THE USE OF ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA IN
THE BELGIAN ASYLUM PROCEDURE:
A CASE STUDY

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Introduction

In Belgium, as in the rest of the world, English as a Lingua Franca (henceforth ELF) is becoming more and more important as a means of interaction in everyday encounters between speakers with a different linguistic background. It has come to play a predominant role in domains such as business, politics and culture, where people of different nationalities so frequently meet. This form of intercultural communication raises the question to what extent the different varieties of English used during such interactions are mutually intelligible. World languages such as English, Spanish or Portuguese display an enormous range of language variation: native varieties with differing degrees of mother-tongue interference, second or third language varieties, pidginized and creolized varieties. Moreover, due to its global spread, the number of non-native speakers of English is significantly larger than its native speakers (the relationship is about four to one, cf. Graddol 1997).

One of the institutional settings in which ELF interaction seems to be a useful asset is the Belgian asylum procedure. The specialised government authorities involved in this procedure are responsible for the determination of refugee status of asylum seekers coming from all over the world. In order to make an accurate assessment of each individual case, asylum seekers are interviewed by officials about their motivation for seeking asylum in Belgium. During these interviews, the applicants are required to provide an extensive amount of detailed facts about their alleged country of origin, which allow the officials to check the veracity of their claims. At times, these interviews are conducted in English rather than in the applicant’s native language (which generally requires the intervention of an interpreter). In this paper, I will analyze the ELF interaction between a Flemish official and a West African asylum seeker. It is my aim to demonstrate the limitations of ELF when it comes to the exchange of crucial, sensitive and densely contextualized information in a cross-cultural, institutional context. I will equally argue that the procedural imposition of a monolingual standard code – in this case, standard English – implies a denial of linguistic variation and stands in the way of a clear understanding of narrative accounts.
Point of reference of the following analysis is the asylum interview at the Office of the Commissioner General for Refugees and Stateless Persons (henceforth CGVS), i.e. one of the asylum agencies involved in the Belgian asylum procedure. Despite this focus upon the Belgian procedure, the findings of this paper are, due to the universal nature of the ELF characteristics, equally relevant for other countries with a similar asylum-hearing process.

This paper is organized in four chapters. In the first chapter, I provide background on the Belgian asylum procedure and on the asylum interview at the CGVS. Chapter two comprises a brief explanation of the data that was used for the analysis. The analysis itself is presented in chapter four, which consists of five sections. The first section focuses on the confrontation between the two varieties of English used during the interview. Section two deals with the pretextual differences between the interlocutors. The processing of oral narratives into written reports is discussed in section three, while the asylum seeker’s affective contextualization work is investigated in section four. Section five provides an examination of proactive work in ELF interaction. In the fourth and final chapter, the findings of the analysis are put into perspective.
Chapter 1: The Belgian asylum procedure, a brief outline

The Belgian asylum procedure finds its legal basis in the Belgian Immigration Law of September 2006, a more recent adaptation of the law of December 1980. Both these laws are based on the United Nations Geneva Convention of 1951, which states that the term refugee applies to any person who “owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it” (1951: 16).

Each refugee entering Belgian territory applying for asylum has to go through different stages of investigation. This investigation proceeds in two phases: the administrative phase and the jurisdictional phase. The following are the four different authorities involved in the Belgian asylum procedure:

The Dienst Vreemdelingenzaken or DVZ (The Alien’s Office) forms a part of the Ministry of the Interior and aids the minister of Internal Affairs in his asylum policy. The DVZ controls the access to the territory, the residence, the settlement and the removal of aliens in general. Concerning the asylum procedure, the DVZ is responsible for the registration of asylum applications and for carrying out some preliminary investigations of admissibility of the application (CGVS, 2008).

The Commissariaat-generaal voor de Vluchtelingen en de Staatlozen or CGVS (The Office of the Commissioner General for Refugees and Stateless Persons) is responsible for the investigation of the content of asylum applications. The CGVS is an independent asylum body which makes a decision concerning the asylum claim (CGVS, 2008).

The asylum seeker can lodge an appeal against the decision taken by the DVZ or the CGVS, this appeal will then be investigated by the Raad voor Vreemdelingen-
betwistingen or RvV (The Alien’s litigation Council), which is an administrative jurisdiction. In order to lodge this appeal the asylum seeker needs a written petition in which he explains why he disagrees with the decision made by the CGVS (CGVS, 2008).

With the Raad van State or RvS (Council of State) the asylum seeker can lodge a cassation appeal against a negative decision by the RvV. This is the final step in the asylum procedure, if the appeal is denied then the refugee will not be granted asylum (CGVS, 2008).

Essentially, the DVZ takes care of the first part of the administrative phase of the asylum procedure: they register the application, assign a procedural language (Dutch or French), fill in a questionnaire and draw up a statement. This statement must contain information on the identity, the origin and the travel route of the asylum seeker. If the asylum seeker does not master either of the procedural languages he/she will be assigned an interpreter. All documentary evidence that might support the refugee’s story is added to the file (CGVS, 2008).

However, the document with the most influence on the further development of the procedure is the questionnaire, an example of which can be found in annex 1. This questionnaire, which is only available in Dutch or French, has to be filled in by the refugee, the main questions concern the reasons as to why he/she has filed an asylum claim and the possibilities of returning to the country of which he/she has fled. At a following stage, the answers given to these questions will be used as the basis for the preparation of the interview at the CGVS. The CGVS has published a two page document (cf. annex 2), meant to clarify the purpose of this questionnaire. It contains the following statement:

“In theory, when motivating the decision of admissibility, contradictions between the statements made in the questionnaire and statements given to the CGVS will not be taken into account. The same applies to the omission of certain facts in the questionnaire, which might come up during a later stage of the procedure. However,
the determination of a highly flagrant contradiction, for which the asylum seeker has no plausible explanation, could be used as an argument (aside other arguments) in the motivation of the decision.” (CGVS, 2007: 1; my translation)

The asylum seeker is supposed to fill in this questionnaire at the DVZ office, there he/she can rely on the assistance of an official and an interpreter. Nevertheless, the asylum seeker has the possibility to fill it in at a later time. If s/he decides to do so, it must be handed in within five calendar days on receipt. The official is expected to point out the consequences and possible disadvantages of this decision. Also, if the asylum seeker chooses not to fill in this questionnaire, the interview at the CGVS will all the same take place (CGVS, 2007).

The next step of the procedure consists of the DVZ handing over the entire file to the CGVS, which takes care of the second part of the administrative phase. Thereupon the asylum seeker is summoned, at least once, for an interview at the CGVS. This interview takes place in the procedural language. If it was notified – at the DVZ – that the asylum seeker needs the assistance of an interpreter, the CGVS provides this service. A lawyer may be present but s/he is not allowed to intervene during the interview; only at the end may s/he clarify why his/her client should obtain refugee status or subsidiary protection (cf. infra). Before the interview starts, the official has to point out what is expected of the asylum seeker: the asylum seeker is urged to tell the truth and to corroborate his account by as many documents as possible (CGVS, 2008).

The assessment of the application is based on the truthfulness of the asylum seeker’s statements, on the criteria that determine refugee status – as postulated in the Geneva Convention – and on the criteria concerning the statute of subsidiary protection contained in the Belgian Immigration Law. If the asylum seeker fails to meet the criteria to gain refugee status he might still qualify for subsidiary protection provided that there is a “real risk of serious injury [if he were to return to his country of origin] and if he cannot or, because of said risk, does not want to place himself under the protection of that country” (Vluchtelingenwerk, 2008: 27; my translation). According to the Belgian Immigration Law there are three different types of injuries that are considered ‘serious’: the death penalty or
execution, torture or inhuman and humiliating treatment/punishment, a severe threat to the life or the person of a citizen in consequence of random violence as part of a national or international armed conflict (Vluchtelingenwerk, 2008).

Subsequently, within the term of three months, the CGVS makes a decision regarding the refugee’s case. This decision must then be communicated to the applicant, along with an indication of the appeal possibilities. The remaining authorities, the RvV and the RvS, come into play each time the applicant lodges an appeal against the decision taken by an authority on a lower level. These authorities take care of the so-called jurisdictional phase of the procedure. For example, if the applicant lodges an appeal against the negative decision taken by the CGVS, the examination of the application will be reopened by the RvV. Unlike the asylum interviews, these appeals take the form of a court hearing. The following sections provide some background information on the asylum interview at the CGVS (CGVS, 2008).

1.1 The interview at the CGVS

As was mentioned above, the standard questionnaire that was filled in by the applicant at the DVZ serves as a basic tool for the organization of the interview at the CGVS. It is the questionnaire that determines the interviewer’s selection of questions that he/she considers relevant to the refugee’s case. Even though every interview is different and contains routine as well as on the spot questions, three particular types of questions can be distinguished during each interview: identification questions, knowledge questions and motivation questions. Each question type serves the purpose of gathering a particular kind of information and requires a particular explanatory mode. In the table below, the required explanatory modes are paired with the corresponding question types. Each question type is provided with some examples (Maryns, 2006).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Identification questions</th>
<th>Knowledge questions</th>
<th>Motivation questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>to establish the</td>
<td>to determine</td>
<td>to verify and assess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matter/objective:</td>
<td>identity of the applicant:</td>
<td>matter/objective:</td>
<td>escape and the motivation for seeking asylum in Belgium:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td></td>
<td>to determine nationality: what do the post boxes look like in your country, where is the national airport, can you give the name of some big rivers?</td>
<td>have you been physically offended? for how long have you been detained? what cities did you pass on your way to the airport?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>address</td>
<td></td>
<td>to determine political activity: who is the president in your country, what are the most important political parties, can you describe your membership card?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place of birth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political affiliation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>travel route</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Required explanatory mode:</th>
<th>short decontextualized answers</th>
<th>isolated facts</th>
<th>a chronological account of events and experiences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table 1. Question types (Maryns, 2006: 93-94)
In general, the interview at the CGVS could be said to follow a certain pattern: it starts with a list of identification questions, followed by a number of knowledge questions and ends with the motivation questions. The final segment, the motivation part, generally takes up most of the interview, seeing as the applicant is urged to explain all the events and problems that lead him to apply for asylum in a chronological order.

1.1.1 Distinction procedural language – working language

It was already noted that, during the first step of the asylum procedure (the registration at the DVZ), a procedural language, that is, one of Belgium’s main official languages – Dutch or French – is assigned to the applicant. In theory, this is the language in which the officials will communicate with the AS during the entire asylum procedure, whether it requires interpreting or not. It is also the language in which all the documents concerning the applicant’s file are drawn up. Consequently, English – as it is no official language in Belgium – cannot be a means of direct interaction between an asylum seeker and an official. In practice, however, asylum agencies that do not fall under the authority of the Ministry of Justice, like the CGVS, do not always apply this rule. More than often, officials at the CGVS opt for ELF to facilitate the communication with the applicants. Moreover, not having to employ an interpreter saves time and money.

This is why I, in concordance with Maryns (2011), would like to argue for a distinction between the ‘procedural language’ and the ‘working language’. The former is compulsory during the appeal hearings at the RvV and the RvS (which both fall under the authority of the Ministry of Justice) and for the written records of each interview and court hearing. The latter can be used for direct interaction between the official and the asylum seeker during the interview(s) at the CGVS. However, the written reports of these interviews have to be drawn up in the procedural language that was assigned to the AS. This means that, in case the interviewer opts for ELF, the interviewer will have to translate the applicant’s answers him/herself. Note that, during the jurisdictional phase (cf. supra) of the asylum procedure, no distinction is made between the procedural language and the
working language. At this point the procedural language is the compulsory target language for spoken as well as written interaction (Maryns, 2011).
Chapter 2: Data

The case that will be discussed in this paper involves a male asylum seeker (henceforth AS), in his late twenties, of Nigerian origin, who speaks an African English variety. The AS has already passed the registration at the DVZ and is now summoned for his first interview at the CGVS. The AS’s lawyer is present during the entire interview but, as was mentioned above, is not supposed to intervene. The interviewer at the CGVS, also called protection officer (henceforth PO), is a young female official of Flemish origin. Seeing as the AS does not master either of the procedural languages, he has decided to do his interviews in English. The PO is believed to be sufficiently proficient in English to conduct the interview without the intervention of an interpreter. She types the applicant’s statements into a computer, whose screen is turned away from the AS. It has to be noted that the AS speaks very fast and inarticulately, even when the PO explicitly asks him to speak slower and to refrain from muttering.

For the sake of clarity I will briefly summarize the AS’s story. He was born in Benin City, the capital of Edo state in southern Nigeria, where he went to secondary school and finished his first year at university. At the age of 18 he encountered a man who introduced him into politics, this man is also his boyfriend. The AS became a member of the PDP (Peoples Democratic Party), a Nigerian political party, which he left to join the AC (Action Congress), a rivalling political party, for reasons of personal safety. In both parties he held the function of youth spokesman, acting as an intermediary between Nigerian youths and the government. The AS discovered that the Speaker of the House of Assembly, who belonged to the PDP, was corrupt and was a member of a secret society. Subsequently, the AC tried to impeach this Speaker, which gave rise to bloody fights between the AC and the PDP. Certain members of the PDP threatened to kill the AS, they also notified the police of his homosexual inclination (which is a punishable crime in Nigeria). Those same members kidnapped the AS’s father and killed one of his friends; this prompted him to leave Nigeria. With the help of his boyfriend he travelled from Nigeria to Niger, from Niger to Libya and from Libya to Belgium.
The interview was recorded in May 2011 at the CGVS in Brussels. The recording of this interview was made by my supervisor, Dr. Katrijn Maryns, as part of the data for her own research. Subsequently, I transcribed this recording, using a slightly adapted version of the notation system developed by Gail Jefferson, to make it more accessible for a detailed analysis. Phenomena such as pauses between and within turns, immediate succession between turns, overlapping and interruptions are accounted for. The transcription of the entire interview, which lasted 3 hours and 24 minutes, and a legend explaining the transcription conventions can be found respectively in annexes 4 and 3. Pseudonyms are used in order to conceal the identity of the AS.

In addition to my transcription, both the hearing report that was drawn up by the PO and some notes made by my supervisor will form the basis of the analysis. In order to protect the identity of the AS, the report and the notes will not be added to this paper. However, during certain parts of the analysis it will be useful to make a comparison between what the AS said and what the PO wrote down. To do so, corresponding extracts from the hearing report will be translated and made anonymous.
Chapter 3: Analysis

In this chapter I will use several extracts from the transcription to provide examples to the different parts that make up the analysis. All relevant sentences and words appearing in these extracts will be underlined, a legend explaining the meaning of the different punctuation marks and symbols can be found in annex 3. Within certain parts of the analysis, I will make use of phonetic transcriptions. A table containing the English version of the International Phonetic Alphabet can be found in annex 5.

3.1 ELF, or English as a Lingua Franca

The present section takes up a brief explanation of English as a Lingua Franca and the implications it has for its users. First, let us consider what is meant by the term ‘lingua franca’. In essence, it is a “contact language used among people who do not share a first language and is commonly understood to mean a second (or subsequent language) of its speakers” (Jenkins, 2007: 1). It is thus used as a means of compensation for the fact that two, or more, interlocutors are not native speakers (henceforth NSs) of the same language.

Before the rise of English as a language of international and intercultural interaction, other languages had taken up the role of lingua franca. Knapp and Meierkord (2002) state that the term ‘lingua franca’, in its original sense, referred to “a variety that was spoken along the South-Eastern coast of the Mediterranean between approximately the 15th and the 19th century” (2002: 9). This ‘variety’ was “a pidgin, probably based on some Italian dialects […], and included element from Spanish, French, Portuguese, Arabic, Turkish, Greek and Persian” (2002: 9). A striking quality of this ‘pidgin’, and of every other pidgin language for that matter, is its ‘plurilinguistic’ composition which reflects an “intrinsic and key feature of lingua francas: their hybrid nature” (Jenkins, 2007: 1; emphasis added). I would thus like to argue that ELF should be regarded as a vast complex of diverse varieties of English, presenting systematic variation in their use of the sounds, grammar and vocabulary of the so-called ‘standard’ English, and which is heavily influenced by other languages.
Both the variation within, and the spread of the English language were conceptualized by Braj Kachru (1992), the leading scholar in the field of ‘world Englishes’ (cf. infra). Kachru has described the English language in terms of three concentric circles (i.e. circles having the same centre): the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. Each of these circles contains a number of countries where English is used. The Inner Circle represents the traditional bases of English and includes countries such as the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia. These countries are dominated by the mother-tongue varieties of the English language. Next comes the Outer Circle, defined by Kachru as regions of the world that were formerly colonized by Great Britain and the USA. Within this circle we find countries such as Bangladesh, Ghana, India, Kenya, Malaysia and Nigeria. Here, English has been institutionalized as an additional language. Finally, we have the Expanding Circle, which encompasses those countries where English has no governmental or historical role, but where it is nonetheless broadly used as a foreign language or lingua franca (Kachru, 1992).

These varieties of standard English are what Kachru calls ‘world Englishes’ (1992), a term used to describe the new varieties of English emerging all over the world. The Outer as well as the Expanding Circle thus contain, among others, non-native speakers (henceforth NNSs) of English. Belgium, where the English language has never played a historical, nor a governmental, role, belongs to the latter, while Nigeria, which was placed under British rule for more than a century, belongs to the former. Consequently, the Inner Circle, seeing as it only concerns NSs of English, will be of no further consideration in this paper.

3.1.1 Nigerian English vs. ‘standard’ English

So far, we have established that Nigeria, according to Kachru’s classification, belongs to the Outer Circle of ‘world Englishes’. Varieties belonging to this circle are also called “non-native institutionalized varieties” (Kachru, 1990: 94). Platt et al. (1984) developed a number of criteria that a variety of English should meet to qualify as a ‘new English’. Those criteria are the following:
1) It must have been taught as a subject as well as used as a medium of instruction in places where languages other than English were the main languages;
2) It has developed in an area where a native variety of English was not the language spoken by most of the population;
3) It is used for a range of functions among those who speak or write it in the region where it is used;
4) It has become ‘localized’ or ‘nativized’ by adopting some language features of its own, such as sounds, intonation patterns, sentence structures, words and expressions. Usually it has also developed some different rules for using language in communication (1984: 2-3).

Ajani, in his article *Is there indeed a “Nigerian English”?* (2007), has found the English spoken in Nigeria to meet all of the above-mentioned criteria. Additionally, English, the former colonial language, has gained official status in Nigeria. Ajani therefore concludes that a new variety of English has indeed developed in Nigeria, henceforth called Nigerian English. This Nigerian English consequently presents variation in its use of the sounds, grammar and vocabulary of normative ‘standard’ English.

As was mentioned in section 1.1.1, during the administrative phase of the asylum procedure – the investigation at the DVZ and the CGVS – the official conducting the interview may choose, in consultation with the applicant, to use a ‘working language’ instead of the ‘procedural language’. This ‘working language’ is, due to its spread and use around the world, in most cases English. Applicants are thus given the opportunity to choose in what language they want to present their case: a lingua franca or a language which may require the intervention of an interpreter (mostly the applicant’s native language).

In January 2011 the CGVS published an interview charter – based on the guidelines of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees’ handbook (1995) concerning the interviewing of applicants for refugee status – serving as a code of conduct for the officials at the CGVS. It contains, among others, guidelines on the setting and the preparation of the interview, on efficient conversation/questioning methods and on the report that the
The language used during the interview is adapted to the asylum seeker and to his background:

- The questions asked and the information given during the interview take into account the asylum seeker’s personality, experience and cultural background (age, gender, health, social position, education level, religion, etc...).
- The protection officer takes into account the various aspects of intercultural communication.
- If the asylum seeker is an unaccompanied foreign minor or a person who has suffered acts of violence, the protection officer adjusts his approach and uses specific conversation methods (CGVS, 2011: 13).

According to the above-mentioned guidelines, the official should adapt his/her language to the socio-cultural background of the applicant and take into account the various aspects of inter-cultural communication. The practice, however, reveals otherwise. It was already shown by Maryns (2005a) that the CGVS poses several constraints on the language choice and that “only monolingual standard varieties qualify for procedural interaction” (2005a: 300). This implies a denial of linguistic variation and withholds speakers who use sets of socially, regionally and situationally defined varieties from using their full potential. In what follows, we will take a closer look at the clash between the two types of English that are used during the interview that forms the basis of this analysis: the PO’s Flemish, non-native variety of English and the AS’s Nigerian English.

**Extract 1**

(1) **PO:** oh that was the same day of the incident [AS: the incident jah] the impeachment took place ... (7.0) oké ... **so what happened then?**
AS: i let down t- after the incident we came out and we saw that there were lot of thugs aside..

PO: talks people were talking?

AS: political thugs

PO: uhum

AS: you know political thugs (?)

PO: ja ...

AS: like as i said (gultiz) those are people who politicians send to-to keep people or (destroy)/

PO: oh no [AS: jah fighting] i don’t (?) there were many political?

AS: thugs along the street they were shooting/

PO: wha- okay then what is it then?

AS: hm ? they were shooting guns so everybody have to run

PO: but political talks i don’t understand them like this

AS: that is what i’m telling [PO: ja] political i can be a political thugs like i would be walking with politicians they send me maybe/

PO: sorry the black hawks?

AS: jah is like a (gultiz) jah so the-the black hawks they send maybe the one to kill an opponent they send you to go and do the job they paid you for it or maybe if election is (going on) they send people to destroy the election steal ballot boxes ... (6.0)

PO: and they were outside?

AS: they were outside so/

PO: how did you recognise them?

AS: jah i’m-i’m-i’m-i’m-i’m an action congress so i know that these people are from the PDP because it was when the incident happened the speaker went out of the house and before we know these people came they started shooted gun before we know they cau/

PO: the speaker went out of the [AS: house] house and then ? they came in?
AS: the presence of the house of assembly not inside the present they were outside the assembly’s arena so they started shooting gun people were running away. before the police came in to put things in order.

PO: they didn’t this happened outside of the?

AS: the house of assembly.

PO: and who was so the political talks how do you write it ‘cause i don’t really know how you write “talks” then

AS: i spell it

PO: THUGS or probably eh .. thugs ja

AS: jah

PO: ja oké … (19.0) okay so the political th-thugs the thugs who were they attacking?

Extract 1 is taken from the third and final part of the interview, the motivation questions part (cf. section 1.1), during which the AS is expected to produce a chronological account of the events that caused him to leave his country. After having provided the PO with some additional information concerning the circumstances that led to the impeachment of the Speaker of the House of Assembly, the AS is asked to continue with his story (turn 1). The AS states that he left the House and that there were, at that time, a lot of ‘thugs’ (turn 2) in the streets, which the AS pronounces as [tɔːks]. His pronunciation resembles the word ‘talks’ rather than ‘thugs’, which in standard English is pronounced [θʌgz]. As a result, the PO assumes that there were ‘talks’ going on in the street and asks for a confirmation, ‘people were talking?” (turn 3), indicating that she is not sure if she has made a correct interpretation of the AS’s utterance. The AS now states that it were ‘political’ thugs (turn 4), which the PO understands as being political talks or debates, and supports the AS’s statement with a back-channel response or continuer (Schegloff, 1982) in turn 5. These responses include short utterances such as ‘uhum’, ‘mm’ or ‘yeah’ and are meant to signal understanding of what the speaker has said so far and imply that the speaker should continue talking. The AS, who is somewhat suspicious of the PO’s acknowledgment of his statement, repeats his previous utterance and adds the metapragmatic comment ‘you know’
(turn 6) to it, demonstrating his search for a shared understanding. Subsequently, the PO opts for another continuer, this time she uses the Dutch word for ‘yes’. This brief switch to Dutch might be a result of her confusion with the AS’s repetition after having already shown understanding of his initial statement in turn 5. The PO’s use of these continuers and their ambiguous nature will be discussed more thoroughly in section 3.5.2.

When, in turn 8, the AS proceeds with his story, the PO suddenly realizes that her interpretation of the AS’s previous utterances does not match the intended meaning he tried to get across. The AS now identifies these ‘political thugs’ – which the PO still believes to be ‘political talks’ – as people who are hired by politicians to attack their adversaries (turn 8). The PO evidently does not comprehend (turn 9) the link the AS draws between a phenomenon such as political debates and the concept of mercenaries, which is why she interrupts him and tries to make him reiterate what he said in turns 4 and 6: ‘there were many political what?’. The AS restates that it were ‘thugs’ – while still pronouncing it as ‘talks’ – and adds another piece of information to it, namely, that they were shooting in the streets (turn 10). Again, the PO interrupts him and asks ‘okay, what is it then?’ (turn 11), suggesting that the AS should somehow choose between multiple alternative explanations. This question obviously does not make sense to the AS, seeing as he, so far, has given only one explanation to this particular event, which prompts him to reformulate (turn 12) his previous statement. Note that the above instance of communication breakdown does not get resolved until turn 27. The PO asks (turn 25) the AS to spell in writing his version of the word she believes to be ‘talks’, but before the AS has the time to write it down, she finally realizes that the AS was saying ‘thugs’ all along (turn 27).

In extract 1, the AS also uses the word ‘gultiz’ (turns 8 and 16) to refer to the people belonging to a pressure group such as the Black Hawks. Although the AS frequently uses this term throughout the entire interview, it is never clear what he exactly means by it and how it is spelled. That is why I decided to transcribe it the same way as the AS pronounces it, namely, ‘gultiz’ [gʌltIz], which is a word that does not belong to the English language. The PO, however, decides to write it down – in the hearing report – as ‘cultus’, which is the Dutch word for ‘cult’, i.e. a group of people with a religious, philosophical or cultural identity sometimes viewed as a sect. This exemplifies how the PO’s native language – Dutch
– subconsciously influences her interpretation of the AS’s Nigerian English: the AS uses a word which the PO does not understand; this word phonologically resembles a known Dutch word (‘cultus’ isn’t an English word) which has a meaning that could, in some way, correspond with the AS’s intended meaning; the PO believes these words to be the same.

It is possible that the PO’s interpretation of the word ‘gultiz’ does not correspond with that of the AS, which, in the event of further investigation, could give rise to an apparent inconsistency in the AS’s statements. On multiple occasions throughout the interview, the PO asks for a clarification of this particular term, which indicates its problematic nature. This uncertainty, however, is not reproduced in the hearing report:

**What problem did the Speaker have with you?** He threatened to kill me because I revealed a secret. **What secret?** That he belongs to a cult, which may have destroyed his political career.

In the extract from the hearing report, it can be seen how the PO writes down her own interpretation of the AS’s utterance without mentioning or indicating that she is not sure whether ‘cult’ corresponds with the meaning the AS intended. This disambiguation on the part of the PO could cause future readers or assessors to conceive of this statement as a fact provided by the AS, rather than an interpretation made by the PO. Other problems and potential pitfalls with regard to the transformation of oral statements into written reports will be the focus of section 3.3.

Another frequent source of confusion during this interview are the names and addresses of persons the AS is asked to provide. The PO’s lack of familiarity with the African/Nigerian phonological features make it very hard for her to understand the indigenous, Nigerian names and street names. Concerning the questioning of names during the asylum interview, Maryns (2006) notes that they “may contain much more negotiable information than is assumed in a bureaucratic context and the exchange of names may require more effort from the participants in interaction than is normally allowed for” (2006: 20-21). The importance of names in the asylum procedure can be seen in the transcription,
Consider the following extract.

**Extract 2**

1. PO: and what were the names of the candidates of PDP that you could vote for?
2. AS: I vote for the governor that was Oserheime Osumbor ...(5.0)
3. PO: what's his name?
4. AS: Oserheime Osumbor.
5. PO: please write it or say it slowly because it/
6. AS: I don't think I can spell it well [PO: that's fine but] because it's not an English name ... “Oser-heime Osumbor”.
7. PO: “Ose”?
8. AS: Oserheime ...(9.5)
9. PO: and that was the governor eh? the candidate of governor? [AS: yes the candidate] for the governorship?
10. AS: jah the candidate for PDP.
11. PO: for the [AS: the governorship election] governorship eh?
12. AS: jah.
13. PO: and in the other elections?
14. AS: jah like the senate. euhm.. for the senate..
15. PO: he was- he was also the candidate for the senate?
16. AS: no..
17. PO: who [AS: no Ozamire] was the candidate then?
18. AS: I only know his first jah his name, Ozamire
19. PO: “Ozamire”?
20. AS: jah Ozamire, I can't spell that because is very difficult.
21. PO: and of the assembly? the?
22. AS: state assembly
23. PO: uhum
(24) AS: I voted for Igbomosa
(25) PO: “Igbo-”?
(26) AS: “Igbomosa”
(27) PO: “Igbo-”? just speak slowly it’s it’s names that i don’t know so just [AS: jah] spell them slowly for me and then i can write them [PO is agitated]
(28) AS: okay i said Igbomosa.
(29) PO: Igbomosa
(30) AS: jah i only know his first name but i didn’t know his euh other name ... (5.0)

Extract 2 belongs to the knowledge questions part (cf. section 1.1) of the interview and contains questions on the identity of certain Nigerian politicians. When, in turn 4, the AS provides the name of a governor, the PO is faced with the problem of having to process this Nigerian name into the hearing report. Subsequently, she asks the AS to write it down or to repeat it slowly (turn 5), to which the AS replies that he cannot spell it because ‘it’s not an English name’ (turn 6). In Nigeria, as a result of the British colonization, a distinction is made between indigenous, African names and exogenous, English names. Seeing as the PO is required to write down this name in order to check if it corresponds to reality, the AS is forced to fall back on his knowledge of a language other than Nigerian English, namely, Edo, which is an African language spoken primarily in Edo state, Nigeria. This language equally belongs to the AS’s repertoire of codes, this, however, does not mean that he has the same level of proficiency in Edo as he has in Nigerian English. Later on in the interview, it becomes clear that the AS does not know how to write or spell Nigerian street names either, indicating that his knowledge of Edo is limited to speaking and understanding it. In turn 27, it can be seen how the PO gets agitated by the speed with which the AS pronounces these Nigerian names (turns 18 and 24), which, as will become apparent throughout the analysis, is an idiosyncratic characteristic of the AS’s speech that persistently hinders the PO’s understanding.

