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Texture #1

Stuart Matheson

EDITORIAL

It is September, and another autumn in the North has begun. The birds are leaving again, and the light is fading sooner. Accordingly, this, the quint's fifty ninth issue, offers reading for the colder nights and early frosts. Articles by authors from Nigeria, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada begin this issue. George Steven Swan's fascinating "LAWRENCE OF PROSOPAGNOSIA: FRESH INVESTIGATIONAL APPROACH TO T.E. LAWRENCE OF ARABIA" kicks off our fall offerings. Swan plumbs the impact of prosopagnosia (face blindness) on the life and legacy of T.E. Lawrence of Arabia. Next, in "'Apartheid' in British Colonial Nigeria: the dynamics of recurrent ethno-religious conflicts," Adeniyi Justus Aboyeji, Ruth Abiola Adimula, Oyeniyi Solomon Aboyeji, and Bashir Olaitan Ibrahim consider Nigeria's balkanisation along regional-cum-ethno-religious divides. They argue British colonialists created an apartheid in Nigeria. The religious threat to inter-group relations was addressed by preventing contact, furthering the in-group self-consciousness and bonding, and out-group bickering and balkanisation of the Muslim-dominated North and Christian-dominated South. Then, Isaac Iortimbir Aun, Falilat Ajoke Abdul, Ganiyu Taiwo Oladipo, and Oluwayomi Omotayo Olota's "AN ASSESSMENT OF BUSINESS INTELLIGENCE ON CORPORATE PERFORMANCE" evaluates the effect of organizational learning on employee commitment, the extent to which information gathering contributes to organizational innovativeness, and the influence of data warehousing on organizational survival.

Following, Gabriel Independence and Anthony Otobo Abody's "Socio-Psychological Implications of Aganaga Divination in Epie-Atissa, Yenagoa Local Government Area

of Bayelsa State, Nigeria" focuses on the sociological and psychological implications of "Aganaga Divination" in Epie-Atissa society. They find that Aganaga divination is a moral factor in the life of an Epie-Atissa man, because his secrets are revealed after his death. Then, Lemuel E. Odeh and Barnabas M. Atime's "PEASANT FARMING: THE BACKBONE OF NIGERIA'S AGRICULTURE " uses a multi-disciplinary approach to assess the role of peasant farming in Nigeria, its challenges and prospects in the post-recession economy.

Film reviews are also housed in this issue. Stephen Howard's film review, "*Boiling Point* (2022) and Mental Health in the Hospitality Industry" declares *Boiling Point* stands out, because it highlights commonplace experiences of stress and mental illness in the restaurant environment, and shows how lack of recognition and continued stigmas surrounding mental health inhibit any real, positive change from occurring. After COVID-19 has created more anxiety and uncertainty for many workers, Howard says, *Boiling Point* proves that now, more than ever, issues of mental health must be acknowledged and dealt with in the workplace. Antonio Sanna's "Are Superheroines Independent? *Pitof's Catwoman*" proposes this 2004 film is worth (re-)watching for its presentation of Catwoman's alter ego, fast-paced action sequences and use of several filters and bright lighting. Pitof's Catwoman is not a damsel in distress, an ex- or present girlfriend or wife, a vicious and ruthless adversary, a sidekick who does not apparently deserve a film of her own as male heroes do, or a combination of all these roles. Comparing Pitof's *Catwoman* with other "Catwoman" movies, he concludes that Pitof's belongs in the (short) line of superhero films that do not confine female characters. In "*Gremlins* (1984): The Wolf that Grows is the One You Feed," Liam Webb argues that *Gremlins* is timely in today's political and cultural climate and should be watched again because of

its underlying theme about what happens when we feed our anger and let it grow in the dark.

No issue of *the quint* can be complete without its creative component. We are delighted to present the beginning of a new and exciting story, "Igamer: The early years of my gamer life on an Indian reservation" by Walter M. Young. Stuart Matheson's interesting studies of local texture record the surfaces we take for granted in Northern Manitoba. As the North returns to heavy frost and frozen water, here is good reading and interesting viewing at home. Anticipating the bitter, snow-filled days ahead, *the quint* will be back in December with with more thought-provoking material for your stockings.

Sue Matheson
Editor

Texture #2

Stuart Matheson

LAWRENCE OF PROSOPAGNOSIA: FRESH INVESTIGATIONAL APPROACH TO T.E. LAWRENCE OF ARABIA

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ABSTRACT

The impact of prosopagnosia (face blindness) on T.E. Lawrence of Arabia remains unplumbed professionally. Lawrence attributed his then-nameless prosopagnosia to its inheritance from his father. This was recorded by his sympathetic biographer Robert Graves (famed poet/novelist) and accepted by hostile biographer Richard Aldington. Today it is recognizable that features typical of its victims prove particularly characteristic of Lawrence. This study proves timely given 2021 investigations into Janet Laurie's relationship with Lawrence's family from 1894 to 1965. Prosopagnosia seems backdrop of the major (imaginably, the only) heterosexual incident alleged of Lawrence's life: Laurie's receipt of his proposal of matrimony. Evidence never known to either implies that in their Oxfordshire young adults' marriage market prosopagnosia left T.E.with eyes for her alone, literally (as *physiological* phenomenon).

ALONE

From childhood's hour I have not been

As others were—I have not seen

As others saw—I could not bring

My passions from a common spring.

From the same source I have not taken

My sorrow—I could not awaken

My heart to joy at the same tone—

*And all I loved--*I *loved alone.*

—Edgar Allan Poe (Poe, 2013: 106)

I had hoped, all these years, that I was not going to be alone again.

—T.E. Lawrence, November 16, 1934 (Brown, 2005: 531)

I have **not seen** *seen as others saw.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Through fourscore and more years has disputation flared about Thomas Edward Lawrence of Arabia. One commentator finds: "Eighty years after T.E. Lawrence died in a motorcycle accident, scholars are still picking over his psychological ruins: …" (Broughton, 2015: C8). For Lawrence is memorialized through books bearing titles like: *T.E. Lawrence: Tormented Hero* (Norman, 2014); *T.E. Lawrence: Biography of a Broken Hero* (Orlans, 2002); *The Wounded Spirit: A Study of* Seven Pillars of Wisdom (Meyers, 1973); *The T.E. Lawrence Puzzle (*Tabachnick, 1984); *The Confessions of T.E. Lawrence* (O'Donnell, 1979); *Lawrence of Arabia: The Man and the Motive* (Nutting, 1961); and *T.E. Lawrence: The Enigma Explained* (Norman, 2008). Michael Korda, respected 2010 biographer of T.E. Lawrence, declares that "every fact, however minor, has now been examined,…" (Korda, 2010: 696).

Korda errs.

The following pages open a fresh perspective on T.E. "Ned" Lawrence's entire life. It breaks ground for examination of the part played by prosopagnosia (Leatherdale, 2013) in Lawrence's life. Victims thereof, variously denominated as prospagnosics (Sellers, 2010: 246) or prosopagnosiacs (Nichols and Smith, 2004: 175n. 8), are popularly said to be face blind. That is a two-word term used on the page by one or another physician in one or another medical profession journal since Ned's childhood:

> I am face blind. I can by no means recall to my mind the memory of a face. I have no mental picture of the faces of those nearest and dearest to me. I do not see faces in my dreams (Ingals, 1899: 380).

Lawrence's life entailed numerous elements characteristic of prosopagnosics. And alertness to his prosopagnosia must inform future discussion of his reported proposal of matrimony to Janet Elspeth Laurie circa 1909-1910. That topic is timely given the 2021 investigations by Alison Jolley (Jolley, 2021: 9-91) and Philip Neale (Neale, 2021: 93-109) respectively into Janet Laurie's relationship with the Lawrence family brothers. It stretched from 1894 until 1965, if not later. T.E. Lawrence's prosopagnosia can have been a factor in the only widely-discussed heterosexual incident of Lawrence's life: Janet's reported receipt of his proposal of matrimony. Evidence forever unknown to either hints that in their Oxfordshire young adults' marriage market Lawrence's prosopagnosia left him with eyes for Janet alone, literally. See Appendix.This marked a physiological phenomenon.

II. WITNESSES TO THE ECCENTRIC LONER

Lawrence of Arabia was a title T.E. Lawrence accepted tacitly (Hyde, 1978: 18). In discussing Lawrence of Arabia as found in U.S. culture, Joel C. Hodson opined: "Lawrence also appeals to our fascination with psychoanalysis. His almost pathological peculiarity and his struggle with self-identity are ultimately perhaps the reasons why we cannot dismiss him as a fixture of the past" (Hodson, 1995: 140). His brother and literary executor (Tabachnick, 2004: 108) Professor Arnold Walter Lawrence understood: "Personal freedom became a passion and his whole philosophy turned upon it. To maintain his independence he would hold no office, accept no responsibilities, would satisfy his body with the barest essentials...." (Lawrence, A., 1937: 537). His friend and biographer, noted novelist/poet Robert Graves, recorded: "He avoids eating with other

people" (Graves, R., 1927: 43).

Laurentian biographer Flora Armitage declared of her biographee in his youth: "The suspicion that he was somehow perversely different from others, cast in an awkward mould, seems to have come upon him early. And he reacted, not by bending all his efforts to overcome the handicap, if indeed it was a handicap, but by emphasizing it, by adopting a deliberate eccentricity of behavior..." (Armitage, 1956: 33). The boy's suspicion proves accurate. Lawrence was perversely different from the others.

His prosopagnosia generated social awkwardness. Therein lay his handicap. According to Lawrence's friend and biographer, noted military historian Sir Basil Henry Liddell Hart, at the University of Oxford's Jesus College between the ages of 19 and 21: "He refused to take part in ordinary College life, and the other undergraduates would hardly have realized his existence if his imperceptibility had not been pressed so far as ultimately to provoke curiosity" (Hart, 1979: 18).

Janet Wallach depicts the splendid wartime days of the city wherein unsmart-looking Army officer Lawrence served in his late 20s:

> Despite the disasterous battle at Gallipoli [1915], the war now going on in Mesopotamia and the constant threat of a Turkish attack on the Suez Canal, as eerie air of celebration surrounded Cairo; its inhabitants were like children at play, oblivious of the anxieties of the adult world. Prosperous civilians and smart-looking officers entertained themselves on the tennis courts, the polo grounds or the racetrack of the Sporting Club. Wednesday evenings meant dances at the Majestic Hotel, and

> every night there were lavish dinners at Shepheards or stylish parties at home. Cairo was exhilarating (Wallach, 1999: 151).

Lawrence's immediate role was performing comic opera in Playground Town: "In 1915 Cairo got so full of generals and colonels with nothing to do but send unnecessary messages about and get in the way of the few people who were doing any work, that it was mere comic opera. No less than three General Staffs fully officered were collected in Egypt, and it was impossible for any one of them to define exactly where its duties began and ended" (Graves, 1927: 83). As if Lawrence were not Playground Town's stylish partier and was unclubbable before the age of 30, he told Robert Graves of this comfortable berth for a healthy young heterosexual: "...I spent three magnificent years in Cairo, and only went twice into a club---and that as some fellow's guest" (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 37).

In 1923, he spent Christmas Day in his small cottage called Clouds Hill, solitarily. Again in 1924 (Orlans, 2002: 125). Nor was this solely postwar practice. In 1908 (Stewart, 1977: 37) he passed Christmas Day alone, fasting (Lawrence, A., 1937: 339).

In 1927, he wrote to Graves:

> You can hardly conceive the thousands of people I know: from tramps to Air Marshalls. Don't give the idea that they are famous, all of them. I like nearly everybody: and have a special tenderness for ruffians. But I don't think I have an intimate (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 80).

Regarding the 1908 Trinity Term when Lawrence resided in the University of

Oxford's Jesus College, Reverend H.D. Littler in the spring of Lawrence's death recalled:

> Even in those early days I remember thinking that he had the mind of a mediaeval monk: his values were quite different from ours, the games of the average undergraduate meant little to him and of ambitions or dreams in the worldly sense he had none. To be self-sufficient in the Platonic or perhaps the Stoic sense was his ideal, though I felt even at Oxford that he deprived himself unnecessarily of many pleasant contacts in his deliberate aim at avoiding the possibility of unhappiness and disappointments by holding aloof from men (Brown and Cave, 1989: 18, citing Littler, H. (1935). *Jesus College Magazine*, (June)).

Sir Charles Leonard Woolley employed Lawrence prewar as Wooley's amateur-archaeologist assistant at Carchemish in Syria. Woolley recalled:

> I did not know him really well. The best of companions, he was frightfully reserved about himself and in all our long talks seemed detached from what he said; if he showed signs of sentiment, as very occasionally he did, he would at once turn them to ridicule. I do not remember his ever admitting any affection for anybody, though I knew perfectly well that in the case of certain people the affection was there and was deeply felt; in all matters of the emotions he seemed to have a peculiar distrust of himself (Lawrence, A., 1937: 75).

Seemed detached.

Harold Orlans's *T.E. Lawrence: Biography of a Broken Hero* delivers a section simply headed "Detached" (Orlans, 2002: 190-192). Also, Lawrence's authorized biographer (Wilson, 1990: 17) Jeremy Wilson found: "Lawrence's remarks about his parents suggest that he had felt much stronger emotional ties with his mother than with his father. The detachment shown in references to his father is all the more surprising since Mr. Lawrence lived on private means and was therefore usually at home" (Wilson, 1990: 30).

Wilson speculates this comparative detachment derived from Ned's possible belief, until after the father, Sir Thomas Robert Tighe Chapman "Lawrence," died (Wilson, 1990: 621-622) during 1919, that Thomas was not his biological father (Wilson, 1990: 30 and 621). Wilson holds Lawrence apparently had thought he and his elder brother, Montagu Robert, both were sired by a man of prominence (name unknown to Ned) employing their mother Sarah (Wilson, 1990: 29-30). Thereafter, Sir Thomas ("Mr. Lawrence") had married Sarah and adopted her bastards (Wilson, 1990: 30). Yet were that the case, some could suppose: Ned's gratitude for Thomas's provision of an honorable future for tarnished Sarah (plus his supposed-name and his home for her bastards) must enhance his esteem for Thomas, and comparatively diminish respect for Sarah. In reality, Sir Thomas's wife denied him divorce and these parents never married.

At age 20 and 21 Ned had crossed Syria alone to study and photograph Crusaders' castles, toward writing the thesis that won him first class honors (Hart, 1979: 19-21) upon graduation from the University of Oxford. Ernest H.R. Altounyan, M.D., of Rugby and Cambridge (Lawrence, M., 1954: 444), knew Lawrence in prewar Syria. Then, the physician's family numbered among Aleppo's grand personages (Lawrence, M., 1954: 447). He describes the T.E. he met in the early 1930s thus:

> It was as though he...could not quite believe my respect of his need for absolute freedom. It was as though he had fallen into the habit... of never expecting complete intimacy, however great the host of his devoted friends. ....[H]e had never experienced an affection which he felt undamaging to his or the other's freedom (Lawrence, A., 1937: 98).

Professor Arnold Lawrence's recollection of his brother draws upon the input of John Snow, from 1903 inseparable partner of teenaged T.E. and C.F.C. Beeson in brass-rubbing archaeological efforts (Asher, 1999: 29) around the town of Oxford. Professor Lawrence accents the cumulative element in T.E.'s perception that his peculiarity divided him from others:

> His diffidence probably arose from a sense of isolation, of a barrier set by his own oddness between himself and the rest of mankind; he said, in middle-age, that it prevented any thought of marriage. The feeling may well have been slow of growth. A difference in kind from those with whom the accident of birth associates him will not immediately twist a child into self-consciousness, but the habit, once formed, will overwhelm him. I am told by John Snow, his great friend at school, that at first he seemed to be just a shy boy who differed from other boys chiefly in not being interested in games....It was not till the end of his times at school that it came to be realized that he was remarkably unconventional,.... At college he made fun for himself by eccentricity, riding his bicycle up hills and walking it down them,.... (Lawrence, A.,

1937: 533-534).

Note the Colonel's October 31, 1933, remarks to Captain Hart: "Talked of [Lawrence's mentor and deputy director of the Arab Bureau from 1916 David George] Hogarth's imputation of T.E.'s callousness. T.E. thought it largely a matter of his manner. Emphasised his own *shyness*---dislike of giving himself away. I suggested it was surely a sign of weakness in one so clearsighted" (Graves and Hart, 1963: II, 188 (Hart's italics)).

III. THE CHAPMAN CURSE: SIR THOMAS'S TRIBE

Horace Paviere was a classmate of Frank Helier Lawrence at City of Oxford High School. Frank was a younger brother of Ned. He died in combat on the Western Front in May 1915. A November 26, 1914, letter from Frank to "Pav" related that in or around May 1914 Frank "experienced travelling in the spiritual body (the Desire Body of the Rosecrucians) and know that what is written in the books on that subject is absolutely true in every detail" (Wilson, 2013). Frank's brother Ned stationed in Egypt possibly never knew Frank's words. This soldier's letter to Pav, probably sealed separately, was enclosed with a letter to his parents--Sir Thomas (going under the name 'Lawrence') and Sarah Junner (going under the name 'Lawrence')--prepared only for post obitum delivery (Wilson, 2013).

Out of body hallucinations, autoscopy (Ananthaswamy, 2015: C3), nowadays is found alongside discussions of prosopagnosia (Wood, Allen and Pantelis, 2009: 20-22; Rudnick, 1982: 104). Because Ned and their father both were prosopagnosics, sincerity in Frank's revealing out-of-body experiences becomes the more believable. The honesty

in Frank's announced autoscopy, and the credibility of T.E.'s announced prosopagnosia of himself and their father, mutally reinforce.

Regarding his own prosopagnosia, T.E. postwar solicited his then-biographer Graves:

> Will you do me the favor of saying that I never look at a man's face, and never recognize a face? This is inherited. My father one day stepped on my toe in the street, and passed on, with an apology, not knowing me. Long practice has made me able to talk to whoever accosts me, for 20 minutes at a time, without betraying that I haven't a notion who he is. Yet I remember names, and details of taste and character, & words & opinions and places vividly, and at great length.
>
> As an instance: when I read the first para. on this page I got up and looked at my eyes in a glass. It had never occurred to me that they had a colour. I haven't an idea what your eyes, or my mother's are like: and wouldn't recognize either of you, if I met you without warning. I get into great trouble in camp for "cutting" the officers when they are in plain clothes. Yet I do my best to see people. If you print the truth I'll be able to put your book in as evidence next time I'm up for office (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 70-71 (footnote omitted).

The omitted footnote acknowledges how once someone *else* noticed his eyes' color (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 70n.1).

Lawrence's words "I never look at a man's face" are backdrop to Graves' account of Lawrence early in World War I. He interviewed a prisoner suspected of espionage: "Lawrence, overcoming his usual aversion to looking a man in the face, said: 'He's lying; look at his little pig's eyes!'" (Graves, 1927: 83).

In Graves's biography, Lawrence's specific face blindness examples double:

> He would not recognize his mother or his brothers [Montagu Robert Lawrence, and Arnold], even, if he met them without warning. Long practice has made Lawrence able to talk for twenty minutes at a time to whoever accosts him without betraying that he hasn't a notion who the person is. Yet he can remember names and details of taste and character, and words and opinions and places vividly and at great length. He does his best to see people; but is constantly getting into trouble for not saluting officers when they are out of uniform; for nobody is willing to believe his excuses (Graves, 1927: 46).

Richard Aldington mentioned the paternal-filial aberration, and the son's ascription of his own plight to heredity (Aldington, 1955: 40). Although among Laurentian biographers his most hostile (Richardson, 1981: 135), Aldington failed to pursue it. Lawrence's friendly biographer Flora Armitage assailed Aldington (Armitage, 1956: 302-323). She too did not dispute the inherited prosopagnosia (Armitage, 1956: 33). Armitage did not pursue it.The 1976 Lawrence biographer John E. Mack presumably read the passages written respectively by Lawrence and Graves. Psychiatrist Mack, a Harvard Medical School graduate, also failed to sound this father-son affliction.

Not until 2018 were the hallmark symptoms of developmental prosopagnosia (DP), i.e., developing face blindness absent neurological injury, published as screening tools for the condition (Murray, et al., 2018: 1690). Compare the burden borne by both father and his son T.E. with this hallmark symptom: "An inability to identify an unexpectedly encountered familiar person" (Murray, 2018). Not inconsistent with that hallmark symptom is an anecdote from early 1930, which T.E. wrote from Plymouth's Royal Air Force station, Mount Batten: "Yesterday a tall thin creature walked up to me in the Camp: grinned at me; afterwards I saw that it was my young brother, who is 30 and has a wife and one child. I thought he was in Spain, and said 'What on earth brings you here?'"(Garnett, 1964: 687). *Afterwards* the elder brother knew his brother, Arnold Lawrence, encountered by Ned unexpectedly.

Consonant with the incapacity to recognize a familiar party unexpectedly encountered is David Garnett's account of an incident which Orlans opines possibly transpired during late 1926 (Orlans, 2002: 253n.25). T.E. frequently made the rounds of Jonathan Cape and other London publishers of his acquaintance (Orlans, 2002: 252n.63). Garnett records that his neighbor Hugh Leycester had once

> told me rather ruefully of his only contact wirh Aircraftsman Shaw [Lawrence]. Before he came to live in the country and became a farmer, Hugh had had thoughts of becoming a publisher. He had gone into the firm of Jonathan Cape as a sort of apprentice. *Revolt in the Desert* [by Lawrence] had been planned to help pay for the big *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* [by Lawrence].

> One day Shaw rode up to Cape's office, then in Gower Street, and soon afterwards came charging down the stairs, while Jonathan on the landing outside his room called out: "Stop him! Stop him!" Hugh ran after Shaw into the street and caught hold of the handlebar of the motorcycle before Shaw had started it. Next moment he had been sent flying by a punch on the jaw and was lying on the railings beside the pavement. When Hugh had picked himself up, Shaw was half-way to University College. He [Lawrence] was not exaggerating when he said that he was "a pocket Hercules" (Garnett, 1980: 195-196).

For Lawrence once wrote: "In 1914 I was a pocket Hercules, as muscularly strong as people twice my size, & more enduring than most" (Garnett, 1964: 521).

Quaere, whether Hugh as publisher's apprentice: (1) wore the not eye-catching uniform of a London business suit; and either (2) spoke (or silently smiled or nodded) Leycester's face-to-face greeting upon Lawrence's office-entry; or (3) inconspicuously sat at the table with Cape and Lawrence throughout their engagement, deferentially; or else (4) did all three. Thereafter, due to "Cape, remembering something" (Orlans, 2002: 113), Cape required Hugh to catch Lawrence's attention. Because *supposing himself recognized* as parcel of Lawrence's business visit, Hugh grabbed the unstarted vehicle's handlebar. If Lawrence "without warning" (in both Lawrence's and Graves' phrasing) and unexpectingly met Hugh again, then Lawrence failed to identify him. Hence, the motorcyclist's self-defensive knockdown of the apprentice as interloping aggressor. *Incapacity to identify a known party* unexpectably *encountered*.

To be sure, on August 18, 1925, when T.E. reentered the Royal Air Force in Uxbridge (Wilson, 1990: 764), he found:

> Everyone at Uxbridge was willing to take delivery: but none would sign for me. At last I was dragged into [sic] the Headquarters Adjutant, the last hope....He glared....At this point my feeble patience broke. 'If your name was Buggins, and I called you Bill...' Then he yelled with joy, recognising my names for him (as I might call you Posh when you are very old and rich and important) and gave me tea (Garnett, 1964: 480-481 (last ellipsis Lawrence's)).

Thus Lawrence described to his old Royal Tank Corps pal E. S. "Posh" Palmer the incident wherein T.E.'s years-past service friend (the Headquarters Adjutant) at first failed to recognize T.E., although T.E. *did* recognize him.

For as prosopagnosic Professor Helen Laurie Sellers of the University of South Florida declares: "It's not a disorder you can rely on" (Sellers, 2011: 328). And T.E.'s facial recognition handicap appears tightly restricted to faces. For he told Hart that memory "…was photographic. Everything recorded there on the film, and you could call it up if you had the power. He could see every step of every journey, once he had got back into it" (Graves and Hart, 1963: II, 211).

In contrast to sufferers of acquired prosopagnosia, people with developmental prosopagnosia (i.e., hereditary prosopagnosia) "have no point of comparison nor experience an abrupt loss of their face recognition skills: many individuals tested…did not become aware of their difficulties until mid or even late adulthood…" (Murray,

et al., 2018 (citations omitted)). Specifically respecting Thomas Edward's take on that Oxonian Thomases-dyad embracing himself, consider that: "Face recognition difficulties have…been reported to be highly heritable…and individuals may be comparing their abilities to family members who are equally poor at recognizing faces. Subsequently, these individuals may not become aware of their difficulties for a long period of time" (Murray, et al., 2018 (citations omitted)).

After all, the hearing decline undergone during aging afflicts the previously better-hearing, by definition. Yet the problem so gradually gathers that some victims fail to notice their mounting challenge (Jargon, 2021: A12). And "the vast majority of DPs only become aware of their difficulties in adulthood" (Murray, et al., 2018). Indeed, geneticists and psychologists comparably hold that many prosopagnosics "may even be unaware of any impairment until quite late in life" (Grueter, M., et al., 2007: 746): Lawrence wrote Graves of this father-son affliction when the biographee was 39 years old (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 48).

Sir Thomas had two brothers and a sister (Benson-Gyles, 2016: 255). Brother William Eden died a 26 year-old bachelor (Benson-Gyles, 2016: 72). Brother Francis Vansittart was told by his aunt he was too odd to find a wife (Benson-Gyles, 2016: 73). He died unmarried at age 64 or 65 (Benson-Gyles, 2016: 255). Sister Caroline Margaret did agree to marry her cousin "only when past childbearing, believing that the dangers of further intermarriage morally obliged her not to add to a family, which, in any case, she had always considered at best eccentric and at worst unstable" (Benson-Gyles, 2016: 73).

Of Sir Thomas's five children by Sarah who survived infancy (all boys), each reached adulthood. Each was physically healthy, and earned a University of Oxford degree:

Arnold alone married. Of Sir Thomas's four children (all girls) by his wife Edith Sarah Hamilton Rochfort-Boyd (Benson-Gyles, 2016: 75), each attained at least her seventh decade (Benson-Gyles, 2016: 255). Dick Benson-Gyles declared of Edith: "The absurdly puritanical Lady Chapman drummed her virulent dislike of male sexuality into her daughters. They never married....Strictly monitored by their mother, Lawrence's sisters lived apart in a social no-man's-land" (Benson-Gyles, 2016: 83).

However puritanically Lady Chapman monitored Sir Thomas's daughters, suppose nearly none of nine Chapman children could call to mind the memory of a face. They never could conjure the visage of their nearest and dearest, nor dream of anyone's face. Then, the most noteworthy feature of nine lifespans fathered by Sir Thomas might be that Professor Arnold Lawrence became a husband fathering one child. A study of hereditary prosopagnosia found: "Whenever family members were available for interviews we always found one or more affected relatives" (Kennerknecht, et al., 2006: 1621). Another project investigated hereditary prosopagnosia suspected through two to four generations along seven familial pedigrees: "Men and women are impaired and the anomaly is regularly transmitted from generation to generation in all pedigrees studied" (Grueter, et al., 2007: 734).

IV. PROSOPAGNOSICS LIKE LAWRENCE PROVE PERSISTENT

Measure both father and Ned (but particularly compare R.A.F. Aircraftman Shaw strolling unsuspectingly past officers, to his grief) beside that aforementioned hallmark symptom: "Walking past and accidentally ignoring people when in public (i.e., that individual is out of context)" (Murray, et al., 2018). Nevertheless, "[S]ome people with DP devise

their own strategies to recognize others and cope reasonably well with their difficulties. This may conceal the condition from other people,…" (Murray, et al., 2018 (footnote omitted)). The Aircraftman's overall capacity to cope with prosopagnosia so skillfully camouflaged his condition from others that nobody accepted an explanation for failure to salute.

T.E. meanwhile noticed in the man in the street a phenomenon somewhat like Lawrence's prosopagnosia. For serving in the R.A.F.:

> [E]ach free evening I snatch an hour in London, at the cost of as long in the train there and back. It's a craving for the feel of streets and to rub shoulders with an indifferent crowd: for no one sees a uniformed man. Their eyes note "airman" or "soldier," registering class and not an individual---and they pass on. One is already a ghost while still full of blood and breath (Lawrence, T., 1963: 182).

As late as October 25, 1929, Liddell Hart noted: "T.E. says people never recognize him in uniform (!) but often in mufti. Cannot walk through London without 6 or 7 stopping him" (Graves and Hart, 1963: II, 34).

Professor Heather Laurie Sellers penned a prosopagnosic's autobiography (Sellers, 2011). She cautions that 'face blindness' is a misnomer: "Blindness in this case is a metaphor. (Sellers, 2010). For: "I suppose I see what you see in the mirror---eyes, nose, mouth---when I'm looking right at you, that is. But only when I look at you. I have no ability to retrieve an image of a human face stored in my brain" (Sellers, 2010).

Not unlike Colonel Lawrence, Dr. Sellers relates:

> I recognized people all the time---in my own way. I pretended to know people who knew me, and I either figured out who they were or I faked it. Either way, I kept my confusion secret. If I told people I had recognition problems, every time I did recognize them I'd look like I had been lying (Sellers, 2011: 249-250).

Herein one encounters both coping strategy ("I faked it") and rationale for secrecy ("I'd look like I had been lying").

Measure Dr. Sellers' reconstruction of her unexpressed thoughts when lunching with the woman who had been her closest colleague and best friend (Sellers, 2011: 307) against that walking past others in public-hallmark symptom:

> There've been times when we have talked and I haven't known who you were until you mentioned your cats or our plans. There've been times I think you waved to me, but I'm not sure--there are so many people who look like you. I don't want you to think I'm rude. Our friendship is so important to me. I wonder if I have walked past you and not greeted you. I have a condition, face blindness…(Sellers, 2011: 308).

Dr. Sellers' "I haven't known who you were until you mentioned your cats or our plans" exemplifies how people hone their own tactics for recognizing others, whereby to deal fairly well. Therefore, compare against another hallmark symptom both Sellers' words and Ned's own protracted experience in coping: "When in conversation, asking generic

questions and nothing personal until a clue to their identity is given" (Murray, et al., 2018).

Prosopagnosia research (Bate, 2013; Murray, et al., 2018: 1690) really began only well into the twenty-first century. Jane Goodall published her autobiography, *Reason for Hope*, at the close of the twentieth century (Goodall, 1999). Then, the cases to be discovered in the psychological/medical literatures globally could be counted on fewer than the fingers of your hands (Grueter, 2007: 299-300). Thus Lawrence and Graves lacked any name for his malady of pater Thomas Robert and son Thomas Edward. 'Prosopagnosia' was coined in 1947 (Sacks, 2010: 96).

One discovers the case of Lawrence of Arabia in the Robert Graves biography published in 1927. The face blindness symptoms of the British Prime Minister for most of the years between 1885 and 1902, Robert Gascoyne-Cecil (Grueter, 2007: 300), were revealed no later than 1975 (Cecil, 1975). Yet as though oblivious to these two historically higher-profile prosopagnosia victims, neurological experts have been known to cite celebrity-victims from no earlier than among people contemporary with the twenty-first century (Aminoff and Daroff, 2014: 990). These include Dr. Jane Goodall (Greene, 2005: 1; Goodall, 1999: xv-xvi) and Kurt Vonnegut, Junior.

In 2019, newspaper reporter Sadie Dingfelder described her own case of prosopagnosia:

> If you're in the right context, in good light lighting and wearing your usual glasses, my brain will probably put the clues together and come up with a name. If you've popped up somewhere unexpected or gotten

> a haircut, there's a good chance I won't. What I will see, instead, is a person who seems to know me, and I will greet you warmly and hope that, at some point, you say something that clues me in to who you are (Dingfelder, 2019).

So skeptics of Laurentian admission to prosopagnosia can interrogate Dingfelder to learn if this reporter too can converse with whomever accosts her for 20 minutes straight avoiding disclosure that Dingfelder lacks any idea who her interlocutor is.

Dr. Sellers pinpoints problems in this Dingfelder/Lawrence/Sellers dealing with unexpected contacts-effort:

> The process was exhausting and distracting, and many times a day I just walked right past people because it was so much work, such an effort to stay calm while this fury was going on in my head. I was automatically on high alert. Out for a simple stroll, I scrutinized every person I passed, hunting for cues while trying not to draw any attention to myself. I pretended I was in a rush. I made myself seem grumpy, preoccupied (Sellers, 2011: 250).

T.E. apprised Graves how, as a prosopagnosic, he had related to his dig's laborers during pre-World War I, archaeological excavations in Syria at Carchemish: "So I made it my main duty to keep the workmen happy…[T]he gangs came first. While they were happy the work was sure to go well. I knew them all by name, and their home affairs. Only I never knew any of them by sight!" (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 66). In the Graves-

biography's version: "While they were happy the work was sure to go well. Lawrence knew them all by name and even the names of their children for whom he would beg quinine when there was fever about. Only he never knew any one of the men by sight;… (Graves, 1927: 22-23).

Skeptics of the prosopagnosia cross Lawrence claimed to carry can lay Ned's thumbnail memoir of Carchemish beside Dingfelder's autobiographical anecdote of Smith College:

> My popularity reached its peak when, in my junior year, I was elected house president. (At Smith College, we lived in little self-governing dorms called houses.) I took pictures of all 80 women I lived with and put their faces and names on a bulletin board, claiming it was for everyone's benefit. I also kept a set of photos and wrote the names and hometowns of my classmates on the back. Despite nightly drilling with my flashcards, I never really learned many of their names. I did, however, link everyone's names to their hometowns (Dingfelder, 2019).

Dingfelder's faces and names-bulletin board project was not unlike the efforts of Professor Heather Laurie Sellers. The year she turned 31, Dr. Sellers arrived at Hope College to teach. There she "carried around the face book at Hope when it was still a printed thing with everyone's photograph, but even with the directory, it was hard to tell people apart" (Sellers, 2011: 220).

Dingfelder popularly kept female schoolmates in the dorm contented. Lawrence, likewise popular, kept male workgangs contented. Dingfelder knew everyone's hometown,

tied to each name. Lawrence correspondingly knew everyone's home affairs, tied to each name.

How high can a prosopagnosic--at least one whose cradle-to-the-grave curse of prosopagnosia is balanced by natally blue blood and natal Y-chromosome--climb lifelong, even while coping? Dr. Thomas Grueter and Martina Grueter relate of Prime Minister Cecil:

> He found it hard to recognize his fellow men, even his relations, if he met them in unexpected circumstances. Once, standing behind the throne at a Court ceremony, he noticed a young man smiling at him. "Who is my young friend," he whispered to a neighbor. "Your eldest son", the neighbor replied." (Grueter, T. and Grueter, M., 2007: 300, quoting Cecil, 1975: 236-237).

