

International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology

Volume 6 Number 2 February 2014
ISSN 2006 - 988x



*Academic
Journals*

ABOUT IJSA

The **International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology (IJSA)** is published monthly (one volume per year) by Academic Journals.

International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology (IJSA) is an open access journal that provides rapid Publication (monthly) of articles in all areas of the subject such as Socialization, post colonialism, kinship and Descent, Culture, ethnography etc.

The Journal welcomes the submission of manuscripts that meet the general criteria of significance and scientific excellence. Papers will be published shortly after acceptance. All articles published in IJSA are peer-reviewed.

Contact Us

Editorial Office: ijsa@academicjournals.org

Help Desk: helpdesk@academicjournals.org

Website: <http://www.academicjournals.org/journal/IJSA>

Submit manuscript online <http://ms.academicjournals.me/>

Editors

Prof. Roland Armando Alum
*Senior International Research consultant,
ICOD Associates of New Jersey,
Trustee: DeVry University (New Jersey Campuses),
USA.*

Dr. Roseline M. Achieng
*Private Bag X17, Bellville, 7535
South Africa.*

Dr. Fidelma Ashe
*School of Policy Studies
University of Ulster
Newtownabbey
BT37 0QB
Northern Ireland*

Prof. Silvia Ciotti
*Department of Environmental Science,
St. John International University
Italy.*

Dr. C. I. David Joy
*United Theological college,
Benson Town P.O.
Bangalore-46
India.*

Dr. Kewal Krishan
*Department of Anthropology
Panjab University
Chandigarh-160 014
India.*

Prof. Isabella Crespi
*Ph.D Sociology and Research Methodology
Professor of Cultural Sociology
Department of Education
University of Macerata
Italy.*

Prof. M. Isabel Garrido Gómez
*Professor of Legal Philosophy
Faculty of Law
University of Alcalá
Spain*

Dr. Amani Hamdan
*Ottawa University
1440 Heron Road APT 710
Ottawa, ON
K1V 0X2
Canada*

Dr. Brian Milne
*106 Glen Road, West Cross, Swansea SA3 5QJ, Wales,
UK.*

Dr. Stephen Vertigans
*Applied Social Studies,
Faculty of Social Science
Robert Gordon University,
Aberdeen,
UK*

Dr. Md. Emaj Uddin
*Department of Social Work,
University of Rajshahi,
Rajshahi-6205,
Bangladesh.*

Dr. John Horace Enemugwem
*Department of History & Diplomatic Studies,
Faculty of Humanities
University of Port Harcourt,
Port Harcourt,
Rivers State,
Nigeria.*

Prof. Eleonora Kormysheva
*Director of the Golenishev Egyptological Center,
Russian State University for Humanities Moscow,
157265
Miuskaya square 6
Department of the History of Orient,
The Institute of Oriental Studies,
Russian Academy of Sciences,
Moscow 103031
Russia*

Editorial Board

Dr. Hyun-Chin Lim

*President, Korean Association of Political Sociology
Dean, College of Social Sciences
Seoul National University
Seoul 151-742,
Korea*

Dr. Nels Paulson

*Assistant Professor of Sociology
University of Wisconsin-Stout
332E Harvey Hall
Menomonie, WI 54751
USA.*

Dr. Samuel Law

*MD FRCP(C)
Assistant Professor,
Department of Psychiatry,
University of Toronto.*

Dr. B. B. Mohanty

*Professor and Head
Department of Sociology
Pondicherry University
Pondicherry 605 014,
India.*

Dr. Rashid Solagberu Adisa

*Agricultural and Rural Development Specialist
Department of Agricultural Extension and Rural
Development,
University of Ilorin,
Ilorin, Kwara State,
Nigeria.*

Dr. Joy Asongazoh Alemazung

*Lecturer and International Student Officer
Hochschule Bremen (University of Applied Sciences)
School of International Business (SIB)
Werderstrasse
Bremen,
Germany.*

Dr. Julia Maria Wittmayer

*Scientific Researcher & Consultant
DRIFT (Dutch Research Institute for Transitions),
Erasmus University Rotterdam,
The Netherlands.*

Dr. Rukhsana Gazi

*Associate Scientist & Head,
Health Systems and Economics Unit,
Health Systems and Infectious Diseases Division,
ICDDR, B
Mohakhali C/A
Dhaka 1212
Bangladesh.*