Although the efficacy and the preciseness of the ELF interaction between the AS and the PO is never put into question by the asylum agencies, we find that the imposition of a monolingual standard code requires on the part of the refugee full competence in this
particular code. This, however, is not the case. At times, the AS fails to understand certain words or concepts used by the PO, which could be said to belong to the 'basic vocabulary' of the English language. Extract 3 provides an example to such a communication breakdown.

**Extract 3**

1. AS: the consequence is two ways.
2. PO: hm?
3. AS: the consequence is two ways either you go to jail like staying fif- for ten years in jail or they sentence you to death.
4. PO: they can sentence you to death?
5. AS: jah if you are/
6. PO: for being gay?
7. AS: jah. or you go to jail...
8. PO: and what does it depend on the sentence?..
9. AS: i don’t understand “depend”
10. PO: you say it can be two ways either fourteen years of imprisonment either [AS: i didn’t say fourteen for ten years] death penalty. fourteen eh? one four eh?
11. AS: jah because of the laws of the state because some state require death sentence=
12. PO: uhum
13. AS: =and why some states require you-you go into jail.. and if you are not lucky they can transfer you. if they arrested you they can transfer you to-to to other state..

In the extract above, it can be seen how the AS fails to understand what ‘depend’ means. After the AS has explained the two possible outcomes of the police arresting him on the charges of being a homosexual (turn 3), the PO wants to know how they decide between those two sentences: execution or ten years imprisonment. She formulates her question as ‘what does it depend on, the sentence?’, to which the AS replies that he does not
understand the verb ‘depend’ (turn 9). This is surprising, since the AS has previously proven to be able to grasp more complex terms and questions. It is possible that this gap in the AS’s vocabulary can be explained by the Nigerian speech community, where linguistic diversity and simultaneity of mixed repertoires are a natural means of expression (Ajani, 2007). This would then mean that the AS has simply never heard of the word ‘depend’ because, in his speech community, it could have been replaced by another word, belonging to a different code than Nigerian English. It is also possible that the AS does know the word ‘depend’, but that he is not familiar with its usage in this specific context. Both these explanations reflect the ‘nativization’ or ‘indigenization’ process (Jowitt, 1991) English in Nigeria has gone through in order to serve as an effective vehicle of communication. The bureaucratic obligation of the use of a monolingual standard code might thus seriously restrict the applicant’s contributions to the interaction.

Moreover, Ajani (2007) states that, due to the “wide linguistic repertoire of the average Nigerian English speaker” (2007: no page numbering), code-switching is an important aspect of Nigerian English discourse pattern. He observes that, in day to day speech among Nigerian English speakers, code-switching serves as a discourse marker, indicating the speaker’s attitude to what he is saying. Due to the monolingual ideology that dominates the Belgian asylum procedure, the AS is unable to provide this kind of metapragmatic information during the interview.

Also note that, in turn 10, the PO has misunderstood the AS’s utterance concerning the number of years he would have to spend in jail if arrested. In turn 3, the AS states that he would have to go to jail ‘for ten years’, whereas the PO understands it to be ‘fourteen years’ (turn 10), due to the AS’s rapid pronunciation. Subsequently, the AS corrects the PO while she is still talking (square brackets in the transcription indicate overlapped talk), which causes her to mishear the correct number a second time. She now wants to check if she has it right and asks the AS for confirmation, ‘fourteen eh? one four eh?’, to which the AS appears to reply positively (turn 11). However, when taking a closer look at the AS’s statement in turn 11, it becomes clear that the ‘jah’ at the beginning of the sentence does not constitute an answer to the PO’s confirmation question. It is immediately followed by the utterance ‘because of the laws of the state, because some states require death sentence’,
which is a reply to the PO’s previous question, concerning the distinction between the two sentences. It appears as though the AS sometimes uses the word ‘jah’ as an interjection, as a starting word stripped of its meaning. In extract 4, we can see a more obvious example of this particular kind of usage of the word ‘jah’ when the PO asks the AS how the AC – a Nigerian political party – came into power (turn 1). Although this isn’t a polar question, i.e. a yes-no question, the AS does start his response (turn 2) with ‘jah’, indicating that it is merely used as an interjection. The AS’s usage of these interjections could give rise to apparent inconsistencies in his statements, seeing as the PO might conceive of them as positive responses to her questions while they actually are not.

**Extract 4**

(1) PO: how did they become how did they come into power ?
(2) AS: jah it-it wa- it went i had to fight the case in the tribune tribunal
(3) PO: hm ?
(4) AS: they won the case in tribunal .. the election was at euh april two thousand and seven .. and it was won by my party member PDP . [PO: uhum] but later the he was not satisfied with the results of the jah of the election/

Furthermore, according to the guidelines provided by the UNHCR, linguistic fluency, clarity of expression and detail have to be taken into account in the assessment of credibility:

**Relevant factors in assessing credibility:**

A related aspect for assessing the credibility of the person being interviewed is to examine the testimony for internal consistency (the coherence of the statement) and external consistency (agreement with known facts). You may also consider the fluency of the testimony (that is, the incidence of hesitation), as well as its clarity and detail. If both written and oral statements have been provided there should be global consistency between the statements (UNHCR, 1995: Ch. 6).
In this particular case, it would be incorrect and highly unjust to take these criteria into account when assessing the AS’s application, seeing as the AS’s Nigerian English contains many features (syntactical, lexical and discursive) that set it apart from British or American English, i.e. ‘standard’ English. The AS’s speech, when compared to ‘standard’ English, contains many grammatically incorrect constructions and characteristics that could be said to hinder the fluency, clarity and detail of his testimony. Consequently, the PO should take into account the various aspects of intercultural communication when evaluating the AS’s speech, as was mentioned in the CGVS interview charter (cf. supra).

The extracts above demonstrate that understanding, when using ELF, is not without difficulty in the Belgian asylum procedure. Although both the PO and the AS identify their code as ‘English’, there appears to be a lack of correspondence between both varieties, which makes it hard for the participants in the interaction to express themselves and to decode meaning adequately. Apart from the linguistic gap between an African and a Flemish variety of English, there is also the issue of language as a semiotic resource: identical forms, across varieties, may have different meanings. The following section elaborates on this issue.

3.2 Pretextual differences

When having a conversation, interlocutors always contextualize meaning, i.e. they “map function (intended or attributed meaning) onto form (verbal and nonverbal performance)” (Maryns, 2006: 6). In order to get intended meanings across, to make them understandable to the other person(s), speakers rely on a set of contexts. These contexts of discourse differ from person to person and from language to language; every person has a different contextualization potential: what something means for one person may have a different meaning for someone else. This potential covers everything a person could possibly draw from to attribute meaning to form. In concordance with Maryns & Blommaert (2002) and Maryns (2006), I will refer to this pre-existing potential with the term ‘pretextuality’. In other words, people enter a conversation with varying degrees of pretextual differences.
Maryns now upholds the hypothesis that as the pretextual differences between individuals increase, the more important discursive contextualization work will be. Put differently, “the more boundaries participants have to cross, the more interactional efforts will be required to understand each other” (Maryns, 2005b: 177). In an institutional setting such as the asylum procedure several ‘boundaries’ are transgressed simultaneously. In addition to social, generic and stylistic boundaries, the interaction between officials and refugees also implies the crossing of geographical boundaries, which further complicates the already complex and contextually dense interaction. In what follows I will highlight certain parts of the interview that demonstrate the issue of the transferability of intended meanings across contextualization spaces and how the PO’s lack of knowledge of the geographic and socio-cultural background of the AS significantly hinders the information exchange.

From the beginning of the interview, it becomes clear that the displacement of the AS has a significant impact on the information exchange between the PO and the AS. The PO starts the interview with some straightforward identification questions, which are supposed to be simple ‘one-word-answer’ questions: name, date and place of birth, mother tongue. The following extract shows how the pretextual differences between the interlocutors prevent short, decontextualized answers from being understood.

**Extract 5**

(1) PO: “okay” .. then .. we will start the interview .
(2) AS: no problem
(3) PO: (the first) can you tell me whether your name is written correctly on the file .
   “Peter Johnson”
(4) AS: yeah
(5) PO: that’s correct ?
(6) AS: yeah
(7) PO: ja . what’s your date of birth ?
(8) AS: january fourth .

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(9) PO: sorry?
(10) AS: January fourth nineteen eighty-four ... (9.5) {PO typing and talking to herself}
(11) PO: and what's your place of birth?
(12) AS: Benin.
(13) PO: Benin {other pronunciation than AS}
(14) AS: jah
(15) PO: in which state?
(16) AS: Edo state.
(17) PO: "Edo state". what's your nationality?
(18) AS: Nigeria ...
(19) PO: and your tribe?
(20) AS: i speak Edo ...
(21) PO: so your ethnical origin is Edo too?
(22) AS: (as in) the origin is Ora. but we call it Edo .. is Ora
(23) PO: "Ora"
(24) AS: "Ora" but we call it Edo . the other time i was at they checked through the internet they could not find it . so then they have to put Edo ... (4.0)
(25) PO: but . in your home country you call it Ora/
(26) AS: jah
(27) PO: your tribe?
(28) AS: Ora jah ...
(29) PO: what's your mother tongue?
(30) AS: ()
(31) PO: hm?
(32) AS: huh?
(33) PO: your mother tongue?
(34) AS: ()...
(35) PO: i don't understand
(36) AS: i speak Edo
(37) PO: Fedo
(38) AS: jah ...
(39) PO: and other languages that you speak, or understand?
(40) AS: English English.
(41) PO: *English*, and English is the language you commonly speak?
(42) AS: yeah that was what I was brought up with ...
(43) PO: but you do speak Edo as well?
(44) AS: little [PO: yourself] little
(45) PO: little
(46) AS: because I wasn’t brought up in my hometown I was brought up in Benin (where I was born) ...
(47) PO: so your, the village in which you were born, what’s the name? your, because you al- you told me that you were born in Benin=
(48) AS: jah
(49) PO: *but now you say that you were born in a village?*
(50) AS: I said I wasn’t brought up=
(51) PO: uhum
(52) AS: in my hometown
(53) PO: what is your hometown then?
(54) AS: my hometown is Oscar Whiskey Sierra Oscar I wasn’t brought up there/
(55) PO: that’s where you were born?
(56) AS: no I [PO: no that’s where your parents come from] was born in Benin, yeah that’s where they came from.

In turn 29 of extract 5, the PO asks the AS about his mother tongue, the question appears simple and straightforward: ‘what is your mother tongue?’*. When looking up the concept ‘mother tongue’ in the Oxford English Dictionary (henceforth OED), the following entry is given:

A. n.

One's native language; a first language. Also in extended use.
The PO’s conception of the notion ‘mother tongue’ is the same as the one found in the OED: a person’s native language, i.e. the language that one was brought up with. When posing her question, she automatically assumes that the AS subscribes to this same definition. After having established that his mother tongue is ‘Edo’ (turn 36), the PO wants to know if there are any other languages that he is able to speak or understand (turn 39), to which the AS replies that he can also speak English (turn 40). However, in turn 42, he now states that English is the language that he was brought up with, contradicting (in the eyes of the PO) his previous statement about Edo being his mother tongue. The PO is confused and asks the AS if he speaks Edo as well (turn 43), the AS answers that he can only speak little Edo because of the fact that he was not brought up in his hometown (turn 46). This explanation only heightens the PO’s confusion (turns 47 and 49), seeing as she (understandably) links the concept of ‘hometown’ with the notion of ‘upbringing’. However, the AS’s understanding of the word ‘hometown’ apparently differs from the one held by the PO: it is the place where your parents come from, not the place where you were brought up. In the case of the AS those are two different locations: he was brought up in Benin City, the capital of Edo state in southern Nigeria, while his parents come from a small village, also in Edo state. Both the definition of the PO and the AS can be found under the entry ‘hometown’ in the OED:

A. n.
The town of one's birth, early life, or permanent residence. Also: the town of one's relatives or ancestors.

Consequently, when the PO inquires after the mother tongue of the AS, unaware of possible intercultural variation concerning this concept, she in fact asks him what the language of his parents is. In turn, the AS, equally unaware of the different perceptions, gives a consistent answer, seeing as this is what mother tongue means to him. In the last turn, turn 56, the PO understands that the AS’s hometown and the place where he was born
are two entirely different places. This finally prompts her to realize the AS’s interpretation of the link between ‘mother tongue’ and ‘hometown’.

Because of the pretextual differences in conceptions of language and place, both the AS and the PO have to lapse into all sorts of contextualization work to make themselves understood. In a less diverse interactional setting (a conversation between two native speakers of the same language belonging to the same socio-cultural background), one-word-answers would probably suffice to bring intended meaning across. Here, however, almost every aspect of the AS’s life requires further clarification, transforming even the simplest identification questions into complicated stretches of dialogue.

Extract 6

(1) PO: what education did you get?
(2) AS: eh?
(3) PO: what was your education?
(4) AS: ah it was secondary school i did certificate and also a p-degree result and also my not just in university not at . ( ) study .
(5) PO: okay so secondary school certificate and then the “PDP”?
(6) AS: “PD”
(7) PO: and/
(8) AS: PD result [PO: PD] but i not said that is not a certificate [PO: uhu] just passed straight PD training /
(9) PO: it’s the national exam?
(10) AS: it’s just say [PO: ( )] if you don’t want to use through jamb to go ( ) it’s always you get admission to the university [PO: ah] if you don’t want to use through jamb . you can apply for PD in the (end of ) university that receive people . they pay then you go to a training for s- one year (after that you write the exam and you go there) if you pass the exam/
PO: okay i'm not sure i understand. so after secondary school [AS: jah] you did the PD [AS: jah] exam [AS: jah]. heh? and what does that. if you have that what-what-what's the purpose?

AS: p-degree p-degree is university (set the) exam. for those who cannot make it. for those who cannot get admission through the. through jamb=

PO: uhum

AS: =because jamb is oh jamb is a body that set euh university exam form [PO: uhum] in Nigeria. but if you cannot pass there through it. you cannot use p-degree the also university (state) exam. ou i said p-degree. you go there you buy the form you pay school fees. and after staying there for like six months one year you write the final exam then [PO: uhum] if your name come out in a badge you're admitted into the university if you ()

PO: okay i'm not sure i understand eh

AS: oh {PO laughs} it's not common/

PO: but anyway it's [AS: it's just three university that organise the programme in Nigeria] not very relevant. okay.

AS: jah

PO: but the PD result did that admit you to the university or not?

AS: jah they admitted me ... they don't give result the name will just come out on the badge if you are admitted [PO: okay] if you're not admitted your name will not be on the badge.

PO: okay and if you are admitted okay. so then you were admitted to university

AS: jah ...(9.5)

Extract 6 illustrates how the PO’s lack of familiarity with the Nigerian education system further complicates the information exchange. Once more, the PO starts off with a straightforward question, ‘what education did you get?’, to which the AS gives a rather disordered answer (turn 4): he enumerates ‘secondary school certificate’, ‘p-degree result’ and something unintelligible about ‘university’. The PO does not know what the AS means by ‘p-degree result’ and asks for further clarification (turn 5). What follows is an intricate
explanation of the Nigerian education system. This system can be summarized as follows: after secondary school, students have the possibility to follow a pre-degree programme, a nine-month intensive coaching curriculum that aims at preparing secondary school graduates for university education, in particular for the JAMB (Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board) exam, which one needs to pass to gain admission to all Nigerian public universities (Obafemi Awolowo University, 2011).

In turn 5, the PO mistakenly links the term ‘pre-degree’, which the AS pronounces as ‘p-degree’ [pi:digri:], with the acronym for the Peoples Democratic Party, ‘PDP’ (mostly due to the AS’s Nigerian English pronunciation). After a muddled explanation by the AS (turn 8), in which he replaces the term pre-degree by the acronym ‘PD’, the PO realizes that she was put on the wrong track and asks instead if it is the national exam (turn 9). The AS now introduces another term unknown to the PO, the acronym ‘jamb’ (turn 10), further adding to the PO’s confusion (turns 11 and 15). Moreover, the exact meaning of this particular acronym is, for an outsider, quite difficult to grasp, seeing as it has been frozen into a single lexical item, ‘jamb’, and is used to refer to both the Board that administers the examination as well as the examination administered by the Board. In turns 10 and 14, the AS uses it in the sense of the Board, while in turn 12, he uses it to refer to the exam itself. When, after several attempts, the PO still does not comprehend what the AS means by ‘jamb’, she discards it as being ‘not very relevant’ (turn 17). This leads her to her final question, ‘did the PD result admit you to the university or not?’ (turn 19), to which the AS responds that he was admitted (turn 20). The PO therefore concludes that it was the pre-degree programme that admitted him into university. This is also how she wrote it down in the hearing report:

**Your education → where and until when?** Secondary school certificate (2004). **PD result. This allowed me into university. Admitted to university, to which university did you go?** Ambuse Alli University Ekpoma. **When did you start in university?** 2009 until 2010, stopped going in March.

However, when researching the Nigerian education system I came across a document published by a Nigerian university containing the following statement: “No
prospective candidates can gain admission into any tertiary institution without passing through JAMB. The only difference is that, you have a better chance of admission with Pre-Degree if you score up to 60% and above and at least 200 in UTME” (Obafemi Awolowo University, 2011). This means the AS could not have been admitted into university on the basis of his pre-degree exam. When taking a closer look at the AS’s response in turn 20 to the PO’s question (turn 19), it becomes clear that he never claimed that his pre-degree result admitted him into university, he simply stated ‘yes they admitted me into university’. Here, the pronoun ‘they’ refers to the Nigerian Admission Board (JAMB), while the PO misguidedly interprets it as referring to the pre-degree exam.

The divergent extract from the PO’s hearing report also illustrates the ‘entextualization’ problem in adjudication procedures, as described by Jacquemet (2011). All asylum hearings/interviews enter the institutional record through entextualization, i.e. “the process of rendering a single instance of talk into text, detachable from its local context” (2011: 481). It is on the basis of this entextualization into the hearing report that asylum is granted, or in the event of denial, that an appeal can be launched. Because of the complex nature of the interaction between the PO and the AS, inaccurate reports of the AS’s account during the examination can be expected. In theory, the applicant is allowed to check this hearing report for possible mistakes or misunderstandings after the interview has taken place. The additional remarks made by the applicant must then be mentioned in the report. In this particular case, however, the AS would not be able to review the hearing report since it was drawn up in the procedural language, Dutch, and no interpreter was present. This means that the AS has absolutely no control over his words after they entered the hearing report, which Jacquemet describes as a “public transcript based on [the] cultural assumptions and institutional expectations [of the officials], all firmly anchored by dominant national values” (2011: 481). This ‘public transcript’, aside from containing multiple inaccuracies, thus neglects a great deal of the AS’s contextualization work in order to conform to the institutional expectations of reproducibility. The following section provides a further analysis of the problems involved in the entextualization process.
3.3 The entextualization process

A great part of the asylum procedure, all over the world, is taken up by narratives told by the applicant. These narratives are what Baynham and De Fina (2005) call ‘narratives of displacement’, stories about dislocation, migration and settlement. In an institutional context, such as the Belgian asylum procedure, these stories become an important means for an AS to corroborate his asylum claim. Moreover, Maryns (2005b) suggests that, given that only a minority of applicants can provide actual documentation, experiential narrative “is basically the only tool for explaining and supporting the application” (2005b: 178).

With regard to the Belgian asylum agencies, Gomez Díez (2011) examined how written reports were generated from oral narratives. Her data consisted of twelve hearing interactions between officials and asylum seekers, the consequent reports of those hearings, and the asylum agency’s decisions about the applicant’s request. She found that officials are placed in a difficult position when it comes to the entextualization of the applicant’s story, seeing as “[o]n the one hand, the accuracy of the applicant’s statements is fundamental to assessing their credibility; [o]n the other hand, within the Belgian procedure, the report must be a suitable tool for another official not present in the hearing to make a decision about the legitimacy of the request” (2011: 555). In other words, the entextualization process involves a tension between the need for accuracy and the need for suitability for the procedure.

In her corpus, Gomez Díez distinguishes between two different styles of officials interacting with applicants: ‘narrative’ and ‘elicitative’. The narrative style implies that it is the applicant who has the predominant role in the interaction; he/she takes on the role of narrator, while the official is merely the recipient of the narrative. This means that the official’s involvement in the interaction is restricted to asking questions, typing the applicant’s statements, and uttering minimal responses and continuers. On the other hand, when wielding the elicitive style, it is the official who holds the predominant role during the interaction, namely, that of elicitor of information, while the applicant becomes the provider of information. In this case the official's contributions to the interaction consist of instructions, requests for clarification, and requests for detail. Subsequently, Gomez Díez
associates these two styles with two different techniques of drawing up written reports: ‘simultaneous’ and ‘mediated’. When using the simultaneous method, which correlates with a narrative style of interaction, the official writes down the applicant’s answers near-simultaneously. The applicant is expected to slow down his/her utterances, to wait until the official has finished transcribing to resume talk, and to break utterances into chunks and repeat them so that the official can transcribe them without difficulties. Conversely, the mediated method, which correlates with an elicitative style of interaction, implies a process of selection when drafting the hearing report. Officials using the mediated method usually postpone the task of typing until they obtain the exact piece of information they are searching for in order to get a narrative fitting of the institutional requirements (Gomez Díez, 2011).

Gomez Díez now upholds the hypothesis that the aforementioned styles, the ‘narrative-simultaneous’ style and the ‘elicitative-mediated’ style, generate two highly different textual products. She suggest that “while the narrative-simultaneous style results in a text close to a transcription of ‘oral narrative of personal experience’, the elicitative-mediated style generates a text that could be ascribed to the genre of ‘narrative report’, or as Maryns (2006) puts it, to a ‘factual record of events’” (2011: 565). Moreover, she concludes her article by stating that the reports generated by means of an elicitative-mediated style make assessment of credibility more difficult than reports generated by a narrative-simultaneous style, because the former is constructed from the official’s reformulations of the applicant’s answers and because the high number of questions during an elicitative style interview makes it difficult to transcribe them in the report (Gomez Díez, 2011).

In what follows, I will determine, using several extracts from my transcription as well as from the PO’s hearing report, to which of the abovementioned styles the PO adheres and the implications this particular style has for the AS. All the extracts will be taken from the final part of the interview, which contains the so-called motivation questions (cf. section 1.1). During this last part the AS is asked to deliver a chronological account of the events that led him to applying for asylum while during the previous parts he had to answer isolated identification and knowledge questions, therefore it is best suited for determining the PO’s style of questioning.
It has to be noted that the PO draws up (on a computer) a written report of the AS’s statements as the interview progresses. This means that, since Belgian law dictates that all official records are to be drawn up in a procedural language (Dutch or French), the PO simultaneously has to interrogate the AS, translate his answers into Dutch, and type the answers into a computer. It goes without saying that this multi-tasking factor further complicates the entextualization process.

**Extract 7**

(1)  PO: “okay” ... then **what day** did you go to the euhm broadcast station ?
(2)  AS: jah because i complained to my boss that i was/
(3)  PO: bu- **when** ?
(4)  AS: when .. we go to the euhm broadcast station ?
(5)  PO: uhum
(6)  AS: just barely two weeks after the we have the bomb euh scare in the house of assembly/
(7)  PO: and in between did you have problems ?
(8)  AS: huh ?
(9)  PO: in between . during those two weeks did you have problems ?
(10) AS: i will still receive more euhm sms on my phone .
(11) PO: did you go to the police with the sms ?
(12) AS: the police ?
(13) PO: uhum
(14) AS: yes because i speak to my party they report it (usually) to the police . but the police they didn’t go into a-action i don’t think we have a police in that country ... (5.0) because they want to see you dead before they would believe that people are after your life ... (22.5)
(15) PO: oké so {PO sighs} ... let’s continue with your story but try to focus eh . try to be brief . i mean not brief when it’s important but . try to focus on the most important things .
AS: okay ...

PO: so what happened further?

AS: so after the bomb scare in the house i later went back to school to see if i can complete my clearance process and everything. so when i was at school i got an sms that we will get you so that day they came to my room in school.

PO: okay so you went to school eh?

AS: jah

PO: for- when was this?

AS: that was in March that's in March.

PO: to see if you could do your clearance? finish your/

AS: jah to finish my clearance and also ...

PO: and then you received what?

AS: an sms that we would get you.

PO: when was this? which day?

AS: i don't know the exact date but i know it happened in march then ...

PO: uhum

AS: so i-i also because i was staying off campus so i have to meet with my colleague who was (squatting) out with me a-and i explain/

PO: you were not in the campus?

AS: i rent. i'm staying in off campus. meaning i don't stay in the (hostel) i rent euhm house very close to the school=

PO: uhum

AS: we call it off campus=

PO: uhum

AS: jah so i speak with them they were like trying to say you are in- you are involved with these people. these people are very dangerous/

PO: you spoke to whom?

AS: my fellow's roommate. yes well they say these people are very dangerous the only thing you can do is to see if you can .. euhm-euhm-euhm appeal to the
speaker or something else because these people if they plan that they want to kill someone they kill it and moreover the school (/)

(39) PO: okay so now you're now you're rushing do you understand?
(40) AS: that is how i used to talk
(41) PO: that's when i cannot [AS: i'm sorry] follow any-anymore
(42) AS: i'm sorry i can't i don't talk slow because/
(43) PO: [PO laughs] i understand that you want to tell me everything but it's i-it's yeah it doesn't work like this you have to try and speak slowly
(44) AS: okay.

Extract 7 follows an explanation of a complicated passage in the AS’s narrative concerning the tension between two rivalling political parties in Nigeria, the PDP and the AC. During the struggles that followed the impeachment of the Speaker of the House of Assembly there were two bomb scares, one in the House of Assembly and one in the radio broadcasting station. Due to a very disordered recounting of events by the AS, it took more than forty turns before the PO understood that the bomb scare in the House of Assembly and the one in the broadcasting station were two separate bomb scares. The PO now turns her attention to the events that happened in the two weeks between those two bomb threats. She inquires after the specific date (turn 1) of the second bomb threat, the one in the broadcasting station. The AS, instead of answering the PO’s question, starts a narrative about his boss (turn 2), trying to tie in with his previous explanation about the bomb scares. Immediately, the PO interrupts him, fearing that his answer might lead to another lengthy and complex narrative, and restates the most important part of her question, namely, ‘when did all of this happen?’ (turn 3). After yet another overload of information in turn 17, the PO decides to break down the AS’s narrative and highlight those elements she considers important for inclusion in the hearing report. By posing structured and chronological questions (turns 19, 21, 23, 25 and 27) and by making clear that the AS should avoid departing from the requested details (turn 15), the PO obtains the answers she requires. If she feels the AS is on the right track, she supports his narrative with continuers (turns 33 and 35), signalling her understanding that the AS is in an extended turn that is not yet
complete. Consequently, it is the PO who has the predominant role in the interaction: she decides the topics of the exchange and which elements are worthy of further investigation and which are not. Her contributions to the interaction are mostly aimed at increasing the level of detail of the AS’s narrative. As a result, I would like to argue that the interaction between the PO and the AS is subordinated to the drafting of the hearing report.

It was already mentioned that the AS talks at a very fast pace and in an inarticulate manner. To give the reader an idea of how fast the AS actually speaks I timed the second sequence of the utterance in turn 38: ‘appeal to the speaker or something else because these people if they plan that they want to kill someone they kill it and moreover the school ()’. The AS utters this sentence in less than six seconds. Considering that the PO is not used to the Nigerian English accent of the AS and the fact that, while the AS is speaking, she has to translate his utterances into Dutch, it comes as no surprise that she interrupts him to point out that he is ‘rushing’ (turn 39) and that she is unable to follow his narrative (turn 41).

Likewise, in extract 8, which is taken from a later stage in the interview than extract 7, the PO has trouble writing down everything the AS has said. Even though the interview is almost over, this is the first time she explicitly directs the AS’s attention to the fact that she has to write down everything he says (turn 3): ‘I still have to write all of your sentence’. This metapragmatic comment apparently had an influence on the AS, seeing as he, in turn 10, now acknowledges the importance of the hearing report and suggests that the PO writes everything down before continuing with his story.

Extract 8

(1) PO: so if they would know that you were there?
(2) AS: if they notice i was with him. that was when he planned that i should he wou- he would take care of the money for me to leave the country. but during that period is nothing i can do because i don’t have the travelling documents so he say/
(3) PO: okay s-s-sorry i-i still have to write all of your sentence .. euhm [PO talks to herself while typing] .. (14.0) you couldn’t travel yet?
From the extracts above, it becomes clear that the PO uses an elicitative style of interacting with the applicant. According to Gomez Díez, officials who use the elicitative style generally do not simultaneously write down the applicant’s utterances. The PO in this case, however, does try to keep up with the AS’s narrative and type at the same time, which is characteristic of the narrative-simultaneous style. We will now turn our attention to the corresponding extracts from the hearing report to define which technique the PO uses to draft the report: simultaneous or mediated.