V. PROSOPAGNOSICS LIKE LAWRENCE PROCESS FACIAL INFORMATION

Orlans declared: "Detached insight, the ability to read expressions and gestures, to put himself in another's skin and grasp their feelings gave Lawrence unusual empathy and understanding" (Orlans, 2002: 192). Popular T.E.'s understanding of people one-on-one led Orlans to opine:

> Lawrence must have read facial expression instinctively, though he claimed to disregard it. Friends noted his "ability [in Arabia] to sense the feelings of any group," "to read your thoughts---you felt it was

> silly to hide things from him although you felt he was hiding things from you." "[N]ow that T.E. is gone, I shall never be understood by a living soul," Ernest Antounyan lamented....Friends felt a mesmeric quality in Lawrence. In almost identical words, several said they could have followed him anywhere he led (Orlans, 2002: 193 (footnotes omitted)).

Can he have enjoyed an eye-popping talent for interpreting expressions, combined with near-zero capacity ro remember the face, itself, he had read?

Orlans's impressions prove consistent with Lawrence as a developmental prosopagnosiac. In 2021, Professor Susan R. Barry pointed out: "Many people with face blindness have a hard time recognizing faces but have no difficulty recognizing facial expressions" (Barry, 2021: 71). Well before then, the majority of hereditary prosopagnosics had reported that appraisal of facial expressions presented no challenge (Kennerknecht, et al., 2006: 1619). Dr. Grueber highlights that Prime Minister Cecil's prosopagnosia failed to prevent him from reading emotional information from faces, like the friendliness Cecil understood from his unidentified son's face (Grueter, T. and Grueter, M., 2007: 300).

Yet investigation has indicated that numerous prosopagnosics, "particularly those with apperceptive profiles," indeed so face challenges in classifying facial expressions (Biotti, et al., 2016). In fact, a problem in recognizing both facial emotion and facial identity is itself "suggestive of apperceptive prosopagnosia" (Biotti, et al., 2016). That 2016 investigation of impaired perception of facial emotion disclosed that once its

"sample was split into appreceptive and non-apperceptive subgroups based on CFPT [Cambridge Face Perception Test] performance, only the apperceptive subgroup exhibited impaired recognition of facial emotion" (Biotti, et al., 2016). Typically, "appreceptive" prosopagnosia signifies instances of *acquired* prosopagnosia. It contrasts to the *hereditary* prosopagnosia of Sir Thomas and T.E. Lawrence.

Historian Lionel Cecil Jane actually reminisced of T.E.: "While he was at school [in Oxford] still I used to be amused by his fondness for analyzing character: it was a little habit of his to put questions to me in order to watch my expression..." (Mack, 1976: 63, quoting L. C. Jane to Robert Graves [1927] Bod Res MSS d60). For Dr. Sellers clarified prosopagosia "blindness" as metaphorical misnomer for incapacity in recovering from memory facial images accurately perceived. As recounted hereinabove, Sellers supposes she shares another's perception of features "you see in the mirror--eyes, nose, mouth--when I'm looking right at you" (Sellers, 2010). Commonly shared visual acuity suffices for most people to read facial expressions one-on-one in real time.

Nevertheless, Barry asserts a second fact possibly relevant to Lawrence (who never rode his mesmeric quality into a super sales-career): "Yet being aware of other people's feelings through their expressions means that other people are aware of yours. All this can make a shy person...all the more self-conscious" (Barry, 2021: 72). 'Shy' was Thomas Edward Lawrence's second middle name.

Yet to what degree felt he self-conscious? During Ned's Jesus College, University of Oxford years Mr. Vyvyan W. Richards might have been his closest friend among contemporaries (Aldington, 1955: 44; Mack, 1976: 60). As Lawrence's biographer, Richards recorded: "[B]ehind his rich gifts was found also intense self-consciousness, our

modern crown of thorns. That was to prove a trial to him out of which came both good and evil" (Richards, 1964: 2).

In a similar vein, Field Marshall Lord Sir Archibald P. Wavell had written emphatically of Lawrence:

> His self-consciousness, so marked in his writings--especially in *The Mint*--and in his letters, never intruded into his talk. He thought much, brooded even, on himself, but never *for* himself, to gain any personal advancement. This self-consciousness, his anxiety of the impression he produced on others, was a curious thing in one so strong and independent. He had many fairy godmothers at his cradle, with gifts of fearlessness, of understanding, of a love of learning, of craftsmanship, of humour, of Spartan endurance, of frugality, of selflessness. But at last came the uninvited bad fairy, to spoil his enjoyment of the gifts of her sisters, so far as in her lay, with the curse of self-consciousness. In my experience, it showed little, if at all, in his talk or in in his actions: but his letters and writings show how heavy the burden was on him (Lawrence, A., 1937: 123-124 (Wavell's emphasis)).

Professor Lawrence suggested Ned's attending mandatory dinners without dining, and riding his bicycle uphill although walking it downhill, demonstrated during Jesus College days "a passing sense of irriration at his accentuated self-consciousness..." (Lawrence, A., 1937: 534). *Heavy was the* burden.

VI. A PROSOPAGNOSIC IN OXFORD

Psychological investigation with developmental prosopagnosics disclosed: "Another factor which was discussed multiple times was that insight was gained after a move to university or a new workplace where a large number of people were introduced at once" (Murray, et al., 2018). According to Dr. Oliver Sacks: "I have had difficulty recognizing faces for as long as I can remember. I did not think too much about this as a child, but by the time I was a teenager, in a new school, it was often a cause of embarrassment (Sacks, 2010b: 83). Professor Heather Laurie Sellers entered college at age seventeen (Sellers, 2011; 244). Dr. Sellers has said she first noticed her problem with recognizing persons in college (Sellers, 2011: 269).

Renowned paleontologist Louis Leakey was pleased that the 23 year-old Jane Goodall's thinking proved unsullied by campus reductionist thought. She had lacked funds for university attendance. Leakey ultimately convinced the University of Cambridge to permit Goodall to earn an ethology Ph.D. sans bachelor's degree (Borrow, 2020: C6). Would her prosopagnosia have slanted the odds against her thriving as an undergraduate?

Some might reason that any 1907 University of Oxford matriculant residing within pedestrian range of the University since 1896 (like Lawrence) enjoyed a head-start on physical familiarity with his institution, or even some campus-life head-start. Some might bet that Lawrence's close of July 1907 completion of his City of Oxford High School studies a few weeks--even days--shy of the age of nineteen (Sattin, 2015: 26) afforded this matriculant a maturity head-start over countless other University newcomers. Nevertheless, he received "a special dispensation to live at home, his mother undertaking to see that during the term he was in by midnight" (Knightley and Simpson, 1970:18).

Accordingly, Graves recorded: "Lawrence only lived one term in the [Jesus] College itself: the remainder of his time he was allowed to live at home" (Graves, 1927: 15).

In fact, he resided in his family's 2 Polstead Road household notwithstanding his Jesus College rooms (James, 1993: 27). Armitage affirms:

> He had rooms in Jesus College, but he was hardly ever to be found in them. Except for the odd assortment of books neatly stacked on his table, they showed little signs of his presence. And during the one weekly meal which statute demanded be eaten in the college hall, he sat throughout benignly charading, passing plates and dishes around amiably, but eating nothing at all himself (Armitage, 1956: 41).

Estimate the odds the majority of Lawrence's male contemporaries preferred to shelter under the parental roof and on the maternal leash (theoretically stetching no longer than midnight) instead of in, e.g., Jesus College.

According to Ronald Florence: "He made some friends at Jesus College, but it was not until the summer term of 1908 that he moved into rooms at the college and began to participate in undergraduate life" (Florence, 2007: 58). His participation included, e.g., that dinner table charading (during the weekly meal required to be eaten in the college hall) affirmed by Flora Armitage. After that term and subsequent touring by bicycle in France, T.E. returned to the Lawrence family residence at 2 Polstead Road, Oxford, despite its want of a quiet studying room, a lack allegedly resulting in construction of the boy's bungalow (Florence, 2007: 59). *Ex hypothesi*, he disfavored 24-7 residence at Jesus College because, in part, to start "to participate in undergraduate life" proved taxing for

an undiagnosed prosopagnosic. *University, where a large number of people were introduced* at once.

Lawrence told Graves of Jesus College: "Never dined in Hall. Took no part in College life" (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 49). Thus, Lawrence's version of a Jesus College residence actually approached possessing a College affiliation while substantially cohabiting with parents. Hart held that T.E. between the ages of 19 and 21 seemed caring about no one at the University of Oxford but those who caught his eye intellectually, thereby gleaning a paucity of friends (Hart, 1989: 7).

Jonathan Miller was a schoolmate of the teenaged prosopagnosia victim Oliver Sacks. As Sacks recalled: "A decade later, when we were looking at old school photographs, he still recognized literally hundreds of our schoolmates, while I could not identify a single one" (Sacks, 2010a). For any student incompetent to recognize faces, nominate any memento more meaningless than the class-photograph. During the war, an Oxford photographer's window did display a college group including Ned (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 87n.1). However, Lawrence failed to appear in his Jesus College class-photograph (Mack, 1976: 61) for some reason.

Canon of the Church of England Edgar F. "Midge" Hall, the friend of Ned's youth, saw: "There was a sort of dual personality--there was--the boy--and there was also--I think he called it a mask. That's rather crude--but it is--the boy in the mask. We all liked him--but he began to be quite different" (Benson-Gyles, 2016: ix, citing Canon Edgar Hall, (Ominibus, BBC2, April 18, 1986)). Knightley and Simpson recount of Lawrence's Michaelmas Term (Lawrence, A., 1937: 42) University matriculation: "At an age when most young men were enjoying the delights of the senses, he was deliberately

withdrawing himself from them. [*He* began *to deviate*.] In short, T.E. Lawrence was different. His contemporaries knew it, he knew it, but none of them knew why" (Knightley and Simpson, 1970: 19).

Weigh to what extent neither young Ned nor Hall nor Knightley nor Simpson knew why. Each lacked prosopagnosia as an explanatory tool. In all events, *ex hypothesi*, his 2 Polstead Road residence also won favor (despite its want of quiet studying quarters) because ensuring propinquity with his year-younger brother William George "Will" Lawrence. And it imaginably won favor because within walking-distance of the house owned by the family of Janet Elspeth Laurie. These hypotheses mutually reinforce.

Dingfelder discovered that in the experience of neuroscientist Joseph DeGutis, "prosopagnosiacs tend to be smarter than average, perhaps because they often have lonely childhoods with lots of time for reading, thinking and similar solitary pursuits" (Dingfelder, 2019). *Quaere*, whether little Ned was more intelligent than the norm and immersed in a boyhood abrim with time for daydreaming, reading and such independent endeavors. Mack reports:

> Like Mrs. Lawrence and Bob, Janet [Laurie] had a lively recollection of T.E.'s humor and sense of fun, and spoke of the generally happy atmosphere in the Lawrence home.
>
> But she observed that "there was always something he was not satisfied with, even as a small child," something sad, "a secret something of unhappiness," which inspired the feeling that she ought to take care of him or protect him. These qualities seemed to grow stronger as he

grew older" (Mack, 1976: 21).

Professor Sellers recalled her own youth with, "I hadn't fit into my family" (Sellers, 2011: 306). And as Ronald Florence agrees regarding the boy whose family arrived in the town of Oxford during 1896: "Ned was always different" (Florence, 2007: 55). Mr. Florence attributes his difference to his small stature or status as middle brother [second-born of five who survived] or awareness of bastardy (Florence, 2007: 55). However, psychologists discussing "Insight and Implications for Self-Referral" with 39 prosopagnosiacs found that two "described that even as a small child they knew they were different from their peers" (Murray, et al., 2018).

As late as his days in the R.A.F. he measured himself with disappointment against his earlier self who lived alone in a room in Westminster between December 2, 1919, and April 1920 (Wilson, 1990: 627-628 and 630):

> I'm odder, here, than when by myself in Barton Street: the oddness must be bone deep. At Oxford I was odd, too: my only familiar the whiskey-lover, who after a day and a night locked into his room would invade me at dawn conjuring me,…to find him a way out of life: some way which would save the insurance money for his people. In officers' messes too, I've lived about as merrily as the last-hooked fish choking out its life in a boat-load of trippers. In those days I used to radiate discomfort to the surrounders: while here it is only my single person which will not fit (Lawrence, T., 1963: 183).

The R.A.F. enlisted man remembered when as an Army officer he had felt the jollity of a hooked fish flopping-away its final minutes. *Something secret, of* joylessness.

Consider whether Lawrence as five year-old boy already suspected himself divergent from his peers, a suspicion operating to his mounting discomfort as he aged. Geneticists and psychologists report: "Those with the congential type [of prosopagnosia] have been conditionally instructed from the very beginning with compensatory strategies. Many of them had not realized that they were dealing with a specific dysfunction" (Kennerknecht, et al., 2006: 1620). *Ex hypothesi*, he suffered some indefinable, diffuse awkwardness. It increasingly impeded him as his growing-up's broader and broader horizons introduced more and more new faces.

Yet if he compared himself to his father, then young Ned never could pinpoint his disability. For Sir Thomas too performed deficiently in recognizing faces, even when unexpectedly in physical contact with this son on the streets of Oxford. The father's facial recognition disability need not prove him inadequate in his small son's appraisal, were Sir Thomas himself the boy's appraisal-metric. Psychologists and geneticists concur concerning congenital prosopagnosia: "The affected persons are only occasionally aware of others with the same dysfunction even in very close relatives" (Kennerknecht, et al., 2006: 1621-1622). Thereby, such a youth would endure a mysterious, saddening something, effectively secret because its biological roots remained subterranean to the eyes of parent and child alike. How long did it take T.E. to notice his father's flaw as a "specific dysfunction"?

Dr. Oliver Sacks reported: "Most people with prosopagnosia remain sensitive to facial expressions, seeing at a glance whether someone looks happy or sad, friendly

or hostile, even though the faces themselves may be unidentifiable" (Sacks, 2010b: 92n.5). As seen hereinabove, this reports consistently with Professor Barry ("no difficulty recognizing facial expressions"). Indeed, the mere illusion of a human countenance noticed in inanimate objects is termed face pareiodelia. And, in fact, notwithstanding major variance in the features of such illusory visages viewed (as contrasted with the visual features marking expression in the comparatively more homogeneous human facial features) even these illusory images are rated for their expressions (e.g., happy or angry) reliably from observer to observer (Alais, et al., 2021).

In fact, evolution arranged the face as primary site whereby to ensure another's identity (by image and voice) and also their emotions (by changes in image and voice). The latter must be interpreted hurriedly because fresh signals sent from the other's visage updates them (Choisser, 2020, ch. 9). The latest research reaffirms that "...our ability to detect expressions is tuned to our rapid responses to facial information signaling emotional valence and that the benefit of fast, sensitive expression detection outweighs the cost of occasional false positives" (Alais, et al., 2021).

Bill Choisser is the author of mankind's pioneering book about prosopagnosia. According to Choisser--whether or not according to Sacks or Barry--for those face blind, this visage-analysis must be conscious and tends to tardiness because the face blind person is looking elsewhere (hands, hairstyle, gait, garmenture) to ascertain identity and emotion (Choisser, 2020: ch. 9). Lawrence described Sherif Ali ibn el Hussein with: "His beauty was a conscious weapon. He dressed spotlessly, all in black or all in white, and he studied gesture" (Lawrence, T., 1938: 393). Could T.E. ascertain the Sherif studied gesture because T.E. studied the beautiful Sherif for Sherifian gestures?

In 1927, Lawrence asked Mrs. Charlotte Shaw of Emir Feisal ibn Hussein (Tabachnick, 2004: 56):"Was there ever a more graceful walk than his?" (Brown, 2005: 371). Years prior he had depicted Feisal with:"In appearance he was tall, graceful and vigorous, with the most beautiful gait,..." (Lawrence, T., 1938: 70). Did T.E. know the Emir's gait beautiful because himself a gait connoiseur? For professional psychologists' study reveals regarding identification: "[M]any people with prosopagnosia can identify people via voice, gait and general appearance and manner" (Murray, et al., 2018).

That is exactly as Sacks asserted (Sacks, 2010: 91). Identifications drawing upon gait arise naturally enough. Walking as a science has entailed investigation of, e.g., gait, at least since since the nineteenth century (Mayer, 2020: ch. 3). In China, members of Turkic Muslim groupings like the Uyghurs are tracked digitally through, e.g., their ways of walking (Chin and Lin, 2022: C1).

Robert Graves opened a memoir of T.E. thus:

> The first time I met him he was in full evening dress. This was in February or March 1920. It was a guest-night at All Souls, where he had been awarded a seven-years' Fellowship. The formality of evening dress, when everyone is wearing it, concentrates attention on eyes, and Lawrence's eyes immediately interested me. They were startlingly blue, even by artificial light, and glittered; also, they never met the eyes of the person he was addressing but flickered up and down as if making an inventory of clothes and limbs (Lawrence, A., 1937: 287)

Could Choisser win bets over whether Lawrence regularly inventoried limbs and garments?

Dr. Mack relates of Ned and his aforementioned friend since childhood, Janet Laurie: "Once when he was about nineteen she remarked to him, 'Ned, you never look me in the eye.' He replied, 'It gives me a painful sensation to look into your eyes" (Mack, 1976: 65). Janet's recollection of this exchange from about 1907 squares with the Aircraftman's letter to Graves declaring he never looked at a man's face. The socially unsophisticated youth's 1907 phraseology almost sounds suave measured against telling that *circa* 21 year-old Janet: "I feel painfully awkward looking into your eyes, because I guage your emotions watching body language or gait instead."

Compare with Janet's recall from 1907 the 2021 Stanford University neuroscientist and psychiatrist Karl Deisseroth's recounting of his dialogue with a victim of the condition (found on the autism spectrum) previously-denominated Asperger's Syndrome. He suffered from an eye contact avoidance issue. Dr. Deisseroth inquired how it felt to experience eye contact even fleetingly:

> "Does it make you feel anxious or fearful?"
>
> "No," he said. "I'm not afraid."
>
> "Is it overwhelming?" I asked.
>
> "Yes," Charles said, with no hesitation....
>
> "Well, when I'm looking at you and talking, if your face changes then I have to think about what that means, and how I should react to that, and change what I'm saying."
>
> "And what then?" I gently pressed. "What exactly makes you look away?"

> "Well," Charles said, "and then that overloads. It overloads the rest of me."
>
> "So it's like too much information, and that feels bad?"
>
> "Yes," he said right away, "and if I'm looking away, it's easier" (Deisseroth, 2021: 78).

Painful sensation to look into your eyes.

Did Ned need twenty years or more to learn to read (albeit not recognize) faces? That idea about his youth would comport roughly with Choisser's pronouncement that prosopagnosics ascertain emotion elsewhere. For respecting looking into the faces of their conversational counterparts, there is an element among prosopagnosics that has "taken up this habit deliberately, because they learned that other people expect it from them" (Kennerknecht, et al., 2006: 1619). T.E. conceivably numbered among them. Perhaps the military veteran painfully had learned to read, never recognize, faces by doing as others expected of him

Alternatively, Orlans thought he read faces "instinctively" (Orlans, 2002: 193). Maybe by "instinctively" Orlans merely meant he *unconsciously* had learned to read faces. If Ned finally did acquire expertise in reading facial expressions, then his expertise would comport with Sack's and Sellers's pronouncements. On the other hand, if he had acquired such expertise, then it seems stranger he took the initiative, long postwar, to tell Graves "that I never look at a man's face." Maybe by "never" he merely meant he always looked at a man's face less frequently and less predictably than did other persons.

Vicar Ernest W. Cox had served as the 1899-1903 Assistant Master at City of

Oxford High School. Vicar Cox memorialized the lad's "steady and unyielding gaze with which, with head slightly bowed, he looked up into the eyes of those who spoke with him" (A. Lawrence, 1937: 23). One would anticipate that diminutive Ned needed repeatedly to gaze upward to full-grown men. But he *bowed* his head a bit (as if looking into eyes hurt him) regularly enough that the Assistant Master mentions it (rather inconsistently) immediately upon recording Ned's steadily looking *up* into another's eyes.

In all events, even a face blind boy (often holding head slightly bowed) might compliantly force his gaze steadily onto eyes, unlike longtime childhood-playmate Janet's eyes, of a man speaking with him as an actual authority over him. Consider that on the same page where the Aircraftman lamented his current plight compared with his 1919-1920 Westminster days he declared how even in the R.A.F. "...there is the school-fear over me, that working against a hazardously-suspended penalty which made my life from eight to eighteen miserable, and [the University of] Oxford after it, so noble a freedom" (Lawrence, T., 1963: 183). In other words, he spent a decade of boyhood/adolescence frightened of corporal punishment at school, conceivably inflictable by the likes of Assistant Master Ernest W. Cox for four years.

Dr. Altounyan encountered Ned in Carchemish during 1911, thus: "The shut-up Oxford face, the down-cast eyes, the soft reluctant speech, courteous, impersonal, were impressive, disturbing and disagreeable" (Lawrence, A., 1937: 95). *Radiate discomfort*. However, those down-cast eyes lifted in 1919: "His eyes no longer drooped but met you and appraised; and as they turned from my father to my sister at our bizzarre [sic] reunion in Feisal's Paris house, I saw them light up with sheer pleasure in the romance of living and succeeding" (Lawrence, A., 1937: 96). Perhaps five years in the Army from

latter 1914 to latter 1919 afforded opportunities to look into and read, not recognize, others' faces because others expected it of him. If so, success was slow in coming, insofar as in officers' messes he "used to radiate discomfort to the surrounders." *Disagreeable*.

Janet's youthful "never look me in the eye" exchange superficially seems to clash with Mrs. Celandine Kennington's attestation to T.E.'s amazing capacity to comfort and revitalize her after Celandine's desperately bad miscarriage, postwar. For it rendered her extremely ill and devoid of the desire to survive. Then T.E. arrived: "He fixed his eyes on me..." (Lawrence, A., 1937, 275) wrote Celandine, "and as he talked warmth began to come into me, instead of flooding out of me for, besides putting things as they were, he brought a power to make them all afresh" (Lawrence, A., 1937: 276). A quarter-hour later, after T.E. departed, her husband Eric H. Kennington discovered a joyous wife. From that hour Celandine turned towards health without relapse. Eric said T.E. could be a faith healer (Lawrence, A., 1937: 237).

Ex hypothesi, T.E. fixed eyes upon the woman whose identity he knew (if not whose features he could recognize spontaneously). He understood the challenge. It was not to catch fleeting emotional reactions (e.g., by reading Celandine's ongoing body language, maybe minimal were she abed). Instead it was to touch her deepest emotions while holding her attention, e.g., by looking into her eyes, however onerous his effort. On the other hand, Celandine's words did not actually announce Lawrence fixed his eyes upon *her eyes*.

If this male merely were a prosopagnosic isolated from much of his species' day-to-day emotional communication, then he can have acquired the sympathetic insight he communicated to Celandine only given extraordinary circumstances. Fornicatrix

Sarah Junner, the pretended Mrs. Lawrence, lost at least three of adulterous Sir Thomas Chapman's children *in utero* or at birth: Sarah lost those three between when Ned was four or five and eleven or twelve (Mack, 1976: 6). Had Sarah wept where Ned would hear?

Dr. Deisseroth, the psychiatrist, instructs: "Tears come when we feel hope and frailty together, as one" (Deisseroth, 2021: 41). Sarah had healthy sons living with her. She and Sir Thomas still held hopes for them. Simultaneously with their hopes Sarah, undergoing maternal anguish, relearned the lesson of life's fragility thrice at least. Frailty. Hope. As *one* these things are felt by those who weep. *Sarah*.

Robert Graves found Lawrence feeling at home with the not so youthful yet practical, good-wife-and-mother sort of women, solely (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 8). So weigh whether when Ned set eyes upon Celandine he saw anew the tears of Sarah, the good wife and mother-type, mourning. But Sarah's sorrows, unlike Celandine's, punished Sarah for sexual sins. Or thus that Evangelical mother and her Evangelical boy both could interpret it. How much of one or another among these grievous events could little Ned understand (or perhaps worse, misunderstand)? Can his naivete have been enlightened by (or been taught to interpret facts more luridly by) his 32 months older, and more religious, future-physician brother Bob? Circumstances *extraordinary*.

Sarah Lawrence failed to cooperate with Robert Graves regarding his biography of T.E. (Wilson, 1990: 990n.39). Graves presumably wrote in ignorance of Sarah's three babes lost between Ned's ages of four and twelve. That biographer understood Lawrence to have "had a peculiar sympathy for childless married women" (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 8-9). Unknown to Graves, Lawrence might have imagined (at least subsconsciously)

those women as innocent, sometime martyrs. For they had borne the agony he had seen sinful Sarah suffer, bereft.

If it were *due to the self-proclaimed* Mrs. *Lawrence* that he somehow surmounted his prosopagnosia handicap in conversing with Mrs. Kennington, then T.E.'s Janet ("never look me in the eye") and Celandine ("fixed his eyes on me") recollections can be consistent. For each witnessed a behavior respectively revolving around a distinct boyhood reality. Unknown to Janet, Ned's prosopagnosia explained what she recalled. Unknown to Mrs. Kennington, Ned's boyhood witness to maternal grief might explain insightful sensitivity Celandine recalled.

David Garnett recorded: "Robert Graves, who of course knew him far better than I, says 'Perhaps his most unexpected characteristic is that he never looks at a man's face and never recognizes a face'. But it is the long look, right into one's eyes, followed by a broad grin, which I remember best" (Lawrence, A., 1937: 384). Garnett counters Graves' "never looks at a man's face" prior-assertion, which (as seen hereinabove) Lawrence originated. Perhaps this marked a symptom much stronger in Sir Thomas than in his famous offspring, yet Thomas Edward (grown aware of the inherited nature of his own impediment) erroneously over-identified his own lighter case with his father's more severe case. In any case, independent-minded Garnett conspicuously does *not* question Graves' "never recognizes a face" subsequent-assertion. That *is* prosopagnosia.

Graves had met Lawrence postwar at the University of Oxford (Graves, 1929: 369). Graves published his autobiography two years after his Lawrence biography. In his autobiography, Graves declared: "My hands have a great importance for me and are unusually sensitive. I live a lot in them; my visual imagery is defective and so I memorize

largely by sense of touch" (Graves, 1929: 39). So was Lawrence's alleged prosopagnosia actually a bilateral, inside-joke about Graves not Ned? To test such speculation, measure Lawrence in the world against prosopagnosics in the world.

VII. A PROSOPAGNOSIC IN THE WORLD

Choisser asserts that because hurriedly estimating others' emotions by studying nonfacial signals while the face dispatches further emotional hints, the face blind party is not keeping time with her counterpart. He holds that thereby the face blind party learns that the other's emotions (as signified outside the face) are unreliable. This contrasts with facial inputs speedily, spontaneously and unconsciously read more reliably by the nondisadvantaged balance of the audience. The face blind party can learn to be dismissive of others' emotions because their emotions are so ill-read by herself (Choisser, 2020: ch. 9).

A. The Never Taken Seriously-Variable

The face blind party repeatedly can feel "people…not 'taking me seriously'" (Choisser, 2020, ch. 9). In 1965, Harvard University's Dr. John E. Mack interviewed Mrs. Janet Elspeth Hallsmith for his Pulitzer Prize-winning biography of Lawrence. As Janet Elspeth Laurie, she had befriended T.E. Lawrence since their first meeting in church at the ages of approximately eight and six respectively (Mack, 1976: 20). As Mack recounts:

> He was about twenty-one at the time, still an undergraduate, when he proposed. She had come to the Lawrences' for dinner, and she and Ned [T.E.] had stayed at the table after the meal was over. He bolted the

> door so the parlormaid could not come in. "We were joking about his brothers when he suddenly proposed." There had been no warning, no preliminaries, such as a kiss or revelation of feelings. Though she felt that the proposal was a serious one, in her astonishment she laughed at him. He seemed hurt, but merely said, "Oh, I see," or "All right," and spoke no more about it (Mack, 1976: 65).

In this instance, prosopagnosia might have influenced a proposal even less seductive than this just drawn from Hallsmith-through-Mack. For Michael Korda adds that "...he asked her to marry him, without even a preliminary kiss, indeed without even looking her in the eye" (Korda, 2010: 160). Consider whether said experience could lead any suitor to fear people were not taking him seriously. To be sure, Laurentian biographer Lawrence James relates that "...Miss Laurie said no, a refusal that did not trouble her suitor" (James, 1993: 30). But Korda concludes contrariwise: "It is a scene straight out of an English farce, but it must have been an awful moment for Lawrence" (Korda, 2010: 160).

Mr. Vyvyan W. Richards as Ned's witness recalled: "Few men have gathered after them so great a train of stories as he, serious and comic, and the greater proportion could only have come from his own lips; yet none of those stories was ever told against himself--his supremacy must never seem to suffer" (Richards, 1964: 5). Again: "[N]o story was ever against himself" (Richards, 1964: 19).

Woolley remembered of his employee at the Carchemish dig that "[H]e hated being made ridiculous himself; if you laughed at him he would at once retire into his shell and

very likely withdraw altogether from your company" (Lawrence, A., 1937: 73). Woolley opined that Lawrence's "sensitiveness to ridicule was probably due in part to his knowing that other people found it hard to take him seriously. It was hard" (Lawrence, A., 1937: 73). Richards responded to Woolley's point:

> He could not bear to appear ridiculous: not, I think, as Woolley suggests, because of his seeming physical insignificance. It was more like him to relish the surprise of those who underestimated him.... The true cause lay much deeper; it belongs to the note of supremacy in his character. He must always be supreme; his powers entitled him to this and gave it to him and his will demanded it insistently. He must never appear put down in any way (Richards, 1964: 20).

Lawrence must never appear discounted as unserious in any fashion.

Judge whether any such figure repeatedly is forced to feel surrounded by persons failing to take taking him sufficiently seriously. Ponder whether Richards explains such a party by invoking a psychological feature. Meanwhile, a plainly physiological phenomenon accompanies parallel feelings in others. Ned was known to Richards. Probably that physiological phenomenon was not.

B. The Avoidance of Socializing-Variable

Globally famed science writer and neurologist (Dingfelder, 2019) and prosopagnosia victim Sacks confessed: "I avoid conferences, parties, and large gatherings as much as I can, knowing that they will lead to anxiety and embarrassing situations, not only failing

to recognize people that I know well, but greeting strangers as old friends. (Like many prosospagniacs, I avoid greeting people by name, lest I use the wrong one, and I depend on others to save me from egregious social blunders)" (Sacks, 2010b: 92-93).

Consistently therewith, Graves described Lawrence: "Most people begin drinking and smoking out of mere sociability: Lawrence always avoids sociability of any sort. He is uncomfortable with strangers: this is what is called his shyness…." (Graves, 1927: 43).

The face blind party can grow frustrated and isolated:

> At a social event, the face blind person may well enjoy just 'being there' more than partaking much in any socialization going on. "Being there" makes the I'm-here-emotion [non-loneliness] flow, while socializing requires invoking the less-fun need to figure out emotions. I'm here is also stimulated by being noticed, and the face blind person may choose to limit his socialization to just the amount needed to feel "noticed" (Choisser, 2020: ch. 9).

Just "being there" at a social event proving more enjoyable than much participation in the socializing, heed the (doubtlessly exaggerated) June 16, 1927, formulation of Lawrence himself for the Tate Gallery's Edward Eliot: "To one person I can talk honestly. To two with some circumspection. To three only from behind a mask. To four hesitatingly. To five in words of one syllable. To six only yes and no. Seven means silence" (Brown, 2005: 491). Lawrence acknowledged "small talk" as something "I've never had" (Lawrence, T., 1963: 157). Anyone might be impeded in a small-talk race, if during the opening 20 minutes she cannot conceive the counterpart's identity.

> Why talk when you can giggle? As Eric Kennington comprehended: What a lot of work was done by that giggle! It was used to create an appearance of emptiness, silliness, triviality, when people brought reverence: to bridge the gap of an awkward first meeting; mostly to remove tension, sometimes naughtily, a flourish following a knock-out blow: or a bodkin to explode false dignity, or fraud, or, nervously, to prevent thanks. Nearly always it was an instrument, and the best giggle was the spontaneous one--T.E. genuinely amused. Sometimes, alas,it was his own safety valve, when robbed of success by the failing of others, and at rare intervals painful, when it became hysterical, mastering him (Lawrence, A., 1937: 235).

Nearly always *it was* an instrument: "A look, a giggle from the man who had no self-seeking, and one could not fail to achieve the impossible" (Lawrence, A., 1937: 233).

Consider whether the presence of one party (who is challenged in figuring out other people's emotions) could disconcert or somehow provoke his counterparts. As seen hereinabove, Lawrence as Jesus College undergraduate visiting fellow students in their rooms would be remembered as if enjoying just "being there" more than participating in the socializing: "Often he would remain frozen in the same position for hours on end, listening carefully to the flow of conversation with an enigmatic, sometimes unnerving smile on his face" (James, 1993: 28). (*Unnerving* smile. *Radiate* discomfort.) This is credible inasmuch as Graves confirmed: "He can sit or stand for hours at a stretch without moving a muscle" (Graves, 1927: 42).

Canon Hall recalled Ned in Oxford High School thus:

> [N]one of us then recognized in him a future leader of men. His eccentricity was too pronounced. Or was it that he always wore a mask, the outer covering of which was at school irreverently termed by us his "grin"? How often a group of us, absorbed in some discussion of cricket or football, would gradually become conscious of a silent addition to our number, contemplating us with that provocative smile of his, til one of us would seize him and close in friendly wrestling, to feel even then the strength of those iron wrists (Lawrence, A., 1937: 31-32).

Hence, ponder if T.E. Lawrence (born on August 16, 1888) socialized seldom and passed at least the first two-thirds of his lifespan, i.e., until August 14, 1919 (Wilson, 1990: 623), sensing himself taken too lightly. Did this accompany or encourage a dearth of emotional commitment, or else facilitate misinterpretations of him along such lines? Orlans opined:

> It was not just love that Lawrence did not feel, but real emotional commitment, even hate. His reserve took two forms: avoidance of sociability, social engagements, and close friendship; and a shyness, emotional restraint or aloofness. Both forms were present much of his life (Orlans, 2002: 190).

Professor Heather Laurie Sellers was to explain of herself to a Hope College vice-president:

> You may have noticed I've avoided sporting events, graduation, commencement, the pre-college conference---and anything where people are in uniform. I avoid small groups of familiar people. The entire committee structure of the college is, for me, a nightmare (Sellers, 2011: 319).

Quaere, whether a college vice-president might have misread professors like Sellers as: (1) in want of emotional commitment (even love or hatred); with (2) her reserve expressed in avoiding close friendships and even sociability, aloofness and emotional restraint; and with (3) her shyness expressed in aloofness and restrained emotions.

