killing activists who protested at that time against Suharto. How do you think you can now be seen as a reputable clean politician who can lead the country when you think about the result in ten days time?
- PS: You knowyou know every time I get a lot of supports in the polls of these accusations in the wind of deformation of character come up. This is my third general election I am now leading the third largest party of the 4th largest country in the world. Indonesia is the 4th largest country in the world. We are 250 million people. We are the size of Europe. And I am leading the 3rd largest party and now I am leading a coalition which represents nearly 2/3 of Indonesian voters. Howhow do2/3 of the Indonesian people; how can they be fool, how can they be so stupid to be....to....to support someone who is what all my rivals accused me of being.
- BS: Do you hope...do you...know....
- PS: So....its' completely deformation of character...
- BS: Do you think that it's about time that you address what happened and these allegations directly?

- PS: Oh, I have, many-many many times, on records on tapes, onI think anybody, any foreign press who interviewed me they will always ask me about the human rights allegation. You know this... this is the story for the last 16 years.
- BS: But it keeps coming up....with all your respects it keeps coming up.
- PS: I am, nothing..... look. Yesit keeps....it keepsit keeps.
- BS: It keeps coming up, years after years, how do you, how are you going to be able to put that away from where you stand today?
- PS: It keeps coming up, it keeps coming up by my enemies by my rival, it's part of the games of politics.
- BS: answer the questions leveled to you about the allegations?
- PS: I have answered, many-many times, on records. I am a free man. I have never been indicted of anything. This is just a political campaign to destroy....to destroy me because they do not like what I stand for. I stand for a clean Indonesia. I stand for justice for my people. I stand for a fair deal for Indonesian people. They have always been lied to, they have always been considered stupid, Indonesians are considered stupid, lazy people, this is the old time colonialist perception that that want to pin to Indonesian people, that all the Oligarch take all the money. I beg your pardon...I beg your pardon.

- BS: Apologies for interrupting....when the results are announced on July 21 and 22. If they show that your rival that Joko Widodo has won. Will you graciously accept that as a will of the Indonesian people?
- PS: That is part of democracy. If he is certified winning fair... fairly of course I will concede. But I am very confident all the real count coming in shows I am leading. And as of yesterday, with 60% of the real count coming in, I am leading, so I am very confident we are the ones who got the mandate.
- BS: What would your message be to your supporters because there are a growing number of concerns regarding perhaps process on the street so even violent should the result not go your way. I mean what is your message to them now?
- PS: Do you know that err ...the....the one of the television stations that supported me they have been attacked and two of the stations have been attacked, vandalized, do you know that the polling company that predicted that I won they were attacked last night by molotov bomb, so where does the violence come from ? Where does the intimidation I come from? I got many reports....
- BS: What is your message to your supporters?
- PS: I got many reports from my supporters that they have been intimidated, they have been attacked in many-many parts of Indonesia. So my message is, I have said that on records you can check, always-always, I've said many times, keep calm, be cool, our rivals are our brothers, they are not enemies, all my speeches. And

not one speech from my rival saying the same thing, not one. I have said that if the election commission certify the real will of the people, I will honor the decision. They have not said that, they have not said one time during the entire campaigns. I think I have made 10 or 15 statements on national televisions during the presidential debates and every events hundreds of millions people have seen this. And from my rival not one time a statement that they will honor the decision of the Indonesian people.

BS: Okay...

- PS: In fact there is an announcement that if Prabowo wins that's cheating event before the real count comes in. So I am just asking you who is
- BS: I just want to ask you a final question, Sir. What will you do if you do not win?
- PS: What? I am very confident I win, but you know I ... if the Indonesian people do not need me, I am fine, I have a good quality of life. I'd like to go back to my life, in fact it's a quiet life out of politics. I am doing this out of my obligation to serve my people.