**Extract 7b**

*When to Broadcast station?* 2 weeks after *In between problems?* multiple text messages *Did you go to the police?* yes spoke with party, they went to the police, but they didn’t go into action. *I don’t believe we have police. They want to see you dead first, before they do something.*

*Continue with you story?* After the bomb threat in ‘house’, I continued going to school, to see if I could finalise clearance programme. *When?* In March. I received text message that they would get me. *When?* don’t know exact day, but in March. I rented a house close to the campus and I spoke with my roommates. They said that
these people are dangerous. He said that you should talk to the ‘speaker’ to sort it out or go to the police.

When comparing the information given by the AS in extract 7 and the information that has survived the entextualization process in extract 7b, we can but acknowledge how accurately the PO transcribed the AS’s statements (note that the extract above is a literal translation from the Dutch hearing report). Apart from the omission of certain clarification questions (turns 31 and 37) and metapragmatic comments/instructions (turns 15 and 39), all of the elements of the AS’s narrative in extract 7 are included in the report in the same way as they were presented to the PO. She also retained the AS’s opinion of the Nigerian police force (turn 14), even though this piece of information, at first sight, does not contribute to the advancement of the AS’s narrative.

With regard to those segments of narrative that are aimed at contextualizing the applicant’s story in the sociopolitical situation of his/her country, Maryns (2006) observes that they are generally omitted from the written reports because they are not deemed important enough for the assessment of the asylum request. Gomez Díez found this phenomenon to be particularly characteristic of the written reports that were drawn up by officials using a mediated technique. She argues that the dismissal of contextualizing segments may be explained by an underlying ‘factuality principle’ (2011) that governs the task of drawing up the reports, which means preeminence is given to clauses that enter the overall sequence of events. These clauses are called ‘sequential clauses’ (Labov, 1997) and make up the major part of the reports. Clauses containing contextualization work are called ‘orientation clauses’ (Labov, 1997) and are frequently omitted from the reports because they would imply “a departure from the conception of the genre of the report [...], a sequence of event clauses in strict correspondence with the order of the original events” (Gomez Díez, 2011: 573).

Extract 8b
**In Abuja what happened there?** [...] He [the AS’s boyfriend and godfather] said that if they know that I was there, that they then could do what they want with him as well. I couldn’t travel yet because no documents. He said that he would introduce me to a friend who would take me to Niger. And from Niger the friend would be responsible, because he is in the shipping business.

Extract 8b from the hearing report, which corresponds with extract 8 from the interview, contains one single question, namely, ‘what happened in Abuja?’ This question does not figure in extract 8, it was posed earlier on in the interview. For the sake of comparability, I only included, in extract 8b, the written version of the information that was given by the AS in extract 8 (note the ellipsis after the PO’s question in extract 8b), meaning that part of the answer to this question preceded extract 8.

Here, several pieces of information got lost during the entextualization process. First of all, none of the clarification questions (turns 1, 3 and 7) are transcribed and neither is the metapragmatic comment in turn 3. Second, and more importantly, the PO neglects to include that it was the AS’s boyfriend who provided him with the money to leave the country (turn 2), and that from Niger he travelled to Libya (turn 8). The latter of those omissions could be explained by the fact that the AS’s travel route had already been discussed during an earlier stage of the interview. This, in turn, also reflects the institutional/bureaucratic procedures underlying the report: the official guides the applicant’s narrative in order to draw up a hearing report; the hearing report is split up into several parts, as is the applicant’s narrative; if the applicant provides a piece of information that is not deemed important during that specific part of the interview, it is ignored. Overall, we can conclude that the PO employs a rather simultaneous technique of drafting the hearing report, which means that the PO adheres to a style that Gomez Díez did not encounter in her data, a mixed style I would like to call the ‘elicitative-simultaneous’ style.

As was mentioned above, Gomez Díez argues that an ‘elicitative-mediated’ style results into written reports that make assessment of credibility difficult and that the ‘narrative-simultaneous’ style of reporting is closer to the guidelines found in the UNHCR’s 1995 Handbook (cf. section 3.1.1) concerning the questioning of refugees. I, however, would
like to argue that the style used by the PO in this specific case combines the ways of interviewing the applicant and drawing up the report best suited for the asylum procedure. Because of her elicitive and more aggressive style of interacting with the AS she obtains the necessary information while still transcribing quite literally the AS’s statements, including his contextualization work. This way the assessor, a superior official who has not attended the interview, receives a report which accurately reflects the way in which the interview progressed and which contains an ample amount of detail, tied in with the applicant’s socio-political background. Some of these details are, for the PO, hard to pick up, seeing as they are often embedded in the AS’s contextualization work. The following section focuses on a particular kind of contextualization work often encountered in refugee’s narratives, namely, affective contextualization work.

3.4 Affective contextualization work

Maryns (2006), in her analysis of asylum interviews, distinguishes between two types of interactional contextualization: epistemic and affective contextualization. The former, which is mostly an answer to the pretextual differences between the official and the applicant, has been discussed above (cf. section 3.2), while the latter, which is triggered by the applicant’s emotions concerning the subject, has yet gone unaddressed in my analysis. The present section will take up a further investigation of the AS’s affective contextualization work.

Extract 9

(1)  PO: you didn’t want Garuba anymore?
(2)  AS: jah he is a (gultiz) we don’t want him so the i mobilised the Action Congress youth and they place the . it on it and went on protesting along the street . like what the PDP has done . so outside the protest . immediately then i got a text message that euhm ... we are going to kill you . you betrayed us we are going to kill you and i thought this were just a joke or maybe it’s something . someone
just send by mistake. i try to call the number the number was not going. so the message came later it came a-a. what is happening because i thought maybe. i still try to call the number. but the number don’t want to. the number is not going through. so i then i .. during the euh dur- euh during the euh and march then we were grouping in the house. the house of assembly/

(3) PO: sorry when?
(4) AS: i say at about March when we group in the house of assembly.
(5) PO: i don’t understand anything now

In extract 9, it can be seen how the PO’s question (turn 1) about the Speaker of the House of Assembly sets off a fragmented and emotionally dense response (turn 2). This can be explained by the fact that Garuba (the Speaker) is the cause of all the AS’s problems, since it was he who wanted to see the AS dead after having been exposed as belonging to a corrupt pressure group, therefore making it a sensitive subject for the AS. It is impossible for the PO to understand this passage, as she makes clear in turn 5, seeing as the point the AS is trying to make requires loads of contextualization work. The AS’s answer in turn 2 can be rephrased as follows:

we (the AC) want the Speaker to resign because he belongs to a pressure group ➔ we went to protest against the PDP (the party which the Speaker belongs to)
➔ I then got a text message from one of the PDP members saying that they are going to kill me ➔ I thought it was a joke so I tried calling the number of the person who sent it but it didn’t go through ➔ later I received that same message and I tried calling the number again but it didn’t go through ➔ in March we (the AC) grouped in the House of Assembly

Instead of providing the PO with a short and straightforward answer, the AS feels that he has to present all this peripheral information as necessary context to explain how he could come to an answer to this question. This contextualized account obviously does not fit the bureaucratic structure of the interview (cf. section 3.3), and reflects the AS’s
ignorance of the expected organization of the interview. Maryns equally observes that applicants appear to consider the interview as an opportunity to explain what happened to them “and to do this in a conversational-narrative style based on association rather than bureaucratic structuring” (2006: 24). Turn 2 provides a clear example of the associative structure of the AS’s narrative: the question about the Speaker leads the AS to express the reason as to why he wanted him to resign, which in turn brings him to the protest in the street, which is the place where he received a threatening text message which eventually leads him to the discussion in the House of Assembly. This fragmented form of experiential narration is impossible for the PO to follow, let alone to process into the hearing report.

The PO’s confusion with the AS’s affective contextualization work, concerning the Speaker of the House of Assembly, even prompts her to interrupt the AS and to directly address his lawyer in Dutch, as can be seen in turn 5 of extract 10. Note that italics in the transcription are used for the translation, into English, of Dutch utterances made by the PO or the AS’s lawyer.

**Extract 10**

1. PO: that {PO sighs} ... (7.5) that they removed the speaker and that since then?
2. AS: the youth life has been (in danger) because in this party they said they would deal with the Action Congress and moreover when i said the speaker is a (gultziz) because he know that i’m the one that’s that-that publically say it. because i/
3. PO: the speaker knew that?
4. AS: jah because i’ve worked with him. and during that process they tried to put me in the group which i. that make me left the-the euh PDP at first place/
5. PO: oké ik ga heel effe. i’m just (meet) with you {the AS’s lawyer} want ik ben echt echt kwijt op dit moment. PO: okay, I’m just gonna. I’m just (meet) with you {the AS’s lawyer} cause I’m really really lost right now
6. L: volgens mij euh zegt hij dat zijn baas voorstelde van “ga naar de pers” omdat de jeugd van de PDP ons levens allemaal bedreigt= L: according to me uhm he says
that his boss suggested something like “go to the press” because the youth of the PDP is threatening all of our lives=

(7) PO: uhmm

(8) L: en als we dan naar de pers gaan ja als we dat in de openbaarheid brengen , euhm misschien dat de politie dan zal ingrijpen denk ik is de redenering ... (28.0)
L: =and if we then go to the press yes if we make this public . uhm maybe the police will intervene then is the reasoning i think ... (28.0)

(9) PO: so can you explain to me because you already tried to but i didn’t understand why the speaker was , targeting you ?

The PO’s switch to the procedural language (cf. section 1.1.1) completely excludes the AS from the interaction, who now has to rely solely on the lawyer to make a correct interpretation (turns 6 and 8) of his previous statements. Moreover, after having interrupted the AS, the PO fails to inform the AS of the reason why she has interrupted him (turn 5): at first she addresses the AS in Dutch ‘oké, ik ga heel effe’ (okay, I’m just gonna), she then proceeds to address the lawyer in English ‘I’m just going to meet with you’, to eventually explain the reason of her sudden change of interactional partner in Dutch ‘want ik ben echt echt kwijt op dit moment’ (because I’m really, really lost right now). Note that, after the lawyer’s final turn (turn 8), there is a twenty-eight seconds pause during which the PO writes down the lawyer’s reformulation of the AS’s narrative. Instead of translating the Dutch explanations of the lawyer back into English for the AS to check if they are correct, the PO simply continues her line of questioning. This denial of the AS as a suitable source of information and the PO’s consultation of the AS’s lawyer, aside from transgressing the rules and guidelines concerning the asylum interview, seriously harm the further development of the interview and the AS’s perception of it.

Due to this manifestation of the unequal distribution of interactional power among the participants, the asylum interview has turned into a hostile environment for the AS. Jacquemet (2011), in his examination of asylum interviews and communicative breakdowns, states that, in such an environment, “communicative breakdowns […] are then attributed to the applicants’ nonconformity to the expectations of the examiner and/or adjudicator, to
their inability to master the institutional register and adapt to the script, and to unmatched pragmatics” (2011: 482). Laying the blame on the AS would be erroneous, seeing as the difficulties he encounters trying to express himself originate from the topic of the PO’s question. During the previous parts of the interview the AS has already proven that he is able to make himself fairly well understood in English. There thus seems to be a significant connection between narrative style and narrative content, or, as Maryns puts it, “between the confused and fragmented means of expression and the narration of home experience” (2006: 26).

In her discursive analysis of multiple asylum interviews, Maryns observes that certain linguistic-narrative features almost systematically appear as soon as the applicant is asked to talk about his/her home situation and the reasons for leaving his/her country. Those features are the following:

(a) fastness of speech  
(b) fluctuating event perspective  
(c) dense contextualization work (2006: 27)

In this case, fastness of speech cannot be interpreted as an indicator of emotional involvement since the AS talks hastily throughout the entire interview. This, in part, explains the difficulties the PO experiences when she tries to follow the AS’s narrative in the extracts above. What equally seems to be at issue here is the AS’s fluctuating perspective on the events and his (affective) contextualization work. Because of the sensitive nature of the subject the AS struggles to order the events in a coherent way and to achieve some form of shared understanding of his intricate set of experiences.

Aside from the connection between narrative style and interactional uptake, there also seems to be a connection between the amount of detail required for the assessment of the application and the frequency of communication breakdown. The following sections elaborate on some general features of ELF interaction and on the misunderstandings caused by the discursive conditions underlying the interview at the CGVS.
3.5 Proactive work in ELF interaction

In continental Europe today, English functions as the “de facto European lingua franca” (Jenkins, 2003: 42). Even though all the non-native varieties of English used display a lack of correspondence, a monolingual ideology still prevails. In most interactional settings where ELF is used, the possibility of adequate communication between speakers of different varieties is not put into question. This was confirmed by Maryns (2005a) in her analysis of the underlying language ideologies in the Belgian asylum procedure. In addition, Kaur (2009) notes that “non-native participants in an international encounter are likely to display varying levels of competency in English [...] [and] there is also the issue of the ELF speaker’s lingua-cultural background” (2009: 107). All these factors may cause ELF to fall short as a transparent means of communication and may give rise to frequent misunderstandings between its interlocutors.

However, when analyzing her data (which consisted of 15 hours of naturally occurring spoken interaction in ELF), Kaur found remarkably few instances of misunderstanding. Together with Mauranen (2006), she suggests that this could be explained by the interactional practices that speakers use in order to pre-empt or avert problems of understanding in ELF interaction. These practices Mauranen labels ‘proactive work’ and are said to be “a striking feature of this ELF interaction” (2006: 135). For her analysis, Kaur highlights two of these ‘preventative procedures’, namely, paraphrase and repetition. The difference between these two interactional procedures is that paraphrasing entails a display of information in a new and different way (form and/or content), while repeating refers to the practice of the mere re-saying of some or all of the elements occurring earlier in an ongoing or a preceding turn. Kaur concludes her article by stating that “[i]t is likely that the participants’ anticipation of difficulty in understanding, arising from the lingua franca context, gives rise to increased efforts at maintaining shared understanding” (2009: 120).

As for the case being discussed in this paper, both the AS and the PO frequently use preventative procedures like repetition and paraphrase. However, during the interview, instances of communication breakdown are common, as has already become apparent in
the extracts above. In what follows I would like to argue that, even though both of the participants attempt to arrive at an adequate level of shared understanding, they fail at this intent because of the required standards of texuality: consistency, fluency, coherence, clarity and detail.

3.5.1 After a prolonged silence

In a conversation between multiple participants, transitions form one turn to a next with no gap between them are common, since “speakers seek the earliest possible start at a transition-relevance place as a means of securing the next turn” (Kaur, 2009: 111). In other words, when a recipient notices that a speaker has finished his or her utterance, the recipient will take up the next turn in order to make sure that he/she equally gets the possibility to get his or her message across. Consequently, when a speaker notices that the recipient does not take up the next turn (at a transition-relevance place), the speaker might interpret this as a possible problem of hearing or understanding on the part of the recipient, especially when the speaker’s turn is followed by a prolonged silence. The speaker might then opt to repeat/paraphrase a segment of his or her preceding talk in order to obtain an expected response to his or her previous statement or question (Kaur, 2009).

It was already mentioned that, following the guidelines of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees’ handbook (1995) concerning the interviewing of applicants for refugee status, the assessment of the application is based on the truthfulness of the AS’s statements. As a result, the PO is expected to examine the AS’s testimony for internal (the coherence of the statement) as well as external (agreement with known facts) consistency. This suggests that specific details concerning dates, places and names in the AS’s narrative are of the utmost importance for the determination of the credibility of the application. However, because of the difference in lingua-cultural background between the AS and the PO, a great deal of contextualization and proactive work is needed to get intended meanings across. This proactive work (paraphrase in particular) might reduce the internal consistency of the AS’s testimony instead of pre-empting misunderstandings, because
different responses to the same question may challenge the premise of factual detail that underlies the asylum interview. Consider the following extract.

**Extract 11**

(1) PO: okay so when you euhm .. euhm admitted no when you s- presented yourself as a candidate did you get the support of people?

(2) AS: when you want to present yourself you go with your peop- jah i have sup- i-i get support from the people because when i want to declare my campaign i have to go to the party with at least you must have more than maybe tw- two thousand or one thousand supporters ... or five hundred or so , so that the party will know that they can /

(3) PO: two thousand or five hundred ?

(4) AS: five hundred or so the more you can have is not that specifique euh . ( ) you have to bring in enough supporters because that would make the party put you in the place of the /

(5) PO: and so initially they did accept or ?

(6) AS: they accepted at first place but along the line they then want change ... (10.0)

Extract 11 is taken from the second part of the interview, the part containing the knowledge questions (cf. section 1.1). At this point, the PO wants to find out if the knowledge of the AS concerning Nigerian politics corresponds to reality. After having inquired about several names of politicians belonging to the AS’s former political party (the PDP), she directs her attention to the AS’s own political career. Note that, in turn 1, the PO experiences some difficulty in putting her question into words due to her non-native speaker competence. She wants to know if the AS got the support of the people when he presented himself as a candidate for the PDP. The utterance in turn 2, prior to the ellipsis which indicates a pause longer than one second, is syntactically complete and is produced with terminal falling, suggesting that the AS has finished his sentence and is offering the turn to the PO. As a result, the AS most likely expects some kind of reaction from the PO.
This reaction could be a different question, like a clarification question or an entirely new question, suggesting that the PO has received enough information on the matter. It could also be a minimal response, like ‘uhum’, signalling the PO’s receipt of the information given by the AS. The AS’s utterance, however, is met with silence, prompting him to paraphrase his answer in order to receive some sort of acknowledgement or to enhance the PO’s understanding of what he previously said.

Before paraphrasing his answer, the AS already mentions two different numbers as to how many supporters are needed in order to present yourself as an electable candidate: ‘you must have more than maybe two thousand or one thousand supporters’. Seeing as the PO remains silent at the transition-relevance place, the AS feels as though she is not satisfied with his answer, mentioning yet another different number, ‘five hundred or so’, while paraphrasing the reason as to why you need these supporters. Subsequently, the PO interrupts him, suspecting that the divergent numbers might indicate that the AS is guessing rather than giving the correct answer. In turn 3, the PO asks for further clarification, leaving the AS with only two different response possibilities: ‘two thousand or five hundred’. While the officials are recommended to use open questions when eliciting facts from the applicant, the guidelines in the UNHCR 1995 Handbook permit the use of closed questions (like the one in turn 3) if the applicant is “nervous, emotionally upset, or has misunderstood the type of information you are seeking he or she may become confused and talk at length about irrelevant details” (1995: Chapter 2). As the PO initially did not ask for the number of supporters the AS received, which could be categorised as an ‘irrelevant detail’, her interruption and closed question in turn 3 (which advances two answers) are permitted.

The prolonged silence after the AS’s initial answer compels the AS to an unlucky paraphrase, turning an irrelevant detail into a relevant one. Note that I am not claiming that the AS knows the correct number, I am simply asserting that the focus on factual detail in the asylum interview may turn these kind of apparent inconsistencies, concerning an insignificant piece of information, into a ground for rejecting the request for asylum. This would imply a misinterpretation of the facts, seeing as the apparent lack of internal consistency is caused by the AS’s proactive work, which is characteristic of ELF interaction.
3.5.2 After a minimal response

Another interactional situation in which interlocutors, using ELF, frequently repeat or paraphrase a segment of their prior turn is when their utterance is met with a minimal response, “particularly when the response token produced is muted, i.e. relatively softer in comparison to the surrounding talk” (Kaur, 2009: 113). These response tokens include utterances such as ‘uhum’, ‘mm’ and ‘yeah’. Following Schegloff (1982), who states that these elements do not show attention and/or understanding but that they merely claim it, Kaur argues that speakers use proactive work in these situations because of the ambiguous nature of minimal response tokens as a display of understanding (Kaur, 2009).

No evidence of paraphrases (after a minimal response) harming the internal or external consistency of the AS’s statements were found in the transcription. The AS’s proactive work following a minimal response token is limited to repetitions. I did encounter multiple passages in which the PO responds to the AS’s utterance by means of the minimal response token ‘uhum’, while she clearly did not understand what the AS had previously said.

Extract 12

(1) PO: you told him . euhm . wacht eh ... (6.5) PO: wait eh ... (6.5) so you told Gabriel and then ?
(2) AS: so the letter was passed to Gabriel so Gabriel have to take it to the governor’s house so the-the governor have to say that it is not the po- it’s not the one because it’s democracy . he’s not the one to decide who the speaker where the speaker is to come from . so it is the legislation in the house that can decide who want to be their speaker .
(3) PO: the house of assembly ?
(4) AS: the house of assembly jah jah they want to decide that was when because then it was PDP who was the highest number in the house . in the house of
assembly .. so they ( ) members of the PDP later decamp to the Action Congress so it was not balance so right now the Action Congress have to look into our complaints and some ( ) Edo central who come to the government house to complete ( )=

(5)  PO: uhum

(6)  AS: =so they have to go into process of impeachedness speaker because they (find out that) the speaker/

(7)  PO: okay sorry it’s ..

(8)  AS: it’s too much

(9)  PO: no it’s difficult to understand

The minimal response provided by the PO in turn 5 appears to function as a continuer, signalling to the AS that she has understood what he has said and that he can continue his narrative. In turns 7 and 9, however, it becomes clear that the PO did not grasp what the AS previously tried to explain. Subsequently, the AS immediately assumes that the PO’s lack of understanding is caused by the quantity of his utterances (probably because the PO had already pointed out to him, on multiple occasions, that he gave too much information at once), while the PO suggests that her non-understanding is caused by their quality (turn 9). Note that, in turn 1, the PO briefly switches to Dutch to address the AS, ‘wacht eh’ (wait eh), possibly because she is lost in thought, still trying to structure the AS’s previous answer.

This example gives evidence to the equivocal status of minimal response tokens as a display of understanding. Moreover, Wong (2000) suggests that these tokens, when used by a non-native interlocutor, may constitute a “face-saving acknowledgement token, displaying her or his orientation to the speaker’s right to be heard but not necessarily to be understood” (2000: 263). This response technique leads to lengthy and complicated interviews since the applicant is at first encouraged to carry on with his narrative, while afterwards it is met with non-understanding, forcing the applicant to repeat it in smaller chunks. All of which could contribute to the refugee’s frustration and distrust of the asylum procedure, as is the case in this particular interview. More than once, the AS displays his
discontent with having to repeat what he already said by starting his sentences with a loud ‘I said’ and by sighing when the PO shows no evidence of understanding.

### 3.5.3 After overlapped talk

A third and final discursive environment in which proactive work is frequently used is when the utterance of a speaker overlaps that of another one. Kaur (2009) found that the participants of her study “appear to be attuned to the potentially disruptive effect of overlap on the recipient’s hearing and understanding [and] employ repetition and paraphrase in this environment to possibly avert a problem from occurring” (2009: 116-117). Likewise, Schegloff (1987) examined the same phenomenon at turn beginnings in native speaker conversations, observing that speakers have a tendency to repeat themselves after overlapped talk. The aforementioned practice seems equally common in ELF talk and was found not to confine to turn beginnings alone (Kaur, 2009).

Most of the instances of overlapped talk present in the transcription concern minimal response tokens given by the PO during the AS’s extended turns, like ‘uhum’ or ‘ja’ (i.e. the Dutch word for ‘yes’). The AS mainly limits his use of overlap to the repeating – or, at times, predicting – of relevant segments of the PO’s utterance, either when asking a question or when reviewing the AS’s previous answer. Neil (1996) classifies both these forms of turn-sharing as ‘parenthetical elaboration’, meaning that the recipient enters the turn of his/her interactional partner by inserting an explanatory or qualifying remark as a means to actively engage in the talk. These types of overlap appear to have no negative effect on the understanding between the AS and the PO.

There were, however, a couple of overlaps that resulted in a repetition, leading to a minor misunderstanding that was either resolved in the subsequent turn(s) or ignored by the PO, as is the case in the extract below.

**Extract 13**
In turn 4, the AS’s contribution overlaps with the PO’s ongoing turn since he answers her question before she has the time to finish it. The AS then proceeds by repeating the last part of his answer, ‘in any way’ (turn 5), indicating his awareness of the fact that the overlap could have impaired the PO’s hearing and/or understanding of his previous utterance. The repetition provides the PO with another hearing of a segment of the AS’s answer that she might have missed because of the overlap. In this case, however, instead of averting a misunderstanding, the AS’s repetition causes one. Turn 6 shows how the PO does not understand the last word of the AS’s repeat, ‘way’, and asks for a clarification of the word in question, ‘in any “where”?’ (note that, in the transcription, words between double quotes are marked by a shift in the speaker’s voice, indicating stress on these particular words). After having reformulated his answer (turn 7) and having repeated most of his previous statements, the PO interrupts him, realizing her misinterpretation, and continues with her next question.

Kaur observes that “regardless of their linguistic and cultural background, and their level of competency in English, all the participants employ repetition and paraphrase at
some point or other as means of pre-empting problems of understanding” (2009: 120). Proactive work, such as repetition and paraphrase, thus seems to be a universal characteristic of ELF interaction. In the case of the asylum interview, however, mutual understanding proves difficult to achieve. The required standards of texuality – consistency, fluency, coherence, clarity and detail – appear to hinder the interlocutors in “compensating their lack of linguistic competence in the language with increased use of interactional practices to bring about shared understanding” (2009, 119).
Chapter 4: Discussion and concluding remarks

In the present section, I will put the findings of the analysis above into perspective and provide the reader with some concluding remarks. The aim of this paper was to examine the use of ELF as a means of interaction between officials and asylum seekers in the Belgian asylum procedure. In my analysis, I have demonstrated how the misunderstandings embedded in the differences between the official’s and the asylum seeker’s cultural and linguistic background can seriously disrupt the process of communication during the asylum interview and as a result impair the ability of refugees to properly present their asylum claims.

One of the major communication barriers in the Belgian asylum procedure is the imposition of monolingual standard varieties on the applicants’ multilingual repertoires. It was shown how, due to a lack of shared linguistic resources and a lack of correspondence between the varieties of English used, ELF could not serve as an adequate means of communication between the two participants. On the one hand there is the PO, who uses a variety of English that is mostly acquired at secondary school, that is influenced by other codes belonging to her repertoire (Flemish and French) and that contains inconsistencies when measured against ‘standard’ English. On the other hand there is the AS, who uses an African English variety, namely, Nigerian English, that is equally subjected to interference from other codes belonging to the AS’s repertoire (Edo) and that also contains multiple inconsistencies when compared to ‘standard’ English. In the direct interaction that forms the basis of the asylum procedure, the Flemish English of the PO is confronted with the AS’s Nigerian English. And although both the AS and the PO are able to express themselves relatively well, they experience a lot of difficulty when trying to decode each other’s meanings. The bureaucratic format of the interview, the focus on factual detail and the time pressure under which the interaction takes place leave very little space for negotiating intended meanings. Space which the AS desperately needs to explain his complex and contextually dense case to the PO, “an official with different expectations of what is relevant and required in a bureaucratic-institutional context” (Maryns, 2005a: 312). The frequent misunderstandings between the PO and the AS thus confirm that ELF should be
regarded as a vast complex of diverse varieties of English with a hybrid nature and that, contrary to the assumptions held by the Belgian asylum authorities, there is no perfect correspondence between the different varieties used by its interlocutors.

From an institutional point of view, asylum seekers are expected to relate their stories in a linear, coherent and transparent manner. These stories should contain a large amount of concrete, factual detail, in order that officials would be able to check the veracity of the asylum seekers’ claims. Analysis has shown how the AS’s fluctuating perspective on the events and his contextualization work – both epistemic and affective – conflict with the institutional-bureaucratic concern with format and style. Moreover, due to the bureaucratic processing practices in the Belgian asylum procedure, all that remains of the AS’s story is a translated, abridged and decontextualized account of events, which is in essence the only tool for another official – who was not present during the interview – to make a decision about the legitimacy of the AS’s request for asylum. Maryns equally argues that “code is an important filter on the communication of crucial and sensitive information, that is, it decontextualises a context-bound procedure” (2005a: 313). Far-reaching legal decisions thus have to be made on very limited grounds, which raises the question to what extent ELF is suitable for the exchange of accuracy and detail in a multilingual and multicultural setting such as the Belgian asylum procedure. The crossing of multiple boundaries – social, generic, stylistic and geographical – demands an increase in interactional effort in order to ensure interactional uptake. When taking into account that even basic identification questions lead to lengthy and complicated stretches of dialogue between the PO and the AS, we can but conclude that ELF is not capable of closing the linguistic and socio-cultural gap between its interlocutors. Moreover, misinterpretations on the part of the PO can have serious consequences for the decision making process: inconsistencies between the successive phases of investigation of the asylum procedure can, in combination with other criteria, be used as grounds for rejection.

The analysis of the entextualization process revealed that the interaction between the participants is subordinated to the drafting of the hearing report, which, in turn, requires certain standards of textuality: consistency, coherence, fluency, clarity and detail. It was shown how the need for suitability for the procedure often exceeds the need for
accuracy: the AS’s attempts at interactional contextualization, which he feels are necessary to make himself, his experiences and his political, economic and socio-cultural situation understood, are frequently suppressed. As Maryns puts it: “what applicants say during their interviews is very often not made into a sayable because it does not match the institutionally inscribed codes, modes and views” (2006: 342).