C. The Backing into the Limelight-Variable

Professor Sellers once conferred with a Hope College psychology department professor, who taught her own psychology class about prosopagnosia (Sellers, 2011: 316). Sellers reveals she was led to comprehend that

> there were two kinds of prosopagnosiacs: those who compensated by being friendly to everyone and those who retreated, hunkered down, avoided interactions. I was, seemingly, both types in one, a super-friendly super-avoider. But people saw me as bubbly and confident and friendly, and it was going to be hard for them to accept this truth about me (Sellers, 2011: 316-317).

After publicizing her face blindness, Heather Laurie Sellers received an admiring email styling her extroverted and vibrant, although: "I wanted to write back and explain

that prosopagnosiacs were prone to act this way, all showy, because we were desperate to be seen. Because we didn't recognize people, a deep part of us feared it was *us* that was invisible (Sellers, 2011: 345 (italics in original)). *Quaere*, whether Dr. Sellers coped by socializing seldom, while burnishing a talent for somehow edging into warmhearted acceptance ("people saw me as bubbly and confident and friendly").

Historian Sir Lewis B. Namier descriptively (not analytically) remembered Lawrence and a 1920 wedding

> reception in St. James's Square. On the way he said: 'I do not want to have my name called out. What is the Christian name of Lenin?'—'Vladimir.'—'Will you be Lenin and I shall be Trotsky?' 'No,' I replied, 'Trotsky is a Jew. I shall be Trotsky and you will be Lenin.' Of course I took it for a joke. As we reached the door he pushed me in and said to the butler: 'This is Mr. Trotsky.'—'Mr. Trotsky!' called out the butler. 'And I am Mr. Lenin.'—'Mr. Lenin!' I was annoyed and embarrassed, and said: 'You are so shy that you always insist on creating a sensation' (Lawrence, A., 1937: 195).

Annoyed Namier's remark to T.E. superficially smacks of paradox.

Consistently with Namier's anecdote, Lowell Jackson Thomas, Junior, closed a memorial-essay on Colonel Lawrence thus: "There is an old Turkish saying which admirably illustrates the character of T.E. and which, being interpreted, signifies: 'He had a genius for backing into the limelight'" (Lawrence, A., 1937: 186). Thomas knew about limelight. He launched Lawrence's skyrocketing fame commencing August 14,

1919.

Professor Namier more analytically offered of the Colonel:

> He was retiring and yet craving to be seen, he was sincerely shy and naively exhibitionistic. He had to rise above others, and then humble himself, and in his self-inflicted humiliation demonstrate his superiority. It was a mysterious game which he had started long before he became a private [postwar]. It amused or puzzled some, annoyed or put off others; he himself enjoyed it in a quaint, whimsical manner. A deep cleavage in his own life lay at rhe root of it. I wonder whether he himself ever knew why he did it, or rather had to do it (Lawrence, A., 1937: 194).

Maybe Lawrence betrayed tropism toward Thomas's "limelight" because: (1) he was, to borrow Namier's phrase, "so shy"; and (2) he had become shy because a prosopagnosic; and (3) prosopagnosics thirst for reassurance of their visibility. Lawrence did understand himself face blind. He did not learn about his affliction's other victims' typical coping-mechanisms. Weigh whether T.E. himself ever knew the root of impulses (Namier: "had to do it") to be naively exhibitionistic and sincerely retiring simultaneously. *Prosopagnosics* all showy *because deep down they fear it is* they *who are* invisible.

Namier never knew. Nor Michael Korda.

Post-August 14, 1919, Lawrence of Arabia scarcely need socialize to have himself noticed. He required no flashiness to reassure himself he was not invisible. Nonetheless, compare Thomas's "backing into the limelight" with how Robert Graves described Lawrence of Arabia. T.E. circulated his years-postwar book, *The Mint*, to readers by the

score: "Technically there had been no 'publication'. But Lawrence was always anxious to know of the effect he had on other people: he was like a child who hides behind a curtain and keeps showing little bits of himself to dramatize his sense of being in hiding" (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 172).

Comparable are remarks by Orlans about Lawrence (post-1919) as the war-memoirist who had written *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*:

> "I'm absolutely hungry to know what people think of it [*Seven Pillars*]---not what they are telling me, but what they tell to one another," he beseeched Lionel Curtis. He asked Edward Garnett to transmit any "private verbal opinion" he heard of *Seven Pillars* or *Revolt* [*in the Desert*]. "Things they tell the author, or the Press, aren't…honest. I like to overhear my verdicts." [footnote omitted] He asked Kathleen Scott to find out what G.B. Shaw really thought of *Seven Pillars* and Garnett, what Trenchard thought of *The Mint* (Orlans, 2002: 205 (footnote omitted) (Orlans's first bracketed insert and ellipsis)).

D. The Social Circle-Variable

The face blind party's choice of a social circle is rarely ready-made, but assembled from delicately chosen individuals scattered in preexisting social groups. For Lawrence as a Jesus College undergraduate: "The still hours of darkness were the time he favoured for working, for his walks abroad or even for visiting friends. These were few, if rich in variety, as he only seemed to care for company when it offered some fresh and different facet to his intellectual curiosity" (Hart, 1979: 18). *Rich variety*. *Few*.

The face blind party's friend-recruitment options are so limited that such selectees might not care for one another. Thereby the group is dispersed extensively:

> The face blind person's group of acquaintances will not only be smaller than others', but it may be smaller in a not-so-graceful fashion, because he will make it smaller by excluding people consistent with group boundaries. This may not make sense to others who have drawn their group boundaries differently (Choisser, 2020: ch. 11).

Lawrence's friend-recruitment options were *not* tightly circumscribed after eruption of his celebrity on August 14, 1919: Graves borrowed Lawrence's language as witnessing T.E. enjoying an "enormously wide circle of friends," so plucked from dispersed preexisting social groupings as to "range from tramps to reigning sovereigns and Air-Marshals" (Graves, 1927: 55). However, as with a typical face blind figure, T.E.'s preferred social circle did not arise ready-made (as Graves's examples attest). For he collected delicately selected individuals from scattered sources: "The result of this dispersion---his friends are not casually made but chosen out, representing various departments of art, life, science, study (and he has an especial tenderness for ruffians)" came to be their jealousy upon making one another's acquaintance" (Graves, 1927: 55). *Might not care for one another*.

E. The Downcast Eyes-Variable

Dingfelder finds:

> Being face blind means living in a world of strangers. The fact that

> some of these people are acquaintances and even friends is no solace. It's actually a source of constant anxiety. One face-blind man I read about walked around with his eyes downcast to avoid chance encounters with people he couldn't recognize. This earned him a reputation for being aloof, which made it even harder for him to make friends (Dingfelder, 2019).

Consistently with Dingfelder, several scholars have agreed that the majority of prosopagnosics sense no necessity for, nor inclination toward, looking at their conversational partners' faces (Kennernecht, et al., 2006: 1619).

Too: "Development of adaptive strategies appear common: for example, not going to places where other people could be met unexpectedly, or being first to an appointment, or the habit of appearing absent-minded or looking to the ground when walking down the street" (Kennerknecht, et al., 2006: 1619). Postwar, Colonel Lawrence carried "his head a little tilted, his eyes on the ground" (Graves, 1927: 42). He had been the boy whom Assistant Headmaster Cox recalled "with head slightly bowed." And *Portrait of T.E. Lawrence* by Lawrence's friend from his Jesus College years and subsequently, Mr. Richards, provides:

> His eyes when you noticed them were a very light blue, but he did not often look straight into yours. Sometimes it seemed that this might well be due to his deep-seated, instinctive respect for the personal integrity of others. That strong will of his could so easily become masterful; and to dominate another person, a friend, was repugnant

to him (Richards, 1964: 7-8).

Richards knew Lawrence well enough to not merely notice Ned's failure to look at friends eye-to-eye, but to ratify it as a detail warranting explanation. Richards' intelligent guess was that of faithful friend. Unfortunately, when Richards knew Ned neither knew the noun 'prosopagnosia'.

Lowell Jackson Thomas, Junior, observed postwar: "When walking along the streets in London he is usually absorbed and pays no attention to anything until he comes to with a start and finds that a bus is about to run him down" (Thomas, 1924: 402). Thomas likewise declared:

> He was no parlor conversationalist. Lawrence rarely said anything to anyone unless it was necessary to give instructions or ask advice or answer a direct question. Even in the heat of the Arabian campaign he sought solitude….He was so shy that when General Sir Gilbert Clayton, the distinguished commander of the Secret Corps, or some other officer sought to compliment him on one of his exploits, he would get as red as a school-girl and look down at his feet (Thomas, 1924: 368-369).

Look at his *feet.*

F. The Isolation from Potential Challengers-Variable

Unfortunately:

> In an uncontrollable situation such as at work, unrecognizable and non-tribe people can be quite common and very "in your face", and stresses between a face blind person and those people can escalate.What works best in a medium sized group is to make it a small group as best you can, by seeking a position where little to medium levels of contact is required with insiders, and virtually none with outsiders, is the norm (Choisser, 2020: ch. 11).

Competition, e.g., in a workplace, can be rivalrously uncontrollable.

Lawrence informed biographer Graves (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 61), as Graves recorded: "He took no interest in school games because they were organized, because they had rules, because they had results. He will never compete in anything" (Graves, 1927: 14). That boy fathered the man who told Captain Hart what Hart put in his notes: "So much did he dislike competition that although he had cultivated a garden at his air station, when others followed suit and the C.O. [Commanding Officer] in consequence was led to offer a prize, T.E. gave up tending his own to avoid competing" (Graves and Hart, 1963: II, 26).

Judge whether T.E. Lawrence made a science of being the limited circle, inner-directed loner as: (1) University of Oxford undergraduate residing in the family's 2 Polstead Road-home expanded by Sir Thomas with a bungalow *built just for this* second-*eldest son*; as (2) 1909 researcher photographing Syrian castles; as (3) post-1910 Arab laborers' institutionally-licensed but self-molded leader at Carchemish--Lawrence emphasizing to Sir Basil Henry Liddell Hart: "An Englishman was *somebody*, in pre-

war Syria" (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 185 (Lawrence's italics); as (4) 1914-1916 Army officer---not ranker---of low profile in Cairo; as (5) 1917-1918 Army-authorized but geographically-remote guerrilla bands-warrior; as (6) Prince Faisal's translator-counselor in 1919 Paris; and as (7) R.A.F. barracks-mates' teacher-father figure, they being low-paid, less educated, and far younger men whom he sometimes called "the children" (Wilson, 1990: 740). He meanwhile prudently clutched his Get Out of Jail Free-card. It permitted his R.A.F. resignation at any time for any reason, guaranteed by Chief of Air Staff Sir Hugh Trenchard (Knightly and Simpson, 1969: 196).

G. The Homosociality-Variable

Human faces sufficiently overlap between the sexes for most people to experience only minor challenge more to identify one male among males than to identify one female among females. But beyond faces, sexual distinctions include dress, mannerisms and hair: "Face blind people often use hair and clothing to tell people apart instead of the face" (Choisser, 2020: ch. 10). Therefore, face blind children discover the utility of two non-facial identification systems. The utility comes at the cost of sustaining twice the systemization.

Numerous face blind gays invest in identification-systemization schemes only regarding their own gender (Choisser, 2020: ch.10). This leaves the capacity to distinguish one member of the opposite sex from another never to exceed a low level. So weigh whether T.E. Lawrence, man and boy, has been characterized--even to the point of being suspected a homosexual--as preferring homosocial company above heterosexual society among: (1) a five-strong band of brothers at 2 Polstead Road; at (2) his boys-only City

of Oxford High School; at (3) his males-only Jesus College; with (4) Syrian male work-gangs at Carchemish; among (5) Arab insurgency teams in wartime; or in (6) his R.A.F. barracks of peacetime. For as Mr. Thomas framed it: "There is one bit of false witness against Lawrence that I particularly want to nail. That is the charge spread by certain of his enemies that he was a homosexual" (Lawrence, A., 1937: 185).

H. The Socially Downward Urge-Variable

Moreover: "Most common, a face blind person will have an identity that is more 'blue collar' than some people might want. (Presumably this is because people with that 'look' are easier to tell apart for most face blind people)" (Choisser, 2020, ch. 10). T.E. Lawrence celebrated his years supervising manual laborers face-to-face at Carchemish. Asher draws upon Lieutenant Alec Kirkbride in delimning Lawrence at Carchemish:

> If Lawrence stood slightly aoof from his English colleagues [at Carchemish], he was more ar ease with the Arabs, whom he regarded with the paternal benevolence of an autocrat. His relationship with them was not one of equality. It was Alec Kirkbride who once later commented that Lawrence was more apt to like those who were his juniors in age and standing, and Lawrence himself later talked much of the satisfaction to be found in living among the lowest strata of society (Asher, 1999: 85).

Lawrence was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel early during 1918 (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 93), and a full Colonel late that year (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 93 and II,

165). He p uzzled peers by his career as R.A.F. enlisted man. On February 4, 1935. he wrote Robert Graves, in context of Graves' "strictures upon the changes I have made in myself since the time [shortly postwar] we felt so much together at Oxford" (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 182), that: "…I went into the R.A.F. to serve a mechanical purpose, not as leader but as a cog of the machine. The key-word, I think, is machine" (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 183).

Twenty-first century readers must beware belittling the import of Lawrence's R.A.F. decision in the context of his times. His authorized biographer Wilson discovered:

> At a time when society was far more rigid than it is today, he rejected his "proper" place in the social order and chose to enlist. Military rank then was a potent sign of social status, and after the First World War a great many ex-officers continued to use their military titles in civilian life. They were bitterly angry when it was revealed that the famous Colonel Lawrence had joined the ranks of the RAF as A/c [Aircraftman] Ross. His action seemed to undermine the respect which they considered due to the officer class. The depth of feeling on this issue is difficult to understand today, and has surprised me [b. 1944] more than once when talking about Lawrence [b. 1888] to people of that generation (Wilson, 1990: 6-7).

Officer class.

Colonel Lawrence's father was schooled at Eton (Sattin, 2015: 22). This son was a

graduate of the University of Oxford. So would be all four of his brothers. On October 21, 1914, he started to toil as a civilian in the Geographical Section of the General Staff in London (Wilson, 1990: 152). Lawrence won commission sans medical examination (Hart, 1979: 95) as Temporary 2nd Lieutenant-Interpreter (Wilson, 1990: 152). He got himself a second-lieutenant's uniform from Army and Navy Stores (Hart, 1979: 96). His commission is found in the December 1914 Army List dated October 10, a probable backdating enabling Lawrence to collect Army pay (Wilson, 1990: 1001n.5). He went to Cairo on December 9, as Intelligence Service (Hart, 1979: 96) transfer.

Aldington fumed: "This transfer brought Lawrence promotion to the rank of Staff Captain with seniority of the 15th December, 1914. Thus in seven weeks Lawrence had reached a rank which might have taken years to attain if he had actually joined the British Army as a friendless private or second lieutenant on the Western Front" (Aldington, 1955: 126). In fairness to both the Army and Aldington, eight years after Aldington published this the publication of Lawrence's June 28, 1927, letter to Robert Graves included: "Graded as Staff Capt. General List (actually 2nd Lieut.) Captain about 1916" (Graves and Hart, 1963: 49). *Quaere*, whether outrage encountered by Wilson more reasonably should have poured not upon Lawrence's postwar joining the ranks of the R.A.F. but upon his untaxing upwards-float into the wartime officer class as Second Lieutenant. Or among veteran Great War officers did there lurk a grand host (become ageing civilians clinging to military titles) itself enfolding commission-credentialings too shaky to survive scrutiny in the cold light of peacetime?

Lawrence had written Charlotte Shaw on December 28, 1925: "From henceforth my way will be with these fellows here [in the R.A.F.] degrading myself (for in their eyes

and your eyes and [Undersecretary of State for India Lord] Winterton's eyes I see that it is degradation...." (Brown, 2005: 307). Wilson laments: "Lawrence chose to spend large parts of his life among people who shared none of the advantages of his background. He recognized this fact and sought to understand it; yet his explanations of this 'downward urge' seem inadequate, especially in relation to his enlistment" (Wilson, 1990: 670). Having begun in autumn 1986 (Wilson, 1990: 12) to write the biography first published in 1989, did Wilson know he needed a fresh explanation potentially to shed light on this downward urge?

Not unlike Wilson, Orlans laments:

> Lawrence's attitudes toward money passes my understanding. He did not, as some suggest, emulate his father, who did not live beyond his means, spend his capital or incur debt to help others. Lawrence's deliberate deprivations began in boyhood; in adulthood, they marked the same downward urge as his enlistment. As billions know, poverty is a great leveler... (Orlans, 2002: 135)

Same downward *urge*, still unexplained: "passes my understanding." What would Choisser say?

I. The Female as the Remote Demographic-Variable

Explains Choisser, himself a face blind male homosexual:

> To me I take people who are hard to recognize as nobodies. Men with

> little hair, men in suits or uniforms, women of all kinds (except those in my close family) for the most part do not exist in my life. I imagine what I feel towards those people is what most people would feel toward a group of people who had their faces smudged away. They are the dark nameless faces in distant trenches (Choisser, 2020: ch. 11).

Choisser finding men with little hair or in uniform like people with faces erased, compare memoirist Lawerence's reconstruction of mid-August 1918 in the field. British troops consumed boiled tea and opened canned meat (Lawrence, T., 1938: 510). Lawrence delighted in the response thereto from the Sherari guide accompanying their unit (Lawrence, T., 1938: 509). He was of the oppressed Sherari people: "These Sherarat helots were an enigma of the desert. Other men might have hopes or illusions. Sherarat knew that nothing better than physical existence was permitted them by mankind in this world or another" (Lawrence, T., 1938: 355).

This young guide lent "spice" to the adventure of the author-officer (fighting for Arabs who deemed his guide naught but helot-spawn) and "...naturally confided in me, since I alone wore his sort of clothes, and spoke his dialect. He, poor outcast, had never before been treated as a considerate thing, and was astonished at the manners of the English. Not once had he been struck or even threatened" (Lawrence, T., 1938: 512). The guide reflected on the British troops, for Lawrence: "[T]hey were all clean-shaven, and all dressed alike; and his eye, which most often distinguished man from man by clothes, here was baffled by an outward uniformity. To know them apart, he must learn their individual, as though naked, shapes" (Lawrence, T., 1938: 512).

Mull whether Lawrence recalled the youth's reflections for years because this Sherari's frustration at distinguishing among men all clean-shaven and uniformed likewise was prosopagnosic T.E.'s frustration. The youth's means of identifying an individual man was via facial hair, non-uniform garments, or at least by physique. Imagine whether these were Lawrence's tactics as well. Alternatively, muse whether this sympathetic, supporting role-figure was outright fiction. Thereby, self-conscious Lawrence dressed his own plight in the words of his sympathetic (if synthetic) bit-player.

If so, then Lawrence as prosopagnosic himself becomes the more clearly like Choisser. For Choisser associates uniformed males with women of every type, outside immediate kin, as mostly nonexistent. Choisser finding women of all types like persons with shadowed faces far away, weigh what the postwar Aircraftman wrote Robert Graves:

> You remember my writing to you when I first went into the R.A.F. that it was the nearest modern equivalent of going into a monastary in the Middle Ages. That was right in more than one sense. Being a mechanic cuts one off from all real communication with women. There are no women in the machines, in any machine. No woman, I believe, can understand a mechanic's happiness in serving his bits and pieces" (Garnett, 1964: 853; Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 183).

Now consider whether T.E. Lawrence has been characterized as seemingly indifferent to women as a class (almost as if they did not exist in his life, because indistinguishable in the distance) even to the point of being suspected a homosexual. *Women have faces smudged away*. Heed Mr. Thomas's militancy: "I passed many hours, weeks, months, in

Lawrence's company and never discerned in him the slightest *indicia* of the homosexual" (Lawrence, A., 1937: 185 (italics in original)).

J. The Gender Stereotype-Variable

Meanwhile: "The face blind person may have a core identity that some may consider out of the ordinary for his sex. Most common, particularly among straight face blind people, is that they may in some trait look less strictly male or female than others might like" (Choisser, 2020: ch. 10). His friend and second biographer Graves, opined: "Lawrence idealized masculinity, partly perhaps because he knew that he was not conventionally masculine himself,…" (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 8). Examine whether some judged Lawrence as outlier of the male gender, somehow less sturdily a stereotypical male than other people welcomed. For Lawrence of Arabia's "was a shrill, nervous---and, to some people, effeminate---giggle, with which he often punctuated his conversation" (Knightley and Simpson, 1970: 18). Eric Kennington: "He giggled often" (Lawrence, A., 1937: 229). Anthony West recalled how readily he would blush (Korda, 2010: 659).

The battle-scarred veteran from Arabia whom John Buchan knew presented a sight "like a pretty girl" (Buchan, 2020). Mr. Thomas, public champion of Colonel Lawrence's heterosexuality, used the words: "Face & figure of a Circassian dancing girl" (Graves and Hart, 1963: I, 71). In late 1916, Lieutenant General Sir Archibald Murray (commanding the combined Mediterranean Expeditionary Force and Egyptian Expeditionary Force) summoned Lawrence (Graves, 1927: 114). Lawrence informed Graves that after this interview Sir Wyndham H. Deedes asked the General, "'What do you think of L.?' 'I was disappointed', said Sir Archibald, 'he did not come in dancing pumps'" (Graves and

Hart, 1963: I, 84).

Harvard psychiatrist John Edward Mack presumably proved less superficial than Buchan or Thomas, while more probing of the Colonel's core identity. Mack, as Lawrence's biographer, decided: "He had a strong feminine side, which enabled him to understand the feelings and conflicts of women as well as of men, and to take care of people" (Mack, 1976: 445). Meanwhile, "He also had a strong maternal side, derived from his identification with his mother, which manifested itself quite early in a readiness to help her take care of the younger children, and in a lively capacity for empathy---a quality often associated more with women than with men" (Mack, 1976: 15). Lawrence's friend and biographer Sir Basil Henry Liddell Hart noticed: "The frankness with which he uncovered many aspects of himself was accompanied by intermittent coyness in concealing others---like a woman hiding her ankles while exposing her bosom. Perhaps in far more than normal measure he was both masculine and feminine" (Hart, 1979: 466).

K. The Limp Libido-Variable

Additionally:

> Some face blind people report that they believe their sexual feelings are a bit weaker than they perceive others' feelings to be. Telling people apart is a major factor in exercising one's sexuality, so it is not surprising that a person with aproblem in that area would find problems carrying over into their sexual feelingstoo. Also, if face blind people commonly

> use the circuits usually used for sexuality to help recognize people, it is not unreasonable to assume that those circuits usually used for sexuality might be distracted to some degree, and sexual feelings diminished because of *that*. (We have not discovered any major dysfunction here, but rather, a somehawhat diminished, but still functional, interest) (Choisser, 2020: ch. 10 (emphasis in original)).

So weigh whether and why Lawrence of Arabia might be characterized by some as libidinously deficient. His November 8, 1927, letter to novelist E.M. Forster mentions Forster's *Maurice* (an explicitly homosexual work) and continues: "I'm so funnily made up, sexually" (Brown, 2005: 368). Captain Hart memorialized Hart's August 20, 1933, conversation with Lawrence: "T.E. emphasized his 'sexlessness', and the fact that his senses were different to those of most people" (Graves and Hart, 1963: II, 163). Lawrence's revelations like this to men he respected like Forster or Hart indicate heartfelt belief that his sexual constitution diverged from the male majority's.

On April 18, 1929, he wrote Sir Edward March concerning D.H. Lawrence: "D.H.L. has always been so rich and ripe a writer to me, before, that I'm deeply puzzled and hurt by this *Lady Chatterley* of his. Surely the sex business isn't worth all this damned fuss? I've met only a handful of people who really cared a biscuit for it' (Garnett, 1964: 652). To be sure, editor of Lawrence's letters David Garnett denied Lawrence here wrote literally (Garnett, 1964: 652). Still, biographers have hazarded that he excluded the sexual universe from his life, or in all events that "The evidence certainly does not support the view that Lawrence was 'asexual,' but rather that his early development brought a deep

need to reject and devalue all intimacy between the sexes and give rise to intense fears and inhibitions that prevented action" (Mack, 1976: 420-421).

VIII. CONCLUSION

The preceding discussion has observed that T.E. Lawrence appeals to the interest in psychoanalysis. For his life story has been identified with, e.g., self-identity issues, torments, a human puzzlement, detachment from his fellow creatures, and a spirit so wounded as to render him an enigma. He was a loner, an eccentric, and a presumptive lifelong virgin. He was friendly to many but an intimate of none.

Yet why? This discussion evidences the prospect of a partial answer to that question, at least regarding some facets of his strange biography. Too little is known about the damage imposed upon children by their prosopagnosia (Biotti, et al., 2016). And never scrutinized has been the influence upon Ned, lifelong, of prosopagnosia inherited from his father.

It has been seen herein that it is typical of numerous prosopagnosics that: (1) they sense themselves seldom taken seriously, a characteristic seen in Lawrence; (2) they avoid socializing, a characteristic seen in Lawrence; (3) they often practice a kind of backing into the limelight, a characteristic identified with Lawrence; (4) they carefully choose their small social circle, wherein many of the acquaintances feel feeble attraction to one another, a characteristic consistent with the life of Lawrence; (5) they tend to keep their eyes cast down, a behavior attributed to Lawrence (6) they tend to recoil from situations rife with competition or situations inviting challengers, a characteristic consistent with Lawrence's overt, repeated rejection of entering competitions; (7) they tend to socialize within their

own sex more prominently than do the non-prosopagnosics, a salient characteristic of Lawrence; (8) they tend more markedly than do the non-prosopagnosics to assume an identity more blue collar than other persons desire for themselves, a characteristic corresponding to Oxonian Lawrence's postwar service as military enlisted-man during which he translated the entire *Odyssey* (Tabachnick, 2004: 141-142); (9) if male, they tend to avoid women as an anonymous mass, a characterstic consistent with Lawrence's open endorsement of his enlisted man-level R.A.F. career in a female-free environment; (10) they tend to ill-fit the stereotypical image of their sex, a characteristic of the sometimes blushing, frequent-giggler Lawrence, who independently was compared to a girl by John Buchan and Lowell Jackson Thomas, Junior; and (11) they tend to some extent to sense their libidos to be weaker than are those of their neighbors, a characteristic comporting with T.E.'s self-description as, sexually, funnily constituted.

It is proposed that if all this constellation of elements of Lawrence's life are demonstrated by future investigators to have derived in mensurable degree from his developmental prosopagnosia, then correspondingly the most accurate explanations of this behavior could prove less Freudian than physiological. At least four prominent Lawrence of Arabia-biographers (Mr. Vyvyan W. Richards, Liddell Hart, Robert Graves and Lowell Jackson Thomas, Junior) numbered among his personal acquaintances. Reexamine how each explicated one or another of these eleven facets of Lawrence's life. *Quaere*, whether said reexamination generates its own question: **Has no one ever known this man?**

APPENDIX: T.E. LAWRENCE HAS EYES FOR A LADY

Of Thomas Edward "Ned" Lawrence and Miss Janet Elspeth Laurie circa 1909 and 1910, Lawrence's official biographer Jeremy Wilson says that "while still an undergraduate he had fallen in love with a girl he had known since childhood" (Wilson, 1990: 66). As reviewed by Alison Jolley:

> In 1965, when Janet was in her late 70s, she gave an interview to John Mack where she revealed how Ned had proposed to her when he was about twenty-one and still an undergraduate. In her astonishment, as he had given no sign of his feelings, she laughed him off. Instead, it was the more "dashing" Will [Lawrence] who caught her heart (Jolley, 2021: 77).

Or as reviewed by Philp Neale:

> Over the years, Janet became a friend to all the Lawrence brothers and she seems to have continued her role as a "sister" to all of them, and to have been accepted by their parents as very much part of the family....It is believed that both Ned and Will developed a deep attraction to her as a young woman, and Ned actually asked her to marry him one evening at Polstead Road in 1910, after a family dinner. The story is that she rejected him immediately....The affection shown by Ned Lawrence came as a complete surprise to her and she had never thought about him as a

> possible husband. Janet had seen herself as more like Ned's older sister; based on their contact and interaction since early childhood....It is also possible that she felt too young to at the time for a marriage to someone who had never showed any romantic affection to her before this actual moment (Neale, 2021: 98 (footnote omitted)).

With respect, readers might reconsider Neale' last observation. Before Lawrence completed his University of Oxford degree program, Janet turned 24 (in 1910). When he opted "to attend the Oxford degree-giving ceremony" (Wilson, 1990: 98), her age exceeded 25 years (in 1911). And Britain embraced 644,000 fewer males than females in census year 1911 (Nicholson, 2008: 13).

Tick-tock. *Tick*-tock.

Her 1965 news to her interviewer (that T.E. proposed marriage to Laurie) reached all the world in 1976 through Harvard University psychiatrist Mack (Mack, 1976: 65). He had heard it from Janet when she was Mr. Guthrie Hallsmith's spouse. The credibility of her report was accepted by Dr. Mack (Mack, 1976: 66-67) in Mack's Pulitzer Prize-winning biography of Lawrence. Ned's proposal of matrimony acquires deeper dimensions when assessed in light of the suitor's prosopagnosia.

A. A Prosopagnosic's Family Circle

Scholars internationally note how "People with HPA [Hereditary Prosopagnosia] recognize other people readily in their usual settings, because they expect to meet them there" (Kennerknecht, et al., 2006: 1620). Dr. Oliver Sacks quotes with approval an informative prosopagnosic correspondent: "I have walked by my husband, while staring

directly at his face, on several occasions without recognizing him. I have no difficulty recognizing him, however, in situations or places where I am expecting to see him" (Sacks, 2010: 89). Sellers says: "I recognize people all the time. If they are in a place I am expecting to see them, I'll know. But if they are out of context, or I haven't seen them in a few weeks, I may or may not" (Sellers, 2011: 328).

Consistent therewith is one among the hallmark symptoms of prosopagnosia. That is: "A relative ease in recognizing people when they appear in expected contexts (e.g., a work colleague in the workplace)" (Murray, et al., 2018: 10). Reread these "places where I am expecting to see him," and "in a place I am expecting to see them," and "appear in expected contexts" phrases. Then reconsider how T.E. Lawrence correspondingly could stroll past his brothers or mother not knowing any of them, if "without warning" of an encounter.

As seen hereinabove, Choisser views uniformed males as nonexistent nobodies. Exactly so, one or another hereditary prosopagnosic adequately has exploited non-facial strategies to deal with persons in everyday circumstances but found successful recognition of uniformed colleagues in the Army or Navy nearly unworkable (Kennerknecht, et al., 2006: 1617; Grueter, M., et al., 2007: 746). Nevertheless, the Aircraftman in question succeeded in the Royal Air Force. Perhaps he comparatively easily could recognize R.A.F. brethren (like his years-prior 2 Polstead Road fraternity) to the extent they tended to be worksite comrades (in their anticipated environment) and/or barrackroom-mates (in their anticipated environment). Yet the Aircraftman, as seen hereinabove, would "get into trouble in camp for 'cutting' the officers when they are in plain clothes." T.E. suffered difficulty identifying officers appearing in unexpected garb.

Recall from the passage hereinabove how face blind male homosexual Choisser excludes women "in my close family" from the nonexistent-to-Choisser "women of all kinds". Choisser reassures, naturally enough: "Family members are seen many, many times, so they are usually not a problem, and no face blind person would normally choose his spouse from among those he can't recognize, anyway….But generally, family and home are places one can take a bit of a rest from face blindness" (Choisser, 2020: ch. 11).

Sacks said: "I had no trouble recognizing my parents or my brothers, though I was less adept with my huge extended family and completely lost, sometimes, when I saw photographs of them" (Sacks, 2010: 86n.1). Jane Goodell is recognition difficulty-free with friends and family (Sacks, 2010: 88). For Sacks concluded that "people with moderate prosopagnosia, like Jane Goodall or myself, can, after repeated exposure, learn to identify people we know best" (Sacks, 2010: 104). As even a deep prosopagnosic, Britain's former political journalist Evie Pritchard, describes herself: "My prosopagnosia is severe but I can recognise close friends under normal circumstances, and have a 50-50 chance of managing it after a haircut or a change of glasses" (Pritchard, 2016).

As Sacks discerns, "the difference between the best face recognizers and the worst among us is comparable to that between people with an IQ of 150 and an IQ of 50, with others filling every level in between" (Sacks, 2010: 109). The more proximately circumstances situate one at the center of one's intimates, the less one needs to know regarding one's periphery, i.e., those more nearly strangers (Younge, 2020: 8). As Choisser articulates this commonsense point: "Put simply, no people recognize strangers and almost everyone (including face blind people) recognize those who are close. What

sets us apart is our failure to perform with the periphery" (Choisser, 2020: ch. 11).

To T.E. Lawrence, Miss Janet Elspeth Laurie proved a personage profoundly and uniquely (as a female contemporary) intraperipheral. Laurentian biographers describe her as the Lawrence brothers' "honorary sister" (James, 1993: 30) or "surrogate sister" (Asher, 1999: 75). As seen immediately hereinabove, Neale understands Janet "to have been accepted by their parents as very much part of the family." That post-family dinner proposal transpired in their home: "at Polstead Road" (Neale, 2021: 98).

B. A Prosopagnosic and Janet Elspeth Laurie

One hallmark symptom of prosopagnosia is: "Inability to identify people in photographs including famous people, a personally familiar person, or oneself" (Murray, et al., 2018). Notwithstanding that rule of thumb, evidence implies that intraperipheral Janet at age 23 *was* recognized spontaneously by prosopagnosic Lawrence, at age 21. He seemingly recognized (Sellers: "retrieve an image of a human face stored in…[his] brain") her although merely reflected in what Ned styled "a bad cast" (Brown, 2005: 22) copy of an ancient artwork-likeness of an Olympian divinity (Hypnos), which duplicate in bronze he enthusiastically purchased by October 9, 1909 (Brown, 2005: 20).

i. Unbiased Biographers Catch Janet Reflected in Bronze

Lawrence biographer Anthony Sattin fancies Lawrence "found the idea of a sexual relationship with a woman repellant" (Sattin, 2015: 25). Thus the correspondingly heavier credibility of Sattin's spontaneously ratifying resemblance between Ned's bronzen "trophy" (Sattin, 2015: 70) and a familiar photograph of Maid Laurie from roughly those times: "This portrait shows many similarities with the bronze Hypnos" (Sattin, 2015: between

pages 112 and 113). More potently put, Sattin sees Ned's Hypnos "bearing an uncanny resemblance to Janet Laurie" (Sattin, 2015: 71). Sattin exposes this conclusion to his readers' judgment by providing that Laurie likeness side-by-side with a bronze Hypnos-replica (Sattin, 2014: bet. 112 and 113), as had Wilson before him (Wilson, 1990: bet. 308 and 309). One such bronze Hypnos and Maid Laurie are quickly compared and contrasted conveniently by anyone (Lawrence at Jesus College, 1907-1910 book.douban.com/annotation/54572674/#add_comment).