Dr. C P S Chauhan

*Professor of Education & Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences,
Aligarh Muslim University,
Aligarh
India.*

Dr. Sunita Bose

*Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology
SUNY, New Paltz
New Paltz, NY 12561.*

Dr. Matthew M. Chew

*Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology
Hong Kong Baptist University
Kowloon Tong, Kowloon
HKSAR,
China.*

Dr. Eswarappa Kasi, Ph.D

*Guest Faculty,
Department of Anthropology,
University of Hyderabad,
Hyderabad- 500 046,
Andhra Pradesh,
India.*

Dr. Hoon Chang Yau

*Assistant Professor of Asian Studies
School of Social Sciences
Singapore Management University
Singapore.*

Dr. Stephen J. Hunt

*Department of Sociology and Criminology,
Faculty of Humanities, Languages and Social Sciences,
University of the West of England,
Bristol,
UK.*

ARTICLES

Research Articles

- African indigenous religious rituals and magic in Ibadan politics:
Issues for the democratisation process in Nigeria** 42
Jegede, Charles Obafemi
- Violence against women in Igboland, South-east, Nigeria: A critical
quest for change** 49
CHUKWU, Christian Chima^{1*}, SCENT, Grace A.T², EMEKA,
Josephat Owan³, OBI, Christopher Ugochukwu¹ and KALU,
Emelike Okorie⁴
- Child's growth and nutritional status in two communities-Mishing
Tribe and Kaibarta caste of Assam, India** 59
Debashis Basu^{1*}, Gulenur Islam², Ratul Gogoi²,
Swarupa Dey³ and Junumai Deori²
- 'Forgotten and forgiven'? Calvinism and French Society** 70
Milan Zafirovski

Full Length Research Paper

African indigenous religious rituals and magic in Ibadan politics: Issues for the democratisation process in Nigeria

Jegede, Charles Obafemi

Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Accepted 20 November, 2013

The wind of democracy is blowing everywhere in Africa and particularly Nigeria. One remarkable aspect of this is that there exists a blend of indigenous religious rituals, magic and politics. These rituals in the ancient Yoruba kingdoms were used for checks and balances, deposing a bad ruler and protection of the citizenry. This is an important aspect of Nigerian democratization process that requires urgent attention. Ibadan as the largest city in West Africa and apart from Lagos the most populous city in the Southwest of Nigeria; and so in the trajectory of Nigerian democracy Ibadan is fundamental to the Nigerian political architecture. As in most other places in Nigeria, Ibadan politics, rituals and magic as practiced in African traditional religion have become veritable instruments in the hand of politicians as they play and practise politics. The researcher participated in political campaigns, observed meetings and the rituals of oath-taking and the way politicians came to priests and priestesses of Yoruba deities. The study reveals that in Ibadan politics, there is the mixture of indigenous religious rituals and magic in the political landscape in Nigeria.

Key words: Magic, rituals, religion, democracy, politics.

INTRODUCTION

The present nature of the Nigerian political terrain brings to the fore the interconnectedness between African traditional religion and politics especially the aspect of magic and rituals. Many politicians, cutting across categories of politicians seek protection and victory in elections from spiritual forces by using ritual, charms and various forms of cultic practices from Christianity, Islam, and indigenous African religion, the three major religions in Nigeria. Although in Nigeria, most citizens are either Christians or Muslims, but majority secretly or openly also practise African indigenous religion alongside their official religion. The reason, as generally expressed, given the political landscape and the risk involved in practising politics in Nigeria with the employment of African traditional religious ritual is inevitable. The reasons as

echoed in some quarters are that rituals in Christianity and Islam are not potent in African soil and most of the time the rituals and magic of these religions are inconsequential. Already, there exists a general advocacy that oath should be taken in the court of law by using cutlass, gun or other paraphernalia used for oath-taking in African indigenous religion instead of using Bible or Koran.

Nigeria has had a tortuous history of dancing around democracy. The history of governance in Nigeria has been the history of military coup and counter coup. Only recently, from May 1999, have Nigerians begun to experience what can be called a stable democracy.

As in most other religions, ritual and magic are essential practices in African indigenous religion. This

preliminary discussion argues first that the magical dimension of politics is not a marginal, but a central dimension of the nature of public authority, leadership, and popular identities in Nigerian democratic architecture. This paper is designed to stimulate research and foster a lively and straight forward debate on the issue of the use of occult power, charms and other material objects which are part of the practice inherent in African indigenous religion that are of direct implications for the democratisation process in Nigeria by investigating campaigns and election processes.