APPENDIX II

BIOGRAPHY

According to Ade Ma'ruf (2013, 5) Prabowo Subianto Djojohadikusumo was born 17 October 1951. Prabowo is the third son of Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, an Indonesian economist, and Dora Sigar. Judging from family Prabowo has two older sisters named Bintianingsih and Mayrani Ekowati, and one younger brother who is now a powerful businessman named Hashim Djojohadikusumo. In 1970, Prabowo began his career when he enlisted in Magelang Military Academy, he later graduated in 1974 from the Military Academy, and have the good career in Indonesian Army. Later, Prabowo married Titiek who is the daughter of President Suharto. Marriage Prabowo with Titiek ended shortly after Suharto resigned as the President of the Republic of Indonesia. From marriage to Titiek, Prabowo had a child, Didiet Prabowo. Didiet grew up in Boston and now lives in Paris, as a designer.

When he pursue a career in the Military, in 1983, at that time still rank Captain, Much controversy and allegations of human rights violations committed by Prabowo in nineties years. After stopping a career of military World, Prabowo then started his luck being an entrepreneur is to follow his brother Hashim Djojohadikusumo. Prabowo career as an entrepreneur began by purchasing the Kiani Paper Paper Company, a paper mill management company located in Mangkajang, East Kalimantan, Kiani Paper previously owned by Bob Hasan, a businessman close to President Suharto. Prabowo buy Kiani Paper using loans worth Rp. 1.8 trillion from Bank Mandiri. In addition to managing paper Kiani, whose name was changed by Prabowo a Paper Archipelago, a group of companies owned by the Nusantara Group Prabowo also controls 27 companies at home and abroad. Businesses owned by Prabowo engaged in plantation, mining, palm oil, and coal.

APPENDIX III

Table of Data Analysis

Data Kinds o Behavior	0	Illocutionary Act Categories	Торіс
1. Vision	 PS: Oh, I have, many-many many times, on records on tapes, onI think anybody, any foreign press who interviewed me they will always ask me about the human rights allegation. You know this this is the story for the last 16 years. BS: But it keeps coming upwith all your respects it keeps coming up. PS: I am, nothing look. Yesit keepsit keepsit keeps. BS: It keeps coming up, years after years, how do you, how are you going to be able to put that away from where you stand today? PS: It keeps coming up, it keeps coming up by my enemies by my rival, it's part of the games of politics. BS:answer the questions leveled to you about the allegations? PS: I have answered, many-many times, on records. I am a free man. I have never been indicted of anything. This is just a political campaign to destroyto destroy me because they do not like what I stand for. I stand for a clean Indonesia. I stand for justice for my people. I stand for a fair deal for Indonesian people. They have always been lied to, they have always been considered stupid, lazy people, this is the old time colonialist perceptions that want to pin to Indonesian people, that all the oligarch take all the money. I beg your pardonI beg your pardon. 	Representative (Line 69- 71)	The human right allegation

2.	Passion	BS: Well in this I say we can know how's like to the counts and speak to incredible man	Polling of quick
		climbing victory any selection Prabowo Subianto, Prabowo Subianto welcome to	count
		Impact on BBC world news. Welcome to	
		PS: Well good evening thank you for having me	
		BS: We tend days away for the official result. What do you think uhh result for today?	

3.	Passion	 PS: <u>All of the real counts that is coming in shows that I'm leading</u>. So I think I'm very confident that I have gotten the mandate of the Indonesian people. BS:by allegations of human rights abuses committed under the Suharto regimeHow do you think you can now be seen as a reputable clean politician who can lead the country when you think about the result in ten days time? PS: You knowyou know every time I get a lot of supports in the polls of these accusations in the wind of deformation of character come up. This is my third general election I am now leading the third largest party of the 4th largest country in the world. Indonesia is the 4th largest country in the world. We are 250 million people. We are the size of Europe. <u>And I am leading</u> the 3rd largest party <u>and now I am leading</u> a coalition which represents nearly 2/3 of Indonesian voters. Howhow do2/3 of the Indonesian people; how can they be fool, how can they be so stupid to betoto support someone who is what all my rivals accused me of being. 	Representative (line1) Representative (line 47-48)	Polling of quick count
4.	Confidence	 BS: I just want to ask you a final question, Sir. What will you do if you do not win? PS: What? <u>I am very confident I win</u>, but you know Iif the Indonesian people do not need me, I am fine, I have a good quality of life. I'd like to go back to my life, in fact it's a quiet life out of politics. I am doing this out of my obligation to serve my people. 	Expressive (105)	Life after election