A generation earlier, concerning Jeremy Wilson's authorized biography, Jeffery Meyers scolded:

> Wilson accepts the self-serving story of Lawrence's childhood friend, Janet Laurie, who claimed that she greeted his sudden proposal of marriage, when he was an Oxford undergraduate, with a burst of immoderate laughter and harsh rejection. But he does not notice that Janet's features and hairstyle---parted in the middle and curled up at the side—resemble those of the much admired Greco-Roman head of Hypnos, god of sleep, a replica of which he bought in Naples and placed in his study (Meyers, 1990: 759).

Here Mr. Meyers fancies a fatherless ingenue like Laurie to be "self-serving" if confessing herself to have answered, in his moneyed family's home where she was a guest, a marriage-proposal from a friend of some fifteen years duration "with a burst of immoderate laughter and harsh rejection." Name a second woman since Eve serving *herself* that way.

Absent are adjectives of Mr. Meyers ("immoderate" and "harsh") from Mack's

volume (Mack, 1976: 65) and from Jeremy Wilson's authorized biography (Wilson: 1990: 65, 990n.40 and 991n.58) drawing on Mack. By this first of Mr. Meyers' sentences, he signals hostility to possibility of a proposal. Thus the correspondingly weightier credibility of his next sentence. It spontaneously ratifies resemblance of Maid Laurie's features to those of the widely admired head, in bronze, of Hypnos: Ned's acquisition, in replica, to site in his study for comfortable contemplation.

Meyers' alignment with Sattin evinces believability that Ned too recognized Janet in his Hypnos. The Meyers-Sattin recognition of Hypnos as likeness of Janet flags a resemblance maybe more striking than casual readers guess. For divine Hypnos evoked Maid Laurie notwithstanding that Hypnos is the male who fathered Morpheus (Zimmerman, 1971: 132). Meyers and Sattin assure one that his Hypnos believably bore the youthful countenance that Ned might recognize: Janet's face. Janet's was the countenance of a female near Ned's age and intraperipheral for him for fifteen years already. Maybe Janet's visage marked his only possibile recognition of any female contemporary.

But suppose Ned unable to recognize Janet in his Hypnos by countenance. For, as seen hereinabove, Mack recorded that she told Mack that, when he was around 19 and she around 21, Janet told him "Ned, you never look me in the eye." Laurie received Lawrence's reply: "It gives me a a painful sensation to look into your eyes" (Mack, 1976: 65). Neapolitan shopper Ned nonetheless could have recognized Janet in his Hypnos by her hairstyle highlighted by Meyers: "parted in the middle and curled up at the side". The familiar Laurie photo shows her hair curled up at the side symmetrically. But Sattin's Hypnos photo is a profile. Fortunately, one readily confirms that the British Museum's Hypnos, like Janet, wears hair curled up at the side symmetrically (Statue: Museum

number 1868,0606.9).

Dr. Sellers says: "[P]rosopagnostics read faces as they read any object--car, house, gun, horse--by looking at the parts" (Sellers, 2011: 146). Sellers delineated for an acquaintance the range of prosopagnosiac impairment: "I drew a circle around my face with my fingertips. 'Actually just the interior features, nose, cheeks, eyes, lips, et cetera'" (Sellers, 2011: 313). Sellers betokens no prosopagnosics' hairstyle recognition-impairment.

In one neurologist's office the professor had passed the 1970s-era Benton Visual Retention Test: Sellers subsequently informed another neurologist "how easy it had been to tell the photographs apart on the face test I'd taken" because "I'd just used the hairstyles to differentiate the men" (Sellers, 2011: 278). *Face blind people often use hair to distinguish people*. If Ned were incapable of recognizing Janet's face--but recall of hairstyles represents prosopagnosics' practice--then Meyers' second sentence evinces both that: (1) T.E. had studied the locks framing the face of Miss Laurie in Oxford; and that (2) Ned *cared enough for* what he peered upon there to retrieve that preserved impression ("hairstyle--parted in the middle and curled up at the side") rising before his mind's eye in Naples.

Presumably, neither Meyers nor Sattin proved uncannily adept at catching Maid Laurie's likeness in a male deity. Further, one expects Janet (only coincidentally reflected so) to be but imperfectly reflected. Yet each latterday male apprehended Janet's likeness in the "much admired" bronze god. If Meyers and Sattin saw Janet in Hypnos (despite never seeing her face firsthand), then Ned likewise could know Janet in his Hypnos (if already an admirer studying her features firsthand for years).

ii. The Woolley Recounting

Lawrence later came to be tasked with reconstructing and cataloging pottery in Syria (James, 1993: 47). When Ned was at high school in Oxford he had made the acquaintance of the archaeologist quoted hereinabove, Sir Charles Leonard Woolley (Lawrence, A., 1937: 69), of Oxford's New College. Woolley, at the start of 1906, became Junior Assistant Keeper at the Ashmolean Museum (Stewart, 1977: 25) in Oxford. He was in charge of Lawrence at excavations in Carchemish from 1912 (Wilson, 1990: 101).

In Wilson's understanding, Woolley was the solitary qualified figure who commanded firsthand knowledge of T.E.'s archaeological employment and wrote of it (Wilson, 1990: 128). This professional directly judging Lawrence as amateur archaeologist in the field could see him in a perspective beyond that of their site alone. Wilson found what Woolley recorded about T.E. and archaeology carried "a slightly hostile ring throughout" (Wilson, 1990: 128). Hence the accordingly weightier credibility of Woolley's witness favoring his tyro archaeologist.

Woolley acknowledged: "His impatience of the written record might have been due to his prodigious memory. He would look at a small fragment of a Hittite inscription which had just come to light and remark that it fitted on to an equally small piece found twelve months before, and although there were many hundreds of such in our store-room he was always right;….His mind was indeed entirely set on the work he was doing, but he did it in his own way" (A. Lawrence, 1937: 69-70). Richard Aldington, although an unfriendly investigator of Lawrence, seems to credit Wooley's description (Aldington, 1955: 88).

Woolley explicitly confirms T.E. did notice, as fitted unit, such three-dimensional

pairs of pieces--one unseen, maybe, for a year--through: (1) the directly perceived piece; and (2) his possibly twelve months-old remembrance of its absent partner-piece. Thus, ponder the credibility that Lawrence could comprehend congruence of numerous points, e.g., Myers's "features and hairstyle" and Sattin's "many similarities," patterned across this three-dimensional pair of faces: (1) the face of directly-perceived Hypnos, in 1909 Naples; and (2) the face of distant Janet, or at least her hairstyle, in his then-months old memory.

C. Ned Can Recognize Janet if Already Heedful of Her

Instead, ponder whether Lawrence could recognize those hairstyle and facial features points' congruence solely if examining the Hypnos because *predisposed to think of Janet*. Respective Hypnos/Janet faces could be comprehended as congruent through his Woolley-authenticated "prodigious memory," given his happening upon the Hypnos in that receptive mind-frame. In other words, consider his recognition of the two approximately congruent Hypnos/Janet faces via: (1) Ned's time of purchase-inspection of one item before his eyes (the Hypnos); and (2) Ned's *simultaneous* stream of consciousness-association of his purchase's appearance with its Oxfordshire feminine counterpart's appearance.

Many prosopagnosics recognize one or another face at one juncture or another. Dr. Sellers cooperated with a producer interviewing her for television's *Today* show: "I explained that this was exactly what was so hard about the disorder. I never knew when I'd recognize someone and when I wouldn't" (Sellers, 2011: 324). Many a prosopagnosiac can recognize a person's face encountered when she or he already is in mind. As seen

hereinabove regarding his mother and Robert Graves, T.E. told Graves he "wouldn't recognize either of you, if I met you without warning." Would not recognize *without* being put in mind beforehand.

i. The Mindful-Beforehand Shopper's Purchase Report

T.E. capsulized his recent purchase in his letter of October 9, 1909, to Sarah:

> Supplement for Will
>
> In a bronze foundry in Naples, when searching for a 'footballer' (none to be got…) I saw a Hypnos head, very good work, but a bad cast, modern naturally. I asked price & tumbled down with it …, little more than the value of the metal. You will admire it immensely: and I'll give you minutes to find out the fault in the casting---…(Brown, 2005: 22 (footnote by Brown omitted)).

Picture Ned seeking a footballer for Will and chancing upon Hypnos. Ned examines the face the same way that Dr. Sellers apprehends faces (as seen hereinabove): "I suppose I see what you see looking in the mirror--….But only when I look at you" (Sellers, 2010). In the Neapolitan foundry, Lawrence literally sees *objectively* what both Meyers and Sattin objectively saw of Hypnos. He sees what Dr. Sellers objectively would see, were she to gaze upon his Hypnos.

If mindful of Janet before encountering the Hypnos, then Lawrence (like Meyers) can appreciate how the Hypnos wears "Janet's features and hairstyle---parted in the middle and curled up at the side" (Meyers, 1990: 759). Likewise Lawrence (like Sattin) can

perceive the bronze "bearing an uncanny resemblance to Janet Laurie" (Sattin, 2015: 71). Wilson reaffirms: "He also went to a local bronze foundry, hoping to get a reproduction of a statue (which he referred to humorously as the 'footballer') for his brother Will" (Wilson, 1990: 62). So Ned hopes to get a statue *for Will*. Thus Ned can recognize Janet in his Hypnos if predisposed *through Will* to have Janet on his mind.

Or, in other words, suppose Ned needed to be *heedful already* of Laurie to retrieve her face (or locks) from memory to recognize her in his Hypnos. *Ex hypothesi*, this shopper perused merchandise for Will when Will-awareness would tug either T.E.'s wide-awake focus, or his subsconscious, toward the Maid of Oxfordshire. Thereupon Janet materializes abruptly in bronze: Janet-sensitized T.E. does *see* her. Thereby, Ned could comprehend that Will as well was to see Janet in his Hypnos: "Both Lawrence and his brother Will found her very attractive" (Wilson, 1990: 67). To admire Janet in the flesh was to admire Janet afresh in his Hypnos.

Or, as Dr. Sellers might opine:

> Ned retrieved the unsummoned image of Janet's appearance stored in his brain. Ned did *not* retrieve her image spontaneously. Instead, Lawrence accessed Laurie's image because: (1) she already was being mentally touched-upon (or even ruminated-upon) since Ned connected her with his prospective footballer-recipient, Will; *and* (2) Ned's thoughtfulness for Will coincided with stumbling face-to-face upon her likeness immortalized in bronze. This prosopagnosic's prepurchase sensitivization to Janet marked his mental prerequisite to seeing Janet

in the Hypnos.

If only evidence today suggested this shopper's prepurchase heedfulness of Janet-through-Will!

ii. Ned, Thoughtful for Will, Would Be Already Heedful of Janet

a. Will's Ardor for Janet

Study of hereditary prosopagnosia evidenced early that the afflicted reported they readily identified gender, and normally adjudged attractiveness (Grueter, M., et al., 2007: 746). Janet highly appealed to both brothers (Brown, 2005: 89n.3), prosopagnosia or not. As seen hereinabove in context of the marriage proposal from Ned, Jolley added: "Instead, it was the more 'dashing' Will who caught her heart" (Jolley, 2021: 77). In that context, too, Dr. Mack records: "Janet's heart was turning to Will despite the more than three years' difference in their ages" (Mack, 1976: 65).

The Wilson-advocated proposal time-window lay between October 1909 and June 1910 (Wilson, 1990: 991n.58). Suppose both Mack (respecting Janet's turn of heart as of the proposal) and Wilson (regarding proposal timeframe) were accurate. Thereby, Janet's feelings by October 9, 1909, had started to stir toward the youth towering some six or seven inches above T.E. If either Janet or Will had seemed (to Ned) admiring the other in Oxford, then he understandably linked her logically (and emotionally) with Will. Weigh whether, in Ned's mind, a stream of consciousness-bridge between Ned and Janet was Will. Thereby, to think about Will that October would evoke Janet reflexively: Janet-through-Will heedfulness.

Both Jolley (Jolley, 2021: 77) and Neale (Neale, 2021: 99) concur that in wartime 1915 the Royal Flying Corps' Will agreed with T.E. for him to be Will's executor and only beneficiary: T.E. agreed to deliver Will's estate to Janet (Wilson, 1990: 637). So: "On 11 October 1915, shortly before embarking for France, Will did indeed visit a solicitor in Portsmouth to sign his will making Ned his sole executor and beneficiary as they had arranged,..." (Jolley, 2021: 81). *Any* October 1909, fealty from Will to Laurie extended more than six years. Specifically, Will's loyalties survived even Ned's July 17, 1915, missive apprising Will that she was to wed in "only a very short time" (Jolley, 2021: 78).

If unwed Will's undying dedication to Janet manifested before Lawrence's June 18, 1909, departure from England (Wilson, 1990: 57; Korda, 2010: 169), then it is plausible that Ned hardly could miss it. Michael Asher actually defines their eventual triangle: "She was attracted to his more handsome brother Will, and Lawrence may have noticed this and been inspired to compete" (Asher, 1999: 77). So to think of Will was to think of Janet. Neapolitan stream of consciousness: Ned-Will-Janet.

b. Absence of Janet-Rivals

Second, examine the probability of Will as T.E.'s stream of consciousness-bridge between Ned and Janet from a related angle. Superficially, the Will-Janet age divide of three years and five months might imply unlikelihood that 19 year-old Will's allure to Janet explained association of the two in the foundry-shopper's 1909 mind. However, history indeed does discern dearth of additional women both eligible to become brides and moving in the Laurentian fraternity's orbit. The total of potential brides whom

biographers name as noticed by Will between 1909 and 1915 is estimated easily at few or none.

Meanwhile, Janet already had been passing through Will's house as a familiar of his fraternity. Lawrence's authorized biographer Wilson says T.E. "often saw her at his home" (Wilson, 1990: 67). Opines Neale: "It would not have been surprising if Janet had fallen in love with one or more of them and eventually married one" (Neale, 2021: 102). Of "the Lawrence brothers" Sattin says: "Several of the young men seem to have been in love with her" (Sattin, 2015: 25).

The fourth-born brother, Frank Helier Lawrence, was born in 1893 (Tabachnick, 2004: 108). Because Frank only turned sixteen in 1909 (the year Laurie turned 23) Sattin's "young men" presumably means no more than firstborn Montague Robert Lawrence, T.E., and Will Lawrence. Janet's recurrent presence in Lawrence boys' lives, and arresting scarcity of Janet-alternatives, both argue for believing *any perceptible romantic inclination at all* between Will and Janet caught Ned's attention, even if not as jealousy tigger. Neapolitan stream of consciousness: Ned-Will-Janet.

c. Sensitivity to Impending Reunion

Third, examine from a different perspective the circumstances rendering Will a realistic lead to Janet along Ned's stream of consciousness. At any given moment some sizable slice of healthy, 21 year-old male shoppers effortlessly holds one girl's face much in mind, even if reluctantly. (Author's research) Because he left England on June 18, T.E. on October 9 had been isolated from his family and Maid Laurie for about 112 days. He anticipated return by October 15 to the University of Oxford (Garnett, 1964:

82). Consequently, that October in Naples he hungrily could savor swiftly impending corporeal reunion with, e.g., Oxfordshire's Will and Janet.

It is indisputable that if Ned thought of Will back home, then most reasonably might he do so mindful of their mother. For it was to Sarah that T.E. wrote, with his Hypnos-supplement for Will. It thereby becomes easy to accept Ned in the foundry fully cognizant of 2 Polstead Road's entire circle. Their family's constricted circle was steeply walled. Yet, inside, it hugged Janet Elspeth Laurie alongside Sarah and Will. Therefore, consonant with the evidence is: (1) Lawrence in Naples thought about intended gift recipient Will; and thus (2) Lawrence thought of Will and Janet, both being encompassed in that tight Laurentian circle; because (3) Lawrence knew that Sarah's small circle of loved ones soon was to welcome Ned home. Neapolitan stream of consciousness: Ned-Will-Janet.

Consider whether T.E. had eyes only for Laurie among young ladies, practically *physiologically*.

D. Conclusion

Judge the extent whereby the prosopagnosia hypothesis fits-together undenied facts (not unlike Lawrence's reunion of Woolley's mutually-conforming fragments). Some might resist the persuasiveness of this Naples episode-evidence that Ned kept Janet in mind (ultimately, in a foundry, to behold her face before his mind's eye) through over 16 weeks of separation and across a distance of hundreds and hundreds of miles. Then, alternative interpretation of the Naples episode is invited to demonstrate as coincidental that: (1) T.E. Lawrence endured face blindness; but nevertheless (2) at age 21 carried

home his Hypnos *objectively* highly reminiscent of Janet Laurie even to total strangers yet-unborn: Sattin and Meyers; while (3) extolling it to Will, consistently with Will being besmitten by Janet; albeit (4) *not* extolling it to Ned's actual addressee: Sarah.

This review of the Hypnos affair, in light of Ned Lawrence's self-conceded prosopagnosia, justifies deeper researches into the T.E.-Janet Laurie relationship.

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Texture #3

Stuart Matheson

‘Apartheid’ in British Colonial Nigeria: the dynamics of recurrent ethno-religious conflicts

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Abstract

This paper considers Nigeria’s balkanisation along regional-cum-ethno-religious divides beginning with examples in Kano. In Kano, the British colonial government addressed the religious threat to inter-group relations in northern Nigeria by creating segregated districts: ‘township’ (occupied by the British), *Birni (*exclusively for Hausa-Fulani Kanawa Muslims) and Tundun-Wada, Gwargwarma and Sabon-Gari (for southern Christian immigrants). The British also initiated an ordinance, which birthed the Sabon-Gari settlement system to prevent contact. The ‘Sabon-Gari’ culture, which began in

Kano in 1911, gradually filtered throughout Northern Nigeria. In southern Nigeria, the Igbo also established the 'Garki' quarters where the Hausawa were settled. Elsewhere, they were resettled in separate 'Sabo' quarters,according to British ethno-religious segregationist policies conditions analogous to Southern Africa's apartheid. In regards to health, certain *sanatoria* were designated specifically as European or African. This "European Quarters" designation has survived as a post-independence legacy, dubbed Government Reservation Areas (GRAs). The divide-and-rule tactics Britain used to administer the country strengthened in-group self-consciousness and bonding, and out-group bickering and balkanisation. We recommend revising these divisions which perpetuate division, competition, and bigotry between the Muslim-dominated North and Christian-dominated South.

Keywords: Apartheid, Ethno-religious conflicts, Balkanisation, in-group/out-group consciousness, Nigeria

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Introduction

The growth of militarism among the leading European powers following the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 and the outbreak of the Great War turned Europe an armed camp. Many state leaders maintained militarism was a positive benefit. Conflict was thought a 'terrible medicine' for the human race. The French philosopher, Ernest Renan, in particular, justified war as *"a condition of progress"*[1] and argued that peace meant *"sloth and decline"*.[2] Despite the Concert of Europe or the Congressional System, the Versailles Peace Treaty, Formation of the League of Nations, the Locarno Pact, the Appeasement

1. Ernest Renan. "La Reforme intellectuelle et morale" edited and introduced by P. E. Charvet, Cambridge U.P., 1950.
2. Marchant, P. D. "Determinist Theories and Politics: The Example of Social Darwinism" A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D in the Australian National University, October, 1961. https://encyclopedia.com

Policy, and the formation of the United Nations Organisation, peace has remained elusive. The recent resurgence of xenophobia in South Africa, where apartheid was adopted from 1948 to the early 1990s, offers much to consider in light of the outbursts of violence across Nigeria, especially northern Nigeria, with specific reference to the ancient city of Kano. Turkey's example is also instructive. If the Old Ottoman Empire could be described during the nineteenth century as the "*Sick Man of Europe*" because its weak system of government, Nigeria, the so-called Giant of Africa, can be described as "a giant with feet of clay" or a"crippled giant," because of its fragile economic, political, and social structures.[3] Highlighting the internal challenges confronting Nigeria's leadership drive in Africa, Aghalino and Aboyeji argue that

> Nigeria is bedevilled by a number of adverse domestic socio-economic challenges such as massive poverty, unemployment, under-employment, youth restiveness, widespread infrastructural decay and corruption … Furthermore, Nigeria has deep and complex internal issues to contend with in the area of national security which manifest in different forms across the different regions of the country. Such issues as the unabated Niger-Delta crisis, the Boko-Haram insurgency basically in the north, herdsmen menace and cattle rustlers, the prevalence of abductions and kidnappings, the lingering National Question…have conspired to undermine Nigeria's capacity to assume sustainable leadership role in Africa.[4]

3. Cravo, T. A., Hornsby, D. J., Nascimento, D. and Santos, S. J. "African Emerging Powers" Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre (NOREF) Report, July, 2014.

4. Aghalino, S. O. and Aboyeji, A. J. "Pax Nigeriana Project: Issues, Challenges and Prospects" *DEGEL Journal of Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies*, Vol. 14, June. Published by Faculty of Arts and Islamic Studies, UDUS Sokoto, 2017, p. 5. Available online at: *http://www.degeljournal.org* **URL**: http://uilspace.unilorin.edu.ng:8080/jspui/handle/123456789/216

Is Nigeria, at the moment, manifesting symptoms of a failed state? The answer, sadly, is yes. Many able-bodied individuals are pressed into a twenty-first century brand of empowerment, crisis-peneurshp, which breeds new sets of 'entrepreneurs' who earn their living fomenting trouble and/or who profit from conflict. They deliberately cause, exacerbate or take undue advantage of crises. Examples can be drawn from the Niger-Delta area where some have become professional trouble-shooters.[5]

Flashpoints of Ethno-religious Violence in Nigeria

This paper considers the balkanisation of Nigeria by colonial Britain along regional-cum-ethno-religious divides. The following cases highlight of carefully selected major flashpoints of large-scale ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria and cut across the pre-manifest or latent, manifest, and post-manifest stages of conflict.

The Nigerian Census Palaver

The demographic domination of the North, secured during the 1921, 1931 and 1952/53 censuses, was translated into its political domination of the rest of the regions and is responsible for the North's hegemony today.[6] The North's 'Manifest Destiny' and 'Born-to-rule' mentality, evident in censuses and elections, often leads to extremely confused, complicated, and embarassing ethno-religious situations.

In Adefolaju's "Ugly Truth: Confessions about Nigeria by a British Colonialist," Manchester-born Harold Smith, one of the British Whitehall Civil Service brain-boxes in colonial Nigeria, recruited into the Labour Department in 1954 and posted to Nigeria in 1955 to serve on the headquarters staff in Lagos, reveals what went on behind the

5. Aboyeji, A. J. "The Fulani and the 'Unfinished Mission' in Yorubaland: The Case of Igbominaland" A paper presented at the 19th Annual Africa Conference, held at the University of Texas at Austin, U.S.A.; Theme: "Identities" held between 29th and 31th March, 2019.

6. Aborisade, A .S. "Population Census and the Question of National Cohesion in Nigeria: 1963-2015" *Ilorin Journal of History and International Studies, Vol. 6, No. 2.*, 2016.

scenes prior to Nigeria's independence in 1960.[7] According to Smith,

> the Census results were announced before they were counted. Despite seeing vast land with no human but cattle in the north, we still gave the north 55 million instead of 32 million. This was to be used to maintain their majority votes and future power bid...The West without Lagos was the most populous in Nigeria at that time but we ignored that… When I see Nigerians being accused of fraud and from what I saw on the streets of Lagos, the British were worst fraudsters… The fear of the place that will be our 'dumping ground' really occupied our minds…I still curiously and sorrowfully see now that the British have not let go of Nigeria…her wealth, her potentials, and her future…Our agenda was to completely exploit Africa. Nigeria was my duty post. When we assessed Nigeria, this was what we found in the southern region; strength, intelligence, determination to succeed, well established history, complex but focused life style, great hope and aspirations…the East is good in business and technology, the west is good in administration and commerce, law and medicine, but it was a pity we planned our agenda to give power "at all cost" to the northerner. They seemed to be submissive and stupid of a kind. Our mission accomplished by destroying the opposition at all fronts. The west led in the fight for the independence and was punished for asking for freedom. They will not rule Nigeria.[8]

7. Adefolaju, O. "Ugly Truth: Confessions about Nigeria by a British Colonialist" *Challenge Magazine,* April-May 2014.
8. Ibid, pp. 31-32.

Here it should be noted that the collapse of the First Republic was due to the concerted efforts by one region to dominate others through census figures manipulation.[9] The 1961 census enumeration exercise was annulled by the Balewa administration because of the Northerners' fear of losing their numerical advantage and political domination over the South. Despite having 22.01 million inhabitants, while the South had 23.25 million of the total 45.26 million, the Balewa government rejected the census results and fired J. J. Warren, the British representative who was in charge of the elections, on the ground that the North was grossly undercounted by a whopping 8.5 million. The recount of 1963, which put Nigeria's population at 55.66 million citizens, stunned the Southerners who believed the result was padded to secure the North's political hegemony. When the result was released in 1964, the North, with a population of 31 million inhabitants, successfully secured 53% of the country's entire population. The Eastern and Western Nigerian peoples openly rejected the figures on the premise that the South housed nine-tenths of the biggest cities in Nigeria. This, and subsequent ripple effects, further heightened the fears of the peoples of the South, strengthened the existing North-South impasse and deepened the AG crisis which had begun in 1962.

The 1966 Military Coup and Counter Coup

Another major outburst of ethnic violence in Nigeria occured on the 15th of January, 1966. It was caused by the first military coup d'état which abruptly terminated Nigeria's First Republic. Because of the ethno-religious underpinnings of the coup and the lopsidedness of ethnic identities of the perpetrators and victims. it is known as 'an Igbo affair'. The coup was led by Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogu and a group of Majors, most of who were soldiers of Igbo extraction from the South, even though other Southerners

9. Aborisade, "Population Census and the Question of National Cohesion in Nigeria…".

were also among the victims.[10] During the coup, the Prime Minister, Sir Tafawa Balewa, and the Premier of the Northern Region, Sir Ahmadu Bello (both Northerners and Muslims) were assassinated, while Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the President (a Southern-Igbo and Christian) was spared. Major-General Johnson Thomas Umunnakwe Aguiyi-Ironsi, a Southern Igbo Christian man succeeded Tafawa Balewa.

Aguiyi-Ironsi's decision to turn Nigeria into a unitary state and abolish all regional references and associations acerbated the situation further. The educated elite in northern Nigeria became apprehensive that the unitary system would allow the better educated Southerners to dominate the Northern civil service, making it difficult for Northerners to occupy the top positions. The 1946 Richard's Constitution had created a three region structure (predominantly Hausa-Fulani Muslims in the Northern Region, Yoruba Christians and Muslims in the Western Region and Igbo Christians in the Eastern Region) along ethnic divides.[11] Further heightening this impasse, Ironsi allegedly surrounded himself with Igbo advisers and refused to bring the plotters of the January 15, 1966 coup to book. These actions were seen in the North as a concerted effort to promote Igbo interests to the detriment of other Nigerians, particularly the Hausa-Fulani.

When ethno-religious massacres ensued in the North, retaliatory killings followed in the South. On the 29th of May, 1966, anti-Ironsi violence started in Kano and many other northern Nigerian cities, targeted against the Igbo *Sabon Gari* residents. At the end of the crisis in Kano, 73 people were officially declared dead, 254 were wounded, and 170 were arrested. These figures were the highest in any part of northern Nigeria during the May-June 1966 fracas.[12] If the January coup can be described as an Igbo coup, the

10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Albert, I. O. "Violence in metropolitan Kano: A Historical Perspective" Eghosa E. Osaghae, Ismaila Touré, N'Guessan Kouamé, *et al.* (Eds.) *Urban Violence in Africa*, Institut français de recherche en Afrique , IFRA, Nigeria,

counter coup of the 29th of July, 1966, which ushered in the regime of Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon, a Middle Belter and a Christian, can be seen as another example of the North's oligarchy attempting to preserve its demographic superiority and political dominance, and as evidence of the North's Manifest Destiny or 'Born-to-rule' mentality.[13]

The 1967-70 Nigeria-Biafran Civil War

These retaliations snowballed into the thirty-month war that lasted almost three years, from July 1967 to January 1970, which was also preceded by the massacre of the Igbos on the 29th of September, 1966, in the North.[14] Seven years after independence, this conflict began with the attempted secession of South-east Nigeria on May 30, 1967. The main parties of the Nigeria-Biafran war were the Northerners (Hausa-Fulani, majority of whom are Muslims) and some South-westerners that led the Nigerian government troops, on the one hand, and the South-eastern (the Igbo alongside some minority ethnic groups/Christian/Biafran) troops, on the other. This bloody civil war reportedly claimed the lives of some 2-3 million innocent men, women and children, mainly of Igbo extraction,generally through starvation.[15]

The 1980/85 Maitatsine Religious Violence in Kano

Today, Kano is a notorious hub of religious violence in Nigeria. The 1980/85 *Maitatsine* crisis, spearheaded by Muhammed Marwa, an Islamic Zealot, through hate-preaching, is a prime example of this. The first major religious violence in Kano was triggered by members of the Maitatsine sect between the 18th and 29th of December, 1980. Muslims

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1994, pp. 111-136.

13. Oyeyemi, R. "Ango Abdullahi's Lies and "Born to Rule" Mentality" 2013 in http://saharareporters. com/2013/07/30/ango-abdullahi'slies-and-born-to-rule-mentality Retrieved 25/05/2016.

14. Aborisade, "Population Census and the Question of National Cohesion in Nigeria…", pp. 53-54.

15. Nwaogu, Paul Okamnaonu. "Politics And Political Behavior Nigeria in Focus" 2018 https://books.google.com.ng/books?isbn=1641661852

and Christians, 4,177 persons, were brutally murdered. Private and public property was wantonly destroyed.[16] In order to better understand the 1980 crisis, it is necessary to consider its antecedents.

Muhammadu Marwa, the leader of the Maitatsine sect that led the 1980 religious riot, emigrated to Kano in 1945 from Marwa in northern Cameroun as an Islamic scholar. As Marwa adapted to urban life in Kano, he began some unorthodox Islamic practices and fanatical teachings which many *Kanawa* considered un-Islamic. He (with his followers) *inter alia*, reportedly

i. condemned the Quran and argued against the prophethood of Prophet Muhammad; a development that aroused intra-religious rancour;

ii. declared himself a prophet and proceeded to engage in different kinds of rituals;

iii. preached a return to the pre-colonial civilization by condemning the use of wrist watches, motor cars, motorcycles, and bicycles;

iv. tried to force the *Kanawa* and other northern Nigerians to recognise and accept his unorthodox teachings, belief system, and practices.

Surprisingly, by 1980, Marwa, had gathered a large following estimated at about 6,000-10,000 individuals in Kano. So fanatical were the Maitatsinists that they believed that they (and their leaders) were the only genuine Muslims. Marwa soon became known by the soubriquet 'Maitatsine', (i.e. 'one who curses') as it was their practice to invoke God

16. Ola, R. O. "A Historical Analysis of Ethno-Religious Violence in Nigeria, 1989-2010" An Unpublished B. A. Dissertation, Department of History and International Studies, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria, 2015, p. 31.

to place a curse on anyone that refused to accede to his teachings, viz: 'Wanda bai yarda ba Allah ta tsine mishi' (Allah will punish whosoever refuses to accept what I teach).[17]

The 1982 Kano Religious Vendetta

The October 1982 religious violence was the first instance of large-scale violence of Muslims against Christians in Kano. It started inFagge, a multi-ethnic settlement and one of the oldest Muslim immigrant quarters. Fagge has remained dominantly Islamic and notorious as a major breeding ground for religious extremism, in spite of its moderate tolerance of some elements of Western civilization. After the Christian community attempted to restore Fagge's dilapidated Christ Church, the Muslims became indignant, claiming that the church was situated too close to a mosque. Police intervention thwarted the protesters' threats. The irate Muslims then attacked the Christian quarters in *Sabon Gari*. In the ensuing chaos, the Muslims reportedly set three churches ablaze while others were destroyed. These included:

1. Christ Redemption Church, Burma Road;
2. The Church of the Lord (Aladura), Burma Road;
3. Cherubim and Seraphim Movement, Freeman Road;
4. Pentecostal Church of Christ, Festing Road;
5. Eternal Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim, Sani Giwa Road;
6. Cherubim and Seraphim Church, Sanusi Road;
7. Igbala Apostolic Church, Weather Head Road;

17. Albert, "Violence in metropolitan Kano: A Historical Perspective…", pp. 111-136.

8. Christian Church of Light, Hughes Road.

The N75,000 compensation of the Shehu Shagari-led Federal Government to the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) in Kano left the Christians with much to ponder, the resonating embers of which were to resurface about a decade later.[18]

Maiduguri Religious Riots, 1982

Maitatsine struck again between the 26th to the 30th of October, 1982, in Maiduguri. Christians, non-indigenes, and law enforcement agents fell victims; about 450 persons were reported to have been killed, and places of worship were also destroyed.[19]

Kaduna Religious Riots, 1982

In a religious conflict led by some Islamic fundamentalists from the 29th to the 31st October 1982, casualties were numbered between 40 and 50 individuals; private and public property was destroyed.[20]

Ilorin Palm Sunday Crisis, 1985

The disruption of the Palm Sunday procession in commemoration of Christ's triumphal Entry into Jerusalem in 1985 led to violent clashes between Christians and Muslims in Ilorin and left some churches damaged and several people wounded.[21] The Christians allegedly took their Palm Sunday procession to areas considered traditionally sacrosanct to Muslims, chanting "Jesus is here".[22]

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18. Ibid.
19. Ola, "A Historical Analysis of Ethno-Religious Violence in Nigeria, 1989-2010…", p. 31.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid, p.32.
22. Disu, S .B. "Historical Background of Ethno-Religious Conflict in Nigeria: 1980-1999" An Unpublished B. A. Dissertation, Department of History and International Studies, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria, 2007, pp.40-41.