METHODOLOGY

In-depth key informant interviews and non-participatory observations of political activities since 2003 were used to elicit information. Politicians especially youths who are often used as political thugs, followers of political parties, contestants, as well as herbalists, priests and priestesses of *Orisa* (gods) among the Yoruba within and outside Ibadan and diviners of various categories were interviewed. The researcher also observed the practitioners as clients came for consultations from diviners, herbalists as well as priests and priestesses of divinities.

This study argues that the pervasiveness of magical and ritual practices in the Ibadan politics evidently proves that in most complicated issues and challenges of life people face, they quickly run to their tradition and origin. It also shows clearly that most Christians and Muslims have not been totally uprooted from their tradition. Although most Nigerians publicly and officially show themselves as Christians and Muslims, they are very much in tune with their origin and tradition at least for utilitarian purpose.

The author's observations and experiences during the 2003, 2007 and 2011 electioneering campaigns, noting especially the open display of charms and all kinds of magical outfit on campaign grounds, are relevant in this study.

It was observed that politicians used all forms of weapons to protect themselves against assassination and all that characterizes the present political terrain. Aside from the use of dangerous physical weapons, most participants were seen with all kinds of charms around their bodies. These instruments could be used openly and during any form of tussle or violence; they are practically applied to the bodies of the politicians involved.

Anthropologists who studied witchcraft during the pre-colonial era generally assumed that obsession with occult would disappear through urbanization. In the last two decades of the 20th century, major achievements of modernisation were lost. Life has become so miserably insecure that politicians must subject themselves to the patronage of priests, priestesses of divinities as well as

herbalists and sorcerers who are believed to be powerful individuals in the community.

Nigeria is a nation that has gone through a series of humiliating and unmitigated tragedies and these have been the hurdles Nigerians have to cross in their journeys to stable democracy. According to Harnisschfeger (2006), "Nigeria is a candidate for state collapse". In 1999, when Nigeria returned to democracy, people were more optimistic as expectations were high. But soon after the democratic election, there was an explosion of violence which was typified in the formation of ethnic militia. In the western part of Nigeria, there is O'odua People's Congress (OPC) and in the Southeast of Nigeria there is the Bakassi Boys. Militia in Nigeria typically makes use of magic or spiritual powers and many politicians and community hire them as security agents. In the South-eastern part of Nigeria particularly, they were given official recognition and started co-founding them. Their activities to a long extent helped to cleanse the land of hoodlums and robbers and as a result they were entrusted with the task of "cleansing" the land of criminals. While it is very clear that the rising concern about occult and magic powers has contributed to the decline of the state, it is not clear in what ways state decline may have contributed renewed concern or obsession with magic and occult.

In the nineteenth and part of the twentieth century, there were scholarly works on magic and religion. The fundamental issue has been the use of science as a knowledge system to explain the phenomenon of magic and religion. This trend has always led to a kind of epistemological chasm because magic is understood to involve the manipulation of mystical forces and beings, to achieve practical goals, and was intended to affect the natural world either positively or negatively. By implication therefore, magic is the act of influencing events objects, people and natural/physical phenomena by mystical or paranormal means. Frazier is of the opinion that there exists a relationship between magic and religion but that this relationship is structured according to a linear evolutionary framework and that an attempt to initiate a discussion on the magical must include the religious, and the scientific. He postulated that magical thought, the earliest stage of human development, was replaced by religious thought as people observed its failures and came to believe that they could propitiate gods in order to control nature. Religious thought was then replaced by scientific thought as human beings understood natural laws. From Frazier's stand point what is called magic can therefore be referred to as a science though in its crude form. It can be regarded as those scientific devices that were created within the religious and cultural milieu of a people to serve certain personal or collective advantage.

Thus in Weisman (1984: 266), Styer (2004: 67) said, by magic and occultism, is meant charms, amulets, rings,

belts, ritual, incantations used to attain personal desires. Magic can therefore be referred to as the potentiation of material objects prepared for politicians to prevent attacks and protection against the onslaught of the enemies (real and imaginary). By ritual, the author means oath taking, sacrament to influence the support of the people, so as to enter into the psyche of the electorate in order to win election into political offices and other personal advantages. In this case, animals could be offered to the gods following a form of liturgical practice.

Anthropological scholarship on ritual is particularly contentious as there is no definition that can be said to be the generally acceptable one.