Another factor which appears to hinder the transferability of information is the PO’s limited knowledge of the AS’s home situation. In the interview charter published by the CGVS (2011), the following guidelines concerning the preparation for each individual case are given: “To prepare for the interview, the protection officer takes into account the evidence available, the asylum seeker’s profile and the related files. The protection officer has a good knowledge of the situation in the asylum seeker’s country of origin. When preparing for the interview he/she consults the relevant and useful country of origin information.” (2011: 6). Seeing as every interviewing official is expected to undertake two interviews per day (Gomez Díez, 2011) with people of heterogeneous socio-cultural backgrounds, it seems unlikely that the officials can acquire a ‘good knowledge’ of the country of origin of each asylum seeker. That is why I would like to argue for the employment of some kind of expert on a particular country, who assists the interviewing official should he/she feel that his/her knowledge of the refugee’s home situation is too limited to conduct the interview by him/herself. I also believe that, in the case examined above, the presence of this ‘expert’ could have (a) diminished the PO’s frustration with not being able to make any progress, (b) enhanced the AS’s perception of the asylum procedure and (c) provided him with a more adequate setting to recount his intricate narrative of displacement.

The reader should note that the extracts used in the analysis are merely examples of the different types of communication breakdown encountered in the transcription. I would like to invite the reader to take a closer look at the transcription of the entire interview (cf. annex 4), so that he/she could see that the different types of misunderstanding examined above occur numerous times throughout the interview.

With regard to future perspectives in the field of language use in the Belgian asylum procedure, I would like to refer to the data that has been recently collected (May 2011) by my
supervisor, Dr. Katrijn Maryns. This data, aside from ELF interaction, also contains cases in which the interaction between the official and the asylum seeker is mediated by an interpreter. The analysis of this data and its comparison with Maryns’s previous research on the matter (2006) might point out whether the reform of the Belgian asylum procedure in 2007 has had any negative or positive effects on its language use and ideology.

To conclude, I wish to stress the importance of future discourse analysis of interpreted as well as direct interaction between officials and asylum seekers, to further locate any problem areas and to point these out to the authorities involved, so that they can continue to improve and refine their way of working.
References


Schegloff, E. A. 1987. Recycled turn beginnings: A Precise Repair Mechanism in


Annexes

Annex 1: Questionnaire at the DVZ

U wordt verzocht deze vragenlijst in het Nederlands of het Frans in te vullen en binnen de 5 kalenderdagen af te geven of te versturen per fax (02 203 81 50 of 02 203 81 51), brief of aangetekende brief op het volgende adres:

CGVS
North Gate I
Koning Albert II-laan 6
1000 Brussel

1. Voorafgaand advies

De vragenlijst is bedoeld als een instrument ter voorbereiding van het gehoor en het onderzoek op het Commissariaat-generaal voor de vluchtelingen en de staatlozen.

• Op het Commissariaat-generaal voor de Vluchtelingen en de Staatlozen zal u de mogelijkheid geboden worden om uitvoerig alle elementen en feiten weer te geven.
• Bij het invullen van de vragenlijst wordt er van u verwacht dat u nauwkeurig, maar in het kort, weergeeft waarom u bij uw terugkeer problemen vreest of riskeert, dat u de voornaamste elementen of feiten weergeeft. Een uitvoerig, gedetailleerd overzicht van alle elementen of feiten wordt niet verwacht.

Wat wordt er van u gedurende heel de asielprocedure verwacht?

• U moet steeds de waarheid vertellen.
o Valse of onjuiste verklaringen kunnen tot gevolg hebben dat uw asielaanvraag wordt verworpen.
o Geloof niet diegenen die u aanraden om feiten toe te voegen, uit te vinden of anders voor te stellen.
• U moet zo mogelijk documenten voorleggen die uw identiteit, herkomst, reisweg en de door u aangehaalde feiten aantonen.
o U moet alle stukken die u in uw bezit hebt voorleggen. U mag geen documenten achterhouden.
o U moet zo mogelijk de originele documenten voorleggen.
o U moet al het mogelijke doen om stukken te bekomen.

2. Identiteitsgegevens

Dossiernummer (nummer DVZ):
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Nationaal nummer:
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1. Achterna(a)m(en):
2. Voorna(a)m(en):

3. Geslacht:
4. Geboortedatum:
5. Geboorteplaats:

6. Staatsburgerschap(pen):

7. Etnische afkomst:

8. Etnische afkomst (eventueel clan) van beide ouders:

9. Religie:

10. Een kort overzicht van uw vorming en professionele activiteit:
a. Wat is uw einddiploma? Wanneer behaald?

b. Welke beroepen hebt u uitgeoefend?

11. Plaats van woonstkeuze voor de asielprocedure:

12. Huidige verblijfplaats (in België; enkel in te vullen indien die plaats verschilt van de plaats van woonstkeuze):

3. De vrees of het risico bij terugkeer
1. Bent u gearresteerd geweest? Hebt u in de gevangenis gezeten (zowel een hechtenis voor korte tijd in een cel in b.v. een politiekantoor als een opsluiting voor iets langere tijd in een gevangenis of kamp)? Welke periode?
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5. Waarom denkt u dat? Welke feiten wijzen op die vrees of het risico? Geef zeer kort een overzicht van de belangrijkste feiten.

6. Kent u landgenoten die in België of een ander land van de Europese Unie verblijven? Geef hun naam en zo mogelijk tevens hun verblijfstatus en verblijfplaats. Wat is uw relatie met die personen (b.v. familie, vrienden)?
7. Wenst u verder in de procedure bij voorkeur in het bijzijn van een vrouwelijke of een mannelijke medewerker en tolk te worden gehoord? Om welke redenen?
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verklaar op mijn woord van eer dat ik de vragenlijst eerlijk en zo getrouw mogelijk heb ingevuld zoals mij door betrokkene in de .............................................taal werd gedicteerd.

Gedaan te .............................................................., op ..............................................................

Handtekening van persoon die de vragenlijst ingevuld heeft:

Handtekening asielzoeker:
Annex 2: Explanation of the use of the questionnaire

Sinds het in voege treden van de nieuwe asielprocedure op 1 juni 2007, heeft het CGVS een nieuwe vragenlijst opgesteld. Met dit bericht wensen we het uitgangspunt m.b.t. het gebruik van de vragenlijst voor de partners van het CGVS te verduidelijken.

1. Wettelijke basis

Art. 51/10 van de nieuwe vreemdelingenwet bepaalt dat de Dienst Vreemdelingenzaken (DVZ) aan de asielzoeker een vragenlijst verstrekt “waarin hij uitgenodigd wordt om de redenen uiteen te zetten die hem ertoe aanzetten om een asielaanvraag in te dienen en waarin de mogelijkheden tot terugkeer naar het land waaruit hij gevlucht is worden verduidelijkt”.

2. Het gebruik van de vragenlijst

De vragenlijst dient in eerste instantie te worden beschouwd als een instrument ter voorbereiding van het gehoor en onderzoek die zullen plaatsvinden op het CGVS. De vragenlijst beoogt dus niet een volledig zicht te bekomen op de redenen van vertrek van de asielzoeker. De gegrondheid van de vrees of het reëel risico die aan de basis liggen van de asielaanvraag kunnen dus niet louter op basis van de vragenlijst worden beoordeeld. In principe zal in de motivatie van een asielbeslissing geen gebruik worden gemaakt van tegenstrijdigheden tussen enerzijds verklaringen in de vragenlijst en latere verklaringen op het CGVS. Dit geldt eveneens voor de vaststelling van het niet vermelden van bepaalde feiten in de vragenlijst. De vaststelling van een zeer flagrante tegenstrijdigheid, waarvoor de asielzoeker geen plausibele uitleg geeft, kan echter als element naast andere elementen in de motivatie van de beslissing worden gebruikt.

3. Praktische informatie m.b.t. de vragenlijst

De vragenlijst wordt op de Dienst Vreemdelingenzaken na de afname van de verklaring ingevuld. De asielzoeker geniet hiervoor de bijstand van een ambtenaar en een tolk. Hij ontvangt een kopie van de ingevulde vragenlijst, waarna de vragenlijst door de DVZ, samen met de andere stukken in het dossier, wordt overgemaakt aan het CGVS. Het is bijgevolg in het belang van de asielzoeker de vragenlijst in te vullen op de DVZ: dit verhoogt immers de kwaliteit (aanwezigheid verhoorder, tolk...) en de snelheid (de vragenlijst wordt rechtstreeks door DVZ overgemaakt aan het CGVS) waarmee de asielzoeker zijn asielmotieven aan het CGVS kan bekend maken. Beschikken over deze informatie kan het CGVS zich efficiënter voorbereiden op het gehoor met de asielzoeker.

Er zijn gevallen waarbij de asielzoeker de DVZ verzoekt de vragenlijst niet ter plaatse in te vullen maar deze, in gedrukte versie, mee te nemen. De DVZ gaat op deze vraag in. De asielzoeker moet zich er bewust van zijn dat dit enkele gevolgen heeft: hij geniet niet langer de rechtstreekse bijstand van een verhoorder en een tolk en moet zelf instaan voor het overmaken van de
vragenlijst aan het CGVS binnen de 5 kalenderdagen na ontvangst. In de meeste gevallen zal hij/zij hiervoor beroep moeten doen op een sociaal assistent, een vertaalbureau, zijn/haar advocaat of een ander persoon... De vragenlijst kan zowel per fax, per aangetekend schrijven of per gewone post worden teruggestuurd naar het CGVS. De asielzoeker mag de vragenlijst ook afgeven op het CGVS. Het is belangrijk dat de asielzoeker de vragenlijst volledig invult en op alle vragen een antwoord formuleert. De vragenlijst mag in het Nederlands of het Frans worden ingevuld, ongeacht de taal van de procedure (dus een Franstalige vragenlijst mag in het Nederlands worden ingevuld en vice versa). Indien de vragenlijst toch in een andere taal dan het Nederlands of het Frans aan het CGVS wordt overgemaakt, zal het CGVS in een vertaling voorzien. Een vertaling van de vragenlijst naar de meest voorkomende talen van de asielzoeker wordt momenteel voorbereid en zal worden verspreid naar opvangcentra, enz... Opgelet: deze vertaling dient enkel als hulpmiddel maar vervangt niet de Nederlandstalige of Franstalige vragenlijst.

4. Besluit

Het invullen van de vragenlijst is een gelegenheid die aan de asielzoeker wordt geboden om zijn asielmotieven reeds vóór het interview aan het CGVS kenbaar te maken. Bovendien krijgt de asielzoeker, door het invullen van de vragenlijst, inzicht in de meest relevante vragen voor de beoordeling van zijn asielaanvraag. De vragenlijst biedt ook de mogelijkheid aan het CGVS om het interview op het CGVS, het cruciale moment in de asielprocedure waarop de asielzoeker de gelegenheid wordt geboden alle elementen ter staving van zijn aanvraag naar voor te brengen, optimaal voor te bereiden. Beslist de asielzoeker de vragenlijst niet onvolledig of laatijdig in te vullen, dan zal hiervoor geen sanctie worden ondernomen en zal het gehoor op het CGVS, zonder het voorbereidend materiaal vermeld in de vragenlijst, onverminderd plaatsvinden. Wij danken alle betrokken partijen voor hun medewerking bij de vlotte implementatie van dit deel van de nieuwe asielprocedure. Indien u vragen heeft, kan u het CGVS per e-mail contacteren: cgvs.info@ibz.fgov.be.
Annex 3: Transcription symbols

AS  asylum seeker
PO  protection officer
L   lawyer

“ "  speech set off by a shift in the speaker’s voice
• •  utterances spoken more softly than the surrounding discourse
-   indicates a cut-off (often with a glottal stop), including truncated intonation units
.   a pause of one-half second or less; also shows falling tone in the preceding element, suggesting finality
..  a pause of more than a half-second
... a pause longer than one second
=   equal signs on successive lines show latching between turns of different speakers; they can also indicate that the turn of one speaker continues after e.g. backchannels of interlocutors
/   indicates the clear interruption of the utterance of one speaker by the next speaker
[...] mark overlapping talk; the square brackets are inserted at the beginning of the overlapping talk; the utterance of speaker 1 being overlapped by speaker 2 is placed after the square brackets
()  in the case that utterances cannot be transcribed with certainty, empty parentheses are employed
(...) if there is a likely interpretation, the questionable words appear within the parentheses
{...} metapragmatic comments
capitals show heavy stress or indicate that speech is louder than surrounding discourse; capitalization is reduced to proper names, place names and acronyms
my translations from Dutch into English
all numbers are written out; all digits that occur in the transcription are used as timestamps
Annex 4: Transcription

PO: euhm how will today’s interview go . i will first ask you questions about who you are and what you did in Nigeria and then we will focus more specifically on “the reasons” why you have left your country
AS: okay .
PO: euhm to your lawyer we asked to keep his remarks for the end of the interview . as i told you it’s important to tell me everything and to always speak the truth [AS: yeah] but everything that is said in here is confident .
AS: no problem
PO: based on “this” interview the commission will take a decision with regards to your asylum claim=
AS: mjah
PO: =it is possible that he evaluates that he decides that you require the status of refugee or subsidiary protection . in that case you get a permit to stay in Belgium . it’s also possible that he decides that you not to grant you the status in that case you have to leave the country . however if you do not agree with the decision taken by the commissioner you can always appeal against the decision . you have a term of thirty working days to f- to file the appeal .
AS: okay
PO: it’s best to discuss that with your lawyer .
AS: okay
PO: okay ?
AS: mjah .
PO: and then euhm . your residence .. “current” .. is it still .. in Samba in the centre of Benin . that you are living ?
AS: Samba {other pronunciation than PO} .. ja .
PO: that’s still your [AS: is is the address] address . i’d like you to sign to confirm that this is your address . cause this is [AS: sign where] where we’ll send . here . on this first line .. this is where we will send the decision to .. “second one” .. (8.0) “myes” .. (4.0) a couple for you . and this is also for you that’s just your convocation .. “letter” .. it’s a proof that you’ve been here today .
AS: okay ... (8.0)
PO: you already had an interview at the office at the immigration office ?
AS: jah
PO: did everything go well there ?
AS: jah .
PO: ja .
AS: it was (a little statement) ()
PO: sorry?
AS: i said just a little statement.
PO: okay.
AS: jah ... (5.5)
PO: and have you applied for asylum in another country or with the UN already?
AS: no
PO: no this is your first?
AS: jah ...
PO: oké. if there’s a question that you don’t understand it’s important that you tell me immediately
AS: yes i will
PO: okay?
AS: jah.
PO: do you understand me well?
AS: jah i do.
PO: “okay” .. then .. we will start the interview.
AS: no problem
PO: (the first) can you tell me whether your name is written correctly on the file. “Peter Johnson”
AS: yeah
PO: that’s correct?
AS: yeah
PO: ja. what’s your date of birth?
AS: january fourth.
PO: sorry?
AS: january fourth nineteen eighty-four ... (9.5) {PO typing and talking to herself}
PO: and what’s your place of birth?
AS: Benin.
PO: Benin {other pronunciation than AS}
AS: jah
PO: in which state?
AS: Edo state.
PO: “Edo state”. what’s your nationality?
AS: Nigeria ...
PO: and your tribe?
AS: I speak Edo ...
PO: so your ethnical origin is Edo too?
AS: (as in) the origin is Ora. but we call it Edo. .. is Ora
PO: “Ora”
AS: “Ora” but we call it Edo. the other time i was at they checked through the internet they could not find it. so then they have to put Edo ... (4.0)
PO: but. in your home country you call it Ora/
AS: jah
PO: your tribe ?
AS: Ora jah ...
PO: what’s your mother tongue ?
AS: ( )
PO : hm ?
AS: huh ?
PO: your mother tongue ?
AS: ( ) ...
PO: i don’t understand
AS: i speak Edo
PO: Fedo
AS: jah ...
PO: and other languages that you speak . or understand ?
AS: english english .
PO: “english” . and english is the language you commonly speak ?
AS: yeah that was what i was brought up with ...
PO: but you do speak Edo as well ?
AS: little [PO: yourself] little
PO: little
AS: because i wasn’t brought up in my hometown i was brought up in Benin (where i was born) ... (11.5)
PO: so your . the village in which you were born . what’s the name ? yo-your . because you al- you told me that you were born in Benin=
AS: jah
PO: =but now you say that you . were born in a village?
AS: i said i wasn’t brought up=
PO: uhum
AS: =in my hometown
PO: what is your hometown then ?
AS: my hometown is Oscar Whiskey Sierra Oscar i wasn’t brought up there/
PO: that’s where you were born ?
AS: no i [PO: no that’s where your parents come from] was born in Benin . yeah that’s where they came from .
05:01
PO: “okay” “euhm paper” ... can you write me that. your hometown? ... {PO hands back the paper to the PO} ( ) {PO tries to read it out loud}

AS: these is the local government.
PO: that’s the local government [AS: jah] ja. and Sierra Oscar is the name of the village.
AS: jah ... 

PO: “oké” ... what’s the name of your father?
AS: Tom Johnson
PO: Johnson {different pronunciation} and?
AS: Johnson Johnson.
PO: “Johnson” eh?
AS: jah
PO: and your mother?
AS: Mary
PO: “Mary”.
AS: uhum ...
PO: and her last name is also Johnson.
AS: jah.
PO: and where are your parents now?
AS: my dad. i don’t know where he is right now but my mom is late ... 
PO: when did she die?
AS: she died two thousand seven ... sorry nineteen ninety-seven {AS giggles out of shame} ... 
PO: okay. and when-when did you last see your father?
AS: my father?
PO: uhum
AS: just like (say) before i leave the country .. in august.
PO: say that again.
AS: in august two thousand and ten ...
PO: and what did you say before?
AS: euh?
PO: you’ve said. what did you say before?
AS: i said in august [PO: uhum] two thousand and ten [PO: uhum]
PO: and where did you see him?
AS: in Benin.
PO: “in Benin” .. you know the “day” that you saw him last?
AS: no i just can’t remember i just left in august ... 
PO: do you have brothers and sisters?
AS: yes i do.
PO: how many?
AS: two brothers and one sister ...
PO: and where are they now?
AS: i don't-i don't euh i couldn't find any information (from them) now ...
PO: when did you last see them?
AS: in august too .
PO: same day as your father?
AS: jah ... (4.5)
PO: are you married?
AS: no because euh i can not marry sometimes not (legalised in) my country before=
PO: uhum
AS: =something like that . i'm not married .
PO: so wh-wh- just repeat what you said because i didn’t [AS laughs] get it the first time [AS: okay there's sometime/] in your country sometimes
AS: sometimes things we do sometimes not approve so we're not married .
PO: so you're saying that your marriage was not approved or?
AS: yeah i wasn't married=
PO: uhum
AS: =that was what i said . i'm not yet married .
08:01
PO: okay
AS: “mjah” ...
PO: do you have children?
AS: no . i don't marry i'm not married i will not have a child ... (4.0)
PO: can you tell me the different places that you have lived? starting from the day you were born until the day that you left .
AS: i live in Benin .
PO: uhum . your whole life?
AS: no i used to live in Ekpoma ..
PO: sorry first?
AS: i said i live in Benin=
PO: uhum
AS: =and in school in Ekpoma .
PO: uhum
AS: i also have a good friend in Auchi i visit also Lagos Abuja . ("those are the places i stayed") ... (10.0)
PO: so first Benin then school in Ekpoma [AS: Ekpoma yeah] then you went to a friend in Auchi [AS: Auchi] and then you went to Lagos and Abuja .
AS: yeah
PO: okay when did you start your school in Ekpoma “Ekpoma”? 
AS: I started it in euhm I did it euhm one year programme (pre-degree) programme two thousand nine. Then I (have) admission. The admission was supposed to take in two thousand and ten before I... have problems... (7.5)

PO: So you never.. got in eh? You never went to the-the programme of two thousand and ten?

AS: I went previously to (three months) programmes before. I was ° ° [PO: okay]... (10.0)

PO: So after E-Ekpoma where did you go?

AS: From Ekpoma I go to L-Lagos to see my cousin °°Lagos°... (3.5)

10:01

PO: And when was that?

AS: That was in april.

PO: April two-thousand and then eh?

AS: Jah... (5.5)

PO: And.. how long did you stay there?

AS: I spent.. I left there in august... (5.0)

PO: And what's the name of your cousin?

AS: Adam.

PO: And his last name?

AS: Johnson...

PO: °Johnson°... (4.0) And then in august. Where did you go to?

AS: I returned back to Benin... (5.5)

PO: And how long did you stay there?

AS: In Benin?

PO: Uhum

AS: I stayed with my father for some times. Before the end of august I have to run away... (10.0)

PO: You know which day you went? You left?

AS: Euh I just can't remember. Wait I believe in end of august of (between) end of august and first of euh september...

PO: But it was still august eh?

AS: Jah (maybe)... (12.5)

PO: Euhm and then. Where did you go?

AS: Euh I moved to my friend to live with my friend in euh Auchi. There he was schooling. That was in september... so/

PO: To your friend Auchi where you were what?

AS: Where he was schooling.

PO: Whe- he was there in school?

AS: Jah...

PO: What’s his name?
PO: Eric.
AS: "Eric".
PO: "Eric"?
AS: Jah.
PO: you know his last name?
AS: Williams.
PO: "Williams"?
AS: uhum..
PO: and how long did you stay there?
AS: i stayed there just three weeks or so but i just put it that way because i don’t remember how long i stay with him. yeah because too much problem a lot of (things in the brain) to remember (such) date...
PO: but you think it was three weeks?..
AS: about ...(9.5)
PO: and then?
AS: euh i moved to Abuja because i was expecting my friend to be back in Abuja. that was when i left from Abuja..
PO: you expected your friend to?
AS: jah. my godfather i didn’t mention his name yet because he was out of the country. so he came back because of the independence celebration it was a common thing then. so that was why i went to Abuja to see him.
PO: so your godfather was in/outside of the country [AS: before to Abuja] but he would come back?
AS: so he was around at that time that was when i left my fr-. go to Abuja to meet with him...
PO: and do you remember in which month you went there? to Abuja?
AS: on the twenty ninth of. it was september in ()
PO: twenty ninth of september?
AS: yeah. because the friend i was staying with euh he was attack and euh was kill of what’s. so i have to run away because there were to-too much stress and-and attacks on my side so i have to move to Abuja ...(13.0)
PO: and how long did you stay in Abuja?
AS: i stay. i was there twenty ninth but i left Abuja in the second so i just can/
PO: second of october?
AS: second of october ...
PO: ("dates") and then?
AS: i moved (out) Nigeria.
PO: OUT of Nigeria?
AS: yeah out Nigeria ...(4.0)
PO: you came. where did you go now?
AS: euh ?
PO: where did you go from there ?
AS: from Nigeria ?
PO: uhum
AS: i moved to Lybia ... 
PO: euhm . when you went . °ah sorry° . you told me that . in two thousand and ten you wen-were you went a couple of months to the school in Ekpoma .
AS: jah
PO: and then you moved directly to Lagos ?
AS: jah because of problem i was having ... (7.5)
15:01 
PO: so you didn’t went . you didn’t go back to Benin eh ? you went from Ekpoma to Lagos directly ?
AS: yes ... (4.5) with bus any bus that is going from Ekpoma to Lagos must pass through Benin . (even if it don’t take) through the cities it must pass through Benin .. but i didn’t stop in Benin i just bought a bus direct from Ekpoma to Lagos .
PO: okay ... (10.5) okay what is your religion ?
AS: christian ..
PO: to which chu
AS: living faith church ...
PO: “tenl-”
AS: living faith church
PO: “living faith”
AS: church .
PO: and that’s . where is that church ?
AS: in Benin (obviously) they have branches everywhere ( )/
PO: but you went to the Benin branch ?
AS: jah i do ... (13.5)
PO: what education did you get ?
AS: eh ?
PO: what was your education ?
AS: ah it was secondary school i did certificate and also a p-degree result and also my not just in university not at . ( ) study .
PO: okay so secondary school certificate and then the “pdp” ?
AS: “pd”
PO: and/ 
AS: PD result [PO: pd] but i not said that is not a certificate [PO: uhu] just passed straight pd training/ 
PO: it’s the national exam ?
AS: it’s just say [PO: ( )] if you don’t want to use through jamb to go ( ) it’s always you get admission to the university [PO: ah] if you don’t want to use through jamb. you can apply for pd in the (end of ) university that receive people. they pay then you go to a training for s- one year (after that you write the exam and you go there)if you pass the exam/

PO: okay i’m not sure i understand. so after secondary school [AS: jah] you did the pd [AS: jah] exam [AS: jah]. heh? and what does that. if you have that what-what-what’s the purpose?

AS: p-degree p-degree is university (set the) exam. for those who can not make it. for those who can not get admission through the. through jamb=

PO: uhum

AS: =because jamb is oh jamb is a body that set euh university exam form [PO: uhum] in Nigeria. but if you can not pass there through it. you can use p-degree the also university (state) exam. ou i said p-degree. you go there you buy the form you pay school fees. and after staying there for like six months one year you write the final exam then [PO: uhum] if your name come out in a badge you’re admitted into the university if you ( )

PO: okay i’m not sure i understand eh

AS: oh {PO laughs} it’s not common/

PO: but anyway it’s [AS: it’s just three university that organise the programme in Nigeria] not very relevant. ok

AS: jah

PO: but the pd result did that admit you to the university or not?

AS: jah they admitted me … they don’t give result the name will just come out on the badge if you are admitted [PO: okay] if you’re not admitted your name will not be on the badge.

PO: okay and if you are admitted okay. so then you were admitted to university

AS: jah … (9.5)

PO: and. to which university did you go?

AS: Ambuse Ali university

PO: hum?

AS: “Ambuse Ali” university in/

PO: “Ambusali” can you write that for me? … (27.5) and in which year did you get your secondary school certificate?

AS: two thousand and four.

PO: two thousand and four. and then. when did you. start in the university?

AS: about (in fall) two thousand and eight but you. it take a while two thousand and eight two thousand and nine session.