Unibadan, 1986

The setting ablaze of the statue of the risen Christ by unknown arsonists at the University of Ibadan Chapel led to brawls in May 1986.[23]

The 1987 Kafanchan Religious Confrontation

At times, religious violence is started byactors from other parts of the country. The 1987 Kafanchan religious riot, for instance,cab be traced to an incident at the College of Education, Kafanchan, Kaduna State. Conflict broke out on the 7th of March, 1987, between Christian and Muslim students during a fellowship meeting organised by the Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA), where Abubakar Bello, a Muslim convert, was alleged to have ridiculed the Islamic faith by making unhealthy comparisons of the contents of the Bible and the Qur'an. His behaviour became aggressive when he was challenged by a Muslim woman. When the news spread to Kafanchan, free-for-all violence ensued, with dangerous weapons, as residents defended their religions. The riot soon spread throughout Kaduna State. In Kano, students of the Bayero University, Kano (B.U.K.), took to the streets in a show of solidarity with their Muslim brothers regarding the Kafanchan cident and burned four vehicles. The Muslim students at B.U.K. were joined by their counterparts from other institutions for an emergency meeting. Among other things, all Christian activities were banned on the campus. Mallam Adamu Ahmed, the Muslim Students Society (MSS) president, announced an ultimatum, giving the Federal Government till March 14, 1987, to punish 'the infidels' at Kafanchan. He stated, 'or else there will be war'. To avert further action, Governor Mohammed Umaru hastily shut down all schools in his domain.[24] Both Christian and Muslim students suffered casualties, with 25

23. Ola, "A Historical Analysis of Ethno-Religious Violence in Nigeria, 1989-2010…", p. 32.
24. Albert, "Violence in metropolitan Kano: A Historical Perspective…", pp. 111-136.

persons murdered.[25]

The 1991 anti-Christian Religious Fracas in Northern Nigeria

The Ibrahim el-Zaky Zaky-led Shiite movement, a fundamentalist Islamic sect, situated in Katsina, was the first to break into violence in April 1991. One of this anti-establishment movement's was to islamise Nigeria. Many Christians in Katsina were attacked, and their property was either burnt or looted. During the same month (on the 20th of April), an even bloodier struggle broke out in Bauchi between Muslims and Christians. The brawl began when Christians reportedly assaulted their Muslim counterparts in Tafawa Balewa. A reprisal attack was launched against the Christians in Bauchi; the worst hit were the predominantly Christian Sayawa people of Tafawa Balewa origin and the Igbo who dominated economic activities in Bauchi. Twelve churches were reported to have been razed; hotels and commercial outfits/establishments were vandalised, and 600 people were killed.

Kano's religious violence errupted in October 1991, as Muslims attempted to halt Christianity spreading in northern Nigeria. The renowned German Evangelist, Reinhard Bonnke, had earlier visited Kaduna and Ilorin, two emirate cities, where countless amazing miracles were recorded. While hundreds of thousands were reported to be converting to Christianity, scores of clutches and turbans were said to have littered the venue of the crusade every night. The attempt by CAN, in collaboration with the Bonnke Ministry, to organise an evangelistic crusade in Kano became a crisis.

Thousands of posters bearing provocative inscriptions, such as '*Jesus for all by the year 2000*' and *The Christian Crusade*', written in English, Hausa, and Ajami (the Hausa language written in Arabic letters to ensure that the local *Kanawa* could read them),

25. Ola, "A Historical Analysis of Ethno-Religious Violence in Nigeria, 1989-2010…", p. 32.

were seen pasted all over the city of Kano. For the Muslims,the word 'crusade' became a declaration of religious warfare against Islam. The irate *Kanawa*, predominantly Muslim, resolved to stop the Christian crusade from being held. Pressure mounted on the government to cancel the permit given to the Christians to use the Kano Race Course. This action was stymied by the Christians' alternative of the compound of St. Thomas/St. Louis School in *Sabon Gari*. The Kano Muslims seemed to be left with no other option than physical violence to prevent the crusade. When Bonnke arrived Kano on the 13th of October 1991, open attacks were launched against the Christian residents in *Sabon Gari*, Rimi Kebe, and the Tundun Murtala quarters. Many of the murdered Christians were purportedly dumped in wells, and over 2,000 Christians were said to have been slaughtered. There were even alleged plans to assassinate Bonnk, and enormous amounts of property were reported to have been destroyed. Retaliating, Christians, particularly those in *Sabon Gari*, launched retaliatory attacks, killing as many of their aggressors as they could, on sight. Many southern Nigerian immigrants in Kano fled the city; those that remained resolved to be more aggressive in the future.

The 1992 Zango-Kataf Southern Kaduna Religious Crisis

The conflict in Zango-Kataf in southern Kaduna State illustrates how religious and ethnic rivalries and long-standing tensions have inflamed conflicts over the years. Zango-Kataf is an enclave of mainly Hausa-Fulani Muslims in an area dominated by Christian Katafs. The tension between these two communities has been long-standing. In February 1992, sixty lives were lost over a local government's decision to move the market from a Hausa area to one dominated by the Katafs. In May, a more violent tumult broke out, after Kataf attacks on the Hausa community. The violence spread to Kaduna, where it was directed mainly by Hausa Muslims against Christians. Several churches were burned,

and Christian ministers were killed. The official death toll registered 300 individuals, but unofficial independent sources gave estimates over 1, 000. Over 60,000 people were displaced.

The arbitrary arrest of several hundred Katafs was the official response to the violence. Six prominent Katafs, including a former ambassador, Major-General Zamani Lekwot, were charged with participating in the riots. In September 1991, Major-General Lekwot, and thirteen others were convicted and sentenced to death by two Civil Disturbances Special Tribunals. Their death sentences, howevere, were eventually converted to five years' imprisonment.[26]

Jos; 12 April, 1994

On the 12th of April, 1994, growing tension escalated into violent clashes when Sanusi Mato, a Hausa-Fulani man, was appointed the chairman of Jos North Local Government transition committee. As Sha has observed, the indigenes rejected his appointment, because they "interpreted the action as the confirmation of the fear that the federal government wanted to provide basis for the Hausa-Fulani to assume political hegemony in Jos". Ensuing violence led to the "burning down and vandalisation of government properties".[27]

Jos, March 16, 1996

Electoral violence in Angwar Rogo, a predominantly Hausa Fulani settlement, almost escalated into ethno-religious violence. The indigenes alleged that the Hausa-Fulani tried to rig election by smuggling "Shagari voters" from the North into polling stations. This prompted electoral officers to screen out unknown faces, evoking anger and protest

26. https://www.onwar.com/aced/chrono/c1900s/yr90/fnigeria1992.htm Retrieved 28th March, 2018.
27. Eric, Teniola. "Gbong Gwom Jos on peace and conflict resolution (2)" *The Vanguard* July 10, 2018. Read more at: https://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/07/gbong-gwom-jos-on-peace-and-conflict-resolution-2/

among Hausa-Fulani youths. The resulting violence left three people dead.

Ilorin, 1999

A face-off between the Christians and Muslims ensued in Ilorin in 1999 when the Muslims alleged that some Christian boys and girls were throwing bangers and knock-outs at Muslims while they were observing "Satan Tarawiyy" during Ramadan at Ojagbooro.[28]

The 1999/2000 Kaduna-Enugu Riots

Ethno-religious violence did not only continue into the Fourth Republic; it also escalated after the nation's return to civilian rule. Violent manifestations of conflict were experienced in 1999 and 2000 in the Zamfara and Kaduna States consequent upon the institutionalization of Sharia Law which was binding for Christians. The ensuing protests and refusals to comply spurred conflagrations of violence, which culminated in genocide. In a retaliatory move against this Christian massacre in the North, counter-attacks were launched against Muslims in southern parts of the country.[29]

Osogbo Bonnke Crusade Cancellation, Nov. 2001

In November, 2001, there was an episode similar to the cancellation of Reinhard Bonnke's five-day crusade in Osogbo, in which fundamentalists were reported to have vandalised ten churches.[30] Chief James Aransiola confirmed that his son, Sunday, one of the Christian youth deeply involved in the Crusade planning, was martyred in the violence.[31]

Jos: Sept. 2001

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28. Disu, "Historical Background of Ethno-Religious Conflict in Nigeria…", p. 40.
29. Ugorji, Basil. "Ethno-Religious Conflict in Nigeria" International Centre for Ethno-Religious Mediation (May 15, 2016) https://www.icermediation.org/publications/ethno-religious-conflict-in-nigeria/
30. Ola, "A Historical Analysis of Ethno-Religious Violence in Nigeria, 1989-2010…", p. 33.
31. Oral evidence from Chief James Aransiola from Iwo, Isin Local Government Area of Kwara State, 2005.

This devastating ethno-religious conflict broke out when Alhaji Mohammed Muktar, a Hausa-Fulani and a former chairman of Jos North Local Government, was appointed as the coordinator of the Federal Government's National Poverty Alleviation Programme in Jos North. Indigenous Christian youths rejected the appointment on grounds that while he was chairman of the local government, he was indicted by a court ruling, which removed him from office for the falsification of birth records, perjury, and falsehoods. The Christian youths also resisted the appointment of a person from the minority Jasawa group (Hausa-Fulani) to head such a sensitive office. The resulting sectarian violence claimed as many as 1,000 lives.

Jos: Feb-May, 2004

In 2004, more than 1,000 people were killed in attacks against Muslim and Christian villages from February to May, and 250,000 individuals were displaced, especially in the town of Yelwa. These attacks involved contests over land and chieftaincy.

Ilorin, Kwara State, Bonnke Crusade Cancellation, 2005

Yakubu recorded this nasty experience of ethno-religious violence in Ilorin, the capital of Kwara State, the 'State of Harmony'. Another crisis brewed between Christians and Muslims when the German Evangelist, Reinhard Bonnke was denied permission to preach.[32] CAN particularly accused the State Government of giving in to pressure from Muslims to officially announce the cancellation of the Bonnke Crusade. The crusade was ended abruptly after only one day, which recorded a mammoth crowd of worshippers that included many Muslims who attended '*Nicodemously*'. CAN had resolved to use its Budo Efo site after the denial of the Kwara State Stadium Complex for the event that was

32. Yakubu, Mahmood. *Crisis and Conflict Management in Nigeria since 1980* Nigerian Defence Academy, 1 Jan 2005 - Political Science https://books.google.com.ng/books?isbn=978135139X Retrieved February, 2018.

initially approved by the same State Government under a Muslim Governor, Dr. Bukola Saraki.[33]

Jos: Nov 28-29, 2008

Two days of violence followed a disputed LG election in Jos North on the 27th of November, 2008. Predominantly Christian indigenes from the Berom, Afisare, and Anaputa ethnic groups who were largely in support of the Christian candidate from the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) were pitted against Muslim 'non-indigenes', primarily from the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group, who backed the Muslim candidate from the opposition, the All Nigeria People's Party (ANPP). The PDP Chairmanship aspirant, Timothy Buba polled 92,907 votes to beat his closest rival from ANPP, Aminu Baba with 72,890 votes. It was the declaration of Timothy Buba as winner of the election that sparked off the chain of events that led to this crisis.Rampaging youths burnt many vehicles, churches, mosques, filling stations, and private houses. More than 700 people were reported to have died, while thousands were displaced and took refuge in several locations.

Jos: January 2010

Violence quickly broke out when a Hausa-Fulani man attempted to rebuild his home, which had been destroyed during the 2008 clashes. Christians youths in the area vehemently opposed the reconstruction of the building. The matter resulted in serious ethnic and religious disputes that left over 1,000 people dead. In December of the same year, nearly 80 people were also killed in twin car bomb attacks.

Wukari Ethno-religious crises: 3 crises in 3 years (2010-2013)

33. Oral evidences abound to affirm this claim, besides the fact that the authors were themselves participant observers of this incident. Secondary sources also agree with the oral evidence.

The re-occurrence of violence in Wukari, at the headquarters of Wukari L.G.A. of Taraba State, has attracted scholarly attention. These ethno-religious confrontations in Wukari include the Jukun-Tiv crisis in 1990-1992 and in 2000-2001. In August 2010, a few days before the planned visit of the Sultan of Sokoto, Muhammed Sa'ad Abubakar III, controversy over the construction of a mosque inside the premises of the Wukari Police Divisional Headquarters also created a violent Muslim-Christian confrontation. Then, on the 23rd of February, 2013, disagreements among youths over a football tournament, during which one shot and killed another, threw the town into disarray. The funeral rites of a Late Jukun traditional ruler, the Aku Uka of Wukari and third in command, on the 10th of May, 2013, also gave rise to a violent confrontation among the indigenes and Muslims in the town. The Muslims claimed the rites obstructed their preparations for the Friday Juma'at prayer. Each of the above crises involved burning of houses, schools, business premises, looting, arson, maiming, and the killing of a large number of people. Places of worship worth millions of naira were also said to have been destroyed.[34]

The Anti-Western Movement dubbed 'Boko Haram'

Ethno-religious violence in Nigeria has developed into genocide or terrorism. The notorious violence and terrorist attacks of the Boko Haram movement in the North-eastern region of Nigeria at the beginning of the 21st century represents years of ethno-religious friction, stemming from government's failures to address issues of "bad governance, and systemic corruption,…sustained economic hardship, rising income gap,…social frustration… [and] the causes of radical Islamic and ethnic militancy".[35]

Founded in 2002 in Maiduguri (the capital of Borno State) by Ustaz Mohammed

34. Beetseh, Kwagha (Ed.) Global Issues on Rural and Urban Conflict Violence in the 21st Century, Science and Education Development Institute, Nigeria, 2014, pp. 6-9.
35. Aborisade, "Population Census and the Question of National Cohesion in Nigeria…", p. 12.

Yusuf, a religious zealot, the Boko-Haram movement has become infamous for rejecting modernity and Western values (especially education and the Christian religion). Its cardinal objective is the establishment of Sharia Law throughout the states of the federation.[36] In 2009, Boko-Haram launched a sporadic terror attack in four states: Bauchi, Borno, Yobe and Kano. Since then, hundreds of people have been abducted (like the 219 school girls at the Government Girls' Secondary School, Chibok, Borno State, North-east Nigeria on the 14th of April, 2014, and the 6 of the 10 targeted pupils of the Lagos State College, Igbonla, Epe on the 24th of May 2017).[37] Thousands of individuals have been killed; tens of thousands have been displaced, suffering from trauma and excruciating pain; property worth millions of dollars has been destroyed. The fact that both Christians and Muslims have been victims of Boko Haram, characterises the terror movement as being intra- and inter-religious. Be that as it may, the movement, which has established a *pseudo*-Islamic caliphate in North-eastern Nigeria, seeks to be governed, not by the constitution of the country but by Sharia Law.[38]

British Colonial Ethno-religious Segregationist Apartheid and Balkanisation Policy in Nigeria

Despite the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates, which culminated in a marriage of split identity[39] that took place in 1914 under Lord Lugard, Nigeria's colonial administration recognised and administered these two areas separate and autonomous entities. In part, British Colonial Nigeria's scenario was similar to the

36. Ugorji, "Ethno-Religious Conflict in Nigeria…".
37. Aboyeji, A. J. "Child Abuse: Parents' Role" Being the title of the Speech presented at the Graduation and Prize-giving day of the Reputable International College, Ilorin on Thursday 20th July, 2017.
38. Ugorji, "Ethno-Religious Conflict in Nigeria…".
39. Adimula, R. A. and Aboyeji, A. J. "A Marriage of Split Identities: The Birthing of Enduring Ethno-religious Violence in Nigeria", presented at the 19th Annual Africa Conference, held at the University of Texas at Austin, U.S.A.; Theme: "Identities" held between 29th and 31th March, 2019.

apartheid system that was officially adopted in South Africa from 1948 to the early 1990s. Research reveals that apartheid had long existed even before then. As far back as 1659, for instance, Governor Van Riebeeck had ordered the construction of a fence between blacks and whites in Cape Town. Among several other legislations, the Natives Land Act of 1913 declared that Africans could only buy land in reserves, thus making Africans mere sojourners in the urban areas.[40] While establishing the origins of segregation in terms of British imperial policy in the decade after the South African War of 1899–1902, Legassick reveals that central to the vision of the new South Africa was a concerted attempt to define 'native policy'. The Sir Godfrey Lagden-led South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903–05 articulated some of the main premises of what later emerged as 'segregation'—territorial separation between whites and blacks; a controlled flow of cheap African labour to the white cities and mines; and a political system that excluded Africans from direct representation in government. Legassick further traces the core elements of segregationist theory and indicates how these ideas retained influence in the interwar period when segregation became fully realised and implemented by an Afrikaner-led government.[41]

Here it is important to note that South Africa's policy became almost exclusive in its implementing of apartheid so openly and legally that the word 'apartheid' seems to have been exclusively that of the South African system. South Africa, however, was not the only nation that discriminated and segregated parts of its population on grounds of race.[42] Ethno-religious outbursts in Nigeria, especially in Northern Nigeria, with specific reference to the ancient city of Kano, follow an analogous trend. The British orches-

40. Welsh, David. *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid.* Johannesburg and Cape Town: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2009.
41. Legassick, Martin. "British Hegemony and the Origins of Segregation in South Africa, 1901–14", William Beinart and Saul Dubow (Eds.) *Segregation and Apartheid in Twentieth Century South Africa,* in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2003; simultaneously published in the USA and Canada by Routledge, 1995, pp. 43-59.
42. Welsh, *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid*….

trated division, competition, and bigotry that balkanised the Muslims northwards and the Christians southwards. The Northern region comprised the dominant Hausa-Fulani who are almost exclusively Muslims, with minority ethnic groups and the old Middle Belt peoples. The Southern region comprised the Yoruba having a high Christian population and a small Muslim population in the Southwest and the Igbo and other ethnic and tribal units who are basically Christians in the Southeast.

The Kano Episode

Kano fell under the control of the Sokoto Islamic caliphate between 1807 and 1903 as an extension of the Sokoto Jihad, which started in 1804. A century after, in 1903, there was a power shift as the ancient Islamic city of Kano was conquered by the British colonial forces. The notorious violence that has characterised this predominantly Islamic city and given it the reputation of being among the most dangerous not only in Nigeria, but also in sub-Saharan Africa, did not begin until 1953. Albert reveals that having perceived Islam as a serious threat to inter-group relations in Kano, and having considered the implications of the influence the southern Christian immigrants could have on the northern Muslim aborigines, the colonial government divided the city into the following three segregated districts:

a. **'Township' (as White Residence)**: the district designated as 'township' was occupied by the British administrators during the colonial rule. It thereafter became occupied by top civil servants, public establishments, and major companies in Kano.

b. **'*Birni*' (for Kano Muslim Aborigines)**: *Birni,* the old-walled city, was exclusively reserved for the pre-colonial Hausa-Fulani *Kanawa* (that is

the indigenous Kano people who saw themselves as pure Muslims and who received their Islamic traditions directly from Prophet Mohammed).

c. **'Immigrant Quarters' (for Aliens)**: Twentieth century immigrants, especially the Southern Christians, who streamed into Kano after the British occupation and who were not given residence among the Kanawa at Birni, were settled in *Tundun-Wada, Gwargwarma,* and *Sabon Gari*.

i. '*Tundun-Wada*' and '*Gwargwarma*' became the home of the northern Nigerian Muslims, who distanced themselves from the *Kanawa* by agreeing to work under the British.

ii. '*Sabon Gari*' was specially established for Southern and all non-Muslim resident Christian immigrants in Kano, for example, Ghanaians, Sierra Leonians, and Southern Nigerians in 1911. The Christian immigrants were settled in *Sabon Gari*, a separated part of the city, to prevent contact between the two groups. The British feared that the culture-shock resulting from the contact between the Kanawa and Christian immigrants and missionaries in Kano, on the one hand brood, could give rise to Mahdist (jihadist) revolts against the colonial administrators, and on the other, that the more educated southern Nigerians could teach the Kanawa to become recalcitrant to the British administrators, thus paving the way for future insurgencies.[43]

43. Albert, "Violence in metropolitan Kano: A Historical Perspective…", pp. 111-136.

The Northern Muslims' desire to confine themselves to an environment where their religious practices and obligations would not be influenced by the Christian culture apparently encouraged the British colonial administration in the North to initiate an ordinance which gave birth to the rise of *Sabon Gari* pattern of settlements throughout Northern Nigeria. This culture of establishing *Sabon Gari* residents' areas for those coming from Southern Nigeria soon gradually spread to all parts of Northern Nigeria.[44]

Across Southern Nigeria, the Hausawa people were also resettled into the '*Sabo*' quarters in line with the colonial ethno-religious segregationist policies akin to the apartheid of Southern Africa. The Igbo people equally established the '*Gariki'* (literally depicting a place where livestock sleep) quarters where the Hausawa people were designated to settle in different parts of Igboland.[45] Vidal unveils that certain posts were classified as "European Posts" while in the health sector, hospitals were designated separately as European and African. The General hospital situated in Lagos Island, for instance, was formerly "African hospital". Even recreational facilities were not left out, as the "Bristol Hotel Saga" would reveal. It was the "European Quarters" in major cities that eventually became known as Government Reservation Area (GRA), a situation that still remains today.[46]

This separatist 'apartheid' continues today as a post-independence legacy. Generally every part of Yorubaland has '*Sabo*' quarters, and you can find '*Gariki'* and '*Ogbe*' (Hausa quarters) in almost every state of Igboland. Meanwhile, although the culture of '*Sabon*

44. Lukpata, V. I., Dada, A. O. and Tanko, A. A. "Impact of Ethno-Religious crises on Socio-Economic Activities in Wukary Local Government Area, Taraba State, Nigeria" *International Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies (IJPCS), Vol. 3, No. 2*, December, 2016.
45. Lukpata, *etal*, "Impact of Ethno-Religious crises on Socio-Economic Activities in Wukary…".
46. Vidal, O. "Nigeria: The Problems of Amalgamation and the Challenges of Integration in a Multi-lingual, Multi-ethnic, Multi-cultural and Pluralistic Society: A Historical Perspective" Lead Paper Presenter at the Annual Conference of the School of Arts and Social Sciences, Adeyemi College of Education, Ondo, Monday 16th June, 2014.

Gari' started in Kano in 1911, to segregate the southern 'infidels' from the Kanawa quarters exclusively reserved for the 'saintly' Hausa, the culture gradually filtered to all parts of Northern Nigeria to establish *Sabon Gari* residents' quarters for those coming from southern Nigeria.[47] Meanwhile, it has also been observed how the 1914 amalgamation programme sowed discord and animosity that remained latent for many years.[48] The residential segregation in Northern Nigeria engendered hostility between members of the two group as British separationist policies promoted ethno-religious and cultural differences among people who had co-habited happily together before. For instance, in 1928, the British Resident in Oyo gave directive to the *Ooni* and other Yoruba *Obas* to resettle the Hausawa people in separate quarters. *Ooni* Ademiluyi Ajagun reportedly relocated the Hausawa people to the *Sabo* quarters specifically created for them in the separationist programme, and this fuelled differences among the people.[49]

With the influx of migrants came social problems, among them, unemployment for those graduating from Koranic schools, many of who constituted the highest percentage of religious fanatics and ethnic chauvinists in Kano. The Southern Nigerians who were more hard-working, industrious and educated than their northern Nigerian counterparts, soon gained effective control of the formal and informal sectors of the Kano economy, especially prior to the 1960s 'Northernization' Policy. They also controlled the *Sabon Gari* market that had become the city's economic hub. This contributed to the collapse of the long-established Kurmi market inside the *Birni*. The *Sabon Gari* market was Igbo-dominated. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Igbo were the worst affected by post-1960 ethno-religious violence in Kano.[50] Given this, it is understandable that

47. Lukpata, *etal*, "Impact of Ethno-Religious crises on Socio-Economic Activities in Wukary…".
48. Ugorji, "Ethno-Religious Conflict in Nigeria…".
49. Lukpata, *etal*, "Impact of Ethno-Religious crises on Socio-Economic Activities in Wukary…".
50. Albert, "Violence in metropolitan Kano: A Historical Perspective…", pp. 111-136.

the average *Kanawa* regarded the Southern immigrants in their midst as usurpers, especially the Igbo with their 'uncompromising religious activities' and superior economic interests.

The first major brawl between the *Kanawa* and their *Sabon Gari* people occurred in March 1953, being an extension of the ethnicity crisis that troubled Nigeria before 1960. In 1953, Chief Anthony Enahoro, a member of the Yoruba-dominated Action Group (AG) moved the independence motion, which was aimed at making the British grant self-government to Nigeria in 1956. This was vehemently opposed by the Hausa-Fulani members who saw the 1956 proposal as unwelcome,and amending it with the words, '*as soon as practicable*'.[51] This, to them, was like substituting western European masters for Southern Nigerian bosses and a Southern ploy to dominate the North. The motion failed as the British supported the Northern protesters. The Lagos crowd openly booed and insulted the Northern delegates for rejecting the 1956 independence proposal. The Southern press was also very critical of the Northerners who were labelled with derogatory names, such as "Stooges", "Kolanut men", and "His Majesty's Voice".[52] The northerners also became critical of the situation as they interpreted it to mean that the South did not want the Hausa-Fulani in the Nigerian project. Their resolution for secession from Nigeria was only halted by British dissuasion.[53]

Following the disagreement on the floor of the Federal House of Representatives in Lagos over the timing of Nigeria's independence, the AG decided to carry its campaign for independence in 1956 to Kano. Hence, the tempers, which were still high in the North, became heightened when on the 16th of May, 1953, a team of Action Group

51. Olusanya, G. O. "Constitutional Developments in Nigeria 1861-1960" in Ikime, O. (Ed.) *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Plc., 1980, p. 56.
52. Ibid, p. 56.
53. Albert, "Violence in metropolitan Kano: A Historical Perspective…", pp. 111-136.

(A.G.) mostly dominated by Yorùbá and NCNC (mostly Igbos) political party members were mobilised to enlighten the Northerners about the need to expedite actions concerning their self-determination. The NPC supporters and Northern masses' relations with the visiting Southern groups became vile. A 'peaceful demonstration' organised by the Emir of Kano and the NPC leaders championed by the native administration staff in Kano and the *gardawa* (the unemployed youths) against the AG tour soon became a violent outburst against the Southern Nigerian residents of *Sabon Gari that* that lasted from the 15th to the 18th of May, 1953. The 1953 Kano Riots is thought to have left 50 people dead and over 200 individuals injured (although officially only thirty-six people were declared dead and 241 wounded). Northerners and Southerners attacked one another, mutilating bodies of victims, and burning and pillaging each other's properties. Following the 1953 Kano Riot, the NPC government adopted a 'Northernization Policy' which saw many Southern Nigerians in the Northern public service retrenched and replaced by Northern Nigerians.[54]

Conclusion

Circa 1911, afer considering religious threats to inter-group relations in Northern Nigeria and the influence of the southern Christian immigrants on Northern Muslim aborigines, the British government balkanised Kano into segregated districts designated as 'township' (occupied by the British administrators) *Birni* (exclusively reserved for the pre-colonial Muslim Hausa-Fulani *Kanawa*), *Tundun-Wada* and *Gwargwarma* (where northern Nigerian Muslims who were considered impious vis-à-vis their relation with the British and southern Christians), and *Sabon Gari* (where the twentieth century southern Christian immigrants were settled). Although the '*Sabon Gari*' culture of constructing

54. Albert, "Violence in metropolitan Kano: A Historical Perspective…", pp. 111-136.

a sort of *Berlin Wall* between the southern 'infidels' and the 'pious' northern Muslims started in Kano in 1911, this practice gradually filtered to all parts of Northern Nigeria. Indeed, the British colonial administration in northern Nigeria initiated an ordinance, which birthed the rise of *Sabon Gari* settlement patterns throughout Northern Nigeria to forestall contact between the Christian and Muslim communities. This provoked reprisal efforts by southern Nigerian Igbos and Yorubas, who also resorted to the designation of *Sabo*, *Garki* or *Ogbe* quarters for the Hausawa, in line with the colonial ethno-religious segregationist policies akin only to Southern Africa's apartheid. As well, certain sanatoria were reportedly designated specifically as being either European or African. This 'apartheid' "European Quarters" designation, in what has been bequeathed as a post-independence legacy has survived till date, as Government Reservation Areas (GRAs).

These tactics, following the 1914 Lugardian amalgamation, provoked and strengthened in-group self-consciousness and bonding, and out-group bickering and balkanisation, especially since the ethno-religious constituents of both regions had no formal contact with each other.[55] It is not surprising that some Nigerian leading nationalists have remarked that Nigeria only 'exists along ethnic and religious divides' and that the amalgamation the country's independence promised has failed to unite Nigerians with a sense of shared nationhood.[56] Nigeria today is challenged by rising forces of ethnic and religious sentiments, which shape the character of the modern Nigerian state. In this multi-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-cultural and pluralistic country conflicts are particularly enduring. Lamenting the ugly state of Nigeria today, Lamido Sanusi has argued that ethnicity or tribalism and religion are artificial problems created by selfish leaders for their own interests. To him, there are only two major tribes

55. Ugorji, "Ethno-Religious Conflict in Nigeria…".
56. Fwatshak, S.U. and Akinwumi, O. (Eds.) *The House that "Lugard Built" Perspectives on Nigeria's First Centenary: The Pains, the Gains and the Agenda for the Future* Historical Society of Nigeria, Nigeria, 2014.

in Nigeria—the elite who make lots of money at the detriment of the commoners, and the masses who suffer the brunt of the squander mania of the privileged class. To him, the elite, in their quest for more power or elective positions, sow the seeds of ethnicity-cum-tribalism and religion among the masses, to sway their emotions for personal victory and aggrandisement, leaving the gullible masses to fight one another, while they re-align with their 'sworn enemies' to recline, wine, and dine.[57]

Against this backdrop, General Yakubu Gowons (Rtd.), former Nigerian Military Head of State, revealed, at independence in 1960, that Nigeria's founding fathers had clearly envisioned:

> a united, indivisible nation, a melting point of cultures and religions, where everyone expressed and exploited his/her potentials without any inhibition. Nigeria, by its size and population, a Giant of Africa, taking the lead in socio-economic growth and development; a stable polity with a buoyant, rapidly developing economy; a disciplined and highly civilized society, devoid of corrupt and other social vices, a truly independent nation that is self-sufficient and able to manage her resources efficiently.[58]

Despite their own differences, Nigeria's founding fathers, believed that Nigeria, a conglomerate of nations, would someday evolve into a 'nation' itself. This dream has been compromised by the continuous division, unhealthy rivalry, and ethno-religious bigotry between the Muslim-dominated North and the Christian-dominated bigotry.

57. Sanusi Lamido Sanusi. "Sanusi Lamido Sanusi Said Tribalism Is Not Our Problem In (Nigeria) - Politics – Nairaland" https://www.nairaland.com/5064004/sanusi-lamido-sanusi-said-tribalism Retrieved 4th October, 2019.
58. Aboyeji, A. J. and Aboyeji, O. S. "Challenges of Integration and De-coloniality in Africa: The Nigerian Experience" in Artwell Nhemachena and Munyaradzi Mawere (Eds.) *Theory, Knowledge, Development and Politics: What Role for the Academy in the Sustainability of Africa?* Langaa Research and Publishing CIG, Mankon, Bamenda, 2016, pp. 207-229.

The British failure to establish a united Nigeria demonstrates the frailty of the 'House that Lugard Built'. It is time to revisit our commitment to the vision of our fathers and address the perpetual division, competition, and bigotry taking place between the Muslim-dominated north and Christian-dominated south. A clinical diagnosis of Nigeria's ailments and the dynamics of political and ethno-religious conflagrations, exacerbated by Northernisation, Fulanisation and Islamisation,[59] resonates more than ever with Awolowo's observation that "[t]he pressing danger involved in the present illness of our country is that it might kill more by its sheer protraction than by its severity".[60]

59. Aboyeji, A. J. "The Fulani and the 'Unfinished Mission' in Yorubaland…".
60. Obafemi Awolowo. An Address delivered by Chief Obafemi Awolowo on the Occasion of his Installation as the First Chancellor of the University of Ife at Ile-Ife on Monday 15 May, 1967.

Texture #4

Stuart Matheson

AN ASSESSMENT OF BUSINESS INTELLIGENCE ON CORPORATE PERFORMANCE

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ABSTRACT

The urgent requirement for business intelligence (BI) in today's highly competitive, globalized business environment encourages businesses to adopt BI systems to distinguish themselves from their rivals and acquire a long-term competitive advantage. This study evaluates the extent to which organizational learning contributes to employee commitment, examines the extent information gathering contributes to organizational innovativeness, and investigates the influence of data warehousing on organizational survival. The population of the study consisted of the 115 staff members in Portland Paints and

Products Plc. The study adopted simple random sampling technique, and a sample size of 89 questionnaires were administered. Data was analyzed using both descriptive and inferential statistics, and regression analysis was used to test the hypotheses. The findings of the study reveal that that organizational learning contributes to employee commitment, that information gathering contributes to organizational innovativeness, and that data warehousing contributes to organizational survival. The study concludes that when BI systems are widely spread and used, they improve corporate performance especially when more emphasis is placed on information gathering and data warehousing. This study recommends that organizations should adopt the use of environmental scanning tools and relevant, reliable information for efficient decision making be gathered to better their performance.

Keywords: Business Intelligence, Corporate Performance, Competitors,Employee Commitment, Organizational innovativeness, Organizational Survival

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Introduction

The global corporate economic environment, globalization, and the current nature of demand all impact how businesses and corporate organizations operate today. The twenty-first century has already witnessed the breaking down of barriers to information access and use, allowing customers to select and choose or contribute to topics that may affect them. Customers' needs have steadily moved the focus of continental market demand, forcing decision-makers to consider new tactics to meet complex demands. The competitive environment is becoming increasingly volatile, and businesses must deal with the erratic conditions affecting their work (D'Aveni, 2004). Any firm must have

a survival strategy to stay afloat during severe competition, especially given the present market volatility. Any organization's responsibility is to reduce costs, eliminate waste, and produce efficient and reliable products or services; doing so, organisations are turning to huge amounts of accumulated data for vital insights.

Business Intelligence

In the mid-1990s, the Gartner Group invented the term "business intelligence." Executive information systems (EIS), first proposed in the early 1980s, exposed senior executives and the executive board to automated support systems capable of *ad hoc* or on-demand dynamic and multidimensional reporting, forecasting, providing trend analysis, detail analysis, and access to critical success variables. Today, firms have all come to the conclusion that a Business Intelligent Information System can meet all of an executive's information needs (Gartner, 2007). The extent to which corporate organizations can understand both their internal and their external environments through systematic acquisition, interpretation, analysis, collation, and exploitation of information in their business environments to assist their organizational goals is referred to as the strategic implementation of business intelligene (BI) (Chung, Chen, & Nunamaker, 2003; Liebowitz, 2005). This study investigates the effect of business intelligence (BI) implementation on corporate performance.

Statement of the Problem

Current research shows that the vast majority of BI studies have been carried out for businesses in developed countries, particularly in Europe, America, and Australia (Chaveesuk 2010; Elbashir, Collier & Davern 2008; Hawking, Foster & Stein 2008; Ramamurthy, Sen & Sinha 2008; Hill & Scott 2004). IT investment in developing

nations like Nigeria is rapidly increasing, but developing nations' uses of BI has received little critical attention. To date, there is not enough information on Manufacturing Industries' adoption of BI technology in Nigeria to forecast and explain their BI adoption patterns. This study addresses this knowledge gap via the factors influencing the adoption of BI technologies by a manufacturing industry in Nigeria. Portland Paints and Products Nigeria PLC was chosen as the subject of this study.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this research is to assess the impact of business intelligence on corporate performance. Its specific objectives are to

i. evaluate the extent at which organizational learning contributes to employee commitment;
ii. examine the extent at which information gathering contributes to organizational innovativeness;
iii. investigate the influence of data warehousing on organizational survival.