Leach suggests, that the only thing "rituals" have in common is that they are actions that communicate meanings, or, in some cases create the very meanings they communicate - as can be seen in the naming of a new baby or rites of passage of a man or woman, initiation into the cults of the gods and initiation into adulthood. He suggests that we should look for similarities in such patterns of communication and meaning creation across cultures, and that any attempt to want to arrive at a universally acceptable definition is an exercise in futility.

Victor Turner is perhaps the most famous scholar who has written extensively on ritual especially in his work among the Ndembu of Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia). His work provided both a detailed account of an African ritual system and a major theoretical system for the analysis of ritual. According to Jegede (2010), ritual is the systematic device generated from the culture of a people through which what is hot is made cool so as to bring equilibrium to disequilibrium.

In Ibadan politics therefore are generated from the ritual as performed are not official ritual of the community rather, they are community ritual harnessed to by politicians to serve the purpose of collective or personal utilitarian advantages.

It was observed that there is a kind of manipulation to it. Ritual may be performed on specific occasions, or at the discretion of individuals who are key members or leaders of political party. It may be in arbitrary places, or in places especially reserved for it; either in public, in private, or before specific people. A ritual may be restricted to a certain subset of the members of the political party, and in fact, it can be between two people especially between a leader, political godfather or contestants.

The purposes and types of rituals vary and as well intertwine; at times, it may be to strengthen social and political bonds, to seek the supports of supernatural forces to win election and to demonstrate loyalty, respect and submission, stating one's affiliation, and unflinching support; sometimes, just for the pleasure of the ritual itself. Most of the time the ritual sessions involved oath-taking and making of covenant.

Pre-colonial Nigeria and the use of magic and ritual

Before the missionary enterprises of Christians and Muslims, ritual and magic in traditional religion and politics were inseparable. With colonialism, the political landscape changed. It swept under the carpet the indigenous religion of the people, the fabric with which the governance of the people was built. In contemporary Africa and particularly Nigeria, the religions that supposedly play prominent roles in Nigerian public space and particularly in politics are Islam and Christianity, even though traditional religion has a sizable number of adherents. It is also noteworthy that the African indigenous religion is not considered an issue when issues of politics and democracy are debated. This explains why the integration of indigenous religion into state polity for the realisation of the desired cultural renaissance and moral rejuvenation and stability is virtually impossible.

In the pre-colonial Africa and particularly Nigeria, from the appointment of a king to the proper governance, it was guided by one divinity or another. For example, a king should not be appointed unless it is approved by Ifa through divination which is administered in a specific way so as to determine the person that is divinely approved to govern the community. What gives approval and legitimacy to the person chosen is whether he is the person chosen by Ifa; a corpus system among the Yoruba.

Also in the removal of a king there were rituals that should be performed. For example in the old Oyo Empire, the Oyo Mesi alongside Ogboni could commission Bashorun to present an empty calabash or a dish containing parrot's eggs to the King. The Bashorun will then proclaim thus "the gods reject you, the people reject you, and the earth rejects you". Immediately this is proclaimed, the Oba opens the calabash, he is expected to die or commit suicide. It is also important that certain rituals are performed regularly for the benefit of the whole community. There was always an annual divination not just for the king (Ifa Oba) and the town (Ifa ilu). The king's divination is for long life and prosperity for the king and the town's divination is for the peace and stability of the community. There is therefore a communalistic dimension to the use of ritual in indigenous religion.

In contemporary Nigerian society, it has been very difficult for people to be completely removed from their tradition especially as exemplified in African indigenous religion. Many people still hold tenaciously to their origin. This vividly explains why there is a resurgence of the use of energies in indigenous religion in virtually every aspect of Nigerian peoples' lives including the political landscape.

Magic, in this paper, is the activation of supernatural and natural phenomena for personal and collective advantages. It is an appeal to primordial forces to achieve an end for self or a group of people. In this regard this kind of magic can be regarded as a kind of

science that explores both natural and supernatural realities to achieve an expected goal. Descriptively, it can be interpreted to mean meetings of political parties whereby the powers or energy in the indigenous belief systems are used for invocation, divination, covenant and other rituals to bind party members or factions together for winning an election and it can as well be used to cause trouble in the other party and among oppositions. People have often resorted to magic and ritual practice hinging on the loophole as exemplified in the absence of effective mechanism to resolve conflict. People have no option than to consult oracle and the rituals to solve quite a number of problems. There is obvious unpredictability in politics and governance. It is also worth noting and as expressed in many quarters, Nigerian democratization processes are not driven by ideology but by personal desire at the expense of collective will and purposes. This has led to quite a significant number of politicians into restlessness in the pursuits of political positions and powers.