PO: so two thousand and eight two thousand and [AS: nine session jah] nine session. and then the two thousand and nine two thousand and ten [AS: ten session jah] session you also start. you finished or not?
AS: the programme start two thousand and nine. so when the result decided come at the end of the year=
PO: uhum
AS: =so then they have to take the ones that pass the exam and the others that pass the (jamb) exam they give them admission then they/
PO: okay but from when from when was your university when from when to when were you in university that's what i'd like to know just the date/
AS: the direct entry or the p-degree ?
PO: when you were . the direct [PO: in the university (system)] (yeah) ended the university
AS: two thousand and nine
PO: two thousand and nine until ?
AS: two thousand and ten .
PO: and which month in two thousand and ten ?
20:00
AS: (as i just was explaining) because i was doing i was still doing my clearance . when i was (preparing)
PO: but do you know can you tell me in which month you stopped going to university ?
AS: i stopped i left the school was march .
PO: okay ... did you work in Nigeria ? did you have a job ?
AS: i don't have a job i do private business .
PO: hm ? “private”
AS: business ..
PO: in what ?
AS: i sold palm oil ...
PO: “selling palm oil”
AS: jah is the same thing as red oil .
PO: uhum .. and where did you sell it ?
AS: i have this shop in Benin ... 
PO: and from when did you start doing that ?
AS: i started it two thousand and eight ...
PO: until ?
AS: until (NOOOW) .
PO: until you left ?
AS: until i left ... (5.0)
PO: okay ... have since you arrived in Belgium have you been in touch with anyone in Nigeria ?
AS: yes it was my .. my . partner Alfred Murphy . the one that-that brought me here ... my godfather [PO: you are you the godfather eh ?] jah ... (7.0)
PO: what's his name ?
AS: Alfred Murphy.
PO: can you write that?
AS: "okay" ... (14.5)
PO: and how are you related?
AS: yeah we have been close ...
PO: how? how did you get to know him?
AS: is my boyfriend. i know him when i was in secondary school ... (19.5)
PO: you had a relationship with him?
AS: jah ...
PO: what kind of relationship?
AS: you know what i said. i said is my boyfriend ... (7.5)
PO: and since when? did you have a relationship?
AS: when i was in secondary school.
PO: can you [AS: then started it] be more-more exact?
AS: euh?
PO: can you be more exact?
AS: i don- i don’t understand.
PO: the date that you started having a relationship.
AS: two thousand and two ...
PO: when in two thousand and two?
AS: i just can’t remember. because that is old times.
PO: how old were you then?
AS: when?
PO: when you started having your relationship.
AS: i was a little bit longer then eighteen or so.
PO: younger then eighteen? sorry?
AS: no.
PO: a little bit older then eighteen?
AS: jah ... (5.0)
PO: so you’ve been in touch with him. from Belgium?
AS: yes. just once ...
PO: when?
AS: before the election. because they argue that i bring some document. so i contacted him but he said he was busy. at that time.
PO: you-you called him to ask him for a document?
AS: jah know a document of identity. because i left my driver license with him before i travel ... (15.5)
PO: and you said he was too busy eh? you said?
AS: he was busy because then because of the election euh issues he said he would get in touch with me after the election ... (22.5)
25:02
PO: euh besides him have you been in touch with anyone else ? in Nigeria ?
AS: not yet because . i’m finding it difficult i really want to get in touch with (them) . because more of i know of my family ( ) . so (it would be good for me) to get in touch with them if i have the possibility to get in touch with them i would be very happy to do that .
PO: with your family eh ?
AS: jah ... they gave me some euh red cross euh striking distance tracing of family . (but i have not find) time to . to browse through the website you see ?
PO: they gave you what ? a red cross/
AS: yeah my social assistant gave me some .. document of a red cross tr-tracing euh family . reunite the family . maybe if you cannot get in touch with them they would (be able) to do it (but) i don’t-i was not time . to do it .
PO: so you haven’t filled in it in yet ?
AS: no ... (13.5)
PO: and why do you find it difficult to contact your family ? ..
AS: because there is no means to do that ...
PO: what do you mean ?
AS: there is no means . i have no . number to reach them now .. before i left they were all scatter ... (18.0)
PO: have you ever had problems with the Nigerian authorities ?
AS: problem like what ?
PO: problems ..
AS: i don’t understand . ( ) when i was in Nigeria
PO: uhmm . with the Nigerian authorities eh
AS: like the police or what /
PO: like the police or the army or .
AS: yeah i’ve been my name is listed as a wanted person . with the police ... but i wouldn’t go through any jail or something like that .
PO: hm? yeah
AS: you know in Nigeria we are not used to police system . if we have a problem with our neighbours it’s better we go there and say to it than to call the police ... (17.5)
PO: do you have any documents that you’d like to add to your file ?
AS: jah {AS hands over documents} ... (18.0)
PO: they’re all articles ?
AS: jah ...
PO: and what are they about ?
AS: you said ?
PO: “what are they about?”
AS: about the issue that brought me here the issue why i left my country ...
PO: can you quickly tell me what they are about ? in general ?
AS: jah is about the political (fracas) because i was into politics ...
PO: euhm ... about the political ?
AS: political situation . and the problems ... that is evidence to proof that such things .
it’s happened [PO: uhum] where i was . jah
PO: okay . and where are your identity documents ?
AS: i explained to him {the AS’s lawyer} that they should be (pardon) maybe from ne-next
week i will see if i can get in touch with Alfred Murphy . to see if he can send the driver’s
license because sometimes it’s very difficult to send through identity with the courier
service . from Nigeria because they don’t allow it too much . maybe if there’s anyone that’s
come here he can give it to him or so . then they wo- i would give him my lawyer address .
PO: why is it difficult to send it (per courier) ?
AS: i don’t really know . because every times when i was there when you want to send
something (i sent) before the items . items or other things [PO: uhum] but mostly
documents because they said it always lost on the road it won’t get to the ( ) . because they
think maybe you want to use it for something fraud or so ... because they p- you are sending
a passport or a driver’s license the person-the person is not there then you understand ?=
PO: uhum
AS: you are taken into ( ) so most time the courier service don’t approve taken such
document ...
30:31
PO: euhm .. we give . five working days to add new documents to the file after the interview
. okay ? so you have five more days [AS: to] five working days
AS: to bring the [PO: to bring the documents] identity . wh-wha five working days [PO:
uhum] just the identity ?
PO: well any documents that you’d like to add
AS: ah okay what about if they scan it through euh maybe email and send it to me i give it
to/
PO: yeah even i-it’s not the same value obviously than the original .
AS: i know but [PO: but even if a scan ] since you said five days it’s because it will not take
[PO: ( )] faster faster for the courier service to bring it to your ( )
PO: yeah but we accept scans as well i’ll i can give you my email address
AS: okay . thank you
PO: maybe i’ll do that immediately because i may forget
AS: okay .
PO: i’ll give it to your lawyer eh
AS: okay ...
PO: alsjeblieft {to lawyer}
AS: thank you.
PO: you’re welcome ... (13.5) did you have a passport in Nigeria ?
AS: no ... (7.0)
PO: how could you come to Belgium without a passport ?
AS: i didn’t pass through air i pass through land ...
PO: uhum ... how did you .. how did you travel ?
AS: i was i went to-i went to Niger from Nigeria there i went to Libya . and for that i was brought into a sh-ship ... (7.0)
PO: and that brought you where the ship ?
AS: huh?
PO: and the ship brought you from Libya to ?
AS: jah . [PO: to where?] i didn’t know my destination [PO: uhum] but when i came (out) i noticed that i was jah at least after staying three days in the street i noticed that i was here ... (11.5)
PO: do you know the exact “date” that you left Nigeria ?
AS: i told you on the second
PO: yeah sometimes i just forget what you told me before so [AS: is no problem is good to ask] just try to reapeat eh . so what was it again ? {PO giggles}
AS: i said on the second october .
PO: october .. “two thousand and ten” .. and do you know the day that you arrived in Belgium ?
AS: i think about- i told the person that euh interrogated me on the twentynine- euh on-on the thirtieth but on the thirtieth was (on the date) ...
PO: but the thirtieth was ?
AS: on the thirtieth
PO: the thirtieth of which month ? october as well ?
AS: jah ..
PO: so you’re not sure that it’s the twenty-ninth or the thirtieth ?
AS: i wasn’t informed because i just came in my brain was kaput so i t- i s- i ( ) it on the twenty-ninth about twenty-ninth and thirtieth . she have to put on the thirtieth .
PO: okay
AS: jah ... (13.0)
PO: did you travel alone ?
AS: yes .
PO: ja ? no company ?
AS: Libya to Belgium i travel alone ... (7.5)
PO: and before ? ... from Nigeria to Niger ?
AS: no i was escorted with my .. friend and .. secretary ...
PO: your friend and secretary?
AS: my friend's secretary the girl who was working with him.. just like a PA {Personal Assistant} ... (7.5)
PO: she's a girl?
AS: girl?
PO: it's a girl? you said? the secretary?
AS: i said just like a PA
PO: uhu. the pa of your friend eh [AS: jah, jah] the secretary ... and what's her name?
35:04
AS: not a female . [PO: his name] i said just like a PA .
PO: uhu and what's the name of the PA?
AS: Isaac i only know the first name i don't know the last name
PO: Isaac?
AS: Jah ... (5.5)
PO: and he joined you until where?
AS: Niger ...
PO: and then from Niger to .. euhm [AS: Libya] Libya. did you travel alone?
AS: no ...
PO: with who?
AS: Carl Lewis ...
PO: hm?
AS: Carl Lewis.
PO: “Carl”
AS: jah
PO: Lewises?
AS: Lewis that was in (Nigeria) but i know is Lewis/
PO: he was in- he was from Niger?
AS: yeah (as well) he was from Niger ... (11.0)
PO: did you pay for your trip?
AS: Alfred Murphy gave him money ... (6.0)
PO: gave money to whom? ... Alfred/
AS: Carl Lewis
PO: okay ... (7.5) but . Alfred stayed in Nigeria eh?
AS: huh?
PO: Alfred stayed in Nigeria?
AS: yeah he stay in Nigeria ...
PO: where is he now? ... Alfred
AS: i believe he is in Nigeria.
PO: where in Nigeria?
AS: he normally (stays) in Abuja .. but he is from Edo state ...
PO: when you called him where was he ?
AS: (that) was in Abuja ... (8.0)
PO: oké ... and what does he do there ?
AS: he’s a politician and also a businessman ... (8.5)
PO: okay . are you member of a political party ?
AS: yes .
PO: which one ?
AS: i was in PDP before i left the ( ) .. euhm how do i put it .. t- to some euh (substituting) of names of other problem with the party to some ()/
PO: okay sh- wacht take it slow eh . so you were in PDP before [AS: before i joined] you left ? before you ?
AS: i left PDP two thousand and seven before i joined Action Congress two thousand and ten ...
PO: so you were in PDP until two thousand and ten as well ?
AS: no
PO: two thousand and
AS: seven i left .
PO: oké ... and in two thousand and ten you went to Action Congress ?
AS: yes .
PO: okay and what did you wanna say ? how should i p- .. [AS: i don’t understand] you were starting to say something but .. i stopped you .
AS: okay i said the reason i left that was the reason i left PDP because there were too much pressure .
PO: pressure ?
AS: pressure jah ... pressure for me to do what i don’t want to do ... pressure for me to belong to a group which is not my way to do such things . they do it because they are politicians and they believe in ( ) is for you to be able ( ) to do things that no man basically cannot do . you have to visit places that . the-the-they do it because of protections (on their home) ... (9.5)
PO: what group are you talking about ?
AS: like secret guards ... (6.5) or making an oath in a shrine [PO: hm?] that you will never betrayed your godfather .
PO: sorry ?
AS: or swearing an oath in a shrine . that you will never betrayed your godfather godfather are those people who put you in politics make you have connections .. yeah .
PO: okay . let me write it eh
AS: okay ... (17.5)
PO: is anyone in your family also a member of a political party ?
AS: my little brother’s a politician ...
PO: what’s his name?
AS: Jack Johson
PO: Jack?
AS: Johnson ( ) ..
40:05
PO: and in which party?
AS: PDP too.
PO: until now?
AS: no he’s late ... he died two thousand and two .
PO: in two thousand and two?
AS: jah ...
PO: and what did “he” do for the PDP?
AS: i don’t know then i wa- i was just schooling euhm i don’t really know things about politics because i came in two thousand and five .. i know he was a member for the PDP .. yeah ..
PO: and your brother . what is his year of birth?
AS: my brother?
PO: uhum . Jack
AS: Jack . nineteen eighty-six ... you said Jack my brother?
PO: yeah
AS: my brother is not Jack
PO: what’s his name then?
AS: you ask me question . his name is Paul .
PO: but you said before my little brother Jack?
AS: Jack?
PO: uhum
AS: no . i didn’t say that
PO: {giggles} what’s his name then?
AS: i don’t mention any names of my family to you .
PO: oh but [AS: apart from my] that’s what i asked [AS: apart from my father and my mother you asked] you what’s his name . i just ask you the name of your little brother
AS: oh sorry his name is Paul
PO: “Paul”
AS: jah
PO: “Paul”
AS: jah ..
PO: oké ... Johnson eh?
AS: jah ..
PO: and Alfred. in which party to which party does he belong?
AS: Alfred belong to PDP
PO: PDP?
AS: jah
PO: and what’s his function?
AS: he’s a top party member ... he work in the national level that’s why he’s staying in Abuja ...(13.5)
PO: and do you know his title? his specific function?..
AS: he’s an advisor {very weird pronunciation, [avaksa:]}  
PO: hm?
AS: an advisor {same pronunciation as before}
PO: avaksa?
AS: jah
PO: can you write that? ... (9.5)
AS: advisor...
AS: to the late president. our former president.
PO: he’s dead the president you mean?
AS: jah i mean Umaru Moussa Yaradua ... (7.0)
PO: say the name again.
AS: Umaru Moussa Yaradua.
PO: can you write that for me? i’m sorry
AS: no isn- most times. if i- if i don’t get it right. it’s okay?
PO: just think how you think it’s written [AS: oh okay] that’s fine ... (15.5) “Umaru” ... and what’s the second thing?
AS: Moussa.
PO: Mosa. Moussa?
AS: jah...
PO: “Ya-re”. “Yara”
AS: dua
PO: dua ... (12.5) in which month did you join Action Congress?
AS: january two thousand and ten ... (10.5)
PO: what’s do you know the official name? i will just ask you a few questions about Action Congress eh?
AS: okay
PO: euhm what is the official name of the party?
AS: the official name?
PO: uhum.
AS: Action Congress of Nigeria. the name changed from Action Congress to Action Congress of Nigeria.
PO: when did it change?
AS: i don't know because i check it through the internet. i believe the date of congress. i think i don't really know any (day) date because i wasn't ther when they du-during the congress.
PO: okay. is it an opposition party?
AS: an opposition party to PDP ...
PO: so yes?
AS: jaah because. you are my opposition i don't know how you mean it opposition
PO: well how do you mean it?
AS: i mean it as in. like you now is (i mean) there you are my opponent so i call you an opposition jah.
PO: oké
AS: not only PDP to every other political parties ...
PO: and. in relation to the government? is it an opposition party? ...
AS: you said?
PO: is it pro-government or anti-government?
45:00
AS: i don't understand the question
PO: no?
AS: i don't understand the question you ask.
PO: "okay let me just write it first" ... (14.0) the Action Congress is it euhtm supporting the government? or is it going against/
AS: jah jah supporting the government
PO: oké ... (7.0)
AS: well in- in Edo state and in every other state that. there's Action-Action Congress governors. there's they has action congress governors euh that has candidate as a governor...
PO: in every other state?
AS: [PO: you said] i said in Edo state[PO: uhum] and some other state.
PO: "some other states" AS: other states. that have a candidate as as in the member has the Action Congress as their governor ... (7.5)
PO: they are the actual governors or the candidates? ...
AS: "you said ?" i said that half Action Congress is the candidate as their governor.
PO: so they are not yet governor?
AS: i don't understand are you asking me a question?
PO: uhum
AS: what was the question?
PO: because i’m not- i just want to make sure that you say that. “a candidate governor”. does it mean that he’s already the actual candid- euh governor? he’s already/
AS: like w-w- presently now?
PO: uhum
AS: is (AC) that is ruling Edo state.
PO: okay
AS: jah.
PO: so in Edo state the governor is [AS: Action Congress] Action Congress ... (19.0) when did the party euhm start to exist?
AS: then i was in PDP but i can still remember the date it started two thousand and six ...
(8.0)
PO: you know how the party started. [AS: huh?] to exist?
AS: i believe some members from PDP and some other parties. like PH and Alliance of Democracy because Action Congress is a Yoruba party and the Alliance of Democracy is also .
PO: so people members of PDP and other parties which parties you said?
AS: like Alliance of Democracy. AD. Justice Party and i don’t really know the other one because then i was not a member. but because i read through newspaper and. updates communal. so i know this ...
PO: and what’s the relation with the Yoruba party?
AS: huh?
PO: what was the re-relationship with Yoruba?
AS: Yoruba.
PO: Yoruba
AS: Yoruba. i’m trying to make this conversation {PO laughs} because politics in Nige/ {says this in a laughing tone}
PO: no no no it’s okay but i’m just you [AS: jah] sometimes you give [AS: i’m trying to] me too much information [AS: okay] at once/
AS: okay i’m trying to make a point
PO: “yes” so let me just explain sometimes there’s too much [AS: information] information “and writing” so i forget [AS: ah okay] the last things that you tell me so i ask you again so it’s important that you just repeat [AS: repeat it] what you have been said what you have said- told me before/
AS: it’s not just important but normally we- the group politics [PO: uhu ja] () why i said this this politics no-normally everybody believe that they ANPP () party is most (leaded) not. because they form it people believe the PDP is just general [PO: uhum] the people believe the Alliance of Democracy which is the AD is just a political party from the Yoruba people. and when it started it started at the one (other) political state in the Yoruba land. or the
euhm (south-western) so they ( ) to form the Action Congress . with some members from the people in ( ) party and also from mem- some members of the Justice Party ... (12.5)

PO: you told me that the governor of Edo is is AC .

AS: jah .. ACN now .

PO: hm ?

AS: i said ACN now . [PO: “ja ACN now“] that is the current name .

PO: what’s his name ?

AS: Comrade . Adams Aliyu Oshiomole {very inarticulate, impossible to understand}

PO: Comrade how ?

AS: Adams Aliyu Oshiomole .

PO: “you’ll have to write that“

AS: “i don’t know if i can spell it i’m not good at spelling somebody’s name“ ... (27.5)

50:17

PO: Adams . is the first name eh ?

AS: jah .

PO: oké “Aliyu Oshiomole“

AS: “Aliyu” i don’t know if it’s ( )/

PO: “Aliyu”

AS: Aliyuh jah ...

PO: since when is he governor ?

AS: two thousand and eight ...

PO: and since when is ACN .. euhm .. the leading party or the party in power in Edo state ? ... 

AS: what’s that ? ..

PO: euhm ... (5.5) since when is AC in power ? in p- .

AS: in power ?

PO: jah . in power

AS: two thousand and eight .

PO: two thousand and eight .. do you know the month of the-the elections ?

AS: they didn’t do election in two thousand and eight . the election was at two thousand and seven

PO: how did they become how did they come into power ?

AS: jah it-it wa- it went i had to fight the case in the tribune tribunal

PO: hm ?

AS: they won the case in tribunal .. the election was at euh april two thousand and seven .. and it was won by my party member PDP . [PO: uhum] but later the he was not satisfied with the results of the jah of the election/
AS: jah he was not satisfied so he went to the tribunal. and he won the tribunal result and my party also appealed but he also won the appeal that was why they reinstated him as the government two thousand and eight ...

PO: you know in which month he was inst-reinstated?

AS: euhm. then i wasn’t a member but i know that everybody know that that period it was within when America had election because we call him Obama of Edo state. so that was november period. but i don't really know the exactly date in that november...

PO: how do you call him. Obama?

AS: Obama of Edo state because that period America did the election. so that period e-. because everyone was expecting the result from the appeal and the tribunal in Edo state

PO: uhum ... (6.5) okay ... and so before that which party was in power?

AS: PDP

PO: okay ... (10.0) who is the national president of ACN?

AS: the national president

PO: uhum

AS: i think is Bisi Akande ...

PO: “Bisi”?

AS: the national president or the national chairman?

PO: is there a difference?

AS: there’s difference.

PO: uhum so give me the-the-the/

AS: Bisi Akande

PO: “Bisi”

AS: Akande

PO: just write it it’s easier for me eh . Bisi. Akande ... and he’s what? what’s his title?

AS: he’s the national chairman

PO: chairman ... and is there a president as well or? ... (4.0) hm?

AS: i don't understand

PO: is there a president as well because you said there was a difference.

AS: you call him president but we call it chairman

PO: oh it’s just a. different wording ... and Bisi Akande. where does he stay?

AS: the headquarter of the party is in Abuja every party headquarter is in Abuja. but i believe his office is in Abuja ... (9.0)

PO: since when is he the chairman?

AS: when the party emerge. that was when he was the chairman. that was when he become the chairman ... (5.5)

PO: to which party did he belong before?

AS: he was in Alliance of Democracy ... AD ... (6.0)

PO: euhm do you know what his euh previous. position was? his previous function?
AS: he was a governor before.
PO: governor
AS: uhuh
PO: in which state?
AS: i just can’t remember the state because it’s. °how do i put it° ( °Bisi Akande°) ..
55:05
PO: and did he have another mandate? another ... euhm position. besides being in
government no?
AS: me?
PO: no he
AS: he.
PO: Bisi Akande did he have an- before he- before he became chairman you told me he was a
governor [AS: jah] did he have another position as well? another job or?
AS: no i don’t/ PO: political mandate ..
AS: i don’t really know. about that … because it is it was what we saw in the news that we .
that we pick. because he is not. a person from my state but we have to (do something) to
know much more about everybody .
PO: okay so he has been the only chairman of ACN?
AS: jah he was the chairman the day that election they brought him back again.
PO: when was the election?
AS: i don’t know. when they did it ..
PO: it was an internal election?
AS: internal election party election [PO: uhum] . jah ... (14.5)
PO: can you describe me the flag of Action Congress? ..
AS: jah. it’s just a flag that has a symbol of a hand on it. of the () .
PO: and what are the colours?
AS: green. white. blue and black ... (13.0)
PO: euhm. there’s a branch of AC in Edo State then? °you told me°? 
AS: it’s a national party every political party that is registered must have a branch all over
the country ... (13.5)
PO: and who is. the chairman or the number one of the Edo state branch?
AS: i think it’s Thomas Okoso. Okoso
PO: “Ogaso”? 
AS: Thomas “Okoso”
PO: “Okosuwa”
AS: “Okoso” .. how do you know Okosuwa?
PO: i don’t know i just try to understand what you were saying [AS: {laughs}] i want to make
sure that i have the name right .. where’s the office of Edo state?
AS: the office/
PO: of AC in Edo state
AS: along euh airport road or so ..
PO: along airport road ?
AS: jah . i think so because they have different offices . they have different offices ...
PO: where’s the head office in Edo state ?
AS: the head office ? that was what i said but they have many offices
PO: hm ? [AS: i don’t/] but the head office is along airport road ?
AS: jah ...
PO: where are the other ones ?
AS: we have one euh . like the one which i belong is along euhm lucky way ( ) ... we have many offices .
PO: “lucky way”
AS: lucky way Ikpoba Hill .
PO: hmm ? in Ekpoma ?
AS: “Ikpoba Hill” {says this in an irritated way}
PO: what is that ? {noise of paper and pen moving, AS writes it down} ... (31.0) Igbi-
“Igbiwedion” ?
AS: Lucky Igbiwedion Way ...
PO: and what is this ? say that again .
AS: this is Ikbopa Hill . “Ikbopa”
PO: “Ikbopa Hill”
AS: jah ...
PO: and that’s in Benin ? city ?
AS: yes ...
PO: okay . did you euhm go vote in Nigeria already ?
AS: huh ?
PO: ja ?
AS: yes ...
01:00:01
PO: to in which elections did you go vote ?
AS: i voted two thousand and seven election because sometime we- we are afr- we don’t want that was when i was into politics i go out to vote . but before we are afraid to go out to vote normal citizens are afraid to go out to vote because you may go out to vote and at the end you lose your life during the election process ... (11.0)
PO: in which month were those elections ?
AS: april .
PO: and what did you voted for ?
AS: two thousand and seven ?
PO: yeah
AS: i voted for PDP ...
PO: and euh what kind of election was it ?
AS: governorship . presidential . also of assembly also of senate . national assembly
PO: so assembly national assembly eh ?
AS: state assembly national assembly governorship and euh presidential election ... (19.0)
PO: and what were the names of the candidates of PDP that you could vote for ?
AS: i vote for for the governor that was Oserheime Osumbor ... (5.0)
PO: what’s his name ?
AS: Oserheime Osumbor .
PO: please write it or or say it slowly because it/
AS: i don’t think i can spell it well [PO: that’s fine but] because it’s not an English name ...
“Oser-heime Osumbor” .
PO: “Ose” ?
AS: Oserheime ... (9.5)
PO: and that was the governor eh ? the candidate of governor ? [AS: yes the candidate] for
the governorship ?
AS: jah the candidate for PDP .
PO: for the [AS: the governorship election] governorship eh ?
AS: jah .
PO: and in the other elections ?
AS: jah like the senate . euhm .. for the senate ..
PO: he was- he was also the candidate for the senate ?
AS: no ..
PO: who [AS: no Ozamire] was the candidate then ?
AS: i only know his first jah his name . Ozamire
PO: “Ozamire” ?
AS: jah Ozamire . i can’t spell that because is very difficult .
PO: and of the assembly ? the ?
AS: state assembly
PO: uhum
AS: i voted for . Igibomosa
PO: “Igbo-“ ?
AS: “Igibomosa”
PO: “Igbo-“ ? just speak slowly it’s it’s names that i don’t know so just [AS: jah] spell them
slowly for me and then i can write them {PO is agitated}
AS: okay i said Igibomosa .
PO: Igibomosa
AS: jah i only know his first name but i didn’t know his euh other name ... (5.0)
PO: and the national assembly?
AS: national assembly.
PO: who was the candidate of PDP?
AS: the candidate of-euhm PDP.
PO: uhuh
AS: i didn’t vote for national assembly i just really crosschecked the .. the senate okay it was a stamp you put the person you want to vote your your thumb . thumb put on it ...
PO: so you mean that in the national assembly there was no PDP candidate? because that was my question
AS: national assembly is senate [PO: uhuh] and house of rep [PO: uhuh].
PO: but/
AS: i told you one this is the one in the senate i voted for . Oza-Ozamire.
PO: uhuh . and the national assembly is the senate?
AS: you don’t understand.
PO: no ? just explain
AS: the national assembly [PO: uhuh] is consist of the senate house of senate [PO: uhuh] and house of representative . so i voted for i voted for the candidate of the house of senate.
PO: okay and you couldn’t vote for the other one?
AS: no ... (5.0)
PO: and do you know which candidate there was for the other ( ) ?
AS: no no no ... (10.0)
PO: do you know the result of the election ? first of the governorship ..
AS: the result?
PO: uhuh ...
AS: jah [PO: in two thousand and seven] it was it was PDP that won the election.
PO: all the elections?
AS: the elec- the governorship election . it was PDP that won it ... (5.0)
PO: so the .. Osumbor was normally elected eh?
AS: jah ... (8.5)
01:05:02
PO: and the senate ? euhm or the whatever national assembly.
AS: jah Ozamire winned for the national assembly ... [PO sighs] do you understand?
PO: yeah he won?
AS: he won . not for the state . they have to ( ) a political euhm senatorial district they started a note and the the note is central and the south . because i register from the south in Benin
PO: uhuh . so he won for the south?
AS: euh?
PO: he won [AS: he won for the south jah] for the south?
AS: Edo state (south senatorial) district he won ... (5.5)
PO: and who was the candidate in the president election?
AS: it was Umaru Moussa Yaradua ... late.
PO: which one? {AS writes down name} he was a candidate of PDP eh?
AS: PDP yes ... (6.0)
PO: and of the Action Congress who was the candidate? ( )/
AS: the governor?
PO: hmm?
AS: the governor?
PO: no the president
AS: ah it was the former vice president Atikua Aboubacar.
PO: hmm?
AS: Atikua Aboubacar ... (it’s not there)
PO: what’s his name?
AS: “Atikua Aboubacar”
PO: Aboubacar
AS: Atikua Aboubacar ... (4.5)
PO: and of the governor?
AS: Aliyah Oshiomole ... (23.0)
PO: there were euhm presidential and national assembly elections in Nigeria last month.
AS: jah.
PO: did Action Congress take part in the presidential elections?
AS: yes they did.
PO: who was their candidate?
AS: ( ) Ribadu ... (5.0) i didn’t have access to news i just have to go through internet CNN read it euh so i didn’t have access to Nigerian news so i go through the internet read it ...
(11.5)
PO: do you know who were the candidates for the senate of AC?
AS: in Edo state?
PO: uhum
AS: no no no i left before they did the congress before they did the primary. i left Nigeria before they did the congress and they did the primary ... (8.0)
PO: so you don’t know who the candidates were?
AS: no ... (7.0)
PO: and not for the house you don’t know either?
AS: the house?
PO: uhum
AS: house of as- house of re/
PO: representatives
AS: as of resid-mostly nearly PD euhm most euh mostly they have all the ( ) because the house of rep is not just as in as the house of senate.

PO: uhum

AS: the house of rep it had maybe three loc-two-two euhm two or three local government can have a candidate in the house of representatives/

PO: do you know who the govern-the candidate was for your local government?

AS: i don't know the result of the election. now. of those i only know the pres-the only result i had of the election they did was the presidential election and some governorship election of some state but as of the house of assembly election the house of rep election and the house of senate election i don't know the candidate the people that won the election ... (12.5)

PO: you know the result of the presidential election then?

AS: yes.

PO: who won?

AS: is PDP that won it ... (5.5)

PO: which candidate?

AS: Goodluck Jonathan ...

PO: and. you know how much perc-percentage? he won?

AS: jah. i don't percentage really they said it was about twenty two million or so. twenty two million euhm registered votes ( ) ...

PO: you know how much euhm. Ribadu. got? his/

AS: Ribadu?

PO: yeah

AS: Ribadu was about beaten fourth or two i can't remember so.

PO: second or fourth you say?

AS: the position he won?

PO: uhum.

AS: he came third

PO: uhum ... and how many votes. you think?

AS: i can't i don't know how many votes i think the ( ) would know that because i'm not in Nigeria to have such things it was at last month.

PO: so you don't even get the information here?

AS: there was no tele. the placed i stayed no tele. no access to tele ...

PO: how did you get in touch with Action Congress. yourself?

AS: me? my party member?

PO: hmm?