Hypotheses of the Study

The following hypotheses were tested for the purpose of this study:

H01: Organizational learning does not have effect on workers commitment;
H02: Information gathering does not have significant influence on organizational innovativeness;
H03: Data warehousing does not have effect on organizational survival.

Literature Review

Business Intelligence (BI) refers to the application of intelligence principles to the world of business (Marren, 2004). According to Encyclopedia Britannica Online (2012), the term intelligence, on which BI is based, "is used to refer to the collection, analysis, and distribution of such information as well as secret intervention in the political or economic affairs of other countries, an activity commonly known as 'covert action.' Intelligence is an important component of national power and a fundamental element in decision-making."

In 1958, Hans Peter Luhn, an IBM computer scientist, coined the term "business intelligence." Luhn is regarded as a forerunner in the field of business intelligence (BI) (Prokopova, Silhavy & Silhavy 2011; Varshney & Mojsilovic 2011; Agrawal 2009; Chung, Chen &Nunamaker 2003). He defines BI as "the ability to comprehend the interrelationships of presented facts in such a way as to guide action toward a desired goal" (Luhn 1958). (Wixom & Watson 2010; Dekkers, Versendaal & Batenburg 2007). He defined business intelligence (BI) as a set of concepts and methodologies for developing company decision-making by extracting and analyzing data from databases in order to formulate strategies (Power 2002). Some academics, on the other hand, believe that BI will eventually supplant traditional information support systems like MIS, DSS, and EIS (Alter 2004; Negash 2004; Petrini & Pozzebon 2004; Thomsen 2003). Popovic, Turk, and Jaklic (2010), on the other hand, contend that, while BI is sometimes used interchangeably with traditional information support systems, the two systems are not interchangeable. Traditional information support is more application-oriented, with data spread across many data sources in an organization, whereas BI is a data-oriented strategy in which essential data sources for analytical decision-making are presented at the center

of the architecture (Frolick & Ariyachandra 2006). Business intelligence, according to Wixom and Watson (2010), is "a broad category of technology, systems, and processes for obtaining, storing, accessing, and analyzing data in order to assist users in making better decisions."

BI is a concept with several definitions based on the field and viewpoint. The following are some of the multiple definitions of business intelligence generated from diverse disciplines of expertise and evaluated from various perspectives: From a managerial standpoint, business intelligence (BI) is defined as a process that gathers data from both inside and outside the company in order to provide actionable data to aid decision-making. In this perspective, the primary goal is to create an informational environment in order to highlight 'strategic' business characteristics. Data collected from transactional and operational systems, including both internal and external sources, is analyzed to build an informative environment (Petrini & Pozzebon 2009).

From a technical standpoint, business intelligence (BI) refers to a combination of tools, software, solutions, and technologies that help decision-makers collect, organize, and access heterogeneous data from various sources (Olszak & Ziemba 2007; Moss 2004). This viewpoint encompasses not just the process but also the technologies that enable corporate data to be stored, consolidated, recovered, mined, and analyzed. For example, according to Hackathorn (1999), creating a single corporate BI platform is difficult because it must reflect a convergence of related technologies such as data mining, data warehousing, and web mining. Furthermore, if these technologies are appropriately combined, it may be possible to uncover the 'insights' buried deep inside the data (Marakas 2003).

BI is a product that results from enhanced processing of high-quality data,

information, and knowledge, as well as analytical processes that assist decision-making and performance measurement from a product standpoint. Operational, transactional, and legacy systems are all considered data sources in this context. These systems could come from their company, customers, suppliers, business partners, or third-party organizations such as government authorities and information service providers (Chang 2006). These techniques have two things in common, notwithstanding their variances. The first is the most basic part of BI, which is gathering, storing, analyzing, and delivering both internal and external data (Lonnqvist & Pirttimaki 2006). The firm's strategic decision-making process is supported by the second goal of BI (Marshall, McDonald, Chen, & Chung 2004,). Strategic decisions are those that involve the implementation and evaluation of corporate objectives, goals, mission, and vision, according to Petrini & Pozzebon (2009). Because it includes management, technical, and product perspectives, Wixom & Watson (2010)'s definition is used in this research. However, there is a problem with the existing definition of BI because it only talks about the process, software, and technology. According to English (2005), a crucial component of BI is understanding what is going on within the company and taking the best action possible to achieve the company's objectives. As a result, the human variable is critical, because BI cannot be assessed without using information gleaned from users' practical expertise.

Business Intelligence Classification

Using different research methods, different researchers have placed BI in several categories. BI applications are generally organized into three different types: Strategic BI, Tactical BI, and Operational BI (Loftis, 2007; White, 2006; Imhoff & Pettit, 2004; Sullivan, 1996). For all intents and purposes, there are only three different types of BI applications, and each differs in granularity and frequency of data collection and analysis. Strategic business

intelligence is often utilized in concert with tactical business intelligence in order to aid with long-term company goals and objectives. Other data processing techniques, such as aggregation, statistical analysis, multidimensional analysis, data mining, and exploration, are used by these applications. To address the dynamic needs of the market, businesses utilize analytical tools including trend and pattern identification, business and behavioral models, and what-if research. The franchisees employ BI analytical software to calculate the income earned per room by combining the occupancy and room rate information. To establish the relative position of several markets in relation to one another, the survey collects market share and customer survey data for each hotel. Although studies can only take place over the length of a year, month, or even a single day, trends can be examined throughout various timeframes. This visually represents how each hotel is performing.

While concepts and techniques that apply to tactical and strategic BI also apply to operational BI, operational BI is used to handle daily business operations and optimize those activities (White, 2006). In order to meet the need to respond to specific incidents in the operational world, this type of BI was created. The intended audience is the staff who interacts with customers BI applications can be deployed in a strategic or tactical manner across various departments. They hypothesize that strategic business intelligence has the potential of offering big rewards for senior management by providing a holistic view of the company. When BI is implemented, companies are better able to identify current and future trends, as well as their performance indicators (KPI). By contrast, Tactical BI is an excellent solution for the "pain" areas of their business. Using this kind of BI can provide organizations with knowledge and insights that can produce short-term and tangible results.

The Benefits of BI

Because implementing BI in support of business operations provides numerous benefits, a variety of gains can be expected (Ko & Abdullaev 2007; Watson & Wixom 2007; Ranjan 2005). Many studies have looked into the advantages of implementing BI in various sorts of businesses (Popovic, Turk & Jaklic 2010; Sahay & Ranjan 2008; Ko & Abdullaev 2007; Ranjan 2005; Anderson-Lehman, Watson, Wixom, & Hoffer. 2004; Eckerson 2003). Automobile manufacturers, for example, have improved their return on investment (ROI) by recognizing repossessed vehicle loans more promptly with the use of a financial BI solution. By employing BI solutions to discover lesser quantities of out-of-stock items, electronics retailers have saved a significant amount of money (Eckerson 2003). Similarly, by recognizing more precise information on supplier shipments, BI has cut inventory expenses (Sahay & Ranjan 2008). More recently, Dumitrita (2011) discovered that BI can assist obtain more reliable and faster reports, improve decision-making processes, improve customer interactions, increase revenues, and reduce non-IT expenses. The advantages of applying BI, according to Liautaud and Hammond (2000), are divided into four categories: 1) boosting internal communication; 2) leveraging the ERP investment; 3) increasing revenue; and 4) minimizing costs.

The practical and intangible benefits of BI, however, are separated. IT investment, according to Davern and Kauffman (2000), improves businesses on an operational level. Companies can, for example3, invest in extra hardware to store vast amounts of data or new business data processing systems to handle a variety of jobs more quickly than before. Quantitatively, such investments pay out handsomely. Businesses will be able to handle transactions more efficiently and save money on staff.

Barriers to Widespread Application of Business Intelligence (BI)

BI systems they face challenges in gaining widespread use by businesses. Many obstacles exist, including challenges with workforce strategy, a lack of human and financial resources, and technical concerns. According to Guide (2009), the main stumbling blocks to BI adoption are "cost" and "complexity". BI vendors were cited as being "unable to demonstrate the benefits of BI to internal stakeholders" in a survey that was published in Information Week in 2008, and which was further supported by a 2007 study done by Information Week, as reported in the guide. When businesses are considering BI, they are always in search of a specific problem that lies within a specific business unit. A BI and data storage initiative drive an organization into business silos which cause cross-company data examination to be hindered (Guide, 2009). As a result, there is no one vendor that dominates all areas of business intelligence, and so the customer must gather different pieces of data from different sources. Due to this, clients' specialized niches, such as managing customer churn or predictive analytics, dominate (Guide, 2009). According to the (2009) Guide, about 40% of the total costs for BI projects involved in advanced analytics and modeling are associated with "moving data between systems." To say that data migration and integration are the greatest 'barriers' to BI adoption is to state that data migration and integration are the main impediments to the adoption of BI.

Theoretical Approaches

Resource-Based Theory (RBT)

In 1959, the mathematical physicist Roger Penrose hypothesized that a firm's resources influence its growth, in particular, growth is impeded when resources are insufficient. The resource-based theory describes, explains, and predicts how firms can perform better

by acquiring and controlling resources. There is no generally accepted definition of RBT. Resources and capabilities are used interchangeably to describe an organization's "things" that help it to accomplish its objectives (Ringim, Razalli & Hasnan, 2012). Resources can be identified in a variety of ways, depending on the views of the researchers who've studied them. Some researchers have classified resources, for instance, as physical resources (e.g. financial, physical, technological, and organizational), intangible resources (e.g. innovation, human resources, and reputation), and even cultural values and resources. He classified resources as tangibles, intangibles, and capabilities in a slightly different way: Fahy (2000) focused on tangibles, intangibles, and capabilities. The RBT is concerned with organizing its resources to ensure successful and efficient results (Harrison, Hitt, Hoskisson & Ireland, 2001). The resources of an organization can be used to improve the organization's competitiveness and performance by increasing the amount of organizational input that is used in the production process. Specifically, the attention RBT pays to intangibles, such as knowledge and learning, could help generate greater profits than the money you spend on resources.

Many authors of RBT agree that a company's unique resources and capabilities are crucial for achieving sustained growth. Internal resources that are developed within a company are emphasized (Barney, 2001). Resources are stated by Michalisin, Smith, & Kline (1997) to be either tangible or intangible (Barney, 2001). The property-based resources include tangible resources, whereas the knowledge-based resources include intangible resources, among them, BI, how firms use and combine these resources.

In the 1990s, literature about management began to develop a knowledge-based vision of firms, based on the RBT (Huang, 2008; Nonaka, Santhanam & Hartono, 2003). Knowledge-based view claims that the services provided by tangible resources

are determined by how they are combined and implemented, which is a function of the firm's know-how, or knowledge. In a recent study that used RBT (Ravichandran & Lertwongsatien, 2005), it was found that intangible Intelligence System resources and capabilities are significant predictors of Intelligence System deployment success and have a direct impact on company performance (Kim, Cavusgil & Calantone 2006). The resources to achieve long-term sustainable performance are specific knowledge gathered through suitable deployments of knowledge-based systems. RBT treats businesses as prospective developers of value-added capabilities, according to Caldeira and Ward (2003). These entail using a knowledge-based approach to view the company's assets and resources.

Diffusion of Innovation (DOI) Theory

E.M Rogers established the diffusion of innovation (DOI) hypothesis in 1962; this theory takes into account an invention's perception prior to adoption. Perceptions play a crucial role in the successful adoption process since they raise people's awareness of the innovation. This study uses Diffusion of Innovation (DOI) theory (Rogers, 1962) as a theoretical foundation for several reasons. First, it is a well-established theory that is extensively utilized in information technology diffusion research (Mustonen-Ollila & Lyytinen, 2003; Wainwright & Waring, 2003). Another rationale for adopting this theory is that there has been relatively little study targeted at finding sources of innovation and integrating innovative perspectives from a knowledge-based viewpoint, particularly in Business Intelligence systems (Chen, 2007).

An idea, behavior, or item seen as novel by an individual or other unit of adoption is referred to as an innovation. It is considered that innovation adoption is a process of reducing ambiguity and acquiring information. Information regarding the presence

and features of the innovation is acquired, and potential users engage in information-seeking activities to learn about the expected outcomes of implementing the innovation. The examination and evaluation of this invention influences how users react to it. This information-gathering process results in the creation of perceptions about the invention. A choice to embrace or reject the innovation is made based on impressions. According to this hypothesis, an individual's attitude to innovations is determined by the perceived newness of an idea.

Previous research has discovered the significance of innovative features in the adoption and spread of information systems. According to Agarwal and Prasad (2009), visibility or observability of the innovation characteristics, compatibility, and triability of the innovation characteristics are significant forces of initial use of a system, whereas relative advantage and result demonstrability are relevant in predicting the intended continuous use of a system. Tornatzky and Klein (2002) discovered that characteristics such as relative benefit, compatibility, and complexity are inextricably linked to adoption. According to Premkumar and Ramamurthy (2005), relative benefit, technological compatibility, and cost all impact the choice to use electronic data interchange.

Empirical Review

Researchers at the University of Ghana's Acheampong (2017) performed an empirical study to determine the effects of BI system adoption on the organizational performance of Ghanaian banks. A conceptual model was developed with the help of the balanced scorecard. Ghanaian universal banks provided data for this study, which was gathered using hand-administered survey questionnaires. A total of 130 samples from bank CEOs were analyzed using partial least squares structural equation modeling (PLS-SEM). The findings indicate that business intelligence systems have a positive and significant

influence on the learning and growth of banks, as well as on internal procedures and customer performance. While the results demonstrated that using BI systems did not directly improve financial performance in banks, they did so indirectly through the effects of learning and growth, internal process, and customer performance. This proved to be a valid validation of the balanced scorecard's fundamental assumption. The findings of the study may be used by vendors to promote their business intelligence products, which is the study's primary practical use.

Azizah (2015) explores the impact of Business Intelligence on long-term competitive advantage in the Malaysian telecoms sector. This report was published in the *Journal of Business Intelligence*. The research examines the factors that impact effective business intelligence deployment as seen by telecoms decision makers and executives, and then looks into the relationship between successful business intelligence adoption and telecoms businesses' long-term competitive advantage. In this study, the positivist paradigm is applied, and a two-phase sequential mixed approach integrating qualitative and quantitative techniques is employed to conduct the investigation. The findings revealed that different organizational internal resources, such as business intelligence governance and perspectives on business intelligence features, have an impact on the effective deployment of BI. Organizations that have effective BI governance and have strong moral and financial backing from senior management will have a greater chance of implementing successful BI initiatives. The scope of BI governance involves providing enough support and commitment in BI financing and execution, building suitable BI infrastructure and staffing, and establishing a corporate-wide BI policy and procedures.

Mehrdad, Mohammad and Fattaneh (2013) examines the link between business intelligence and the performance of food sector firms in Rasht, Iran. The article is a

descriptive - analytical investigation and a co relational one, using a structural equation as the applied objective. The statistical universe of the research comprised all 32 food industry businesses in Rasht industrial city, and the sample size through Krejcie and Morgan Table comprises 30 companies chosen using a simple random selection approach. For data gathering, a researcher-created questionnaire tailored to managers was employed. The questionnaire's content validity was validated by professionals and academics, and its reliability was estimated as 0.937, 0.871 by Cronbach's alpha coefficient for two variables of business intelligence and performance. The researcher created the business intelligence questionnaire in the study, which comprises 42 questions about business intelligence aspects and 11 questions about performance. Data was collected and analyzed using SPSS software; the findings show that business intelligence has a favorable and significant influence on performance. Thus, organizational learning has the highest link with corporate success, while continuous improvement strategies are the second strongest.

Mohammad and Amin (2013) evaluates the impact of Business Intelligence on strategic decision making. The primary aim of their research was to investigate the relationship between Business Intelligence (BI) systems and decision support systems. A review of prior studies was done in the previous study, a conceptual model of the impact of business information on strategic choices was created, and the questionnaire was disseminated. The evaluation results were analyzed using factor analysis, correlation analysis, and structural equations employing LISREL & SPSS statistical tools. Business intelligence (BI), based on the current results, may assist managers in making better strategic choices. For example, it is likely to help with productivity, effectiveness, adaptability, and synergy. At the conclusion of the research, several further suggestions for greater use of business intelligence and future studies were given based on the assumptions.

Shaheb, Shah and Shahadat's 2017 study was conducted in Australia with the aim of conducting a literature review and investigating how Company-to-Company (B2B) and Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (SMEs) collaborate to improve business environmental performance. A qualitative content analysis was carried out for the method, which makes use of data sources from 43 distinct journal articles. According to the findings of the literature review, SMEs' skills, as well as new BI techniques, may be impacted. The results of this study may be useful to future research on the success of BI deployment.

Methodology

This study examined the influence of business intelligence on company performance in the manufacturing industry, utilizing Portland Paints and Products as a case study. In the Portland Paints and Products PLC research, the population was 115 employees. Simple random sampling, together with a sample size of 89 questionnaires, was used to conduct the study. Descriptive and inferential statistics were used for data analysis, and hypotheses were evaluated using regression analysis, with significance set at 0.05. (i.e. 95 percent confidence interval).

Hypothesis One: organizational learning does not have effect on workers commitment.

Table 4.3.1 Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.840[a]	.705	.702	.32105

a. Predictors: (Constant), ORGANIZATIONAL LEARNING

Source: Field survey, 2019

The result shows the R^2which is the coefficient of determination gives approximately

70.5%. This implies that workers commitment (dependent variable) 70.5% affected by organizational learning (independent variable) while the remaining 29.5% of the workers commitment may be affected and determined by other unexplained factors. Also, the R which is the level of correlation between the two variables i.e organizational learning and workers commitment shows .840 (84%) which indicate that there is high degree of correlation between the variables.

Table 4.3.2 ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	21.437	1	21.437	207.976	.000[b]
	Residual	8.967	87	.103		
	Total	30.404	88			

a. Dependent Variable: EMPLOYEE COMMITMENT
b. Predictors: (Constant), ORGANIZATIONAL LEARNING

Source: Field survey, 2019

The F-statistic as shown from the ANOVA table is significant since the ANOVA significance of .000 is less than the alpha level of .05, thus the result is achieved. Also, the regression sum of square of 21.437 is greater than residual sum of square, this further shows the significance of the overall model.

Table 4.3.3 Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Beta		T	Sig.
1	(Constant)	.120	.291		.413	.681
	ORGANIZATIONAL LEARNING	.969	.067	.840	14.421	.000

a. Dependent Variable: EMPLOYEE COMMITMENT

Source: Field survey, 2019

The coefficients of individual independent variable indicated that organizational learning

(.969) has a strong effect on employee commitment. In addition, the {probability} and t-statistics value of {.000} and 14.421 further suggest that the relationship between organizational learning and employee commitment is significant since alpha level of 0.05 is greater than the p-value of 0.000 The conclusion therefore is that null hypothesis is rejected and alternative hypothesis accepted.

Decision Rule:

Since the $R^2$of 70% is positive and the conclusion therefore is that null hypothesis is rejected and alternative hypothesis is accepted because alpha level of 0.05 is greater than the p-value of 0.000. which means that there is a significant effect of organizational learning on employee commitment. This is supported by the findings of Archipong (2007) which stated that there is a positive relationship between learning on growth and performance.

Hypothesis Two: Information gathering does not have significant influence on organizational innovativeness.

Table 4.3.4 Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.884[a]	.782	.779	.25513

a. Predictors: (Constant), INFORMATION GATHERING

Source: Field survey, 2019

The result shows the R^2 which is the coefficient of determination gives approximately 78.2%. This implies that 78.2% of organizational innovativeness (dependent variable) is affectedby Information gathering (independent variable) while the remaining percentage 21.8%, of organizational innovativeness may be affected and determined by other

unexplained factors. Also, the R which is the level of correlation between the two variables i.e Information gathering and organizational innovativeness gives .884 which indicates that there is a degree of correlation between the variables. Thus, the objective is achieved and answered.

Table 4.3.5 ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	20.314	1	20.314	312.084	.000[b]
	Residual	5.663	87	.065		
	Total	25.978	88			

a. Dependent Variable: ORGANIZATIONAL INNOVATIVENESS
b. Predictors: (Constant), INFORMATION GATHERING

Source: Field survey, 2019

The F-statistic as shown from the ANOVA table is significant since the ANOVA significance of .000 is less than the alpha level of .05, thus the result is achieved. Also, the regression sum of square of 20.314 is greater than residual sum of square, this further show the significant of the overall model.

Table 4.3.6 Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Beta		T	Sig.
1	(Constant)	.387	.222		1.745	.085
	INFORMATION GATHERING	.919	.052	.884	17.666	.000

a. Dependent Variable: ORGANIZATIONAL INNOVATIVENESS

Source: Field survey, 2019

The coefficients of individual independent variable indicated that Information gathering (.884) has a strong effect on organizational innovativeness. In addition, the {probability} and t-statistics value of {.000} and 17.666 further suggest that the relationship between

information gathering and organizational innovativeness is significant since alpha level of 0.05 is greater than the p-value of 0.000.

Decision Rule:

Since the R^2 of 78% is positive and the conclusion therefore is that null hypothesis is rejected and alternative hypothesis is accepted because alpha level of 0.05 is greater than the p-value of 0.000. This means that there is a significant effect of information gathering on organizational innovativeness. This result is supported by the study conducted by Reyes (2017). The study showed that innovation is key to the survival of business organizations in today's knowledge society.

Hypothesis Three: Data warehousing doesn't have effect on organizational survival.

Table 4.3.7 Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.845[a]	.714	.711	.30070

a. Predictors: (Constant), DATA WAREHOUSING

Source: Field survey, 2019

The result shows the R^2 which is the coefficient of determination gives approximately 71.4%. This implies that 71.4% of organizational survival (dependent variable) is affected by data warehousing (independent variable) while the remaining percentage 28.6%, of organizational survival may be affected and determined by other unexplained factors. Also, the R which is the level of correlation between the two variables i.e data warehousing and organizational survival gives .845 which indicates that there is a degree of correlation between the variables.

Table 4.3.8ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	19.639	1	19.639	217.187	.000[b]
	Residual	7.867	87	.090		
	Total	27.506	88			

a. Dependent Variable: ORGANIZATIONAL SURVIVAL
b. Predictors: (Constant), DATA WAREHOUSING

When looking at the F-statistic from the ANOVA table, it can be seen that it is significant because the alpha level of .05 is smaller than the F-statistic itself, which therefore means the outcome has been accomplished. The total of the squares of the residuals is higher than the sum of the squares of the independent variables, providing more evidence of the substantial overall model.

Table 4.3.9 Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Beta		T	Sig.
1	(Constant)	.286	.269		1.064	.290
	DATA WAREHOUSING	.937	.064	.845	14.737	.000

a. Dependent Variable: ORGANIZATIONAL SURVIVAL

Source: Field survey, 2019

The coefficients of individual independent variable indicated that data warehousing (.937) has a strong effect on organizational survival. In addition, the {probability} and t-statistics value of {.000} and 14.737 further suggest that the relationship between data warehousing and organizational survival is significant since alpha level of 0.05 is greater than the p-value of 0.000.

Decision Rule:

Since the R^2 of 71% is positive and the conclusion therefore is that null hypothesis is rejected and alternative hypothesis is accepted because alpha level of 0.05 is greater than the p-value of 0.000. This means that there is a significant effect of data warehousing on organizational survival. This is supported by the findings of Mutaz (2011) which stated that data warehousing has a significant effect on organizational survival.

Conclusion and Recommendations

BI is more than a toolbox of technologies which are utilized to remedy the absence of knowledge production or knowledge exchange inside an organization. To catalyze information sharing and knowledge growth inside the company, BI needs to serve as a connecting entity. However, BI projects cannot be conceived and implemented within the framework of a "fix the sales or customer problem" attitude. The approach is instead to focus on developing a comprehensive strategy that places knowledge, not pricing, advertising, or distribution methods, at the center of the project. For better or for worse, Business Intelligence has little to no effect on company performance, according to the study findings.

Organizational learning has an impact on employee commitment. This is because a workforce that has acquired adequate knowledge about their roles and tasks are able to work efficiently (thereby increasing their commitment on the job) and are able to cooperate with one another through exchange of knowledge, concepts and issues as related to their job and the organization.

Information gathering has a significant positive effect on organization innovativeness. Therefore, Managers should make optimal use of intelligence gathered to be proactively act to issues in the business environment as related to the company and weaknesses,

also, managers should prioritize gathering information pertaining to daily activities in the business environment to better support their decision-making processes to achieve improved performance.

Finally, this study concludes that data warehousing has a significant effect on organizational survival. It is evident that managers make decisions frequently as concerned to the organization, data warehousing helps to quickly access their organizational historical activities, collect and store all data for effective decision making. This will assist the organization to reduce chances of failure when accurate and adequate decisions are put into action steps as necessary.

From the review of relevant literatures, it is recommended that:

i. Managers provide enabling environment for the creation, retaining and transferring of knowledge within the organization by engaging the employees in both on and off the job training, providing serene working environment, encouraging collaborative culture and promoting the virtues of fairness among the employees, this is because if the employees are not motivated to learn or to share information, then the best technology won't help. This will help the organization to improve overtime as it gains experience, from this experience, it is able create knowledge that could better the organization.

ii. Management be proactive by constantly interacting with the environment to gather relevant and adequate information for optimal decision making that could improve the performance of the organization. This can be done by involving the use of environmental scanning tools whereby relevant information will be gathered both internally and ex-

ternally which will form part of the input for the organization innovation. The management should encourage participatory leadership to encourage the employees to contribute to the information needs of the organization as they have been identified as a reliable source for valuable and relevant information towards the organization success.

iii. Management create a platform that presents the organization information consistently and add value to business operations. This would enable the organization to store current and historical activities in a single data set that are used for creating better enterprise intelligence. Data warehousing will go a long way in increasing the productivity of corporate decision, makers by creating an integrated database of consistent, subject oriented of current and historical data for more cost effective decision making that could improve the performance of the organization.

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Texture #5

Stuart Matheson

Socio-Psychological Implications of *Aganaga* Divination in Epie-Atissa, Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, Nigeria

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Abstract

The concept of divination in African traditional religion (ATR) accords with the belief systems of different cultures in the West African sub-region, including those of the Epie Attisa people in the Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State, Nigeria. This paper focuses on the sociological and psychological implications of "Aganaga Divination" in Epie-Atissa society. In the Epie-Atissa Kingdom, the Aganaga divinatory system has

positive and negative aspects. It is a means of social control and can be used to stigmatize the family of the deceased. Data for this paper was collected through oral interviews. This researchers found that Aganaga divination is a moral factor in the life of an Epie-Atissa man, because his secrets are revealed after his death. With this in mind, government should encourage the positive aspects of Aganaga divination and discourage the stigmatization of the family members of the deceased thought to be a witch or sorcerer.

Keywords: *Aganaga* divinatory system, Epie-Atissa, ATR, Life, Death

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Introduction

Socio-cultural beliefs shape and order the lives of the people who practice them. The *Aganaga* divinatory system or divination in Epie-Atissa Kingdom, Yenagoa, Bayelsa State, Nigeria, is no exception to this rule. *Aganaga* divination is a socio-cultural tool used to evaluate the lives of Epie-Atissa men and women after their deaths. It determines if an individual lived a good or bad life while he or she was alive, so that the deceased can be given a befitting burial and his or her surviving families maintain their social status. *Aganaga* divination shapes individuals' lives, families, and the Epie-Atissa society at large. This paper documents and examines the sociological and psychological implications of *Aganaga* divination.

Methodological Consideration

Focused on the sociological and psychological implications of *Aganaga* divinatory system, this study considers Epie-Atissa's socio-cultural background while making use of primary (oral interview) and secondary sources and library information. This research

study documents how the Epie-Atissa people perform enquiries in the sacred realm by consulting the spirit of a deceased person to evaluate that person's life regarding his or her involvement in witchcraft, sorcery and other vices. Geared towards positive re-enforcement of the Epie-Atissa folks to be morally upright in their day-to-day activities, these acts determine the type of burial given. A good burial is very important, so a traditional Epie-Atissa person strive to live a good moral life Reference is also made to events in other cultural settings within Nigeria and beyond.

The Epie-Atissa People

The Epie-Atissa populate the Twenty-Nine accessible communities and towns that make up the capital of Yenagoa Local Government Headquarters which also doubles as the capital of Bayelsa State. Their history is closely tied to the Edo ethnicity of the South-South geopolitical zone of Nigeria. They speak a common language called the Epie dialect. Kay Williamson (1968:124-130) and Ben Elugbe (1999:82-28) have submitted that the Epie and Atissa and other linguistic groups within the Delta Edoid subfamily separated from a proto Edoid, some two thousand years ago. Yakie (2010:9) suggests that the 29 towns and communities of Epie-Atissa migrated from Benin. In *The Story of Bayelsa: A Documentary* , Ama-Ogbari (2014:104) also concurs with the Epie and the Atissa oral traditions about the origins of the people, holding that they came as migrants from the then old Benin Kingdom of the Edo ethnicity through the River Niger down to Isokoland and that they first stopped at a place called Oguan between Joinkrama and Mbiama of the Engenni Kingdom of Rivers State before moving to their present settlements. The communities and towns that make up the twin clans are Yenagoa, Famgbe, Ikolo, Swali, Yenakah, Obogoro, Ovom, Onopa, Yenebebeli, Ogu, Agbura and Akaba, (Gabriel (2017:7). That is of the Atissa axis there are Amarata, Ekeki, Okaka, Yenizue Epie, Kpansia, Yenizue-

Gene, Opolo, Biogbolo, Okutukutu, Etegwe, Edepie, Akenfa, Yenegwe, Akenpai, and Azikoro; at the Epie axis, there is Igbogene (Independence 2016:129).

Literature Review

Divination is a worldwide practice. The word divination is derived from the Latin, 'divinare' meaning to foresee, to be inspired by a god." Divination, the attempt to gain insight into a question or situation by way of an occult standardized process or ritual, has been manifested in various forms throughout history. Diviners interpret how a seeker should proceed by reading signs, events, or omens, or through alleged contact with supernatural agency. Microsoft Encarta Premium (2009) notes that divinations is the, "practice of attempting to acquire hidden knowledge and insight into events – past, present, and future – through the direct or indirect contact of human intelligence with the supernatural". Contact with the supernatural is usually sought through a psychic medium, a person supposedly endowed with supernormal receptivity. According to Davies T. Witton (1910:17), "divination can be provisionally defined as the attempt on man's part to obtain from the spiritual world, supernormal or superhuman knowledge". This knowledge, he notes, 'relates for the most part to the future, but it may also have to do with things in the present, such as where some hidden treasure is to be found". Witton does not distinguish necromancy from divination, stating that "necromancy is a part of divination and not a thing distinct in itself. Its peculiar mark is that the information desired is sought from ghosts of deceased persons".He says that "divination embraces all attempts to obtain secret knowledge from the denizens of the spiritual world, and so necromancy come under it, and is part of it". *Aganaga* divination in the Epie-Atissa kingdom can be said to be necromancy in part but generally divination is a more appropriate term. Independence (2016) defines divination as "the art or practice

of discovering future events known or unknown things such as though by supernatural powers". Regarding *Aganaga* divination, Independence (2016) suggests that the diviner "performs enquiries into the sacred realm by consulting the spirit of a deceased person in order to x-ray the person's life as regards his or her involvement in the malevolent practice of witchcraft act, sorcery and other vices". Through divination people get to know if a particular illness or the end of life of an individual was caused by natural causes or ill-will. Otobo Abodyoral also points out that "[i]t is a socio-cultural tool used in evaluating the Epie-Atissa man after-death, if such an individual lived a socio-ethically good or bad life while he or she was alive, so that, the deceased could be given a befitting burial and the surviving families maintain a social status (Otobo Abodyoral interview).

Although Independence (2016) observes that "[t]o the Epie and the Atissa man, divination is real. Divination especially the *Aganaga* divination has done much good to the traditional Epie-Atissa person". an exhaustive analysis of its practices has not been carried out. This essay addresses this critical gap by carrying out a detailed and unbiased analysis of the sociological and psychological implications of *Aganaga* divination as understood by and practiced by the Epie-Atissa people.

The Concept of *Aganaga*

Independence (2016) in "*Aganaga* divination in Epie-Atisa, Yenagoa, Bayelsa state" states that among the "Atissa people in Yenagoa Local Government Area of Bayelsa State in Nigeria, negative occurrences, for instance, *Uwu-Wowo* premature death, accidents, and sicknesses or *Ikpomu,* which tend to hamper happiness and achievement are believed to be generated by offended ancestral spirits, *Inibudu*, deities, *Idiomu,* and the evil practices of witches and wizards, *Igbanida,* and sorcerers,ancestral spirits, *Igbani Viliibi didieli".* *Aganaga* is carried out after the death of an individual to ascertain or establish the source,

or causes of his or her death. It is also done to ascertain whether the individual died a "good death" – *uwu-vie* or a "bad death"– *uwu-didieli* in order to determine the kind of burial that the individual will receive, whether good or bad. Independence (2016) explains that it is in order to discourage people from acquiring powers for "harmful purposes and also finding solutions to the havoc caused by them" that the Epie-Atissa people use *Aganaga* "a divination oracle to post mortally probe into the super sensible world in order to know how an Epie-Atissa man lived his life while he was in the physical world so that commensurate treatment could be given to such person even in death".

Historically, the origin of *Aganaga* "is lost in history"; "*Aganaga* divination is as ancient as the Epie and Atissa genealogy, it is only *Izibe (*god) that knows its origin". *Aganaga* practice in Epie-Atissa is as old as the Epie-Atissa people, though it is not peculiar to them. The oracle is a man-made structure that is made up of four pieces of bamboo sticks woven together into a rectangular shape and known as the *Aganaga* ladder (Gabriel Independence, 2016). Generally, among the Epie-Atissa people, no burial rite takes place without consulting the *Aganaga*. In fact, whether or not the burial rite will take place at all will depend upon the findings of *Aganaga*. If one dies in Epie-Atissa, what the people first ask is *Opuluni Aganaga minigha,* have they consulted the *Aganaga* or ladder oracle? When someone dies, especially an adult or old man, the family of the deceased will come together especially elders to discuss where to go to discover the activities of the deceased. The cult of the oracle is usually headed by the most elderly person among them.