Although this contention is not simply to argue using simple behaviorism, particularly it opines that the structure of the political architecture of Nigeria democracy principally necessitates the use of magic and occult powers. However, the correct standard, according to utilitarianism, is the principle of utility or as Bentham sometimes called it the "greatest happiness principle". That is the "greatest happiness for the greatest number of people". In other words, that which gives personal happiness at the expense of the happiness of the majority is wrong; it is egocentric (Lyons, 1999: 19). The crucial feature of utilitarian political morality is that it calls for a maximization of aggregate happiness. The research sees the interconnectedness of utilitarianism and democracy. Although no particular definition of magic has proved sufficiently applicable to all circumstances and context, the research is premised on a postulation that magic and occult practices that serve personal or collective advantage at the detriment of others can be regarded as the malevolent use of science and religion. Science and religion become evil when they are used at the expense of the majority. Definition of religion in this study is therefore modeled after the etymological definition which sees religion as being derived from *ligare* "bind, connect"; likely from a prefixed *re-ligare*, i.e. *re* (again) + *ligare* or "to reconnect." By implication what one does within a religious teaching that serves personal advantage at the expense of connectivity cannot be said to be religion but rather an aberration of religious practice. From Durkheim's perspective, magic is individualistic while religion is communalistic; religion emphasizes individuality at the expense of communality. In this study, this is magic, it is an occult practice. Magic typically aims and seeks to coerce or command spiritual forces and religion aims to supplicate their aid (Frazer, 1927). Magic manipulates and forces why religion supplicates

and persuades; it emphasizes the propitiation and "conciliation of higher powers." Related to this was the definition advanced by Malinowski as quoted by Styers (2004: 50). According to Malinowski, "magic practices always aimed to achieve specific and immediately tangible effect while religious rites were ends in themselves." According to Mauss (2004), magic for him was private, secret, mysterious, and above all prohibited while religion consisted of rites publicly acknowledged and approved. Magic is a creative connection and manipulation of the spheres of power. This cannot necessarily be regarded as an essential part of the stock of the ancient beliefs in indigenous religion but it entered into through human creation for human selfish ends. The use of magic and occult power is therefore antithetical to democratic ethics, which is grounded in societal values and tolerance. By implication, democracy thrives where reason is allowed to prevail. Democracy is dependent on the expansion of societal values and structure to facilitate the increased participation in the exercise of state power. Of course, the objective fact on the ground today in Nigeria shows a nation completely devastated by woes and misery.

In African indigenous religion, there are spiritual weapons and instrument of war and struggles that can be utilized for personal and collective advantage. For instance the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya, the use of the powers in African indigenous religion by both the Yoruba and Hausa during Hausa Sagamu war in July, 1999, the general use of these potent powers by the people during epidemic and drought, by the Ogboni, a legislative arm of the Yoruba governance, and several other uses of religious paraphernalia or powers and weapons are a vivid demonstration of how powers in indigenous religion could be invoked for collective advantage.

In this regard, magic and ritual in African indigenous religion are indispensable. However use of ritual and magic signals a complex problem in the democratic landscape. It is a necessary response to the nature of democracy in place. The research emphasized the relevance of critical thinking and the dangers of paranormal beliefs as this beclouds an intellectual analysis of politics and democracy. It allows for proper question and challenging of ideas, judgment of issues claim and propositions objectively, vigorously, thoroughly and carefully. This will dethrone dogmatic slumber and enthrone scientific temper, open-mindedness and scientific enquiry into this aspect of Nigerian democratic process. The Greek philosopher Socrates acknowledged the value of critical thinking when he said that "an unexamined life is not worth living". It reduces highly contested and vague issues of right and wrong to problems that can be addressed through public methods of observation and calculation rather than by appeals to equally vague and contested intuitive ideas. And because of this gain in analytical tractability, it may be able to secure greater

public agreement about what is at stake in a problematic political terrain.