5.	Confidence	BS: Apologies for interruptingwhen the results are announced on July 21 and 22. If		Determination
		they show that your rival that Joko Widodo has won. Will you graciously accept		of win
		that as a will of the Indonesian people?		
		PS: That is part of democracy. If he is certified winning fair fairly of course I will		
		concede. But <u>I am very confident</u> all the real count coming in shows I am leading.	Expressive (line 79-81)	
		And as of yesterday, with 60% of the real count coming in, I am leading, so I am		
		very confident we are the ones who got the mandate.		

6.	Image Building	 BS: Let's talk about your style of politics compared to your rival Joko Widodo who is seen as a man of the people appealing to the will of people of Indonesia. He seems to have done particularly well in addressing the voter community that you have not been able to approach. Many saying that your politics is traditional and conservative to establishment. Do you think that will cost you votes in this election? PS: No no no no. That is a perception that the other side has concocted. It's a complete concoction. I think my rival is a product of PR campaign; completely the other side; he is actually a tool of the oligarch and I don't think that's the correct picture. He is not a man of the people. He claims to be humble but that's just an act. BS: He just shows clean reputation and his campaign has not been played unlike yours 	Representative (line 33) Expressive (line 35-36)	Comparison his style of politics and his rival
7.	Image Building	 BS:by allegations of human rights abuses committed under the Suharto regime. And If I can just remind of you is the unit that you commanded in 1998 accused of kidnapping torturing and killing activists who protested at that time against Suharto. How do you think you can now be seen as a reputable clean politician who can lead the country when you think about the result in ten days time? PS: You knowyou know every time I get a lot of supports in the polls of these accusations in the wind of deformation of character come up. This is my third general election I am now leading the third largest party of the 4th largest country in 	Representative (line 46) Representative (line 48-49)	Human right allegation
		the world. Indonesia is the 4 th largest country in the world. We are 250 million people. We are the size of Europe. And I am leading the 3 rd largest party and now I am leading a coalition which represents nearly 2/3 of Indonesian voters. Howhow do2/3 of the Indonesian people; how can they be fool, how can they be so stupid to betoto support someone who is what all my rivals accused me of being.	Declarative (line 49- 51)	
		BS: Do you think that it's about time that you address what happened and these allegations directly?		
		PS: Oh, <u>I have, many-many many times, on records on tapes</u> , onI think anybody, any foreign press who interviewed me <u>they will always ask me about the human rights</u> <u>allegation</u> . You know this this is the story for the last 16 years.	Representative (line 55) Declaration (line 57-	

			59)	
8.	Image Building	BS: What would your message be to your supporters because there are a growing number of concerns regarding perhaps process on the street so even violent should the result not go your way. I mean what is your message to them now?		Violence intimidation
		PS: Do you know that errthethe one of the television stations that supported me they have been attacked and two of the stations have been attacked, vandalized, do you know that the polling company that predicted that I won they were attacked last night by molotov bomb, so where does the violence come from ? Where does the intimidation groups from? I not more state	Representative (line 85-86) Declarative (line 86- 89)	
		intimidation come from? I got many reports BS: What is your message to your supporters?	Representative (line 91-92)	
		PS: I got many reports from my supporters that they have been intimidated, they have been attacked in many-many parts of Indonesia. So my message is, I have said that on records you can check, always-always, <u>I've said many times, keep calm, be cool, our rivals are our brothers, they are not enemies, all my speeches</u> . And <u>not one speech from my rival saying the same thing, not one</u> . I have said that if the election commission certify the real will of the people, I will honor the decision. They have not said that, they have not said one time during the entire campaigns. I think I have made 10 or 15 statements on national televisions during the presidential debates and every events hundreds of millions people have seen this. <u>And from my rival not one times a statement that they will honor the decision of the Indonesian people.</u>	Representative (line 97-100)	
		BS: okay		
		PS: In fact there is an announcement that if Prabowo wins that's cheating event before the real count comes in. So I am just asking you who is		