According to Joel (2015), the consultation process usually commences by carrying out some incantations and libations on the ground and the commanding of the spirit of the deceased to animate the oracle (*Aganaga). After a while as the Aganaga* is borne by the diviners, the oracle becomes heavy. At this point, it is believed that the spirit of

the deceased has animated the oracle and that it is now ready to communicate. The four men carrying the oracle are now set to sway or move in any direction the oracle dictates or directs them to. The two at the back carrying the oracle are just there to complete the number. The two men in front handling the oracle are believed to be wizards. This is why they alone could know if a deceased will be judged a witch or not at the end of the process. During the consultation, salient questions are asked. The oracle answers the questions by moving backward or downward. The backward movement connotes denial of any guilt. While the downward or nodding sign of the oracle means the deceased is guilty or an affirmative response, (Abody Ododo oral interview). Some of the questions asked are:

Did you die a natural death?

Are you a witch, wizard or not?

If you are, how many persons have you killed?

These and many more questions are asked and answered by the oracle.Here it should be noted at this point the oracle is assumed or considered to be the dead person and not a mere piece of bamboo. Communicating with it is the act of communicating with the dead. During this process, the oracle determines the status of the deceased, whether he/she was a witch, wizard or not. The movement or turns of the oracle from right to left indicate that the deceased was not a witch or wizard. The movement or turns of the oracle from the left to right, on the other hand, means that the deceased was a witch or wizard. In the end, the outcome affects the burial ceremony of the individual (Otobo Anthony: 2018: 37).

Positive Implications of the *Aganaga* Divinatory System: *Aganaga* Divination and Group Integration/Unity

> In traditional African societies the practice of Ancestral worship, beliefs in magic, witchcraft, divination, secret societies and indigenous medicine are widespread. These various practices and beliefs are aimed at creating unity and solidarity among the people.
>
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Generally, the effects of *Aganaga* divination are positive ones, as burial rites and ceremonies are religious practices which bring people together. Unity of purpose and social integration are created when a positive pronouncement is made by the *Aganaga* about a deceased: *ayi-wu-mo-ovie-* he or she died as a good person. Jubilation and merry making become the order of the day. This unifies the community. As Independence (2016) points out, the *Aganaga pulemu* is a public event, and people come from far and wide to attend. There are occasions when people who were not on talking terms made up their differences during *Aganaga* séance sessions, particularly the children of the deceased. The *Aganaga* session of prominent person attracts people from great distances for such occasions, there is eating and drinking, merry making, and this strengthens not only the unity of the area but also the cohesion of the Epie-Atissa society. In this way, *Aganaga* divination for the Epie-Atissa society is a cementing element that binds people together into an integrated social group.

Aganaga Divination and the Provision of Meaning to Life

The world today is full of problems and diseases that can make life seem meaningless. In

general, religion offers doctrines that give meaning and hope. The *Aganaga* divinatory system provides answers to the puzzling questions of human life: its origin, existence, and ultimate opportunities. *Aganaga* divination also provides answers about misfortune. When someone, especially a young person, dies in Epie-Atissa society, questions are asked by his/her loved ones. Who killed him or her? Why did they kill him? The answers to these questions provide meaning and comfort to the bereaved. *Aganaga* answers these questions, and in this regard, *Aganaga* divination is meant to provide meaning and comfort.

Aganaga Divination and Maintenance of Social Control

Every society has its rules, laws, norms, and legal prohibitions which define the limits within which individuals can seek legitimate achievements. Religious rules legitimize secular laws and are therefore more potent in controlling behaviour in society. Indeed, it is in this regard that Independence (2016) explains that it is in order to discourage people from acquiring evil powers for harmful purposes and alsoto find solutions to the havoc caused by them that the people of Epie and Atissa use the *Aganaga.* He also explained that "*Aganaga* as a mantic system is the most powerful and most effective instrument of socialization in Epie-Atissa. *Aganaga* is a medium through which social values like respect for elders and constituted authorities are imparted".

Negative Implications of the *Aganaga* Divinatory System: *Aganaga* and a Society Dominated by Psychological Downturn due to Stigmatization

The psychological implications of *Aganaga* divination can be devastating and long lasting especially for the children and widows (or widowers) of the deceased. Witnessing death and living in an environment, where someone, usually a parent(s) or loved one died,

can be psychologically devastating for a child. Emotional or psychological abuse woven into extended family interactions and communications during a meeting that is held for the purpose of ascertaining when to bury a loved one shabbily because *Aganaga* has declared the deceased to be a witch is also difficult for children. This may result in the child being dominated by anger, fear, and the anticipation of rejection by others. Theses children, especially adolescents, may become violent because of the stigma ssociated with witchcraft. He or she may become confused and angry. A child who has witnessed the parent being accused of being a man that possessed witchcraft and sorcery power while alive "*ibi-ge ida-ge",* by the *Aganaga* or that the deceased practiced (sorcery and witchcraft) may become withdrawn, anxious or depressed on one hand, or on the other hand, aggressive and exert control over younger siblings or other people's children. They may become aggressive, becoming troublesome at home and at school, or withdrawn, isolating themselves from others and under-achieving academically.

Such adolescents may develop low self-esteem, finding it difficult to trust others. The anger and stress experienced by victims may lead to depression and other emotional disorders, sometimes leading to suicide, not just because of the death of a parent but also because of the stigma that is attached to families of a witch. Victims may also exhibit harmful health behaviour like excessive smoking, alcohol abuse, use of drugs, and engaging in risky sexual activity in order to release the tension. These children may grow up not to trust other people, may go into relationships with an aggressive attitude or may become withdrawn, afraid to go into an intimate relationship. This usually results in involvement in risky sexual behaviour.

Children who are stigmatized and start noticing the withdrawal of his extended family members may start finding happiness and excitement by being thugs for wicked

politicians. They may become hardened criminals who see nothing wrong in inflicting pain or death on others. Growing up in an emotionally abusive environment makes a person find the sight of a suspect being beaten or burnt to death entertaining and enjoyable. Some children of a deceased person a witch by the *Aganaga* may become armed robbers or cultists.

A notorious cult leader in Yenagoa community in Atissa clan, a youth of 25 years of age who will be named Mr. A for the purpose of this research, has revealed that lack of care from extended family members who prior to his father's death and eventual pronouncement as a witch while alive was one of the main reasons why he succumbed to cultism at the age of 22 to use it as a means of terrorizing all those who were involved in tagging his father of being a witch and family members that neglected him.

Mr. A said he was the eldest son among the children of his mother who he said was a sickler who died from such complications. "My father was a good man. He was nice to everyone, however, when he died and they performed Aganaga divination, he was pronounced "ida" witch. This generally made my uncles start drawing away from us his children, they even went as far as telling their children not to come close to us or even drink from the same cup we were used to before that we are bewitched by our father and so will bewitch them. This made me to be very bitter and I started smoking, drinking and eventually joined [the] cult, all as a means of terrorizing those that neglected us".

Aganaga and Social Confusion

The practice of *Aganaga* divination in an attempt to know the cause of the death of a person and how he lived his life, whether for good or evil, has resulted in defamation. Some families have been deemed belonging to witchcraft covens. As a result, members of such a family are seen in those terms. It may be that their father or mother was judged

to be the killer of someone through witchcraft or other diabolic means, or the father or mother was confirmed possessing witchcraft spirit. The children feel isolated and sometimes guilty for having evil parents. This greatly affects their social relationships, marriage, friendship, and business partnerships. This group of people stands confused socially in Epie-Atissa.

Aganaga divination also contributes to conflict or division in communities, because children whose parents were declared witches may want their father or mother given a befitting burial. The community, however, would want to throw their dead bodies into the river or a bad bush. This has also caused conflict among children and their father or mother's relatives who want their father or mother's corpse to be thrown away.

Conclusion

Aganaga divination in Epie-Atissa kingdom is a mechanism for social control which can stigmatize the members of the deceased's family if he or she has been declared a witch. The Epie-Atissa society looks as these family members as evil people. In some cases, people will not marry into such families and this has even led to some children of the deceased committing suicide or engaging in crime. Nonetheless, *Aganaga* divination should be encouraged and helped to thrive because it helps to check anti-social behaviour. Something, however, should be done by the Epie-Atissa indigenes, the government, traditional religious and community leaders to discourage the stigmatization of the members of a deceased family, These people may be innocent and should not be punished for another person's crime.

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Texture #6

Stuart Matheson

PEASANT FARMING: THE BACKBONE OF NIGERIA'S AGRICULTURE

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Abstract

Nigeria's agricultural sector has always been substantially peasant-like in its nature and character. One may say that peasant farming is the backbone of Nigeria's agriculture. Oddly, this agricultural sector has been neglected despite the numerous government policies and programmes aimed at stimulating its production. Using a multi-disciplinary approach, this paper reassesses the role of peasant farming, its challenges, and its prospects in Nigeria's post-recession economy. Offering a policy recommendation, this study proposes federal and state governments focus more attention on and implement more projects for peasant farmers.

Keywords: Peasant farming, Agriculture, Economic Recession, Economic Expansion, Government Programs

Introduction

On becoming independent, Nigeria drew up plans for the development of its economy: the goal was to create services that would benefit all sectors of society. With regard to agriculture, the authorities promised to give it the immediate attention it deserved. Nigerian nationalists realized that political independence would be a sham if the country could not feed its population. First, they diversified the sector in addition to improving the production of the cash crops that were important in colonial days. To achieve maximum results, government also expanded existing facilities and set up new experimental stations and institutions where agricultural personnel would receive appropriate professional and practical training. One of the most significant institutional transformations has been the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (IITA), Ibadan.[1] The establishment of Universities and Colleges of Agriculture also was geared towards boosting agricultural production to facilitate self-sufficiency in terms of food production.

In further recognition of the importance of agriculture to the livelihood of the country, post-independence elites initiated policies that marked departures from the colonial practice which had relied on the initiative of small-scale farmers receiving only facilitative aid from government. Official intervention and an emphasis on direct production by government became the vogue. Generally, these schemes were not just aimed at improving the performance of the agricultural sector but also aimed at raising the living standards of rural dwellers, feeding a rapidly expanding urban population, providing raw materials to the industrial sector, and generating revenue for government.[2] However, the failure of these government programmes, the poverty level of the rural dwellers, and the importation of food from other countries demonstrates the deterioration of the agricultural sector. It is apparent that agricultural production is now at a cross road.

More and more evidence is available to illustrate the efforts of successive administrations to boost the sector, projects and programmes are mired in less than positive outcomes. In view of the failure of government programmes and projects, there is urgent need for a paradigm of peasant farming which raises the living standard of rural dwellers and acts as a source of revenue for government. It is against this backdrop that this paper is conceived. The paper seeks to examine the role of peasant farming in Nigeria's agricultural sector while addressing the perennial problems associated with it.

Conceptual Analysis

This paper is a highly synthetic overview and does not pretend to be comprehensive. Nor does it purport to resolve the debates. The concepts used here are those of peasant farming and agriculture. The question of how to define "peasant" has a long, complicated and contentious history. Definitions of human groups arise or are created for different purposes, including those of social control, legal protections, social scientific analysis, collective action, and colloquial description. Such definitions may or may not overlap and coincide. For the purposes of this paper, peasant farming is defined as a small and medium sized farm production by farmers using crude farm tools like hoes, cutlasses, and other locally made tools. It is a non-mechanized system of crop cultivation and animal rearing by rural dwellers whose labour constitutes only family members like husband, wife, children, and relatives. The main characteristics that define a peasant farmer are his reliance on family labour and the fusion of commodity production with the domestic economy of household.[3]

The concept of agriculture, on the other hand, has been variously described and conceptualized by scholars.[4] Generally, it is seen as an occupation, business, or science of cultivating the land, producing crops, and raising livestock. For us, agriculture is

conceptualized to embrace, as Njoku[5] puts it, "three broad production types: crop production (food crops and non-food crops), animal rearing, fishing, hunting and gathering". Our discussion focuses on food crop production which is the most dominant agricultural activity in Nigeria[6] vis-a-vis peasant farming.

Agricultural Production in Nigeria: Crops, Tools and Modes of Production

Economic activities in Nigeria, and elsewhere, are determined by climatic and vegetational conditions. Two vegetational and climatic zones in the country, the savanna belt and the forest belt produce two different agricultural complexes. In the savanna belt where rainfall is in relative short supply, cereals such as maize, millet and sorghum dominated the agricultural landscape. Other crops include groundnut, bambara nuts, beans, onions, potatoes etc. all these are fast maturing and require little amount of rainfall.

In the forest belt where rainfall is heavy, the condition support root and tree crop farming. Crops cultivated in this areainclude yams, cocoyams, sweet potatoes and cassava as well as oil palm, cocoa, banana, plantain, and coconut. There is a caveat here: these examples given should serve as a caution against dividing the country into strict crop zones. Certain crops such as maize, cotton and rice, for instance, defy ecological niches and are typical of both of these zones. It is also important to take into account the transitional belt between the savanna and the forest belt, usually referred to as the middle belt in accordance with geo-political considerations. Within this belt, tree crops like mango, oranges; vegetables like tomatoes, pepper; and cereals like soyabeans, melon, and sesame are produced in large quantities. The crops mentioned here are by no means the most important of all crops cultivated in Nigeria.

In terms of tools, it is important to stress that the majority of the farmers in Nigeria are peasants who still farm small plots of land, usually in marginal environments utilizing

traditional and subsistence methods. As such, the farming tools used by these peasant farmers are very simple and produced by local blacksmiths. These include machetes, hoes (big and small), and diggers. Machetes are used for clearing woody fallows for cultivation, small blade hoes are used for weeding, and medium or big size hoes are used for making yam mounds and ridges.

The peasant mode of agricultural production is rotational bush fallow, widespread both in the forest and in the savanna. The system is applied to growing cereals as well as roots. In it, settlement is fixed but cultivation is rotated over a defined area of fallow grass or woody plants.[8] That is, when a piece of land is farmed for long time and begins to show signs of the loss of fertility, it is allowed to fallow in order to regain its fertility. The fallow period, it should be stressed, depends on the availability of land and population density. Where population is heavy and cultivable land is scarce, the length of fallow is short and vice versa. Apart from rotational bush fallow, there is mixed farming, tree cultivation, and irrigated farming.

In terms of labour, the basic form of labour that is utilized for production is either through hired, family, or communal labour. It should be stressed that the means of labour and its control and utilization forms an integral part of the productive forces of society.[9] The mobilization of labour occurs at three different levels, namely the family, by hire, and via the cooperative work group, known locally in Tiv as *himbe*. Generally, the mode of production has substantially been peasant in nature and character and embellished with insignificant aspects of mechanized farming or mode of production.

Government Policy on Agriculture in Nigeria: A Retrospect

After Nigeria's independence, agriculture provided most of the country's food, earned most of the foreign exchange, and generated a substantial proportion of government

revenue during the early stages of the country's economic development. The abundance of food and cheap labour in the rural settings across the nation during this period resulted in complacency on the part of the government thereby putting the enactment of a virile and strong policy in the doldrums for decades. Agricultural policies in Nigeria have undergone five main phases: the first from 1960 to 1969; the second from 1970 to 1979, the period of the oil boom; the third from 1980 to the late 1990s, during the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP); and the current phase, 1999 to the present. For the purposes of this analysis, these periods are divided into the pre-petroleum era, 1960-70 and the petroleum era, 1970-present, and discussed.

During the pre-petroleum era (1960-70), two different policies or schemes of agricultural improvement were evident, namely, the Northern and the Southern programmes that were undertaken by their regional governments. The policy of the regional government in the south, with regards to agricultural modernization, centered on tree-crop planting. Three approaches to achieve this aim were adopted as the plantation, the farm settlement, and the small holder approaches. The plantation and the farm settlement approaches were similar, to some extent. They involved the government expropriating local communities of vast land for agricultural development. They were also capital intensive, and were aimed at young school leavers. Investment in tree-crop planting during 1962-68 accounted for 45% of planned capital allocations. Later, official intervention and emphasis on direct production by government became the vogue. This led to government plantations. Between the 1962-68 Development Plan periods, the governments of Eastern and Western Regions established a number of oil palm, cocoa, and rubber plantations.[10]

Apart from these, the Farm Settlement Scheme, Poultry Expansion Scheme (PES),

and the Small-Holder Tree-Crop Scheme (STCS) also represented an alternative approach by the southern government authorities in their desire to invigorate and modernize agricultural production. During the 1962-68 Development Plan periods, the Eastern, Western and Mid-Western governments established a number of farm settlements. The farm settlement scheme was such that selected school leavers were to live on farm lands acquired by government for agricultural production and training. In the farm settlements, each settler was expected to keep poultry as an integral part of his arables and home-food production. The respective governments of these regions supplied batteries and day-old chicks to the settlers and other local farmers who showed interest. Generally, these schemes were aimed at accelerating the performance of agricultural sector and improving the living standard of the citizens. However, they did not yield the impressive results expected.

First, the plantation system inevitably led the government to land grabbing and expropriation, the hiring of paid labour, and construction work. In the end, the plantation scheme proved to be too expensive as returns lagged behind investments. With time, running the plantation became tainted by politics and mismanagement. Also, PES and STCS also failed woefully since they depended on keeping the European and American supply lines of the day-old chicks open. The exotic birds, which were not adapted to Nigeria's climate, became susceptible to disease and often died.[11]

During this period, the Northern Nigeria Development Corporation was established to facilitate and accelerate oil palm production and processing and other crops like groundnut and cotton. This was not without farm settlement as it was in the other part of the country. The Northern Nigerian scheme was not an exception to the general run of other experiments and schemes; thus, it also failed. As expected, the

schemes (both in the North and South) could not be sustained and soon crumbled following the political crisis that characterized this period.

The second period of government policies regarding agriculture belongs to the petroleum era, 1970 to the present. This period, as Njoku observes, had some distinct characteristics, even though some of the programs of the previous era were continued. It was a time of curious ambivalence, loss of national compass and deepening and widening poverty, especially among the rural folks and urban poor, amidst stupendous natural wealth. Since the 1970s, there has been a policy shift, at least on paper, of emphasis by government in favour of agricultural production. More than in any period of her history, Nigeria witnessed a bewildering number of agricultural developments programmes and intervention experiments. These include the National Accelerated Food Production Programme (NAFPP, 1972); the Agricultural Development Programmes (ADPs, 1974); the River Basin Development Programme (RBDP, 1976); the Operation Feed the Nation (OFN, 1978); the Green Revolution (GR, 1979); the Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI, 1986); the Better Life for Rural Women Programme (BLRWP, 1978); the Family Support Programme (FSP, 1993); the Poverty Eradication Programme (2001); the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), National Special Programme on Food Security (NSPFS) and the Growth Enhancement Support (GES, 2013).[13]

It should be remembered that rather than ameliorating the problems faced by agricultural sector, these schemes compounded them as they became a conduit into which public funds were siphoned, leading to the mass impoverishment of the rural dwellers. Agricultural inputs, equipment, and funds meant to help rural farmers and other ordinary Nigerians were manipulated and recycled through these schemes into

the pockets of high government officials and military officers. The official chant of the dignity of agricultural labour began to sound hollow, as government officials failed to exemplify this ideal in their own lives. The acclaimed benefits of these programmes to the country and farmers that various governments chanted were merely populist slogans.[14] What is more, many administrations used them as a way of enriching themselves, their family members, concubines, girl-friends, and a host of in-laws. Some of the projects like farm settlements later became a haven for retired military generals who had earlier established them with the tax payers' money when they held sway as military rulers. In fact, some of these schemes turned out to be a blatant vehicle for prodigal swindling, fraud, and political patronage. In short, the the government did not stimulate agricultural production *vis-a-vis* its policies.

The Role of Peasant Farming in Agricultural Production in Nigeria

Government policies and schemes on agriculture in Nigeria, in so far as they were developed, did not yield any significant result in terms of agricultural production. This was manifested in acute food shortages and accelerated importations of food in the country. What has been sustaining the local population of the country and the agricultural sector is peasant farming. What seems to be a paradox *prima facie*, is actually the usual prevalence of unproductive agricultural schemes and policies of the government within small-scale agricultural structures while, on a national scale, these small-scale structures, usually peasant in nature, connected with highly intensive agricultural production. Looking at this scenario, one is tempted to ask: what is the problem with Nigeria? We do not provide an answer to this question, but offer instead a thought provoking reflection that will serve as a wake-up call to development planners about the need to focus attention on peasant farming which is unarguably the backbone of Nigeria's agriculture. A quick

glance at the quantity of food crops produced by peasant farmers from 1999 to 2007, for example, is elightening.

Table 1 shows food crops produced largely on small and subsistence scale of production in Nigeria from 1999 to 2007. This table reveals that the annual total output and cultivated areas for the crops indicate a continuous increase for all the crops up to 2007. This is actually attributed to increased productivity per cultivated area by peasant farmers and not due to the role of government's agricultural schemes or programmes. Given a fairly increasing cultivated area and a large population of farmers, it demonstrates that the sector is predominant with small holders. This validates the claim of Mohammed and Onwurah that about 70% of Nigerians are involved in agricultural production and a large part of this percentage are located in the rural areas,[16] implying that they are peasant farmers. From the table it can be seen that all crops witnessed a steady increase in cultivated area and production from 1999 to 2007 except for cocoyam, the cultivated area of which was reduced by 3.95 in 2007. However, its production did not witness any decline.

Table 1A: Small holder Production of Selected Tubers and Areas Cultivated (1999-2002)

Crop	Index ('000)	1999	2000	2001	2002
Cassava	Prod.(tons)	28,686.10	26,363.10	27,521.02	27,938.05
	Cultivated area (ha)	2415.78	2255.46	2,306.53	2,310.67
Yam	Prod.(tons)	23,012.71	21.900.47	22,342.67	21,707.14
	Cultivated area (ha)	2001.96	1944.95	1956.29	1,902.12
Cocoyam	Prod.(tons)	2,626.63	2,692.02	2,646.87	2,632.98
	Cultivated area (ha)	349.69	370.35	353.62	353.05
S. Potato	Prod.(tons)	1,163.29	1,1116.99	1,078.67	1,107.54

	Cultivated area (ha)	180.52	173.36	171.60	174.60
I. Potato	Prod.(tons)	466.37	492.20	556.34	587.12
	Cultivated area (ha)	76.52	75.49	79.94	80.01

Source: Extracts from NSFR and PCU Crop Area and Yield Survey, 2006/2007 (FMARD)

Table 1B: Small holder Production of Selected Tubers and Areas Cultivated (2003-2005)

Crop	**Index ('000)**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**
Cassava	Prod.(tons)	28,545.87	31,067.45	36,582.98
	Cultivated area (ha)	2,337.308	2,575.92	2,970.04
Yam	Prod.(tons)	21,742.56	24,976.99	27,126.46
	Cultivated area (ha)	1906.456	2,085.27	2,210.17
Cocoyam	Prod.(tons)	2,622.32	2,655.74	2,718.94
	Cultivated area (ha)	346.915	367.54	377.12
S. Potato	Prod.(tons)	1,154.19	1,247.88	1,452.71
	Cultivated area (ha)	181.57	179.57	208.16
I. Potato	Prod.(tons)	665.22	699.82	1,044.96
	Cultivated area (ha)	85.283	95.28	135.28

Source: Extracts from NSFR and PCU Crop Area and Yield Survey, 2006/2007 (FMARD)

Table 1C: Small holder Production of Selected Tubers and Areas Cultivated (2006-2007)

Crop	**Index ('000)**	**2006**	**2007**
Cassava	Prod.(tons)	40,572.89	41,656.47
	Cultivated area (ha)	3,227.55	3,289.60
Yam	Prod.(tons)	28,89.60	30,196.16
	Cultivated area (ha)	2,301.69	2,353.50

Cocoyam	Prod.(tons)	2764.91	3,120.39
	Cultivated area (ha)	378.50	374.55
S. Potato	Prod.(tons)	1,513.59	1,984.58
	Cultivated area (ha)	212.67	291.19
I. Potato	Prod.(tons)	1,142.28	1,202.17
	Cultivated area (ha)	143.04	169.55

Source: Extracts from NSFR and PCU Crop Area and Yield Survey, 2006/2007 (FMARD)

The Challenges of Peasant Farming in Nigeria in the 21st Century

One of the challenges facing peasant farming in Nigeria in the 21st century lies in the area of farm tool and macinery fabrication. In the peasant mode of agricultural production, local blacksmiths produce farm tools like hoes and machetes which do not encourage accelerated farming leading to surplus crop production. Technological and scientific discoveries/inventions in the area of agriculture, acquired by government and meant for farming, do not reach the peasant farmer. They are hijacked and cornered by absentee farmers and local bourgeoisie with political connections.[17] Poor infrastructure in the rural areas where farm work is carried out also impedes the peasant farmer. For instance, the lack of good motorable roads linking peasant communities and farm lands creates difficulties in transporting food crops to available markets and storage areas, leading to high costs that tend to increase expenditures and decrease income per yield. Another major problem is the lack of labour supply caused by the increasing migration of able-bodied youths from rural to urban areas. The consequence of the massive labour migration of the people of youthful age is a seasonal labour shortage, especially at the peak periods of labour demand—during land preparation, planting, weeding and harvesting periods.

The lack of modern storage facilities and processing industries in rural areas present

another challenge to farm work. Crop preservation is also critical to prevent post-harvest loss. Here it is important to point out that many peasant farmers are unaware of the availability of pesticide and ignorant of its uses because of poor access to information about modern technologies and scientific innovations. Because man cannot survive without bread, the country has resorted to food dependency and exportation, compounding its development quagmire.

Environmental problems and natural disasters present another challenge to peasant farming in Nigeria. Flood, erosion, and pest and diseases infestation reduce crop yields. Natural disasters created by drought and changing climate conditions affect the physical and the economic availability/viability of certain crops. There is also the problem of high government tax and revenue on farm produce which deters people from venturing into farm work. There is an increasing government tax and revenue on farm produce in local markets where peasant farmers sell their products. This pressure has also led to declining income for peasant farmers. Taxes on peasant farmers have led to the near closure of many markets and reduced the overall quantity of farm produce in them. The near closure of the Zaki-Biam Yam market in Benue State in 2017 because of the high tax rate is a case in point.

The Way Forward

Given the recent economic recession in Nigeria, there is every need to tackle the challenges faced by peasant farmers. Farming in the post-recession Nigeria's economy will be a sham if the problems facing the local farmers are not addressed. The following provides a way forward to boost the country's agricultural sector. First, the technical-technological challenges must be addressed. The application of compact, light, low-powered and multi-purpose technologies on the farmers' side is advised. The farmers

also have to value their locally available materials in fabricating technologies to lower manufacturing costs. It is recommended that government provide the needed technology at reasonable rates. Boosting the agricultural sector in this way will save the government from the high expenditures associated with direct involvement in agricultural production. It will also help to improve the living standards of the peasant class and increase their life expectancy.

Second, the lack of modern infrastructure in the rural areas where farm work is carried out needs to be corrected. The government should invest resources in developing rural areas by constructing motorable roads and modern health centers that will enhance the lives of rural dwellers and facilitate their farm operations. This will reduce the high cost of transportation in the rural areas and discourage rural-urban migration with its negative consequences for labour. In Nigeria, there has been a massive wave of migration of people from rural to urban areas in search of good employment opportunities or access to electricity, modern health centers, and good educational institutions which are not found in rural areas. Physical insecurity is also responsible for this migratory trend. Fulani herdsmen have taken over many of the farm settlements in Nigeria, killing and maiming. Farmers have taken refuge in Internally Displaced Person's Camps across the country. The Boko Haram insurgency in North-Eastern part of the country has also contributed to the lack of labour available for farming.

Government should provide essential infrastructures in rural communities to enhance the living standards there and guarantee the security of rural dwellers. Doing this means that government should ensure that the Fulani-Farmers clashes are put to an end. The current legislation of some state governors to prohibit open grazing should be pursued vigorously even at the federal level to provide a lasting solution to this problem.

If live and properties of the rural dwellers is safeguarded and guaranteed, the problem of rural-urban migration will be curtailed.

To prevent post-harvest losses of farm products, the public and the private sectors should be encouraged to establish modern storage facilities and processing industries. Government can encourage foreign investors to invest in agro-based industries in the country by lifting tariffs on agro-business. Through its agencies and institutions, government should recruit and employ agricultural extension workers who will educate peasant farmers about improved seeds and pesticides. These extension workers would also ensure that agricultural inputs, such as pesticides, fertilizers, and modern agricultural equipment, get to the peasant farmers on subsidized rates and in a timely fashion.

Government also has a role to play in helping peasant farmers to deal with the issue of environmental problems and natural disasters. In drought-prone areas (most especially in northern Nigeria), the government should provide modern equipment that facilitates irrigation farming. This will encourage farming all year-round. Regarding the issues of landslide and other natural disasters, the government should prohibit indiscriminate mining activities that result in environmental degradation. Finally, government should reduce its taxes on farm products. Multiple taxations on agricultural products discourages many people from venturing into farming.

Conclusion

Peasant farming has been the back-bone of Nigeria's agriculture since independence, but government programs, schemes and policies have not yielded the fruitful results which have been promised. Many universities and colleges of agriculture established across the country cannot boast of demonstration farms, and fulfill their mandate to ensure food sufficiency in the country. Federal and state government projects should recognise that

its own agricultural institutions are either moribund or exist only on paper. Now the country is in an economic recession, unless the challenges of peasant farming are tackled, Nigeria will continue to struggle with its capacity to ensure our country's food security.

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Texture #7

Stuart Matheson

FILM REVIEW:

Boiling Point (2022) and Mental Health in the Hospitality Industry

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Philip Barantini's[1] *Boiling Point* has been described as a "spicy nerve-jangler" (Kermode) in one of many positive reviews that praise the film's presentation of a hostile, nerve-inducing environment (De Symlien) during a single night in a restaurant. The film's praise is focused mostly on presentation and cinematography, mainly the film's notable use of a single take. Many reviewers, however, have failed to look deeper into its nuanced, multi-layered analysis of mental health in the hospitality industry. Studies on the hospitality industry have revealed "80% of employees believe that mental health issues … represent a major challenge facing the industry" (Bufquin, 93). One of the film's greatest strengths is actually its exploitation of the growing issue of mental health and an environment that only worsens the mental states of its struggling employees (Gabriel and Liimatainen).

1. Philip Barantini, known mostly for his acting work in the TV series *Chernobyl* (2019) and *The Responder* (2022), started directing short films in the late 2010s. His short film *Boiling Point* (2019) soon became a feature film of the same name, released in 2022. Many of his films deal with complex issues of mental health amongst working class individuals (Anon).

The film takes place over a single night in Jones & Sons, a restaurant recently struck with a poor health rating. As the place opens, and guests are welcomed to their tables, the crew are faced with multiple problems in rapid succession, causing great tension from customers and staff. Barantini sets the stage for how the workplace pressurizes and elevates levels of stress before the shift even begins. Our introduction to head chef Andy Jones (Stephen Graham) already presents to the audience multiple work and non-work related factors that cause high levels of stress for the protagonist: moving homes, dysfunctional relationships with his family, a disappointing health inspection, and tensions between his fellow co-workers pressurize Jones, causing him to lash out at his team before the restaurant opens. These factors cause employees to show little motivation or effort within their work (Bufquin, 1), and the same applies to Jones, who throughout the night becomes distracted from his work while trying to resolve his personal issues and dealing with further complications, like menu changes and the arrival of his old mentor. This occurs before we learn about Jones's addiction to drugs and alcohol. Barantini demonstrates not only how effects on mental health and external factors can affect attitudes and motivation towards work, but also the failure to recognize such issues within the workplace, as Jones's lack of focus is constantly ridiculed by the largely unsympathetic manager Beth (Alice Feetham).

When the restaurant finally does open, the hostile and ugly nature of the workplace becomes fully realized through the experiences of the many workers. This is where cinematographer Matthew Lewis's use of a single full-length shot comes into full effect. The decision to remain in a long, continuous take restricts the audience in real time with no opportunity to cut between shots. This, combined with the use of overlapping, sometimes meandering dialogue between characters and minimal use of a musical score

creates a realist experience that entraps the audience within the loud, chaotic atmosphere that more accurately communicates a state of anxiety and stress expressed by the workers than if the film were to cut to each situation in a more formalist style. Despite there being no time jumps, the restaurant staff are still faced with multiple issues and crises that occur in very rapid succession, which soon become overwhelming not just for the characters but for the audience as well. The hospitality industry has been found to be one of the worst industries to work in (Bufquin et al., 1); representations of workplaces like this, however fictional they may be, make findings like these much more comprehensible.

Even in the construction of such a chaotic, nerve-wracking environment, Barantini still finds the time to explore the mental states of multiple workers and the effects the workplace has on them. It is within these small moments that the director highlights the ongoing stigma surrounding mental health in the workplace that can "negatively affect the success of vocational efforts" (Gabriel and Liimatainen, 1). Indeed, some characters try to hide many of their ongoing issues as they face shame over them, which is common due to the ongoing stigma and taboos surrounding mental health (Kotera, Adhikari and Sheffield). This occurs when pastry chef Emily (Hannah Walters) discovers her son Jamie's (Stephen McMillan) marks of self-harm, or when Jones shamefully retreats to his office where his alcohol and cocaine are kept. Both are short yet vital moments that effectively portray the often silent struggle of many employees in the workplace, made more impactful because of decisions made by Lewis. The camera, while still handheld, remains motionless, keeping to intense, intimate close-ups that allow the actors to display the vulnerability of their characters that, for some audience members, can feel familiar (Thomas). Barantini, who based Jones's addiction on his own struggles, hoped this film would encourage others to "reach out … and see if they're okay" (Thomas).

Beyond these two specific moments, Barantini also attempts to subvert our expectation to demonstrate the ways in which mental health affects us all. Manager Beth is originally portrayed as an almost antagonistic figure when she is introduced. Despite the clear stresses and tight schedule that comes with working during the Christmas period, Beth only seems to add to the pressure with a clear disregard to the feelings of her employees. When Andrea informs her of a table that have made inappropriate remarks and ridiculous demands, not only does she fail to give him any support, but agrees with said demands and forces the kitchen staff to fulfil them. When these conditions are obviously not met, the blame is pinned on the kitchen team for not being able to succeed. Beth is framed as an easily disliked character, which makes her moment of vulnerability later on all the more surprising. Perspective plays a key role in this sequence as Beth retreats into the bathroom to call her father, the owner of the restaurant, after a fierce confrontation with chef Carly (Vinette Robinson). The camera never follows her into the bathroom, so we never see Beth's very emotional state, yet the sound is all we need to get the full context. Her tearful message to her father informs us of her incredibly fragile state that has thus far been cleverly disguised by her tough exterior, and provides a new, enlightening perspective on an otherwise almost villainous character. This surprise moment perfectly illustrates a common disregard and the ways in which mental health remains hidden amongst workers, thanks in part to a strong performance from Alice Feetham. Barantini "wanted to show everybody has got two masks … The private mask is not always as jolly as the forward-facing mask" (Thomas).