Yet the use of magic and occult power in politics in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular is often times ignored by classical political and historical studies. The study of magic and medicine provides a new angle for studying the nature of modern ethnicity and social identities in contemporary Nigeria. Although we have wealth of studies on political nature of modern ethnicity, we lack any in-depth study of perception of ethnic identities. This is what Crais (2005) said should be taken with its deserved seriousness particularly the central role this plays. This he calls "politics of evil". Clifton's new book highlights how people in the Eastern Cape in South Africa creatively reworked symbols and ideas around witchcraft, rain making, and other supernatural forces to make intellectual and moral sense of a shifting terrain of power that produced rampant poverty, violence and the erosion of political legitimacy. It has also been reported that the proliferation of political strategies pertaining to the sphere of the Congo-Brazzaville and Gabon have been ubiquitous in public life since the democratization wave in the early 1990s. In the domestic arena, familial and social conflicts repeatedly crystallized around accusation of sorcery, especially during time of sudden death, personal disaster or political assassination. Hence the need to investigate this important but poorly understood dimension of politics in Africa in order to understand current crises of governance, nation-building, and ethnic hatred. The mystical aspect also bears considerable significance for revising current ideas about space, politics and territoriality in this region.

The Ibadan politics and Nigerian democracy

Politics in Ibadan cannot be divorced from the history and culture of Ibadan. Ibadan was founded in 1830 as a military camp during the Yoruba civil wars and developed into the most powerful Yoruba city state and the capital of Nigeria's former Western Region as well as the largest city in Nigeria and sub-saharan Africa. The pre-colonial history of Ibadan was centred on militarism and violence. Between 1951 and 1954 Ibadan was notably the centre of much that happened in the politics of the West and of Nigeria as a whole. Abati (2005) and Watson (2003) provide information and perspectives on Ibadan history and politics. In Ibadan, Watson writes: "Those who held chieftaincy posts were usually affluent, deriving income from war booty, tribute tolls, and sale of agricultural produce from farmers" (p: 47). The political history of Ibadan was characterised by intrigues and rivalries (*ibid*: 62). The problem with Ibadan politics is the problem with Nigerian democracy so much that in fact, in all the different ethnic groups in Nigeria, governance is still about political fascism and godfatherism (Albert, 2005) or

what has been referred to as *amala* politics (Ajayi, 2004). For example, in Ibadan there is always an emperor, a political bigwig who dictates the course of things. In the 1950s, Alhaji Adelabu Adegoke was fully in charge. He decided who should be what and how resources should be shared. To him any weapon could be used in political battles. He was a die-hard pragmatist.

Alhaji Busari Adelakun popularly known as *Eru o bodo* which literally means river is not afraid was the strong man of Ibadan politics in 1979-83 and it was reported that Adelakun used African magic and medicine, to their fullest although in the most diabolic, sadistic effects. Always around his chest and under his *agbada* was a tortoise. It was also said of him that when a gun was shot at him, the bullet could not enter his body, neither could he easily be arrested, and that he could disappear and appear at will.

The military ruled till 1999 and in May 1999, a new democracy was ushered in. In the new democracy, Alhaji Lamidi Adedibu emerged as the strong man of Ibadan politics, though he had been powerful before this era. Adedibu is popular for the *amala* and *gbegiri*, a palatable food among the Ibadan people, which according to the respondents of this study, serves a sacramental purpose among his followers. *Amala* is cooked with powdered yam, while *gbegiri*, the soup with which *amala* is eaten, is cooked with beans. The victory of Adedibu over Ladoja, the former governor of Oyo State, the support that Adedibu enjoys from the former President (Chief Olusegun Obasanjo), and the frequent visits of 2007 presidential, gubernatorial aspirants and other top politicians from most states in Nigeria to him, brought to the fore the special place that Ibadan occupies in the politics of Nigeria.

As said earlier, the contemporary politicking in Ibadan cannot be divorced from the history of Ibadan. The one disease of Ibadan politics is the disease of Nigerian democracy. The author's experience and observations on the above issues have shown that the eating of *amala* and *gbegiri* is a covenant which nurtures, sustains and maintains the magic of followership and the struggles for political power. It is a symbolic ritual representation of Adedibu's political ideology. Once you eat the *amala* and *gbegiri*, you are bound to shun the politics of ideas and follow what is generally referred to as the politics of *amala*. Every occasion of eating together among the Yoruba is a sacrament and a pledge of belonging. As a matter of cultural fact, the occasion is pan-African; at least in indigenous African society. By *amala* politics, it is not meant only the eating but also the communality and distribution of money to secure the peoples' faithfulness and followership. This is becoming infectious as the same scenario repeated itself in Anambra State (eastern Nigeria) where Chris Uba is the political godfather, and Kwara State (southwestern) where Olusola Saraki sits enthroned.