AS: how do i get in touch with [PO: yeah] Action Congress. i d- i-i don't get in touch with them. for now.
PO: no i mean in the beginning .
AS: in the beginning how do i got in touch [PO: yeah] how do i join the party ?
PO: yeah
AS: i was brought in with a friend of my cousin . my uncle sorry ... (10.5)
PO: what’s . his name ?  
AS: Philip Hunt
PO: “Philip”?  
AS: Hunt ...
PO: and why did you make a transfer ? why did you join ?
AS: i have to join because is a party that have . ambitions to do something and the party that everybody supported because they know that for the past we have been in a party that we’ve been in party of godfathers and ( ) so right now everybody’s trying to make a switch to a party that can bring light to the people . you saw the symbol of the broom . the broom represents this ripping up process/
PO: okay one second eh [AS: oké] because i- it’s too quick ... (11.0) and then you said you saw the sum- you saw the symbol ?  
AS: the symbol of the broom .  
PO: the what ?
AS: the BROOM of the Action Congress . as in/
PO: the broom like to sw-/  
AS: jah . that is to sweep out corruption . bad governance ... (10.5)
PO: and that’s of- the symbol of Action Congress eh ?
AS: jah ... (16.0)
PO: and were you asked to join ? to the party ?
AS: jah i told you who brought me into the party because in politics at a time ( ) you can go and register you would just be a normal nom- euh member . but is good to be introduced into politics with someone who have (pitié) that would make you be a recognized member . in the party . because if you go there and register you can just be (there) for long and people would just come in with the help of maybe godfather or something else they will have the political post you will just come in as a registered member ... (23.0)
PO: and what was your ambition ? when you joined ?
AS: my ambition ?
PO: uhum
AS: my ambition is to stronger for the progress of the youth .
PO: sorry ? to- say that ag- just repeat what you said
AS: okay stronger for the progress of the youth
PO: “stronger” for ?
AS: jah stronger for the progress of the youth
PO: okay . to fight for the progre/
AS: the youth jah ... because the youths don’t have opportunity to be in politics ... (12.5)
PO: so what do you mean by the progress then?
AS: progress like [PO: (about) progress] taking part in politics . having different kind of
euhm ( ) like maybe government giving the student loan or something else or skills
acquisition critic skills acquisition . for those who don’t want to go to school maybe the
government would provide job for them or something like that . provide programme for
them to learn something ... (40.0)
01:15:17
PO: where you the only one that made the transfer from PDP to Action Congress ?
AS: i’m the only one but everybody most PDP member right now they (have decamped to)
Action Congress . because /
PO: they are trying to ? or they they are/ 
AS: some (have decamped) some are still coming . not all the PDP member come here others
party member and even some Action Congress member sometime decamp to every other
party because it’s the right for you to decide which party you want to be ..
PO: because ?
AS: i said it’s your own right for you to decide the party you want to belong ... (6.0)
PO: but you were one of the first who did it ? who made the transfer ?
AS: i don’t know i came in two thousand and ten maybe most people have done it . ( ) the
governor . ( ) take over government in Edo state maybe other people not even in Edo state
but also in every part of Nigeria . so i’m just saying what concerns me i don’t know about for
others but most time people come in in group like maybe like if maybe if i’m a top party
member of (Zopotaz) if i’m going (by Zopotaz) before (going) to the party that i’m going ...
(5.0)
PO: okay but the people let- let’s say the people that you worked with in PDP eh when you
were still in PDP . did they also make the transfer ?
AS: no ... (14.5)
PO: so you were the only one of your group who made the transfer ?
AS: i didn’t make the transfer urgent i came in two thousand and ten . so i believe most
people they have done it i told you i said something that concerned me i don’t know of the
rest people ... (22.5)
PO: euum i’m gonna read you a fra
gment of a mission statement of a party and i’d like you
to tell me whether it’s AC or PDP . okay ?
AS: okay
PO: so to reduce the office holders to the servants of the people . they were intended to be .
“sorry” to reduce the office holders to the servants of the people they were intended to be .
is that AC or PDP ?
AS: most of the time the two parties are saying it not even that the all Nigerian people party
can say it . but the Action Congress mostly when the government was coming in that was
the first thing they campaign about .. but i don’t mention that the office of the government will be close to the people . not when you want to see the governor or you have anything it will be difficult for the people to have access to the government ..

PO: say that again . the last thing
AS: i said . ( )
PO: say it yeah
AS: i said jah i said not when the people . want to meet with the government it will be difficult but most governors who are coming in they always make it as a campaign that jah office will be very close to th- the people . the reason they go in there to become a governor or a senator or president is what it is to serve the people and not for the people to serve them ... (17.5)

PO: who is the chairman of the PDP branch in Edo ?
AS: right now ?
PO: right now ja
AS: Dan Orbit
PO: Orbit ?
AS: jah
PO: and what’s his first name ?
AS: Dan
PO: “Dan”
AS: Orbit ... PDP have many chairman . up to now they still have problem with their parties/

PO: but he’s Edo branch eh ?
AS: jah
PO: and where is the office of Edo of PDP Edo ?
AS: they have it on euhm very close to . euhm Boba Slope
PO: hmm ?
AS: Boba Slope
PO: Covert Slope ?
AS: Boba Slope
PO: “Boba” Slope ?
AS: Boba Slope .
PO: and is that the name of the street office ?
AS: that is the road .
PO: and the office is on that road ?
AS: jah
PO: Boba Slope
AS: Boba Slope .
PO: who is the national chairman ?
AS: they make changes . [PO: so ?] of that chairman
PO: yeah tell me.

AS: yeah right now I don’t know the name of the national chairman. But I know that the former national chairman was Vincent Ogbilafo. But I believe maybe ( ) because they have lea- a lot of people who contest with the post because they change that chairman every time as if someone who is changing clothes ...

PO: Vincent how?

AS: Ogbilafo

PO: “Ogbilafo”?

AS: Ogbilafo

PO: Og-bi-la-fo

AS: he was the former chairman but I don’t know the present chairman

PO: when was he removed from his when did he leave his position?

AS: I think last year or so ...

PO: and he was a chairman when you were in the party?

AS: no ... (9.0)

PO: who was that?


PO: “Amadu”

AS: Ali

PO: Ali. and when did he leave his position? as chairman

AS: I don’t know when he left the position. maybe two thousand and eight or two thousand and nine I don’t know when the election was. conducted. for a new candidate ... (8.0)

PO: where is their. euh do you know “their” flag?

AS: jah ...

PO: okay describe it

AS: they have a symbol of umbrella on it ... 

PO: and apart of that?

AS: the colour is green white and red ...

PO: do you know their euhm *how do you say that* like catchphrase or motto? ... their devise their slogan?

AS: ah okay it’s unity peace and progress ... (10.0)

PO: do you know why Amadu Ali left his position?

AS: I think because he euhm something like that maybe because he wanted to contest what the senate or so but normally is due for to leave the post because they do it regularly it’s not just permanent office they conduct election the party conduct election ... (15.0)

PO: so then the Vincent Og-Ogbilafo he was just chosen in elections?

AS: jah ... (7.0) but they have present chairman now but I don’t have anything to do with them.
PO: uhum ... and how did you become in touch with PDP? how did you get in touch sorry.
AS: it was my euhm Alfred Murphy that brought me into politics.
PO: your whom?
AS: Alfred Murphy ... (4.0) 
PO: “what’s his last name again”{raffles through papers} ... and when was that?
AS: two thousand and five ... (9.5)
PO: and .. how did he get you in the party? i mean how did he bring you in touch with politics?
AS: he register me into the party and introduced me to some party order in-in the state ...
PO: and you-you wanted to do politics?
AS: yes . because i saw him being a politician successful in it so i said i like to go into politics ...
PO: why did you want it?
AS: why did i want it? everybody want to be a leader if you have the position to be a president of this country you will do it but you can’t just do it like a common citizen so you must go into politics for you to achieve such cause ... (16.0)
PO: and you became a member in two thousand and five also?
AS: jah.
PO: what was your function for the PDP?
AS: jah i work with the youth .. with the youth employment programme and also.
PO: youth employment programme?
AS: empowerment programme and also was a con- try contested for a counsellorship ... a counsellorship.
PO: what is a counsellorship?
AS: euh that’s a counsel .. jah a counsel in a ward because in-in [PO: wait] a local government you have a ward the local government is divided into a ward.
01:25:01
PO: ward eh?
AS: jah we call it ward.
PO: and it’s a counsel of the ward?
AS: it’s a c- what i mean is th-the-the position is counsel. “counselor” jah and is inside the local government where you are in because the local government is divided in sev- divided into a w- break into a ward
PO: uhum
AS: jah they call it ward ()/
PO: and every ward has a counselor?
AS: every ward has a counselor ... those are the people who work with the local government . chairman ... (9.5)
PO: and when was this euhm .. you said you were running for counselor?
AS: jah
PO: uhum when was this?
AS: that was in two thousand and seven but the election will be conducted by the governor so after the governorship election, the election was held in two thousand and eight or two thousand and seven i just can’t rememb/
PO: okay so the governor would do the election?
AS: yeah it’s every state every state is in charge of their own election the governor will decide when he want to conduct the election ...
PO: and when did you wan- when did he plan it?
AS: i think it was two thousand and seven but actually i wasn’t . my name was substituted my name was removed and another candidate was brought in and that was the r- the main reason i really left the party or so .
PO: that you left the party eh?
AS: jah ...
PO: you know why it was removed?
AS: jah because he has a political godfather who belong to their own (gultiz) group so they do things in the secret and when they come to open they pu- try to put in their candidates someone that would favour them someone that would when is there give their contract .
PO: okay so .. wh- who was the g- cause i the godfather system it’s a bit too much to explain it entirely eh but . you were first the favourite candidate [AS: yeah] or the first candidate of one godfather?
AS: i don’t know i was trying to say that i was the candidate but my name was substituted .
PO: by whom?
AS: by the party .
PO: by the party
AS: jah ...
PO: and why? just try and/
AS: that was what i explained to you
PO: “yes” but i didn’t get it so
AS: yeah they brought in someone who is very close to them . because they believe that i just came in to euhm PDP two thousand and five and i went to contest for counsellorship this person has pitié and (moral valour) in the (same gultiz) group [PO: okay] so they like to put in people who are very close to them [PO: uhum] jah someone who will favour them if you are in-in the position . not someone who will turn their back on them/
PO: okay but what changed then that you were first the candidate and then not anymore? cause if you are first the candidate that means [AS: jah] they did want to give you a chance right?
AS: jah
PO: so what changed that all of a sudden they didn’t want you anymore?
AS: jah they make the change on their own. they make the change i have to substitute my name and put another person name there as their candidate ... as a candidate to contest the counsellorship ... (8.5)
PO: and who decided in the first place that you would be a candidate ?
AS: (me)=
PO: uhum
AS: =everybody have the rights to as in Nigeria when you are eighteen you have the right to vote and be voted for . so i have such ambition and i realize that i need to start from the grassroot .
PO: so it was you yourself that /
AS: jah i decided to combat for counsellorship
PO: oké
AS: jah . so i need then i need the support from everybody . from the community where i grow up and also i need the support from my . from Alfred Murphy my partner . yeah ... 
PO: and when you are talking about the godfather . who are you referring to ?
AS: the godfather from my own side ? ..
PO: uhum
AS: there’s as in- i don’t understand the question
PO: there are many fift- euh godfathers in Edo state or ?
AS: jah for you to be a politician you must in Nigeria you must have a godfather
PO: but in Edo state even there are many ?
AS: there are many godfather
PO: so Alfred is yours ?
AS: Alfred is my godfather ... (11.5)
PO: okay so when you euhm .. euhm admitted no when you s- presented yourself as a candidate did you get the support of people ?
AS: when you want to present yourself you go with your peop- jah i have sup- i-i get support from the people because when i want to declare my campaign i have to go to the party with at least you must have more than maybe tw- two thousand or one thousand supporters .. or five hundred or so . so that the party will know that they can/ 01:30:08
PO: two thousand or five hundred ?
AS: five hundred or so the more you can have is not that specifique euh . ( ) you have to bring in enough supporters because that would make the party put you in the place of the/
PO: and so initially they did accept or ?
AS: they accepted at first place but along the line they then want change ... (10.0)
PO: and when did you take the decision to leave the party ?
AS: in two thousand and seven after .. my name was substituted and/
PO: immediately after that

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AS: jah and when i call my euhm godfather the same story all of them were saying you need to belong to this group you need to you need to euh p- euh (agree) with what they did you need to come and swear an oath because when you are there these are people who will be making decision for you and you are not going to be making decision on your own .
PO: okay so your name was removed [AS: jah] yo-you called your godfather
AS: jah to explain/
PO: Alfred you mean ?
AS: jah .
PO: and what did he say ?
AS: so he ask me if i have the intention to belong to the group because he was also a member too .
PO: to which group than ?
AS: black hawks . a secret society ...
PO: uhum .
AS: so he ask me if i have the intention to (train) moreover if another election is coming more- they will try to put me in that election . but as for now/
PO: so you th-the condition was that you had to join the black hawks ?
AS: jah [PO: so that they would] you need to belong to the society .
PO: uhum
AS: jah that would make you be close to them . it's just like a fraternity when you have the leader you'll be close to/
PO: close to the party /
AS: [PO: the leading eh the leadership in Edo] th-the party leadership because all of their all of their euhm all of their members .
PO: oké
AS: jah ...
PO: and Alfred was a candidate himself eh ?
AS: candidate /
PO: EUH was a member
AS: jah he was a member i know he was a member ...
PO: oké .. but you refused that ?
AS: jah i refused because it was very dangerous . for you to be a (gultiz) . because if a lot of people have lose their lives being a (gultiz) they kill without feelings . even the police cannot stop them when they are fighting the police cannot stop them they go about killing and you can not belong to such groups the day you belong to such groups that day you sign your death certificate ... (22.0)
PO: oké ... when you were working in the for the PDP who were your . euhm direct colleagues ?
AS: i was working with the euhm s- euhm with the speaker Zakuan Garuba
PO: with whom?
AS: with the speaker of the state assembly Zakuan Garuba...
PO: what’s his name?
AS: Zakuan Garuba
PO: Garuba
AS: jah..
PO: and how where you working with him?
AS: i’m just the party spo- euhm the youth spoke man representative within this office .. sometime we call it avaksas because they . they ca- they refer to it as avaksas ... (7.0)
PO: and Garuba is also from the PDP then eh?
AS: jah he’s a PDP member ...
PO: so what were your activities then? exactly for the party?
AS: my activities for the party?
PO: uhum
AS: my activities for the party is just in the youth empowerment programme . and also to contest . election ... (9.5)
PO: the counselor . of counselor eh?
AS: jah ...
PO: and what did you do for the youth employment programme?
AS: jah sometime we form the when the-the youth not only the party youth the youth in the local government when they have things they can pass it to us they would pass it to the assembly or pass it to the government office anything the youth want . so that is the message . like the government they pass it to us then we bring it to the youth ... (12.0) 01:35:09
PO: okay so you bring it . the youth comes to you and you bring it where?
AS: jah we-we present the party and the empowerment programme so for anything the youth need like maybe they need something =
PO: uhum
AS: =from the government . so they bring it to us then we take it to the government office as () then the government will reply through us and we take it back to the youths . not only the party/
PO: the government of the state eh?
AS: jah the government the government consists of everybody .
PO: okay
AS: jah
PO: so you bring it to the government in general?
AS: jah in general ...
PO: so it’s the youth employment programme?
AS: empowerment programme
PO: empowerment .. uhum it’s it’s not from the 1-AC euh it’s not from the PDP ? it’s it’s of different parties ?
AS: every party have their own ..
PO: but it’s/
AS: is a central body in the party
PO: hm ?
AS: is a central body in the party . just for the youth
PO: so every party has a youth employment empowerment programme ?
AS: jah jah they have youth empowerment programme . maybe some youth who are jobless they provide job for them some youth who want to do any other thing they do it for them . like maybe they provide like free education or something those who want to go to school the government sponsor them to go to school we can say that there are fifty youths who want to go to school or who want to learn (work) . so we apply to the government/
PO: okay it’s for every party one
AS: yeah every party have ( )
PO: okay ... (7.0) and when you joined the AC party what was then your function ?
AS: my function was also in the youth empowerment programme too .. yes
PO: same thing ?
AS: jah ...
PO: okay so i al-ready understand what the purpose was of the youth empowerment programme but can you tell me how you went about it how you-your day to day work for the YEP how would . just describe what you exactly did .
AS: jah no salary . we don’t work with salary/
PO: no but your activities [AS: we work with the party] (close)
AS: that’s our activities sometimes we’re in the government office sometime we are in the house of assembly sometimes we pass the message to the w-we are in the euhm party house maybe when the youth is having meeting the youth of the state because mostly if /
PO: could speak slower ja [AS: ok sorry] sometimes in the government {AS giggles} in the houses of assembly sometimes in the ..
AS: in the . in the [PO: party house] party’s house . or maybe if the youth is having something outside the state a programme outside the state or conference so we go there to represent ... (12.5)
PO: okay and how do you get the message of the youth ? ..
AS: when w-we-we are the youth . we are the youth . so the message must always pass through us before we take it to the higher authority . we are the youth ... (12.0)
PO: and how do you know that- how do you get the information of the youth ?
AS: the youth . that was what i told you i said we are the youth
PO: so you decide [AS: the whole/] wh-what-what you tell the government ? or do/
AS: no . in a party meeting . [PO: uhum] because mostly in-in let me just put it in-in Nigeria .
when a ruling party is in power [PO: uhum] jah . anything that is coming from the from the
government must get to the-the the-po- the youth in the parties we (listen) to members
of youth in the party ..
PO: okay but you said [AS: before it gets/] when the- when the youth has issues [PO: jah]
they come to you eh ?
AS: not only me they have every other people .
PO: okay [AS: we are just a member] but how do they come to you ? they just knock on your
doors and they/
AS: no no no [PO: how does it happen?] we meet in the party secretary (there) .
PO: okay so they come to you [AS: jah] comes to you to talk about their problems/
AS: there’s a date the youth hold meeting .
PO: there’s youth meetings ?
AS: jah every day ... (16.0)
PO: when are those youth meetings ?
AS: sometimes they have it during the weekend ... not specifically during the weekend ...
(14.5)
01:40:02
PO: okay . let’s take a break .
AS: okay ..
PO: fifteen minutes ?
AS: okay . no problem
PO: you can just get water . or you can . go to the toilet
01:40:15

{15 MINUTE BREAK}

PO: okay . can you tell me some issues that the youth brought to you ? ...
AS: like maybe sending names to the government office for credent- euh for job .
PO: hm?
AS: for jobs
PO: try to speak clearly eh .
AS: okay like sending names=
PO: uhum
AS: =to us that we should pass to the government that the youth there are some youths who
need jobs and also some ( ) assistance/
PO: just okay first that and then yeah
AS: yeah for jobs and assistance to-to study for school and also those who want to (learn
work) .. and also to organise some f-f-funds euhm like sports . or so
PO: to organise what?
AS: like sports..
PO: spots for what?
AS: like just euhm competition because then we/
PO: sports
AS: jah. sports ... (8.0)
PO: so do you put- jus give their proper name or they would give lists of names?
AS: they would give lists o- yeah we give list of names those they meet with them what do you want you say what you want and they group the names according to what. they want they pass it to the government.
PO: so everyone comes with their individual questions?
AS: come to me individual questions? [PO: uhum] we have a meeting i’m not only. there alone. we ha-/ PO: but everyone comes with their individual [AS: individuals jah] questions? ... (21.5) and then you pass this information and wha-what happens then? what do the politicians do with it?
AS: then sometimes the results are the results may come positive or negative maybe if the demand of the youth is too much if it’s (the one) the government can meet up at that time they can do it better if the budget for the state is not (too high) they can .. euhm make it up another time.
PO: say that again the last thing. you say sometimes positive sometimes negative [AS: sometimes positive and-] and it depends on what?
AS: it depends on the government’s reaction sometimes the government can bring the positive result like those they can say okay since you people said you need to do thing we can do twenty percent of it=
PO: ja
AS: =uhum. then maybe later we can complete the rest percent ... (8.5)
PO: can you give me concrete examples of euhm achievements. that you. realised? which/
AS: jah i realise a lot of achievements like the skills as-a-acquisition [PO: uhum] like the k-skills acquisition. we embroi/
PO: acquisitions of what?
AS: like to learn something.
PO: they gave you acquisitions?
AS: ok you mean my achievement or?
PO: as yeah with [AS: jah what i achieve jah with youth empowerment] the youth employment programme empowerment.
AS: jah as in creating times to as in speaking with the government they create jobs so the youth and also they create space for the youth to learn something..
PO: b-but be more precise. “concrete examples” .. jobs
AS: jobs
PO: space for/
AS: acquisition skills and euhm school euh ( ) ... (6.0)
PO: jobs . space to learn a trade [AS: jah jah ] what else ?
AS: and learn (work) or do something and (else) . like () for school what i mean () as in assistance
PO: hm?
AS: assistance/
PO: sorry i really i’m sorry to interrupt you [AS: it’s okay no problem] but it’s just difficult to understand [AS: jah] so you have to speak slowly [AS: slow] and articulate well . okay ?
AS: jah
PO: just try eh .
AS: jah .
PO: so jobs [AS: jah] space to learn ..
AS: we call it skills as-acquisition
PO: skills ja
AS: jah to learn something=
PO: uhum
AS: =those who cannot go to school=
PO: ja
AS: =jah they can partic- on those euhm skills acquisition
PO: and other things ?
AS: jah . like maybe those who want to go to school they assist them to go to school .. like giving a scholarship ... (6.0)
PO: and . ‘cause this is still very general creating jobs but can you give more examples of that’s what they do that’s some measure that they took ? or that’s something that they . an- an-a workshop or something that they have ?
AS: jah the workshop that was what i say the workshop is the (f-f-formal) or the (informal) that is the skills acquisition most- a lot of them want to learn something [PO: uhum] so they put them in a place where they can learn mechanic .
05:03
PO: which place ? what ? how was it organised ?
AS: it’s organised they took them to a they-they set up a programme for them bring an expert who can teach them this thing ... (17.0)
PO: which were the other members of the youth empowerment programme of the PDP ?
AS: are you talking of the PDP or of the Action Congress ?
PO: PDP ..
AS: the PDP they have many euhm euhm members but i can just mention little . like Ossa . Iwweh .
PO: just write them.
AS: okay ... (8.5)
PO: and ja. wh-what is this? just say it as well. while you write it just tell me. O-de?
AS: Odease
PO: Odease jah
AS: Ossa
PO: Ossa ... Ossa Iwweh?
AS: uhum ... Bright ( ) but i don’t ( ) the big letters ...
PO: Bright ... th-those are the ones you know?
AS: jah ...
PO: and how many were there in total?
AS: hm?
PO: of your- the YEP of the PDP in Edo eh?
AS: the GP?
PO: yeah
AS: i don’t [PO: how many members?] understand in PDP in Edo state?
PO: uhum . no of the youth em-empowerment programme?
AS: jah at least they have (of the party). ten thousand or fifty thousand or more youths
PO: ok but the people who work for the youth empowerment programme. like you [AS: jah] how many colleagues did you have?
AS: these are my colleagues we are just we think the party the party selected us to because you cannot have a in any/
PO: just the [AS: in every group there must be a leader] four of you?
AS: so you have to make selection of people who represent you.
PO: so those were the four that were euhm responsible for the youth empowerment programme?
AS: jah
PO: of the PDP in Edo?
AS: in-in my own locality.
PO: oké
AS: jah ... (10.5)
PO: and what’s the name of that locality?
AS: Ikbopa Okha..
PO: where is it? ... what’s it say it again.
AS: Ikbopa Okha ...
PO: please tell me where it stands ‘cause i don’t know {PO hans AS a paper}... or write it if it’s not there yet ... (8.5) Ok- ... Ikbopa Okha is that correct?
AS: hm? ( ) jah Ikbopa Okha ... (8.5)
PO: and when you were in the AC who were your direct colleagues?
AS: jah i work with an-an-an comrade Adrian Ellis.
PO: hm ?
AS: comrade Adrian Ellis.. 
PO: Adria- ?
AS: Adrian.
PO: Adria- how ?
AS: let me spell
PO: yes
AS: ( ) ... (14.0)
PO: and he was also of the youth empowerment programme ?
AS: he was the youth chairman ... 
PO: and was there anyone else that was responsible for the . [AS: jah] working for the G/
AS: jah we have names . jah let me put their name
PO: ja ... (21.0)
10:01
AS: ( ) but i just have to (bring out) those names 
PO: but the ones that you worked with your colleaugues eh ?
AS: jah these are the ones i work with
PO: those three ?
AS: jah i work with those three
PO: Duane and Justin .. [AS: Duane] Justin
AS: Justin . jah ... (16.5)
PO: in . when you were in the youth employment programme of the PDP who was the chairman there ?
AS: it was Adrian . 
PO: Adrian ... and how did you euhm divide the different tasks the different . chores that you had ? ... 
AS: can you come again please ?
PO: you know in the youth empowerment programme you have different duties different tasks . how did you divide them amongst you ?
AS: jah i was the spokesman ... then you have treasurer you have secretary . 
PO: who were the others ? who was the secretary ?
AS: the secretary is . Duane ..
PO: and other tasks or functions ? ... other tasks or functions ?
AS: that was what i just said {AS laughs quietly}
PO: you were spokesman . Duane was secretary [AS: jah] continue
AS: jah then you have the chairman then the treasurer ( ) .
PO: and that’s all the tasks you had ? someone being a secretary someone being a spokesman someone being .. a secre- euh a treasurer
AS: a treasurer an accountant many-many things like that. like maybe security or something or euh
PO: continue yeah be concrete.
AS: jah..
PO: tell me how you were structured how your organisation was structured how it worked how you divided the different tasks
AS: jah i’m a spokesman Adrian is the chairman and Duane is the secretary Justin treasurer and Frank accountant it was/
PO: Frank what is he?
AS: hm?
PO: what was Frank?
AS: the accountant. or treasurer ... (5.0)
PO: in which institutions did you go and represent the youth empowerment programme?
AS: in which institution?
PO: yeah
AS: like what? bring it to my understanding
PO: where you are a spokesman where did you go and speak?
AS: jah i speak with the youth mostly when the youth is having an-an conference. sometimes i represent if i’m not there i send someone there to represent. or maybe we/
PO: can you give me concrete examples of conferences that you wen- attended?
AS: like maybe party conference. or maybe the party the youth in euh Edo state or in my locality are going to other state. euh you can/
PO: so [AS: you can speak for the youth] party conferences what else?
AS: hm?
PO: party conferences what else?
AS: party conference or if the com- vi- the community like the press want to speak with the- with the- the youths chairman i would be the one to stand up to-to say for him ... or maybe the youths want to visit the government house then there must be a spokesman to say everybody cannot go there and be saying something. or you/
PO: can you give me examples of party conferences that you attended?
AS: we have one in euh Warri we have also one in Lagos ... mostly Lagos because then it was only two states that has a Actio- euhm Action Congress before other state we hadn’t do it ... i’m sorry you are talking about the PDP.
PO: so what was it then? when you went to Warri and Lagos [AS: jah] was it for the PDP or the AC then?
AS: i didn’t went for the PDP i went for the AC
PO: so that was for AC?
AS: jah ... (6.0)
PO: when did you go to Warri?
AS: that was in euhm january euhm (stroke in) february.
PO: which year?
AS: two-thousand and ten...
PO: and what kind of conference was it?
AS: it was like a Niger Delta euhm Amnesty programme. the youth was there because they were discussing a/
PO: Niger Delta Amnesty programme?
AS: jah...
PO: uhuh
AS: it was two programme i was at one was at in january just for the youth but the other one in march was at for the was arranged for the governors. but the youth was also present but i was not there ... (9.5)
15:09
PO: so you went only in january?
AS: jah ... (10.5)
PO: when you joined the ACN did they find it okay that you came from another party?
AS: that's not a problem. you can decamp anytime you wish.. is not a problem because every day people do decamp. mostly they like decamp to the ruling party. because everybody want to be in the ruling party.
PO: everybody wants to be in which party?
AS: i said everybody want to be in the ruling party. so mostly they like to decamp because they believe if they are there they (contest) election they have hundred percent chance to win the election ... (14.5)
PO: okay can you now explain to me for which reasons you have left Nigeria?
AS: jah.. i left Nigeria because my life is in danger. people i work for they want to kill me and that was why i ran away and i've lead several/
PO: okay j- slowly eh
AS: i'm sorry ... (6.0)
PO: uhuh they want to kill you
AS: jah.
PO: and?
AS: they lead several .. complaints as in euhm some of a frame up to the police
PO: th-they had euhm different complaints [AS: jah they framed] against you?
AS: jah in the police and because i left euhm PDP (you need to) understand that my name was substituted i didn't have a chance to contest election with my own free mind they want me to do what i don't want to do [PO: okay] so i left the i left PDP and i go into my own private business to establish myself
PO: okay so stop yeah
AS: okay ... (16.0)
PO: you said you left the party and you started your own?
AS: i just go into private business .. when i left PDP=
PO: uhum
AS: =so two thousand and euh ten i came back to politics then i came in as Action Congress
euh member , so at that time we find euhm with the youth we when we have meeting the
party have meeting we try to explain our mind and what the youth but the youth form they
send a part of the . the they send a as-as-as-as a central constituency the complete
(antiposition)/
PO: of which constituency ?
AS: central Edo central ...
PO: okay so you came back as an AC member [AS: jah] and had meetings with the youth
AS: jah so we receive though i told you i was a spokesman . so we receive letters from the
Edo central youth that their (person) is not represented in the (to a) position in the
government house
PO: that there what is not represented ?
AS: euhm they not have anybody that is represented then
PO: where ?
AS: like maybe the governor the governor like the governor can come from Edo north=
PO: uhum
AS: =his deputy will come from euh Edo central Edo/
PO: so they’re not represented [AS: jah jah they are not represented in any way] in the in
the assembly ( ) ?
AS: in any way
PO: in any “where” ?
AS: jah what i mean not in any euhm political office that is the three top political office of
the state . so they have to complain to us and we have to look into the matter and find a
reason that it was not the position right now it was because the-the former governor was
from Edo central and during the time the former governor was from Edo central the
position was balanced because he is from the central/
PO: okay let me just write that first eh
AS: okay ... (11.0)
PO: so you find out you went to check eh ?
AS: we didn’t f- we know it everyone knows it . that the position is not stable but it was not
the-the-the present government it was the past government everything was stable so but
when the centre because the former governor is from the centre=
PO: uhum
AS: =so when he was sack by the appeal court the-the-the/
PO: by who ?
AS: appeal court
PO: AP court?
AS: jah
PO: what is that?
AS: because he was not the rightful winner/
PO: what is AP court?
AS: appeal court court of appeal.
PO: appeal
AS: jah...
PO: uhum
AS: jah so when you left the- when you left the position [PO: uhum] a new government came in and the president Osihomole (whose vice) is from the Edo side but the speaker of the house of assembly is from the north too.
20:08
PO: okay so Osihomole is from the north [AS: jah] of Edo
AS: jah
PO: and who else? the speaker?
AS: the speaker is [PO: what's his name?] Garuba. Zakuanda Garuba
PO: Garuba... uhum so it was not balanced anymore?
AS: jah he is also from the north and in politics in a way in Nigeria it's not common like that that is why you see when the president want to have his candidate if he's from the south he go on search for a candidate from the north. and maybe the senate president will be giving to the south-east and the s- euhm euhm speaker of the house of representatives can be given to the south-west [PO: uhum] so the position is share according to ( ) politicaI on ( )
PO: uhum
AS: jah. so that was when look into it but there is nothing we can do because they are talking of taking a position in the s- in the house of assembly so we have to pass a message to the government the government said there's nothing you can do it is the legislation in the house of assembly that can decide who want to be their speaker/
PO: okay so you had to and tell it to the governor
AS: we pass the message the/
PO: you yourself? or?
AS: myself and other party members.
PO: which one did you go?
AS: jah like we pass the message to our boss which is Gabriel because he is the youth chairman
PO: to who?
AS: O. Gabriel is the youth chairman.
PO: {PO sighs} okay so you the youth told you you told Gabriel eh?
AS: jah
PO: you told him. euhm. wacht eh ... (6.5) so you told Gabriel and then?
AS: so the letter was passed to Gabriel so Gabriel have to take it to the governor’s house so
the-the governor have to say that it is not the po- it’s not the one because it’s democracy.
he’s not the one to decide who the speaker where the speaker is to come from. so it is the
legislation in the house that can decide who want to be their speaker.
PO: the house of assembly?
AS: the house of assembly jah jah they want to decide that was when because then it was
PDP who was the highest number in the house. in the house of assembly.. so they ()
members of the PDP later decamp to the Action Congress so it was not balance so right now
the Action Congress have to look into our complaints and some () Edo central who come to
the government house to complete ()=
PO: uhum
AS: =so they have to go into process of ‘impeachedness’ speaker because they (find out that)
the speaker/
PO: okay sorry it’s..
AS: it’s too much
PO: no it’s difficult to understand
AS: okay
PO: and it’s too much at the same time as well yes. euhm ... and that’s a difficult
combination {PO laughs quietly} ... okay so .. you went you went to pass the message to the
governor eh?
AS: no i pass it to/
PO: who but how but [AS: to the youth chair-] who passed it then how did you pass it?
AS: with letter
PO: with the letter so [AS: jah] Gabriel gave [AS: ()] the letter to the governor
AS: jah
PO: in person or he send it?
AS: in person.
PO: oké ... and the government said that it was the house of assembly that had/
AS: they have the right to decide who want to be their speaker because this is democracy
it’s not a military where they can make decision
PO: okay
AS: jah ..
PO: and what was the consequence then?
AS: the con/
PO: the PDP had the highest [AS: number then in the house] number in the house. uhum so
then?
AS: jah so there were lot of because then the-the-the Action Congress in the house was not
up to the PDP members. and they find out that m- the speaker is corrupt.
PO: okay so the Action Congress was not .. told that the speaker was corrupt ? hm ?
AS: i don’t understand {AS giggles}
PO: i’m just trying to understand you eh . okay ? so PDP had the highest number [AS: they have the highest number] and AC
AS: AC don’t have the h- the number=
PO: uhum
AS: =to impeach the speaker . so/
PO: okay that’s good now you’re speaking [AS: okay jah] let me write that down .
AS: okay ... (7.5)
PO: uhum .
AS: so some PDP member later decamp to . in the house i mean in the house not . (outside)
so PDP member later decamp to the Action Congress ...
PO: uhum [AS: :] th-they decamped ?
AS: jah and they decamp and they are still members so that increased the number of the Action Congress=
PO: uhum
AS: =with equal with the PDP so they then the impeachment notice took over so they brought alleg- euhm . euhm how do i put it . they brought statement that the speaker is corrupt . and moreover the speaker have stand against the governor’s euh progress . project he have to sign he don’t want to sign it because he want to frustrate the Action Congress governor . so that people will say the governor is not working=
25:09
PO: uhum
AS: =jah . so they have to bring in those . statement . into the house and decide that the speaker has breached the laws of the house so they need to-to-to impeach him .. they could not meet up with the-the man because they are equal so a member (now) decamp from the=
PO: yes
AS: =PDP to AC=
PO: uhum
AS: =to make it . the number for them to impeach so they were (frank) euhm how do i put it they were crisis in the house a lot of fighting and=
PO: uhum
AS: =some PDP member brought out an battle axe tear gas and . they injures they (saw) injuries on our party members . before then we are/
PO: okay but just try to be structured eh ‘cause was there an impeachment or not ?
AS: there was impeachment
PO: when ?
AS: in february ... (20.0)
PO: okay and what was the result of that impeachment ?
AS: jah they/
PO: the consequence
AS: the consequence was that they have to impeach the speaker and is. they impeach the speaker and they have to appoint a. paro-paroled speaker someone who is just (stand from then) but before the impeachment goes on there were lot of fighting in the house/
PO: [AS: we witness it] b-before the impeachment?
AS: before the impeachment. we witness it and the press they-they state (on station) who was there and this now was (/)
PO: okay there were many you witnessed many fights [AS: jah] and then?
AS: so there were lot of fighting the PDP member brought out battle axe (someone with guns)
PO: PDP brought [AS: members member] what?
AS: brought battle axe tear gas. you don’t know what is battle axe?
PO: ’batohouse’?
AS: jah is something people use to fight. is a weapon
PO: uhum
AS: jah
PO: well how is it called? can you write it and if i see it i can understand ... (7.5) battle axe.
AS: jah ...
PO: {PO sighs} gevechtsbijl ... (9.5) battle axes and tear gas eh?
AS: tear gas machete and they use it to lay the euh injuries on our members and we were there so we have to rush our members to the . hospital but before we/
PO: oké euhm ... and when did this happen? when they when did they come with the weapons?
AS: during these the imp- the-the euh impeachment process
PO: and when was this? i mean can you give me the date when they came to the house and started wounding people?
AS: i think is euh february twenty two or twenty third or so but i don’t february twenty two or twenty three ... (7.0)
PO: and you were present?
AS: jah
PO: how come?
AS: because i-i was representing the youth everybody. everybody have the right to attend each sitting. if you want to be (form) in the house you can go there stay watch the sitting. is not as in euh ()
PO: and did something happen to you?
AS: nothing happened to me. because i escape.
PO: you ran away?
AS: jah.
PO: and this was still before the impeachment eh? .. the-the actual impeachment has not yet happened eh?
AS: no .. before the impeachment it was after that incident they group to impeach the . the speaker and they later suspend him from the house ... (6.0)
PO: and when was he suspended?
AS: huh?
PO: when was he suspended from the house?
AS: immediately.
PO: do you know the day?
AS: that same day.
PO: do you know the date?
AS: that was what i'm saying about twenty two or twenty three or so
PO: oh that was the same day of the incident [AS: the incident jah] the impeachment took place ... (7.0) oké ... so what happened then?
AS: i let down t- after the incident we came out and we saw that there were lot of thugs aside ..
PO: talks people were talking?
AS: political thugs
PO: uhum
AS: you know political thugs
PO: ja ...
AS: like as i said (gultiz) those are people who politicians send to-to keep people or (destroy)/
PO: oh no [AS: jah fighting] i don't ( ) there were many political?
AS: thugs along the street they were shooting/
PO: wha- okay then what is it then?
30:01
AS: hm ? they were shooting guns so everybody have to run
PO: but political talks i don't understand them like this
AS: that is what i'm telling [PO: ja] political i can be a political thugs like i would be walking with politicians they send me maybe/
PO: sorry the black hawks?
AS: jah is like a (gultiz) jah so the-the black hawks they send maybe the one to kill an opponent they send you to go and do the job they paid you for it or maybe if election is (going on) they send people to destroy the election steal ballot boxes ... (6.0)
PO: and they were outside?
AS: they were outside so/
PO: how did you recognize them?
AS: jah i’m-i’m-i’m-i’m-i’m an action congress so i know that these people are from the PDP because it was when the incident happened the speaker went out of the house and before we know these people came they started shooted gun before we know they cau/
PO: the speaker went out of the [AS: house] house and then ? they came in ?
AS: the p- the-the presence of the house of assembly not inside the present they were outside the assembly’s arena so they started shooting gun people were running away . before the police came in to put things in order .
PO: they c- i don’t this happened outside of the ?
AS: the house of assembly .
PO: and who was so the-the political talks how do you write it ‘cause i don’t really know how you write “talks” then
AS: i spell it
PO: THUGS or s- probably eh .. thugs ja
AS: jah
PO: ja oké ... (19.0) okay so the political th-thugs the thugs who were they attacking ?
AS: they were attacking us we the Action Congress . they came w/
PO: they were attacking [AS: jah] AC members
AS: AC members ... (14.0)
PO: uhum okay .
AS: and so and so before the police came the police could not do anything because they came the police came they could not do anything the mobile police came which is the anti-riot police
PO: the riot police came ?
AS: anti-riot police so they try to put end everything not a bit before then everybody have . escape so the-the following day the PDP youths they came out and begin to they protest and they try to attack some of our fellow Action Congress youth they protest and say/
PO: okay sorry so just let me the-the next day ?
AS: jah
PO: who came out ?
AS: PDP . PDP youth . they promise to fight back to make sure they have the position back they promise to deal with every member of Action Con- euh Action Congress (they’re) ( ) ... (8.0)
PO: to give their position back eh ?
AS: jah they say they will fight back . no matter how it take they will fight back . so/
PO: what did they do exactly ?
AS: what did they do ?
PO: the PDP youth .
AS: jah they were like shouting in the street with machetes and with other dangerous weapon. they came too close to us to lay an ambush on us but the police was also there to make peace.