The director's attempt at recognizing and exposing calloused attitudes towards mental health shares similarities to another one-shot film: Alejandro González Iñárritu's *Birdman or (The Unexpected Virtue of Ignorance)* (2014). The exploration of Riggan

Thomson's (Michael Keaton) attempt at reclaiming his megastar fame through a Broadway production uses similar visual techniques and balances similar themes to achieve the same intended effect on its audience. The illusion of the film being completed in one take, while mostly maintaining a singular perspective as opposed to constantly shifting between characters, helps the audience to construct and visualize the sense of overwhelming pressure and existential crisis (Yudia et al.) that is represented through Riggan and his slowly deteriorating mental state. The film also highlights the lack of awareness or stigmas that still surround mental health through the dysfunctional relationships between co-stars and family, which itself parallels Jones's own relationships, and the growing tensions between Riggan and others suggesting a general lack of empathy or consideration of the actor's clear struggles.

It could be assumed that the themes and cinematic techniques of *Boiling Point* merely retread old ground. What makes the film standout, however, is its exposure of mental health issues on a larger scale through its constantly shifting perspective between characters that highlight how experiences of stress and mental illness have become common place, especially in a demanding work environment like a restaurant, and how lack of recognition and continued stigmas (Gabriel and Liimatainen) surrounding mental health inhibits any real, positive change from occurring.

Workers in the hospitality industry are constantly placed in labor-intensive and stressful work environments that are generally the main cause for high employee turnover (Bufquin et al., 1). What this film accomplishes through its many talented performances, sharp script and immersive cinematography, is giving a true realization of the way stress and mental health are so closely tied to a profession that involves constant, daily, conflict-filled situations. After COVID-19 has created more anxiety and uncertainty for many

workers (Bufquin et al., 1), *Boiling Point* proves that now, more than ever, mental health issues must be acknowledged and dealt with in the workplace.

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Texture #8

Stuart Matheson

FILM REVIEW:

Are Superheroines Independent? Pitof's *Catwoman*

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Catwoman (2004), the second film directed by Pitof,[1] is a superhero film dedicated to the eponymous villain/antihero of DC Comics, who first appeared in 1940 in *Batman* #1 and whose secret identity is that of Selina Kyle. The character has become one of the most popular of DC comics, because of its relationship of sexual tension with Batman, its sensuous attitude and slinky outfits, and, especially, because of its various incarnations through the decades. Indeed, Catwoman has mutated from being a thief wearing only a mask to a seductress and femme fatale, and an antiheroine torn between the opposite impulses of her dual identity. Such an evolution of the character has been exemplified by the various incarnations of it on TV and in cinema, from the unforgettable performances of Julie Newmar, Lee Ann Meriwether and Eartha Kitt in the TV program of the late 1960s and the 1966 film derived from it to the simultaneously seductive and threatening presence of Michelle Pfeiffer in Tim Burton's *Batman Returns* (1992), who refuses Batman's fairytale offer of a home and a family. Catwoman has then been portrayed as

1. Pitof (b. 1957) directed *Vidocq* (2001) and *Fire and Ice: The Dragon Chronicles* (2008), but his work includes also much activity as a super effects supervisor in films such as *The City of Lost Children* (1995), *Alien: Resurrection* (1997) and *Asterix and Obelix Take on Caesar* (1999).

a super-agile thief (voiced by Adrienne Barbeau) who is also involved in social struggles (such as the protection of animals) and fights against Batman's own adversaries (while Selina Kyle is romantically involved with Bruce Wayne) in *Batman: The Animated Series* (1992-95).[2] In 2012 she was depicted as the expert thief interpreted by Anne Hathaway in Christopher Nolan's *The Dark Knight Rises*, in which she finally runs away with the billionaire. Her latest incarnations are the young but loyal thief (Camren Bicondova) in the TV series *Gotham* (2014-19) and the Caped Crusader's ally in Matt Reeves' *The Batman* (2022).

Pitof's film is, in this respect, very faithful to the previous versions of the character, although this Catwoman does not correspond to any of its previous versions, but should rather be considered as an alternative adaptation of them. The "multiple narrativizations of the same figure" (Collins, qtd. in Brooker *Hunting* x) that have characterized the Dark Knight regard Catwoman as well. Yet, in spite of the numerous incarnations of the character (especially in terms of her appearance, origins and motivations), a homogeneous picture of Catwoman emerges from the disparate texts and media that are the sum of the eighty-year fictional universe of Batman. She is ambitious, salubrious, calculating, dynamic, resourceful, scorching, vicious, private and, as cats sometimes are, independent, capricious, lovable and proud.

The story, set in contemporary times, begins with the presentation of the "unremarkable" life of its protagonist, Patience Phillips (Halle Berry), an artist who works as a designer of advertisements for beauty creams in Hedare Company. The company, run by eccentric George (Lambert Wilson) and his glacial wife Laurel (Sharon Stone),

2. However, in *The New Batman Adventures* (1997-99), a sort of sequel to the previous cartoon, Catwoman prioritizes her own needs and burglar activities over the battle against social iniquities, affirming on one occasion that she is "a spectacular thief." In the cartoon *The Batman* (2004-08), she collaborates with the masked vigilante every time she can gain anything for herself. She is opportunistic and selfish and does not attempt to seduce Batman.

is preparing to launch a new product, Beau-line, an anti-age cream that is going to revolutionize the market. Patience is a very shy and submissive woman, who is abused by her boss and is not confident enough in her abilities. One day, while attempting to save a cat outside her window (an Egyptian Mau), she meets police officer Tom Lone (Benjamin Bratt), who thinks that she is attempting suicide. The two of them instantly like each other and they agree on a date. The following night, Patience delivers her work to her boss in the company's research facility, but she accidentally overhears a conversation between George and one of the company's scientists, who confesses that Beau-line causes irreparable damage and addiction to its users. After being chased by two armed guards, she is trapped into the pipes of the toxic wastes and drowned. Patience is then resurrected by a group of cats and is reborn with feline instincts, agility and strength.

Without any memory of the events of the previous night, the subsequent day she is fired from her job, dates the police detective and, during the night, she fashions a costume for herself, cuts her hair short, steals a bike and beats severely a band of criminals in a jewelry, stealing the goods herself. A cat lady (to whom the Egyptian Mau belongs), Ophelia Powers (Frances Conroy), explains to Patience that she has died and has been reborn as a new person. She also states that her new life will be characterized by freedom: "Catwomen are not contained by the rules of society. You follow your own desires." Patience then traces and beats one of the company's guards who murdered her—a crime that is then investigated by Detective Lone. The latter begins to suspect her after their second date and, after sleeping together, he steals a glass from her home to confront the woman's digital prints with those found on the crime scene. The vain and power-driven Laurel (resentful because her face is not the brand of her company anymore—an apparent, non-hilarious nod to Robert Zemeckis' 1992 *Death Becomes*

Her—and embittered for her husband's adultery) then contacts Catwoman, inviting her to her house where she has killed George and accuses the protagonist of committing the crime. Patience is therefore arrested by Lone, but she manages to escape prison during the night and faces her nemesis, Laurel, into the Hedare building. The two of them literally have a "catfight" ending in Laurel's death. Lone, who has witnessed the fight, is convinced of Patience's innocence and finally releases her.

In a narrative that is half-way between Alex Proyas' *The Crow* (1994) and David Frankel's *The Devil Wears Prada* (2004), Pitof thus presents us with the figure of an agile athelte and a skilful hand-to-hand combatant, "a fence-sitter on the thin line separating good from evil" (Beatty 36), who is untamed and not afraid of expressing her deepest feelings and who moves from ingénue to femme fatale. In line with Rayn Weldon's interpretation of Burton's 1992 incarnation of the character, "Catwoman provides an excellent subject for an examination of an interplay between Self and Other and between the individual and society" (32). One of the traits of Catwoman that has emerged, particularly in her recent incarnations, is also her assertiveness and independence from male characters, a detail that has often promoted the identification of Catwoman with feminists. In this sense, Pitof's film fails to adhere to the latest models for the character. Indeed, the film could be criticized for portraying Catwoman as actually frightened by the possibility that the man she dates might discover her secret identity: the character's strength and assertiveness are therefore limited to her secret and masked persona who cannot fully express herself when she is wearing her daily clothes. Such a sexist representation of the character might be further confirmed by the hypersexualization of Catwoman's outfit, which has been created to expose Alle Berry's body rather than to imitate any of its predecessors.

In the 2004 film, which actually was a critical and financial flop, the protagonist is a new character in a line of several Catwomen. Although she is the one version of the character that actually moves like her animal-guide, sleeping on furnitures, jumping from great heights on all fours and feeding on cat food, and although the film offers a message of personal freedom and power for women, the spectators' attention is definitely stolen by Mrs. Laurel Hedare, the villainess interpreted by Sharon Stone who is as hard, beautiful and elegant as marble.

The film is worth (re-)watching today for the presentation of the growth of the character's alter ego, the fast-paced action sequences and the use of several filters and bright lighting. Furthermore, Pitof's *Catwoman* is in the (short) line of those productions on superheroes that do not confine female characters to the roles of: damsels in distress, ex or present girlfriends or wives, relatives, vicious and ruthless adversaries, sidekicks who do not apparently deserve a film of their own as male heroes instead do, or a combination of these roles. The only exceptions to this pattern have been Jeannot Szwarc's *Supergirl* in 1984, *Catwoman* in 2004 and Rob Bowman's *Elektra* in 2005, whose failures with the public and the critics have probably caused the industry's skepticism/prejudice against films based on heroines, until recently with Patty Jenkins' *Wonderwoman* (2017) and *Wonder Woman 1984* (2020) as well as Anna and Boden and Ryan Fleck's *Captain Marvel* (2019) and Cate Shortland's *Black Widow* (2021).

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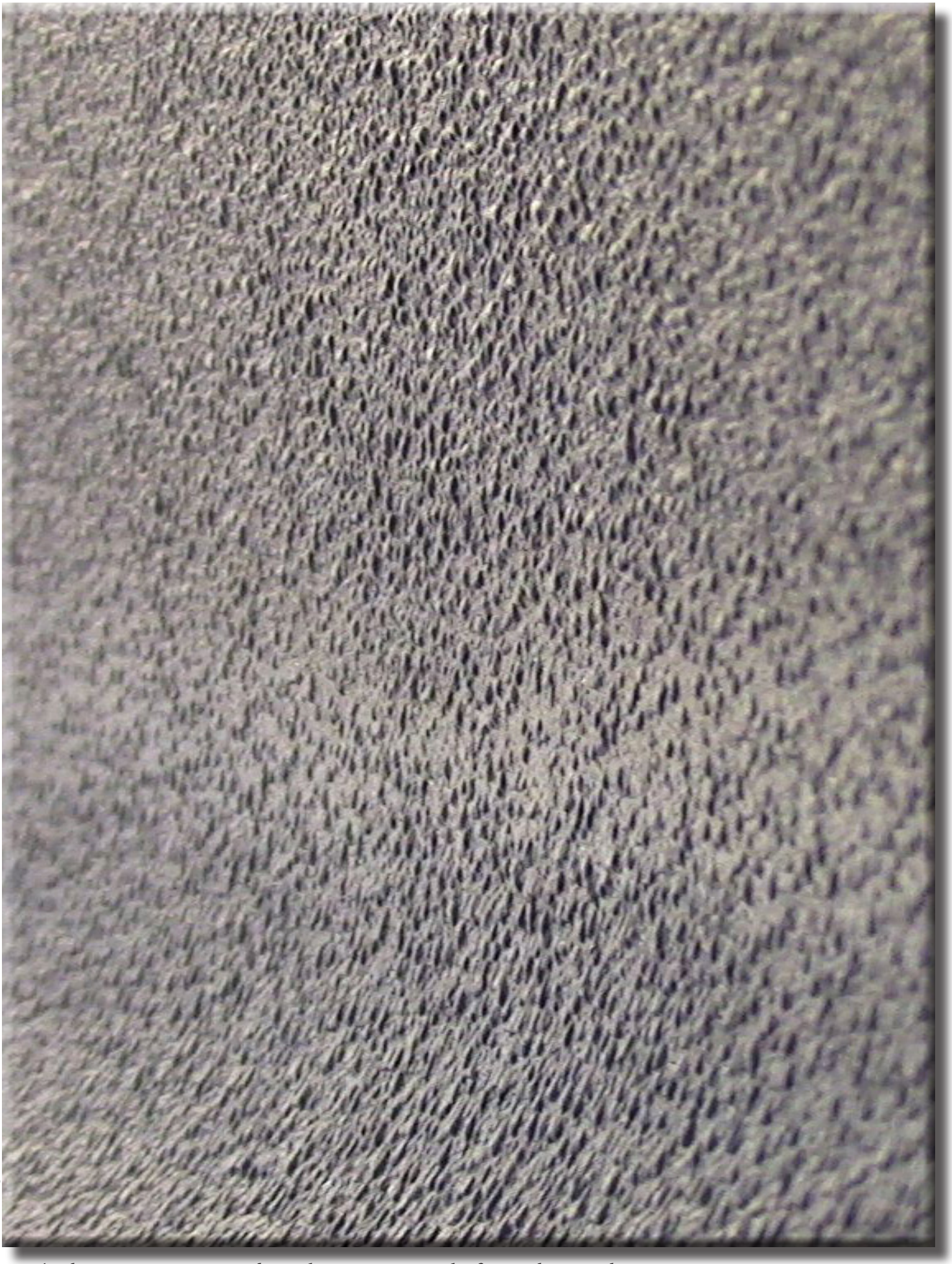
Texture #9



Stuart Matheson

FILM REVIEW:

Gremlins (1984): The Wolf that Grows is the One You Feed

Liam Webb
Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania

Gremlins is a 1984 film about a unique family pet, given as a Christmas gift, whose malcontented offspring terrorize a town until they are exterminated primarily by the pet's owner and his female co-worker and love interest. Oddly, this movie set at Christmas time was a summer movie, released on June 10 of that year. Executive produced by Steven Spielberg and directed by Joe Dante,[1] it was very successful, making nearly fourteen times its eleven million dollar budget (Thenumbers.com). It became one of the biggest hits of the 1980s, spawning much merchandise which sells even today (Amazon.com)

1. Dante is a currently working director who began directing in 1976. He mainly favors the genre of horror but is renowned for the mixture of horror and comedy in his films. He is also a fan of, and considered an authority on, 1950s science fiction films. His productions include: *Piranha* (1978), *The Howling* (1981), *Explorers* (1985), *The 'Burbs* (1989), *Gremlins 2: The New Batch* (1990) and *Looney Tunes: Back in Action* (2003).

and, if memory serves, leading to the naming of innumerable dogs and cats "Gizmo" (this reviewer was six when the movie came out and remembers it being a popular pet name into the late 80s).

The story begins with Rand Peltzer (Hoyt Axton) buying a strange animal as a pet from a shop owner in Chinatown. The latter does not want to sell the furry creature (called a Mogwai), but the grandson does, telling Peltzer that there are three rules to taking care of the animal: 1. It hates bright light, and sunlight will kill it; 2. Do not get the animal wet for any reason; 3. Do not feed it after midnight for any reason. What the grandson fails to tell Peltzer, in true movie plot fashion, is the reason for these rules: the Mogwai reproduces by water and the offspring are badly tempered. Furthermore, after-midnight feeding causes the creatures to enter a pupal stage which evolves them into homicidal monsters. While it could be argued that the boy did not know, it defies all logic that his grandfather would not tell him what would happen if the rules were broken. But again, it is a movie, and cannot be held to standards of logic; if it were, there would be no conflict and hence no story.

Mr. Peltzer gives the Mogwai to his son, Billy (Zach Galligan), as an early Christmas gift (despite the family already having a dog and money troubles being hinted at) and names it "Gizmo." At first, everything is fine, but, respectively by accident and trickery, the rules against water and feeding are broken, which turns the once cute and good natured single Mogwai into many evil natured gremlins. The latter first terrorize the Peltzer home and, though the family fights back, one gremlin, Stripe, escapes to reproduce in a public pool. The resulting army of gremlins attacks the town, destroying buildings and killing a few people. Later, for no clear reason, all the gremlins gather in the movie

theater to watch Disney's *Snow White* where Billy and his co-worker/romantic interest Kate (Phoebe Cates) kill them by blowing up the building. Stripe escapes once again and Billy hunts the creature down in a department store. Stripe is killed by sunlight and the next day at the Peltzer home the original owner of Gizmo appears and takes the Mogwai back, saying that the modern world is not responsible enough for nature's gifts.

Gremlins has become a classic in the 38 years since its release, and it is easy to see why. It is a good story which provides equal parts comedy and light horror. It is a good "scary movie for kids" while still being entertaining for adults. The main characters are well rounded, though some side characters are caricatures—like the boss's lapdog Gerald (Judge Reinhold) and the Dickensenian landlord Mrs. Deagle (Polly Holliday). The latter is cartoonishly nasty only to set up a satisfying feeling for the viewer when she is near-comically killed by the gremlins after being shot out of her house like a cannonball in a hyper fast chair lift. The former disappears less than halfway through the film, although a deleted scene reveals Gerald locked himself in the bank vault showing signs of obsession (if not a full mental breakdown) due to the gremlin activity (Audiovisual Rescue).

It does take the movie some time to get to the advertised, titular gremlins. The first quick look viewer have at such creatures occurs at the 50 minute mark, and only at 54 minutes into a 103 minute movie (52% over) do they have the first full and long look at a gremlin (eating cookies in fact). Keeping the gremlins hidden did work to add atmosphere and heighten the tension for young audiences, since, as Lovecraft argues, "The oldest and strongest emotion of mankind is fear, and the oldest and strongest kind of fear is fear of the unknown," although it is hard to believe that much harm would have been done by showing them sooner.

On a related matter, most of the violence occurs offscreen, even if just barely. This was good for the tone of the movie but also as a counterpoint to today's world of graphic "torture porn" franchises like *Saw* (2004-23). It is refreshing to know what was happening but also not be required (forced?) to see it in minute detail. The most graphic details indeed both involve the gremlin puppets: a decapitation and the death of head gremlin Stripe. Scary for kids, certainly, but also easily allayed by parents since the gremlins are not real creatures.

What makes this film notable for examination is its subtle messaging. Today's Hollywood has become decidedly blunt in its messaging, especially politically, as the cases of the *Star Wars* sequels (2015-19), *Captain Marvel* (2019), *Batwoman* (2019-22), *She-Hulk: Attorney at Law* (2022-), and numerous other otherwise non-political productions that add direct jabs at specific social groups demonstrate. This in turn has led to corporations accusing the audience of "review bombing" certain movies on sites like Rotten Tomatoes and the suspect last minute rewriting of website rules for certain Disney films as well as wholesale deleting of negative, if legitimate, reviews (Menon). In contrast to all of this, as a political message *Gremlins* shows the middle class as virtuous (Kate helping out Dorry's Bar for free) and the monied class as greedy and adversarial, but it certainly does not "shove it in our faces" as it may have been the case, had the film been made today.

The film's other, non-political, more important and equally subdued message lost none of its presence or power. "Mogwai" means vengeful spirit of the dead or demon in Chinese, a meaning that is apparently confirmed by the fact that all the gremlin's eyes are red. If the green-eyed monster is greed, then the red-eyed monster is anger, which fits

with the vengeance theme. The gremlins themselves are an allegory for anger/rage, which starts out as small and tame, especially if treated responsibly as the original Chinese owner treats Gizmo. But if an individual treats it nonchalantly, and especially if he/she commodifies it as Mr. Peltzer does, it will grow and spread at the slightest provocation (spilled water) and then develop into something nasty that can hurt both the single person and others. This is epitomized by the sequence in which Billy's broken clock shows 11:30, at which time anger/the Mogwai is fed when it was not even mean to be so. This causes it to grow, fester (the cocoons) and eventually break out and cause havoc in an individual's life. These predators/feelings then spread violence and pain, and, when combined with technology—in the movie as in life—they can create devastating effects (including swatting and cyberbullying). It is up to the owner of the Mogwai/anger to destroy them/it once they spread, most decidedly when brought into the disinfecting light of the sun.

Gremlins should be rewatched now because, while it is a fun adventure to enjoy and can be appreciated as a piece of film history, its underlying theme of what happens when we feed our anger and let it grow in the dark is timely in today's political and cultural climate. Nurturing our anger and resentment against those who think differently from us only turns us into little monsters ourselves, all too eager to destroy the property and lives of others in the name of our desires or as a twisted version of fun. Do not hide behind the obscuring darkness of anonymous internet accounts, falsified "swatting" calls, or attempts to "socially kill" (that is, cancel) others, and do not whet (wet) your appetite for *schadenfreude*. Rather, come out into the light of day and debate with others, as it is that sunlight which will dispel irrational, rampant anger and allow us to civilly discuss

different points of view in order to work together for peaceful solutions to our differences, rather than storing up armies of goblins in our minds that urge us to only destroy those with different opinions, notably those who peaceably display their religious convictions like Christmas.

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Texture #10

Stuart Matheson

Igamer: The early years of my gamer life on an Indian reservation

Opening.

I am origin and destruction.

I have slain monsters and become one. I saved countless lives and lived a hero. I've explored the kingdom of mushrooms, the land of three triangles, and the jungles of Zanzubarland with a legendary hero.

In a thousand perishing battles and victories, I've trained with world-breaking weaponry and miracle-making items. All things mysterious and magical bend at my joystick. Pixelated dreams are built upon my button mashing.

My life began in an 8-bit era, stumbled through the 16-bit childhood, and graduated after the 64-bit age. Decades of living are calculated and remembered through a digital looking glass.

Online, I am God; Offline, I am human.

I, gamer.

W. M. Young

Dec. 08, 2018, MB

Chapter One
Character Creation

How about a tutorial of my early years?

The concept of my birth began like any extraordinary, aboriginal of the north. Once an alcoholic and a junkie made a critical success in their initial reaction roll. There were no modifiers. None were needed in the backdrop of a 'rez' party down by Riverside drive. In the summer of nineteen eighty-one, my parents hooked up.

Nine months later at the St. Anthony Hopital(sic), this level zero baby was born into our world. With a STR (strength) of one, he would need a father. With an INT (intelligence) of one, he would need a mother. His natural ability would be partial photographic memory. The Game Master of life, the Creator, would proclaim an 'interesting' destiny for this level zero character. "History promises more twists and turns before that drama unfolds." (Crystal Dynamics, 1996)

That character being me.

I can't recall those early years without the facts by how I interpret those childhood sensory inputs. I grew up on a northern reservation called The Pas Indian Band, later renamed Opaskwayak Cree Nation. The community also included the municipality Town of The Pas. A muddy, narrow waterbody called the Saskatchewan River separated both communities. If you were standing on the Bignell bridge you would see the sun rise from Rall's Island and set over Big Eddy. That was the advantage of having the Bignell bridge as a landmark, knowing where the sun came and went.

Before the internet, travel in the north was limited.

So, dear reader, you can imagine how slow the modern electronic entertainment consoles would slowly make its way into the north despite the mention of a bridge. Nevertheless, my gaming adventures began in the smokey pool halls and shopping malls. The first arcade I saw was in a bowling ally at the mall. It was a seven-foot box with a flashing monitor, a joy stick and a few red buttons. The bottom half below the monitor was a door with a metal plate. It had small slots for where the coins went in. Sometime they had that little square button to eject your quarter of it got stuck.

The most frequent place for arcades in town was a light brown building with four windows in the front. The white and red sign above the front entrance read 'Snooker Land'. Anyone who stepped into Snooker Land would immediately smell the cigarette butts and dirty carpet. It was divided into two sections, the arcades and the pool tables. The game banners screwed above every arcade flashed with colourful titles like Wonderboy in Monsterland, Ring King, and Pacman. Of course, none of this was free. A bag of quarters was needed from the owner, a white-haired, elderly man.

I was mesmerized by the variety games with differing objectives from fighting to driving to platform jumping. Frustration hardened my hand-eye coordination. Each level cleared rose my excitement and decreased my supply of quarters. Every game was like a window into a different world.

I do recall once my uncle Bob and auntie took me into town one autumn afternoon. I watched as my uncle's square hands moving the joystick and rapidly tapping the red buttons. He was playing a classic called Mappy. The gray mouse dressed as a police officer was running on platforms and collecting furniture for points. When the mouse was caught by cat with a tie, it spun around and made dying music. As afternoon led into

evening, all the monsters were defeated and all our quarters were spent, we walked back to the rez. I'm pretty sure we all had a good time then.

In those salad days, mom and I were staying at my grandparents on Jebb's Drive. Dad was a random item we sometimes saw. Granny Lillian was working at the care home as a nurse and Grandpa 'Jumbo' worked for Cook's cab. I was starting classes at Iskinakan(sic) school that year. We all lived in that yellow, three-bedroom house.

By the age of five, or level five, I received my very first Nintendo entertainment system. It was a gift from grandpa Jumbo. When I walked into my room with the brown carpet, I saw that familiar black box with Nintendo Entertainment System written across the front. I still recall gazing at the box art and the numerous games that were available for the NES console. Some of the screen shots on the back of the box included The Legend of Zelda, Rad Racer, and Super Mario Bros. Unboxing my first Nintendo console was like Mario touching a star. I felt invincible.

Quickly, I removed the gray console from the box and unpackaged the black wires. Most Nintendo consoles game with a controller, the light gun and a game, usually the Super Mario/Duck Hunt cartridge. I hooked the small power block into the wall socket and screwed that gray box into the small, black and white CRTV monitor. Once the game was inserted, I pressed the POWER button beside the RESET button and waited. The title screen slid onto view and I made my choice.

Later that evening, as I was still playing my new NES when grandpa Jumbo came into the room. I pointing the light gun at the television trying to shoot a blue duck on the screen. He asked what I was playing. Duck Hunt, I told him as I missed my third shot. The Duck Hunt dog floated from behind the tall grass and laughed his insidious, 8-bit laugh.

"That dog is laughing at you," he bellowed in a gruff, old voice. I think it was the funniest thing he ever saw. My guess was he never saw a video game before.

After that, everything I talked about was video games. At school, I talked with my classmates about all the games I saw. At home, I played video games till it was time to eat or sleep. Sometimes my friends at school would call me a Nintendo freak because of my new lifestyle.

Away from games, offline, I had a different life than most children. While the adults drank on the weekends, I was jumping platforms on Super Mario. It happened almost every weekend. Eventually, mom began hiring a babysitter to watch me. Sometimes, I had to sleep at the babysitters' house. Those days were boring and sad. I didn't like sleeping in strange house with people I didn't know and without my NES console. At first, I thought mom was too busy because she worked as a line cook at the New Colony restaurant and as a driver for Cook's cabs. Later, after my sister was born, I learn mom was leaving us with the babysitter to go out drinking.

Remember those days when renting a video game at a rental store was a thing? I recall those long rows of square boxes and the scent of carpet cleaner. What can be said about the age of rental stores in the area I lived? Our favourite store was down on Edwards' Avenue, on town side. A glowing black and white sign hung above its brick store front. Some of the games arranged along included Super Mario 2, Skate or Die, Ninja Gaiden, Double Dragon, Metal Gear, Monster Party and so on. I didn't know much about those other titles but I did choose one. The black box with the picture of a floating castle in a dome and the sharp, red lettering said it all.

Final Fantasy for the NES was one of my first rentals. When I got home that evening, I removed the game from those plastic rental cases the rental store provided. Okay, I was

a little more than excited to recall all those moments until I saw the opening after the character screen. I bright lights of the land and sea captivated my young interest. The first battle screen occurred outside the castle. Our initial encounter was with an eight-bit, brown wolf who was more than hungry. After some quick button mashing, the wolf and his non-friendly friends vanquished and I began winning battles and gaining experience. As minutes passed and I gained levels, I completely forgot Final Fantasy had a storyline. So, apparently this bad guy kidnaped the princess of the castle where the game begins. The king of that castle wants the four heroes to rescue the princess from Garland. As a gesture of goodness, the king gives you some GP and sends you to find this nameless princess. I didn't get any further because I had to return the game to the rental store. Sad face.

I wasn't the only kid on the street who rented video games. I had neighbour who lived in a brown house next to my grandma's. Willy was a few years older than me and he was tall like his dad. The first time I visited his room I noticed the familiar grey NES console and square cartridges. His collection of cartridge games included Super Mario Bros., Mike Tyson's Punch Out, Duck Hut and Space Invaders.

The first game Willy and I rented from the video game store was Wrestlemania for the NES. I recognized the Immortal, Hulk Hogan, tearing his shirt on the front cover and screaming silently, and probably wildly. I can say the Hulkster didn't look anything like the cover when we loaded the game. He looked like pixelated mustard. Whatever inaccuracies the game presented, Willy and I still had a good, long evening of video game wrestling. It featured popular, but poorly drawn, characters from the WWF in eight-bit format. The songs were something like the television programing at the time. We had enormous trouble getting the pin to work. I remember Willy laying across his

bed reading the instruction manual with a straight face. In my mind I was like "Hogan reverses an Irish whip and comes in with a dropkick?! This dark match between Hulk Hogan and the Honky Tonk Man is so electrifying, you can cut it with a knife."

By the time I finished kindergarten, my stats were about ST 02 and an INT 03. In my youth, I was beginning to move my hands the way others did and recalled those lessons as pictograms in my mind's eye. I didn't understand what this would mean in later years. The salad days of ignorance will soon be a pleasure to the eyes and ears in later months. The concept of 'igamer' would require another decade as it cycled in the womb of my brain matter.

There was another place where I played steady hours of video games. The New Avenue Hotel on downtown Fisher Avenue is where I became an expert arcade player for Double Dragon. My mom gave me twenty bucks that evening as we pulled along the curb. She explained to me as I dazzled at my new, green twenty-dollar bill, some of her friends were going into the "parlour" and I could play arcade and get something to eat in the restaurant. After a cheese burger and a soda, I asked the clerk for five dollars in quarters.

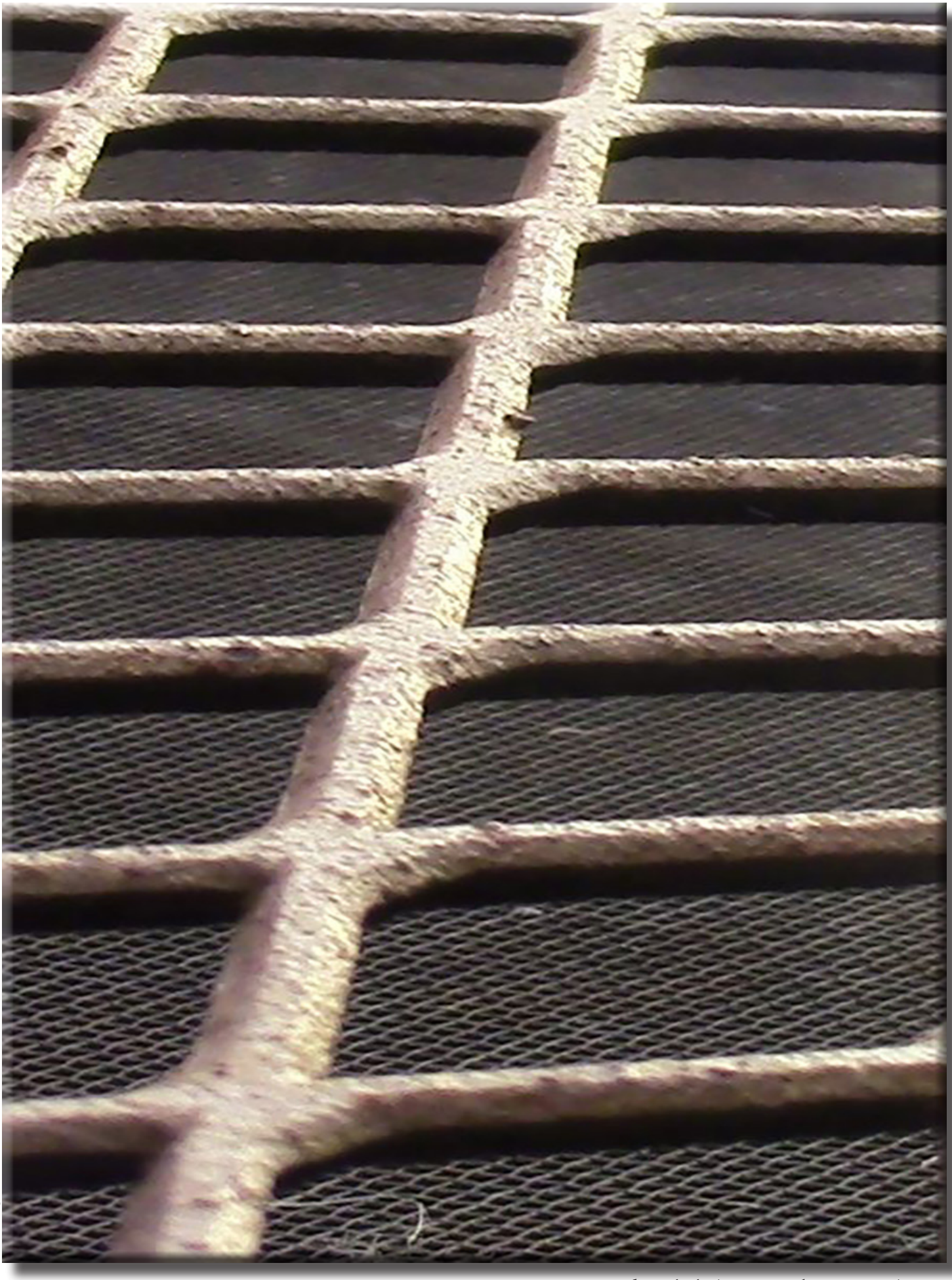
The basics of arcade Double Dragon combined hand-eye coordination and a little creativity. With one joystick and three buttons, two brothers, Billy and Jimmy, battle the streets to rescue the girlfriend. The exciting conclusion had the two brothers face off against machinegun joe and three doppelganger fighters. When that fight was done and the two brothers were left, the game had Billy and Jimmy square off in the last stage. The winner would get the kiss from the girlfriend, Myron. I would tell my mom about the whole experience on the way home later that evening. I didn't care about the scent of the parlour because I was all the way with that arcade.

Most of those experiences with video games came to an abrupt end when I was

dropped off in a place called Clear Water Lake. The name could fool some to preconceive this area of the north as a spectacle of borealis paragon. Without electricity there could be no pixelated heroes, no pit falls or monsters, and no treasures or high scores to be achieved. The people my mom dropped me off with lived in a hovel with two rooms. I remember it because the washing station and the pantry were separated with bedroom sheets suspended from wires. The window in the kitchenette looked northward, obscured by leaves, branches and dust. Another wider window on the eastern wall looked out to a brown dog house and a gravel road leading to the lake. The dust was so thick I couldn't see the blue-green lake yonder.

I wish I could say the first seventy hours at auntie Blanche's house was like farming until I leveled up but there was nothing glamourous about that grinding experience.

Texture #11



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the quint's sixtieth issue is issuing a call for theoretically informed and historically grounded submissions of scholarly interest—as well as creative writing, original art, interviews, and reviews of books and films. The deadline for this call is the 15th of November 2022—but please note that we accept manu/digi-scripts at any time.

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