The June 12, 1993 saga particularly shook Nigerian nationhood to the fabric. The democratic project that resurfaced in May 1999 seemed so promising and it was pursued with so much vigour, but it is in fact in serious disarray, if not in ruins. In Nigeria, no effective protection can be expected from the police and judicial system. To say the least people are under siege; there is always almost a constant political intrigue that can either be inter-party, intra-party or both. The intrigues in many cases lead to exchange of bad words, open fight through the use of dangerous weapons, charms and occult powers and in many cases, political assassination. It has been argued in some quarters that the death of Bola Ige, a prominent politician and former Attorney General of the federation, is political. The removal of his cap in a public gathering has been explained as a ritual device through which his power could be emptied so as to make it easy to kill him. Another case in point was the hot debate on the removal of former speaker of the house of representative, Mrs Eteh, which led to the death of a member of the house. In her home town at Ikire, Osun State, it was reported that there were ritual killings to forestall the removal of Eteh as the speaker. According to Ukiwo (2003:118), it is estimated that at least 50, 000 people have been killed in several incidents of violence since the return to civilian rule. For instance the titanic war between Adedibu and Ladoja on one hand and Ladoja and Akala (Ladoja even when he was the governor of Oyo State no longer trusted in the security as provided by the State) on the other claimed many lives. The war became so intense that they all had to hire the use of powerful medicine men who did not only serve as their body guards but also as warlords.

The proliferation of political strategies pertaining to the sphere of the sacred in the Nigerian public space has been ubiquitous since the "democratization waves" of the early 1950s. The increasing competition for national power and visibility has become a do or die affairs. The menace is so daunting that decent and progressive people abhor politics and in fact, do not want to be identified with it. The fragmentation of national politics into warring factions built an atmosphere of tension and intense rivalry. These have intensified the impact of economic crisis and unabated and mounting tension, and the dramatic fragilization of all aspects of life that make for development. The use of magical and occult power is therefore inevitably associated with physical fragility, a crucial dimension of politics today. The increasing scarcity of financial resources which led to the collapse of industry and exacerbated by unemployment, the collapse of world-wide ideological and support networks and the decline of moral values have encouraged local struggles for power and the recourse to innovative tactics of power accumulation. These tactics include the manipulation of local, sacred emblems borrowed from the ancient cosmologies of power. In Africa and particularly in Nigeria,

there is the belief in a cosmology in which the material and the spiritual are closely interconnected, intertwined and can be manipulated; this is not religion; it can at best be described as sorcery. As a result, the material can be spiritually invoked to burn a house without kerosene or petrol, kill somebody without gun or any weapon, and make a person blind, lame or mad, poor or rich, bring rancour or make people fight, or cause war among party members, cause a motor accident or plane crash, make a thief to enter or not to enter into somebody's house, send epidemic into a community and many others. In other words, in African indigenous religion, anything is believed to be achievable with spiritual weapons. There is the strong belief that the material and the spiritual are not in separate domains.

Uses of occult powers

Apart from many other purposes, magic and occult power can be used for any of these purposes:

Okigbe: magical medicine against the pain and wounds from cut with the use of cutlass. Most politicians are always well prepared against any eventualities knowing full well that there could be fight, which might lead to the use of cutlass. It is a common view that when this medicine is used, the cutlass will not be able to penetrate into the body neither will there be pain.

Afeeri (magical medicine to disappear at will): this is a kind of magical medicine that is used in order that one can disappear and when the attackers are looking for him or her, they will not be able to find the person. This kind of magical medicine is no longer common, but a few people are still said to] have it. It is believed to be used infrequently except during intense crisis.

Aworo (magical power to draw many people into the campaign ground): This kind of medicine is rubbed on the body of the politician; it can as well be buried on the campaign ground. It is believed to serve personal advantage but it is also used to draw many people to support the candidature of a contestant. It is a common knowledge [view] that many religious people especially pastors or church founders use this medicine to draw crowd to their crusade.