PO: where did they come? close to?

AS: along along Silver Road.

PO: Silver Road?

AS: jah...

PO: which is “your” place or y-your office right? that’s your office eh?.. what is Silver road what is on Silver Road?

AS: Silver Road along Silver Road very close to the house of euh assembly complex...

PO: okay so just try to focus on what happened to you [AS: i know] as well eh because this is general [AS: okay] i want to know your problems eh

AS: that is what i’m saying now

PO: oké

AS: okay so [PO: continue] i group with the you- euh Action Congress youth and went on protest and say that we don’t want a (gultiz) speaker

PO: so you went [AS: jah] to protest [AS: against] against ? on the street or what?

AS: on the street the Action Congress youths and we hold a postcard and said we don’t want a (gultiz) speaker. that we don’t want people who are in (gultiz) to be ruling us a time has come for a change. for/

PO: what did you d- what did you d- not once?..

AS: it was. the protest?

PO: ja

AS: it was once.

PO: what did you say?

AS: we said we don’t want a (gultiz) speaker. that we don/

PO: a (gultiz) speaker?

AS: jah which is the-the Zakuanda Garuba from the PDP.

PO: you didn’t want Garuba anymore?

AS: jah he is a (gultiz) we don’t want him so the i mobilised the Action Congress youth and they place the. it on it and went on protesting along the street. like what the PDP has done. so outside the protest. immediately then i got a text message that euhm ... we are going to kill you. you betrayed us we are going to kill you and i thought this were just a joke or maybe it’s something. someone just send by mistake. i try to call the number the number was not going. so the message came later it came a-a. what is happening because i thought maybe. i still try to call the number. but the number don’t want to. the number is not going through. so i then i .. during the euh dur- euh during the euh and march then we were grouping in the house. the house of assembly/
PO: sorry when?
AS: i say at about march when we group in the house of assembly.
PO: i don’t understand anything now
AS: i said in march.
PO: in march
AS: after i receive the euh the threat=
PO: uhum
AS: =jah in march when we are welcoming the new speaker the youth went to the speaker office to-to [PO: okay new speaker] celebrate with him. then we had a bomb scare in the in the house of as/
PO: bombs?
AS: jah
PO: there was a bomb?
AS: there was a bomb planted underneath. because the PDP said they would fight us back they would make sure they deal with every Action Congress so they came and planted a bomb. with-with intervention of the police and the bomb squad they came and euh. evacuate the building/
PO: intervention of the police eh?
AS: jah intervention of the police they came and evacuated everyone in the building.
PO: so i- did it explode?
AS: no they have d- euh ( ) i don’t know how to put it. ‘dignotise’ the bomb take it to the office. so is then we are receiving threat euh have receiving threat to my life mostly from the speaker and those (gultiz) group because they say to you you if you have a secret and the speaker/
PO: of the-of the speaker [AS: jah] and who else?
AS: and his (gultiz) group. they say to you if you have a secret.
PO: the cortious gr- the speaker and?
AS: his (gultiz) group
PO: cort- just write that ‘cause i don’t understand it ... (13.0) what is gultiz group?
AS: gultiz group like the black hawks they have different/
PO: it’s an but it’s the black hawks or it’s different group?
AS: no the black hawks because the speaker belong to the black hawks which they [PO: ah. cultus' group] want me to be a member (originally) yes jah. so then they promise to the ( ) they must kill me and which is the rule ( )/
PO: what did they say?
AS: they send sms to me that they would kill me .. and i thought it was/
PO: that’s (while) they did threatened eh?
AS: jah
PO: by sms
AS: jah and i thought it was a joke and they told me to always watch my back because . they would gun me down . very soon so i speak to my boss which is Gabriel that this i what i’m/
PO: to whom ? Gabriel ?
AS: Gabriel jah . this is what i’m receiving and he also said some party member who-who-who partake in the who partook in the protest . were also receiving some threats to their lives
PO: he and who else ? .. Gabriel was also receiving threats eh ?
AS: no he said some [PO: ah] other party members been also receiving threats [PO: who?] to their lives
PO: you know who ?
AS: he [PO: was also receiving] just said some . he didn’t mention name ... so he said the only thing we could do was to go to the stat- and euhm station . to-to as in we rally to the state station to say that after the impeachment/
PO: the police station ?
AS: no euhm broadcasting station . that after the impeachment of the speaker that every Action Congress member life is in danger the youth/
PO: that’s what he said that every’s li- ... what’s the link between the broadcasting station and .. did you go there or not ?
AS: we went there
PO: oké and then ?
AS: jah we went there on the day we are (there) we discovered the-the before we know when the rally was about going on we want to have euhm . euh-euh how do i put interaction with the euh press so that they can go on and publish it . then they have another bomb scared . they wou– the-the-the mangem- euh management of the . the station came out and said there’s a bomb scare in the house (evacuate the building) and also call the police . unit so the police unit came and they have to . take away the bombs .
PO: this was a second bomb ?
AS: this was a second bomb scare
PO: okay
AS: [PO: and how did you notice ?] the same just barely
PO: the second
AS: just barely two weeks . after [PO: after the first] the first one . happened .
PO: and how did you notice ? from the press ? ..
AS: no i was there . i said we went to the press
PO: and then you got the news that there was a second . one ?
AS: no . i was there . i didn’t hear the news [AS: you were at the station eh ? the broadcasting station] i said the management i was at the station=
PO: uhum
AS: =yeah . i said the management=
PO: uhum
AS: =when the alarm was raised that there is a bombs- bomb planted in the station . so the man- the manag- the management of the station have to call the police and at the same time ask everybody to go out . so that there won’t be lost of lives
40:05
PO: so th-there was a bomb in the station ?
AS: in the station
PO: oké
AS: jah ... (5.0)
PO: and why did you go to the station actually ?
AS: it was the a- it was an-a it was the youth ch- euhm the youth chairman that said we should go to the station like rally to the youths euhm to the stat- euh ( ) station to inform the press that (outside) the speaker was (removed) and the youth make rally that the speaker is a (gultiz) since then all the youth life is in danger ...
PO: that [PO sighs] ... (7.5) that they removed the speaker and that since then ?
AS: the youth life has been (in danger) because in this party they said they would deal with the Action Congress and moreover when i said the speaker is a (gultiz) because he know that i’m the one that’s that-that publically say it . because i/
PO: the speaker knew that ?
AS: jah because i’ve worked with him . and during that process they tried to put me in the group which i . that make me left the-the euh PDP at first place/
PO: oké ik ga heel effe . i’m just (meet) with you {lawyer} want ik ben echt echt kwijt op dit moment .
L: volgens mij euh zegt hij dat zijn baas voorstelde van ga naar de pers omdat de jeugd van de PDP ons levens allemaal bedreigd=
PO: uhum
L: =en als we dan naar de pers gaan ja als we dat in de openbaarheid brengen . euhm misschien dat de politie dan zal ingrijpen denk is de redenering ... (28.0)
PO: so can you explain to me because you already tried to but i didn’t understand why the speaker was . targeting you ?
AS: because . i’m the youth spokesman and i am the one that organise the rally . to/
PO: oké [AS: jah] stop . oké
AS: jah ... (6.0)
PO: you mean the rally on which day was that ?
AS: the day [PO: ( )] is euhm after the speaker was euh impeached .. and because i’ve worked with him and i came in from euhm. PDP ... (14.0)
PO: okay and .. how did he knew that you organised the rally ?
AS: it was publically euhm shown in the news that a euh PDP youth rally ...
PO: that what ? ..
AS: sorry it was publically shown in the news that the Action Congress youth rally .. it’s not that he ju- that somebody just go and tell him . he watch it/
PO: and how did he knew that it was you ?
AS: {sigh of annoyance} my pictu- my name was and my euhm .. the camera viewed everyone there . because i’ve worked with him and also/
PO: was it a picture or your name ?
AS: eh ?
PO: picture or your name that was/
AS: the interview was aired because i would be the one to speak . so they saw my picture and because i’ve worked with him and also he is a friend to my . to Alfred Murphy/
PO: so you were interviewed ? ... hm ?
AS: huh ?
PO: you were interviewed yourself ?
AS: jah because when we are when you rally the press they call the press . so you have to int- why you rallying this is why we are rallying we don’t want the speaker we want the speaker to get rid he is a (gultiz) .
PO: uhum
AS: jah
PO: euhm ... so what-what was euhm what was the- what problem did the spokesman or the-the speaker have with you ? ...
AS: what problem ?
PO: uhum
AS: jah he threatened to kill me after the incident .
PO: but why did he want to kill you ?
AS: because i revealed a secret . i work with him and during the proc- the time of working with him they (planned) for me to be a member of the (gultiz) group . so because my/
PO: so because you . euhm revealed [AS: revealed a secret] a secret ?
AS: jah . t/
PO: which secret ?
AS: the secret of he is a (gultiz) ..
PO: that he belongs to a (gultiz)
AS: (gultiz) group . and i think that spoiled his rep- euhm political career and so i that is why he’s trying to fight back ... (6.0)
PO: uhum euhm ... and when did you reveal it ? or how did you reveal it ?
AS: that was when i-i said we rally . when the rally so we hold a postcard ( ) that the speaker is a gultiz .
45:02
PO: you were . shouting that ?
AS: shouting jah ... demonstrating ...
PO: and that they must?
AS: as in demonstrating when a member was/
PO: ah ja oké
AS: jah shouting that we don’t want the speaker he should go he is a (gultiz) ... (6.5)
PO: okay i’m starting to understand it eh.
AS: okay ... (6.0)
PO: euhm ... do you know where the house is of the speaker? “just a few questions about him”
AS: his personal house?
PO: uhum
AS: he live in euh in Auchi ... (6.0)
PO: do you know where his office is?
AS: his office is in Benin. the house of assembly c-com-complex there ... there’s one building very close they have the legislative quarters
PO: uhum
AS: jah ...
PO: and since when was he the speaker? do you know?
AS: since two thousand and seven ... (7.5)
PO: you know what the name of his wife is?
AS: no
PO: “no” ? euhm and ... did euh besides you did the speaker also target anyone else?
AS: jah h-lot of party members. but everyone have to run for his own life when there’s about to/
PO: and why- and-and your chairman?
AS: no no because that one. it’s not euhm as in he has his own security. (on his own)
PO: hm?
AS: i mean the chairman he has his own security those are people who can protect their own selves ... (8.5)
PO: how?
AS: when i mean protect their own self meaning they are in to the systems.
PO: they are in the (gultiz) or?
AS: jah but different groups. so if the speaker groups have to fight him it would cause th-it would cause an ( ) of fighting. jah
PO: and can you tell me which other members were targeted?
AS: oh i believe we have one i d-let me just think if i can. remember putting names down ... (14.5) but there are lot of them because everyone now went (for their life) ... (15.0)
PO: and what happened to them?
AS: i don’t really know ..
PO: but how did you know that they were targeted?
AS: because we had s- we are s- euh living together ... (7.0)
PO: and what happened to them then ?
AS: i don't know because when after the incident the rally i will receive threat to life and they attack everybody have to run .
PO: but how b- what kind of .. euhm “iedereen moest vluchten” ... what kind of threats did they receive ?
AS: they receive threats that they would kill them ... (23.0)
PO: euhm ... actually i'm going to go back you already told me but i still want to know some extra things about the reasons why the speaker was . euhm impeached . what was actually the problem ? y- was it the fact of his-his where he b- he came from ? o- what was the problem ? why didn't they .. why did they want to . impeach the speaker ?
AS: the speaker
PO: uhum
AS: the main reason the legislation came out to say that the speaker is corrupt .. and he's blocking the government/
PO: the . legislation eh ?
AS: jah that is the i mean the other hon-honorable members .. they came out to say that the speaker is corrupt and one . he-he is making things difficult for the governor . to start working . because several appeals have been passed through the house and .. he . don't want to sign it but the main reason this-they have to (impeach) the speaker because the politicians (do) all his commands with (sweet voice) to tell the public that this is why impeach the speaker . but the major reason they impeach the speaker is because they want someone to represent Edo Central in the house ... (20.0)
50:43
PO: do you know the names of the members that asked for his euhm . removal ?
AS: there were lots of names . there were lots of people that asked for [PO: can you] his removal
PO: can you give me some names then ?
AS: ooh let me give i- ... (47.0)
PO: just write all the ones that you remember eh
AS: jah . there are some i remember but i cannot euh . spell it because it's [PO: just euh] euh it’s difficult
PO: and write it the way you think it is written
AS: okay ... (27.5) this one ( ) ... (6.0)
PO: Philippe Shai-Shaibu ?
AS: jah
PO: hm ?
AS: yes .
PO: Johnson A-Aghuman ?
PO: those are the one- . those were all the ones or ? is that all ?
AS: all the Action Congress members . they want the speaker to be remove- euh impeached .
but those are the names . i can remember
PO: okay
AS: jah .
PO: and you know the names of the ones that came from PDP ? to join the AC ? that
decamped ?
AS: i only know the names of one and that one later become the speaker of the house ..
PO: uhum
AS: jah . (19.0) (*i don’t know if the spelling is correct*) ...
PO: O- ...
AS: it’s Omokhodion but i don’t know if ...
PO: hm ? they’re the ones you don’t remember eh ? that decamped ?
AS: no i can’t remember but i know that three member of the PDP decamp before Ehi Bright
. Ehi Bright was the last person to . to decamp in the house . to AC .
PO: and he’s now [AS: the speaker] the speaker ? oké ... were other people of the house euhm ..
removed ? dismissed ? ..
AS: you know since after the f- euh f-f- euh euh crisis in the house the speaker was euh
suspended along with some of his euh .. euh colleague but since then more the-the house
(now also) lead Action Congress . but i don’t know after the election maybe that we PDP will
come back because after that incident the PDP member they didn’t come to . to sit in
anyone to just only Action Congress member . ( )/
PO: okay but my question was was anyone else you said some of the colleagues were also
suspended eh [AS: suspended jah] can you tell me who ?
55:06
AS: okay let me put down their names .
PO: uhum . .. (13.5)
AS: {AS laughs} .. the spelling is too hard . {says some names} .. (14.5) ( ) because it was
about euhm four three people they suspended but i forgot the name of the .. people /
PO: is these one the two ?
AS: jah these are the names i can remember .. and the spelling is th-that spelling is not
correct . but i just ‘cause native name .. (13.0)
PO: when did you for the s- first time receive an sms ? a threatening sms ?
AS: after the rally .
PO: same day ?
AS: jah so i got an sms it was two i receive ...
PO: what was the exact message ?
AS: exact message is that we are going to kill you . there‘ s nowhere you are going to run to ..
so i thought it was a wrong number so i deleted it i try calling the number the number was not
going through then later i was/
PO: you deleted it [AS: jah] and then you called it ?
AS: i d- .. i deleted the message but i call the number .. the number was not going but i
thought it was euh maybe wrong message but someone-someone contacted you by mistake .
them later i receive it again .. in- that same day ... (18.0)
PO: did y- check the number ?
AS: the number ?
PO: uhum
AS: is (M-MTN) number . but i didn‘ t save it (of heart) ..
PO: did you try to call it later ?
AS: i call it but the number was not going ...
PO: call it . just after the first or ?
AS: when i receive the first time i called=
PO: uhum
AS: =and i try to called . the number was not going so i thought maybe it was a wrong/
PO: but [AS: the (person) send it] you tried again afterwards ?
AS: jah so i thought maybe it was a wrong message that came to my phone so i deleted it but
later i receive it again=
PO: uhum
AS: =so then i thought maybe these people are serious=
PO: uhum
AS: =in what th-they said in this message ... (11.5)
PO: did you try to call the number again ?
AS: jah ..
PO: and ?
AS: the number was not going through ...
PO: “okay“ ... then what day did you go to the euhm broadcast station ?
AS: jah because i complained to my boss that i was/
PO: bu- when ?
AS: when .. we go to the euhm broadcast station ?
PO: uhum
AS: just barely two weeks after the we have the bomb euh scare in the house of assembly/
PO: and in between did you have problems?
AS: huh?
PO: in between. during those two weeks did you have problems?
AS: i will still receive more euhm sms on my phone.
PO: did you go to the police with the sms?
AS: the police?
PO: uhum
AS: yes because i speak to my party they report it (usually) to the police. but the police they didn’t go into a-action i don’t think we have a police in that country ... (5.0) because they want to see you dead before they would believe that people are after your life ... (22.5)
PO: oké so {PO sighs} ... let’s continue with your story but try to focus eh. try to be brief. i mean not brief when it’s important but. try to focus on the most important things.
AS: okay ... (5.0)
PO: so what happened further?
AS: so after the bomb scare in the house i later went back to . school to see if i can complete my clearance process and everything. so when i was at school i. got an sms that we will get you so that day they came to my . room in school
01:00:14
PO: okay so you went to school eh?
AS: jah
PO: for- when was this?
AS: that was in march that’s in march.
PO: to see if you could do your clearance? finish your/
AS: jah to finish my clearance and also ... (5.0)
PO: and then you received what?
AS: an sms that we would get you.
PO: when was this? which day?
AS: i don’t know the exact date but i know it happened in march then ... (6.5)
PO: uhum
AS: so i-i also because i was staying off campus so i have to meet with my. colleague who was (squatting) out with me a-and i explain/
PO: you were not in the campus?
AS: i rent . i’m staying in off campus. meaning i don’t stay in the (hostel) i rent euhm house very close to the school=
PO: uhum
AS: =we call it off campus=
PO: uhum
AS: =jah so i speak with them they were like trying to say you are in- you are involved with these people. these people are very dangerous/
PO: you spoke to whom?
AS: my fellow’s roommate. yes well they say these people are very dangerous the only thing you can do is to see if you can. euhm-euhm-euhm appeal to the speaker or something else because these people if they plan that they want to kill someone they kill it and moreover the school ( )
PO: okay so now you’re now you’re rushing do you understand?
AS: that is how i used to talk
PO: that’s when i cannot [AS: i’m sorry] follow any-anymore
AS: i’m sorry i can’t i don’t talk slow because/
PO: {PO laughs} i understand that you want to tell me everything but it’s i-it’s yeah it doesn’t work like this you have to try and speak slowly
AS: okay. 
PO: so they said you should appeal ..
AS: i should go back and meet the speaker .. to see if i can talk with him b- or [PO: to arrange ja] go to th- or go to the police . because these people they are-they are mostly their headquarter is in Ekpoma that is in the university where i’m schooling . and every day the dead is been recorded that fight one somebody die ( ) and who killed them is the black hawks=
PO: uhum
AS: =uhum so i’d-i was thinking of how do i go about it? what kind of mess up i had got myself in? that’s very day that they came to my (home) in school . and they broke the door went in and i managed to . escape .. they d/
PO: they came to school or they came to your house?
AS: my house in school. 
PO: so to the off campus house?
AS: jah . jah because i was living in off campus [PO: uhum] so they came there they destroy everything i have . even my . party membership card my school dee- clearance forms everything they destroy my ( ) destroy and even m- comember euh t- euhm tenants who were there he was also beating .
PO: hm?
AS: i said i mean cotenant when i mean people that rented room with me very close with me.
PO: they were beaten?
AS: they were beaten and harassed and .. that was how i managed to run i found out that . there’s nothing i can do just for me to abandon school because i mean the school ( ) is black hawks are ruling. th-they control everything/
PO: you could not lo- you-you-you knew that you could no- no longer stay there?
AS: stay there. that was why i run to-to-to Lagos to s-to meet with my cousin who is a 
police there ... to see if i can report the issue because it would be the one that-that w-that 
would be close to me to-to list it (as such) issue 
PO: hm ? what-wh-what did you want to do ? 
AS: i said i went to Lagos to see my cousin [PO: uhum] who is a police officer . because/ 
PO: cousin eh ? 
AS: ‘jah’ 
PO: not a friend eh ? ... 
AS: my cousin . 
PO: “uhum” 
AS: “uhum” .. 
PO: he’s a police officer ? 
AS: jah there in Lagos . 
PO: and what did you want from- i m- what did you ? 
AS: i want him to investigate the-the issue ... (8.0) 
PO: these threats that you were receiving . wh-who were they from ? 
AS: they are from the (gultiz) group . which the speaker belongs/ 
PO: from the Black Hawks or from ? 
AS: jah ... (6.5) 
PO: how do you know this ? 
AS: this- they have just send it and put the-the name there .. 
PO: on-on the s- on the sms they [AS: on the sms] mentioned Black Hawks ? 
AS: jah ... 
PO: Black Hawks eh ? 
AS: jah ... and when they came to my home in school to destroy . they have to drop the-the 
symbol .. and they d-drop that symbol which is .. they have the one wh- who is () ... 
PO: what is their symbol ? 
AS: their symbol is an . black euhm . they have a flag and you have a sometime you have 
’skeletons’ or you have a map of . Africa on it . 
01:05:05 
PO: wh- it’s a black flag with an African map ? 
AS: African map or you have a skeleton head on it .. 
PO: both ? 
AS: jah [PO: or ?] both 
PO: two different flags ? 
AS: two different flags . 
PO: so one is a black flag with an African map [AS: map] the other one is with a [AS: skeleton 
head] skeleton .. and which s-s- [AS: and they] euh symbol did they leave ? 
AS: jah they also drop an-an . machete and battle axe that that is what they will use to ..
PO: a machete and?
AS: battle axe .. that that they will use to/
PO: that’s what they left?
AS: jah
PO: did they also leave the flag? or not?
AS: they leaved they l- they leaved the flag .. i was just saying that is what we are going to use to . to kill you ...
PO: who did they tell that?
AS: they drop it ... (23.0)
PO: where were you when they came to your room?
AS: i’m sorry?
PO: when they came to your house where were you?
AS: me ? i was there i was in the compound when they came in ..
PO: uhum
AS: so when they said they were looking for me because there was no . identity to notice me i was the one . so when they said they were looking to me and we have been in the system we know how these people operate . the people who know you may not come and attack you they will send someone . to come and attack you . so when they came they said they were looking for me the fellow compane because i’ve explained to them . they quickly inform me then i jump through the fence and run ins- into the bush .
PO: so they told we are looking for th-they gave you name? or?
AS: jah they gave my name .. “we are looking for Peter Johnson”
PO: and then your fellow ..
AS: tenants
PO: they were they gave you [AS: jah inform me] warning?
AS: about it ... (6.0)
PO: and you ran away?
AS: jah i ran away ..
PO: and . where did you go . then ? you ran away and what did you do?
AS: i run inside the bush then/
PO: you where?
AS: i-i run ins- into the bush and hide there=
PO: uhum
AS: =then later i came back and that time was night i came back and i said i s-saw that all my things have been scattered . and that was when i saw th-their logo . their symbols=
PO: uhum
AS: =and everything and i saw my fellow euhm . tenants who were living in the second bunk with me . they w-th-they sustained injuries and so i couldn’t euhm-euhm stay there anymore then to bought a bus and run to Lagos to stay with my cousin for some time ... (9.0)
PO: okay. euhm ... how long did you stay in Lagos?
AS: i s- went there in april and i left Lagos august
PO: ah you already told me ja
AS: jah.
PO: did you have problems there?
AS: jah because my cousin who-who i suppose can will help me to investigate the matter he said the-the-the your situation is beyond his consign. that there's nothing he can do because they have even they wrote to the police that i've been euhm doing some kind of an homosexuality out. it's a kind of application that the police are looking for me. also/
PO: so they-the [AS: yeah] Black Hawks had informed the police?
AS: the police n- .. i didn't mean the Black Hawks inform the police. the P- the P- some party member in the PDP did that ..
PO: okay
AS: jah .. and because of that my . the Action Congress where i belong they have to suspend me because th-that is bringing an black im- euh blackmailing to their party. because such thing is not allowed and if they said they said that the Action Congress having a-a-a-a youth spokesman who is a gay and such thing is very difficult
PO: okay so let m- let me just understand eh
AS: "uhum".
PO: so your cousin said he couldn't do anything? [AS: jah] because?
AS: he-he called Benin because he's in Lagos as a police [PO: uhum] so he called Benin and ()
Benin that he should have some information abouts euh some cases [PO: uhum] so they have to let him know that this person is wanted for .. for s-s-some crime he has committed ..
PO: but what did they say? for the homosexuality? or ?
AS: homosexuality.
PO: so what did they. what did the police say? about your case?
AS: the police said they are looking for me also.
PO: for what?
AS: jah because they want to investigate if t- if-if maybe they find it that is true. i-i would go to jail for it or so. and i don't/
PO: but then what is true? just be concrete what was the complaint against you? ..
AS: in-in- th- in this police?
PO: uhum
AS: jah they said i (practice) homosexuality .. (15.0)
01:10:16
PO: so then what did you do?
AS: so the only thing i could do is that i should tried my (possible place) to see if i can get out of the country. but then h-he has no money to give to me or i don't even have money to .. to arrange it on my own because i was running. so the only thing i could do was to go back
to Benin to meet with my father to see if i can get some money to ( ). since it has been on the notice that i’m wanted for that and i know that such thing is not/

PO: okay but you {PO sighs} . you could go back to Benin to see your father/

AS: i went back to Benin to see my father

PO: and-and-and then what ?

AS: to see if i can get money=

PO: yes

AS: =to leave the country=

PO: uhum

AS: =since i’m being euhm wanted by the police for s- . s- for charges of being “an-a gay or so” ... (12.0) and even they threat him to sack him if he continue to investigate the matter ... because i don’t trust the police everybody . they are just like a member of the group if you want to be recognised/

PO: in Benin you mean ?

AS: not only Benin the group is all over Nigeria . and they ha- they also have offices in Europe self .

PO: and because you say that the police is also member of the Black Hawks/

AS: jah so they threatened that if he continued to investigate because it’s like (working) to know the people that want to kill me=

PO: uhum

AS: =so they threatened that they will sack him if he continue with the investigation=

PO: uhum

AS: =that he as a police officer . he saw someone that is being wanted , he should hand over the person to the nearest police station . and now he’s trying to investigate so because he’s my cousin he asked me to . to find a way to run away ..

PO: okay ... so you went back ? [AS: jah] when ?

AS: i came back to Benin because i don’t/

PO: when did you come back ?

AS: in August

PO: do you remember the day ?

AS: i don’t really know the day . but it was a bit euhm (let me just say) at the end of August

PO: uhum

AS: jah .

PO: and how long did you stay there ?

AS: i stayed just an two weeks with my father ..

PO: did you have problems there ?

AS: yes i have problems .

PO: which ones ?

AS: because they notice i was around .
PO: who noticed?
AS: the people that want to kill me.
PO: which ones?
AS: the groups ... (13.0)
PO: uhum
AS: and when they came i was not around and they made my father to. so they have so
euhm kidnapped my father..
PO: where were you?
AS: me? i went out ...
PO: what did you do?
AS: i went to club ... because i don’t feel a- i don’t feel safe staying at home
PO: you went to a club?
AS: jah
PO: which one?
AS: along euh Abbey Road.
PO: Abbey?
AS: jah
PO: and why did you go there?
AS: i went there to meet with euhm. the p- euh my some of my party member there ... (14.5)
PO: and how do you know that he was kidnapped?
AS: it was when i came the. other day i saw neighbours around. and they were saying that
your father has been kidnapped my brothers/
PO: you saw members of what?
AS: neighbours neighbours.
PO: uhum
AS: neighbours so everybody were people were gather so i thought maybe something..
something terrible happened. so they say your dad was has been kidnapped i- . they have
been trying to make contact . to see. if . it’s an political or maybe dangerous kidnapping for
ransom because that is normal . they kidnap you they want money . so they have to report
to the police . so during this process i have a problem with the police . and i . don’t really
think i can (stay) ( )/
PO: but did you report it to the police or not?
AS: the case
PO: ja ..
AS: the case was reported to the police
PO: by whom?
AS: by my brothers ... (6.5)
PO: and what did you do?
AS: hm?
PO: what did you do then ?
AS: i have to run because .. i-i have to run because . w-when they called and they said they
don’t want my th-they hold my father hostage because they want me . that if i come they
would release him because i knew that if i go there the-th-they would kill me the only thing
i have to run ...
01:15:02
PO: so the reason that you runned is ran is because ... because they were they were after you
they wanted you eh ?
AS: jah ...
PO: and when did you ran away ? ...
AS: in September .
PO: and was that i mean how many- when was your father kidnapped ?
AS: i said i stay with him two weeks that was (we think) august/
PO: so the day you remember ?
AS: i didn’t remember the day . but i know it was a sunday .
PO: and how much time after . did you ran away ?
AS: the following day ... (11.0)
PO: and . did the police do anything ?
AS: i don’t know if they do anything . about it because i couldn’t stay to-to see what is going
because i’m-i’m also wanted by them maybe if they a- get me they will arrest me and th-
they might start investigating the kidnapping issue but then i’m already in jail or so . that
was why i run away ...
PO: do you have any news of your father ?
AS: no .
PO: “no” ? ... euhm . you said you met your party members in euh Benin=
AS: jah
PO: =what did they tell you ? ..
AS: in the club ? i was just explaining things what i’m passing through . i was just explaining
to them if they could euhm assist me with money to euhm to-to-to to leave the country to
run ...
PO: and who did you meet there ?
AS: i meet a close friend ..
PO: just one ?
AS: jah .
PO: you said party members ?
AS: is a party member but not ( )
PO: but you said party members [AS: jah] plural
AS: is just a party member .
PO: just one ?
AS: “jah” ..
PO: what’s his name ? ..
AS: euhm is Steve .
PO: hm ?
AS: Steve .
PO: Steve .. he’s from AC eh ?
AS: jah ... (6.0)
PO: okay so you ran away
AS: jah
PO: whereto ?
AS: i move to i- that was when i to- moved to Auchi to-to st- to stay with my friend
PO: Abuja eh ?
AS: Auchi i didn’t s-
PO: Auchi ?
AS: jah . to stay with my friend=
PO: uhum
AS: =because i was supposed to go to Abuja but m- Alfred Murphy who i’m going to meet in
Abuja was not in the country so/
PO: Alfred was not in the country ?
AS: jah so he promised to be in the country on the twenty ninth . on the euh twenty ninth
or thirtieth . because of the euh independence celebration he was among the political/
PO: twenty ninth of which month ?
AS: of september ...
PO: for which celebration ? ..
AS: independence celebration because he was . among the planning committee .
PO: so you went to Auchi
AS: jah “to stay with my friend”/
PO: and what happened there ?
AS: euh i stay in Auchi for some for some time because i was there euh still with my friend
go to school come back
PO: you went to school ?
AS: ain’t go to school i mean my friend
PO: uhum
AS: ain’t go to school he- we turn back i was ( ) but i don’t really know what happened
because i notice that maybe these people they have a . something else they used to finance ( 
) because these people are (diabolic) . so they go to notice that i was . i was there with my
friend .
PO: the Black Hawks ?
AS: jah .. and they also have a gr- a-a-a branch in that school too . so that was why th-they came after me .. i managed to escape but my friend was euh . unlucky .. to escape .
PO: he died ?
AS: jah ... and i-i-it pained me most because h-he-he was alone i wish i knew that such a thing w-w-would lead to a state i don’t think i would have go there because someone who-who is just living . living his own life have to pay a price for another person who-who is in a trouble . so that thing i-i cried i-i w- i’ve never cried before because when i lost my mother i didn’t cry . but when i lost this guy it was like a big pain to me . because he didn’t know anything that was happening he didn’t know anything but suddenly they just have to kill him and he th-they wrote that this is how we are going to kid-kill you ...
PO: where did they write that ?
AS: they wrote it on the wall .
PO: and where were you at that time ?
AS: me [PO: when they attacked] i-i escape i escape it was th-the-the boy’s roommate who came home and is family who came . the corpse was there so they have to call the police to take the corpse it was them who came and they notice that i was- there was someone who was living with him .. before/
01:20:07
PO: sorry say that- can you say that again ?
AS: okay i said .. they wrote it on the wall=
PO: uhum
AS: =his roommates they notice that someone was living with him before the incident so when the police came they ask who the person is that was living with him maybe they thought i was the one that=
PO: uhum
AS: =assassinated him . but because of the notice on the (boy) that . this is how you are going to (bury) since the people who are hiding you .. we are going to be killing them anybody you want to stay with we are going to be killing then . we started it from now . so th-th-they tried to find out that i was the one who-who came to live with the boy and the family of the boy they-they-they take the law into the hand . so th-th-they came after my family even my business my cars they destroyed everything/
PO: euh pfff euh well i . again didn’t get it very well but my question was actually where were you when they attacked ?
AS: i was with him inside the room ... (9.5)
PO: and how could you escape ?
AS: i managed to escape ... i don’t know but i believe God did it for me ... and as/
PO: how did you escape ?
AS: i jumped through the window ... (6.0) because h- when they knocked the door he was the one that open the door so they have to s-s-shot on him .
PO: they had to what?
AS: they shot on him. they shoot in the ()/
PO: HE opened?
AS: jah when they knock. he opened the door they have to shoot him ... because these people they gave them wrong information. they give the information to after me but. these people maybe they-they/
PO: who gave wrong information? who’s they?
AS: th-th. what i mean the group the group because they can’t come from the-they have they have they also have euhm branches in Auchi because all the () institutions [PO: uhum] in Nigeria there’s Black Hawks group there. so i believe the one from Benin they have to the groups of Benin they have to call their partner in To-To-To-diui/
PO: and they gave a wrong description you say?
AS: jah so i believe it was a wrong decision maybe i w-w-w-w would be the one that should be condemned but they made a wrong decision the wrong identity. to kill my friend.
PO: so they you think they described your friend instead of [AS: you] you? ... hm?
AS: yes ... (16.0)
PO: okay so where did you go then?
AS: that was when i have to stay outside till the following day. so i later took a bus from. Auchi there to Abuja .. then the family of the boy they have to take laws into their hand they went after my families. destroyed things even my cars w- my car was burned and my business was. the place was/
PO: the family of the boy?
AS: jah jah
PO: of your friend in Auchi?
AS: jah .. and if i-int/
PO: w-what did they do?
AS: they take the laws [PO: jaja but what did they do?] in- into their hand they want to payback they came after my family=
PO: ah
AS: =because they could not find me.
PO: so they burned your business?
AS: jah they burned the place where i was doing business they burned my cars and they started chasing my family about so that was hard i really lost contact about (). () {AS is very emotional} ...
PO: okay ... and then in Abuja? .. ‘cause you went to Abuja then eh?
AS: jah.
PO: what happened there?
AS: euhm ( ) Alfred was around so i had to stay in Alfred’s place and i explained everything to Alfred Alfred already knew what was happening but he don’t have a say because he’s in the group they made a covenant a brother’s/
PO: so so he already knew ?
AS: jah he knew what was happening
PO: but [AS: he has] he was in the group ?
AS: jah he was in the group he was in the (gultiz) group so he knew what was happening but he have nothing to do about it. because they made a covenant when you en- into it that you will not betrayed your own . fellow member . a brother is a/
PO: okay wait . ( ) {PO talks to herself while typing} ... uhum
AS: a brother is a brother (for all) and sins is unforgivable which i have co- i wish/
PO: a brother that what ?
AS: a brother is a brother for all as you need to you don’t have to betray your brother in any situation you have to support your brother first before any other person. and sin is unforgivable because i have committed th- sin against them. so i have to pay the price the only thing he could do was that . he w- he-he would tried for me to leave the-the-the country because if they noticed that he-he- i was with him maybe they-the-they can . assassinate him to do whatever they want to do with him.
01:25:04
PO: so if they would know that you were there ?
AS: if they notice i was with him. that was when he planned that i should he wou- he would take care of the money for me to leave the country. but during that period is nothing i can do because i don’t have the travelling documents so he say/
PO: okay s-s-sorry i-i still have to write all of your sentence .. euhm {PO talks to herself while typing} ... (14.0) you couldn’t travel yet ?
AS: jah i mean i don’t have a euhm euhm travelling documents to travel=
PO: uhum
AS: =so the only thing he said that he will introduce me to one of his euhm friend from Niger that would took me to Niger that from Niger they would know what they would do ...
(7.5)
PO: that would bring you to Niger and [AS: that they would] from Niger ?
AS: take me to Niger from Niger the person would be in charge because his friend is into shipping business so they w- took me to Libya then . euh find a way to see if they can .
PO: uhum
AS: (”write everything”) ... (7.0)
PO: okay . so that’s what happened ?
AS: jah so . i was supposed to stay with him for long before i travel but outside the bomb blast because . the bomb blast was like a frame-up because even the/
PO: when was there a bomb blast ?
AS: October first when they independence is going on the celebration is going on.

PO: Uhum

AS: so he was scared because when the people that organised the bomb they say they want to destroy the independent but the bomb was not blast. The bomb didn’t blast in the venue of the event it blast at the spot where I was.

PO: At the spot where you were? Which was where?

AS: Very close to the ministry of justice just fifteen minutes.

PO: But where did it blast? Was it at your house or where you were at that moment?

AS: No I was with it was in the venue of the independent. So driver was just because there was a lot of cars lot of visitor came in so the place we parked our car. That was just the bomb blasted.

PO: And you were in the car?

AS: I was not in the car. But his driver was in the car...

PO: So it was the car of Alfred actually?

AS: Jah the car of Alfred and other cars about 14 cars or so were destroyed. So I-I-I-i don’t really say that it was because of me the bomb was planted but the prime suspect of this bomb was. Nolan Clark and Nolan Clark is from the same place with Garuba.

PO: He was a suspect?

AS: He was a suspect and my Alfred Murphy know/

PO: Why how was he called again? Nolan? What? If you say it I’ll write it.

AS: Nolan Clark.

PO: No. I’m sorry you write it... (19.0) Hm?..

AS: I don’t know if I wrote this. Wrong but that was the name

PO: Clark?

AS: Clark. I don’t know if I go and spell it wrong but his name is Nolan. That is the prime suspect.

PO: There a Nolan?

AS: Nolan

PO: Nolan

AS: Hm

PO: Nolan and he’s also from you said?

AS: And he’s also a friend to Alfred Murphy because they are from the same village with Garuba. The speaker..
PO: euhm what’s his name again?
AS: Nolan Clark ..
PO: what’s his name again?
AS: who?
PO: of the speaker?
AS: Garuba.
PO: “Garuba” .. (6.0) so if the f- .. if the suspect is a friend of Alfred why would he try to kill Alfred ..
AS: is not Alfred he’s planning for ..
PO: but it was Alfred’s car?
AS: it’s not only Alfred’s car. i said there were lot of car that was damaged including Alfred’s car. i didn’t say the bomb was planted. because of me but when the investigator that find out that Nolan Clark was the p- was the suspect .. and Nolan Clark and Garuba they are from the same village= 
PO: uhum
AS: =jah they are from the same village. they speak the same language they are like brothers.
01:30:07
PO: uhum. i don’t see the motive of why. i don’t see the relation between this happening and your problems can you explain it to me?
AS: t-the bomb blast?
PO: uhum
AS: that was why i said i don’t i didn- i don’t think [PO: but you-you] it was-it was planted because of me [PO: ah . oké] but when they investigated the matter and said that Nolan Clark was the prime suspect he was the one that masterminded the . the bomb plant=
PO: uhum
AS: =he paid someone to do the job but i come to think of it that if he planned to destroy the independent celebration he could have go and do it in the venue of the event not where i was staying .
PO: bu-. but why do you think he’d he was after you?
AS: because . he this same man . is from the same village with Garuba he is a friend with Garuba .. (6.5)
PO: okay .. (24.0) okay and can you explain to me why Alfred couldn’t help you?
AS: he couldn’t help me because . the group they belong to. th-they don’t betray they swear they make covenants with their self that . they is a brother for all that they can’t betray their brother the only thing he can. he can do to help me is just to take me out. from this people . because if they notice that . he-he’s euh i’m living with him maybe they can (arm) him down so. and i don’t want to cause. anybo- i don’t want to. any mistake that would lead to any-anyone ‘s death again .

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PO: uhuh ... (6.0) euhm do you have any . news about your problems in Nigeria now ?
AS: no .. but [PO: couldn’t others] the case is there
PO: ja
AS: the case is there maybe anytime i go back they- they would bring out the case ... and the family of the boy because Alfred said . even if i’m if i’m leaving i don’t he don’t th- he don’t- he don’t advise me to come because the family of my friend who lost his life=
PO: uhuh
AS: -they are the one that are after me . they are trying to k- get int- they want to payback . because when i left i noticed that they were fighting within because the boy/
PO: sorry sorry i lost you . already so . say that again ?
AS: jah . i said the family of the boy=
PO: uhuh
AS: =they took the laws into their hand they said they must th- they must do something to- to payback their- their . their- their son’s life .. and the brother of my friend he’s also a (gultiz). before i left th- the Black Hawks group and other groups they were fighting because . they know that it was the Black Hawks group that killed him/
PO: okay sorry i’m still at they have to pay back of their son [AS: of their son] and then ? continue from there
AS: jah .. so and the brother of euh my friend he’s also a (gultiz) he’s also in the (gultiz) euhm group another group then /
PO: the brother of your [AS: friend] friend . who are you talking about now ?
AS: i’m talking about Eric ..
PO: huh ?
AS: Eric .
PO: the one in Auchi ?
AS: jah ..
PO: okay
AS: and so there were a lot of euhm f- euhm court clashes in Auchi at least th- they reco- .. th- th- that was in Cosembe they recorded that a lot of people were killed during the clash ... (11.0)
PO: {PO sighs} euhm did Alfred tell you anything about your problems when you called him ..
AS: like what ? ..
PO: anything .
AS: no he when i called him last he only asked me that he a- i should stay where i am that he advise me to stay there that mostly for him too . because maybe if they- if they arrested me of any other thing it will also implicate him because why he was the one that took me out of the country . so they might hold him for human trafficking or some other thing like that ... (14.0)
PO: that’s what he feared that they would .. euhm think that he was a human trafficker?
AS: jah and also because he was my partner before so that and they would also arres- euhm ar-ar arrest him too ...
PO: okay so .. can you . tell me again the different persons in Nigeria with whom you have problems ? .. ‘cause your problem is very complex right ? so can you [AS: jah] as a summary .. euhm tell me the different problems the different people with whom you have problems ?
AS: one person i have problem with that lead . to the killing of my friends .
PO: hm ?
AS: one person i have problem with . which is the speaker and the speaker is a (gultiz) that was when the problem started and for you to fight one (gultiz) member you are fighting all of them ...
PO: okay (* *) {PO talks to herself while typing} ... (9.0) okay . and other people that you have problems with ?
AS: the family of my friend ... that was killed .
PO: uhum . and other ?
AS: i won"t say the police is a problem . because they said i’m wanted . so i-i d- i won’t say it is a problem because if/
PO: why is it not a problem ?
AS: because they have the right to arrest anybody ... (9.0)
PO: why isn’t that a problem ?
AS: huh ?
PO: why isn’t the police a problem ?
AS: i said because they have the right to arrest anybody . because the people who laid a complaint to them those are the people who are after my life so they c- laid a complaint to the police the police are there in the office they don’t know what is happening . so when referred a case to them they have to investigate and arrest a suspect ..
PO: but the claim . that they made against you . being homosexual=
AS: jah
PO: =is that a true claim ?
AS: yes .
PO: so is that a problem ? ..
AS: yes ... (6.5)
PO: so if they investigate and th-they discover that the claim is true=
AS: jah
PO: =what are the consequences then ?
AS: the consequence is two ways .
PO: hm ?
AS: the consequence is two ways either you go to jail like staying fif- for ten years in jail or they sentence you to death ..
PO: they can sentence you to death ?
AS: jah if you are/
PO: for being gay ?
AS: jah . or you go to jail ...
PO: and what does it depend on the sentence ? ..
AS: i don’t understand depend
PO: you say it can be two ways either forty years of imprisonment either [AS: i didn’t say forty for ten years] death penalty . fourteen eh ? one four eh ?
AS: jah because of the laws of the state because some state require death sentence=
PO: uhum
AS: =and why some states require you-you go into jail .. and if you are not lucky they can transfer you . if they arrested you they can transfer you to-to to other state .
PO: if they are not what ?
AS: i said they can if they arrested you they can transfer you to other state .. for proper investigation of the matter ...
PO: and which states are they that . give death penalty ?
AS: mostly from the north ...
PO: you know which ones ?
AS: all the n- the northern state because they are mus- . muslim and they-they believe in sharia laws ...
PO: but do you know which ones ? can you name them ?
AS: if you want me to name them Zanfara state Zanfara state Kad/
PO: sorry say again
AS: Zanfara state
PO: Zafara ?
AS: Zanfara .
PO: uhum
AS: Bauchi ..
PO: uhum
AS: Kano Kaduna ...
PO: others ? that give death penalty ?
AS: Kastina
PO: Kast- sorry ?
AS: Kastina should i write it down ?
PO: no no
AS: okay ..
PO: others ?
AS: a lot more i don’t ... (6.0)
PO: okay ... (5.0) and now again . in sense of summary . what are the reasons of all your problems ?
AS: the reasons of my problems ?
PO: the different reasons .
AS: the different reasons ?
PO: ja . you already told me with whom the different persons that you have problems with=
AS: jah
PO: =and now the reasons just as a summary ..
AS: i only have two reasons=
PO: uhum
AS: =either i’ll be kill or i’ll go to jail .
PO: that’s not a reason the reasons why you left from/
AS: that’s why you need to make me to understand
PO: uhum
AS: jah make me understand/
PO: the “causes” of your problems
AS: the causes of my problem ?
PO: uhum .
AS: was because of the rally and .
PO: uhum ..
AS: i was (heard) that the speaker is a (gultiz) . and he has to be remove .. that was how the problem started ... (12.0)
01:40:00
PO: okay well . euhm the fact that .. your homosexuality is also a problem in your case means that . we will have to go into that as well . but it won’t be possible today . because it’s already late . so i will have to euhm send a new- make a new appointment with you
AS: okay that’s [PO: so you’ll be back as well] not a problem
PO: okay ?
AS: hm
PO: so we’ll . stop here for now and you will receive a new letter with a new date .
AS: okay
PO: okay ? ... “thank you”
L: die euhm termijn van euhm vijf werkdagen verandert dat/ L: that euhm term of euhm five working days does it change/
PO: ja voila nu maakt het niet meer uit eh PO: yes indeed now that doesn’t matter anymore eh
L: ja oké L: yes okay
PO: ja ( ) you have also more time now for your documents
AS: jah ...
PO: because there will be a new interview ..
AS: okay
PO: that gives you extra time=
AS: okay
PO: =to give that as well
AS: i send the document it-it would be easy if through . if i send it euhm bring it through e-mail .
PO: as i told you it doesn’t have the same value because it’s not a original identity document but it still gives an indication/
AS: but you said five days ..
L: yeah but euhm since there’s sec- there’s a second interview=
AS: oh okay
L: =you have a longer term
PO: okay ?
AS: jah
L: but anyway you need to get it as quickly as possible
PO: ja
L: no doubt
AS: ( )
PO: good . thank you and we’ll see each other again in a couple of weeks
AS: no problem
01:41:25
# Annex 5: International Phonetic Alphabet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ɪ/</th>
<th>/ɪː/</th>
<th>/ʊ/</th>
<th>/uː/</th>
<th>/ɪə/</th>
<th>/ei/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>READ</td>
<td>SIT</td>
<td>BOOK</td>
<td>TOO</td>
<td>HERE</td>
<td>DAY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/ə/</td>
<td>/ɜː/</td>
<td>/ɔː/</td>
<td>/ʊə/</td>
<td>/ɪə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEN</td>
<td>AMERICA</td>
<td>WORD</td>
<td>SORT</td>
<td>TOUR</td>
<td>BOY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/æ/</td>
<td>/ʌ/</td>
<td>/ɑː/</td>
<td>/ə/</td>
<td>/eə/</td>
<td>/əɪ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAT</td>
<td>BUT</td>
<td>PART</td>
<td>NOT</td>
<td>WEAR</td>
<td>MY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/ð/</td>
<td>/k/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIF</td>
<td>BED</td>
<td>TIME</td>
<td>DO</td>
<td>CHURCH</td>
<td>JUDGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>/θ/</td>
<td>/ð/</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/z/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIVE</td>
<td>VERY</td>
<td>THINK</td>
<td>THE</td>
<td>SIX</td>
<td>ZOO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>/r/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MILK</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>SING</td>
<td>HELLO</td>
<td>LIVE</td>
<td>READ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>/j/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| /dʒ/ | /k/ | /ɡ/ | /ʃ/ | /ʒ/ |
| JUDGE | KILO | GO | SHORT | CASUAL |
| /z/ | /ʃ/ | /ʒ/ | /z/ | /ʃ/ |
| /θ/ | /ð/ | /θ/ | /ð/ | /θ/ |
| /s/ | /z/ | /s/ | /z/ | /s/ |
| /r/ | /l/ | /r/ | /l/ | /r/ |
| /ŋ/ | /ŋ/ | /ŋ/ | /ŋ/ | /ŋ/ |
| /h/ | /h/ | /h/ | /h/ | /h/ |
| /iː/ | /eɪ/ | /ɔː/ | /ʊə/ | /ɪə/ | /ei/ |

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