Etutu (ritual and magic): Rituals are performed and magical medicine can be prepared from time to time especially to get the support of the witches. Among the Yoruba, witches are believed to be in control of the universe so much that they draw fortune and misfortune to people. This ritual or medicine is used to draw the support of the witches who in turn are believed to be able to draw to them the support of the people. Some of the

ritual can be referred to as *etutu eyonu awon agba* (ritual to get the support of the witches). This can serve as medicine to be eaten as food or drunk as a concoction; it can as well be used as charms to be attached to any parts of the body. It can as well be prepared ritually as offering to the witches and it is put in crossroads or in an open space.

Ajatuka (fight to finish): This is magical medicine that is believed to cause animosity and pandemonium among opposing political parties or faction. This is meant to confuse and make it impossible for members to agree among themselves neither will they thread the path of progress.

Aseta (bullet proof): This is a kind of medicine that is believed to be able to make it impossible for bullet to enter into the body. By its name, it is essentially meant to filter the bullet and filter it so that it will not penetrate into the body of the person at whom it was aimed. This can be distributed to members as a means of protection. As politicians prepare for political meetings and campaign, they also prepare for war. There is always tension and fear that there could be shoot out during political meetings and campaigns. Politicians are always prepared against eventualities.

Imule (Covenant): *Imule* is a special ritual whereby members of political parties or factions ritually bind themselves together especially during the primaries. It could be that everyone must support only one candidate and that to do otherwise is tantamount to betrayal and is believed to lead to calamity. It can be a form of eating together and invocation of forces through the use of incantation.

Political innovation, therefore, goes hand in hand with an increasing criminalization of politics, both real and metaphoric. In this context, political survival as well as political *protection* (clientelism) becomes literally a matter of life and death. Manipulating supernatural powers as a charismatic leader, or as a political militant and deriving magical protection from allegiance to a powerful patron, allow individuals, it is thought, to seek life options. These options, moreover, are part of longstanding ideas about power. In particular, ancient rituals of authority "charged" political godfathers and ritual specialists with a power of life and death over people. Political regulation, therefore, is strongly connected to keeping a balance between the benevolent and malevolent mystical capacities which are attributed to the leader.

Conclusion

In the context of contemporary Ibadan politics, leaders like Alhaji Lamidi Adedibnu were not just godfathers but also warlords, who derived legitimacy from their capacity to mobilize thugs, provide a sense of community to their faction, and produce significant political success as well as relative security and prosperity.

The impact of the belief in magic and ritual practices in the democratization process in Nigeria cannot be divorced from violent and autocratic nature of post-colonial governance in Nigeria. It mobilizes followers and provides ideological consensus. Where the postulated magical and occult 'resources' are shared for public and domestic purposes, political strategies and ideology are transposed into the postulated realm of the sacred. This results in mystification, political debate and simple scientific analysis of issues will be very difficult and it can in fact be impossible. Problems of politics and governance will therefore be bereft of scientific solutions.

REFERENCES

- Abati R (2005). „The significance of Adegoke Adelabu: The Nationalist Philosopher". The Guardian September 5.
- Albert IO (2005), Explaining "Godfatherism" in Nigerian Politics. Afr. Sociol. Rev. 9(2):79-105.
- Ajayi B (2004), "When Thugs and Political Godfathers Call the Shots, Nigeria Feature Article.
- Crais C (2005). The politics of evil: Magic state power and the political imagination of South Africa. New York: Cambridge university press.
- Frazer G (1927). The golden bough: A study in magic and religion. London Macmillan.
- Harnisschfeger J (2006). Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lyons D (1999). In the Interest of the Governed: A Study in Bentham's Philosophy of Utility and Law. Clarendon Press p.19.
- Styers R (2004). "Making Magic Religion, Magic and Science in the Modern World". Oxford University Press.
- Tell (Lagos), March 26, 2001.
- Tell, August 28, 2000.
- Ukiwo U (2003). "Politics of ethno-religious conflict and democratic consolidation in Nigeria" J. Modern Afr. Stud. (41):115-138.
- Watson R (2003). „Civil Disorder is the Disease of Ibadan: Chieftaincy and Civic Culture in Yoruba City". Heinemann Educational Books Nigeria, Plc. pp. 47 and 162.
- Weisman R (1984), " witchcraft, magic and religion in 17th Century Massachusetts". The University of Massachusetts" Press Amherst.

Full Length Research Paper

Violence against women in Igboland, South-east, Nigeria: A critical quest for change

CHUKWU, Christian Chima^{1*}, SCENT, Grace A.T², EMEKA, Josephat Owan³, OBI, Christopher Ugochukwu¹ and KALU, Emelike Okorie⁴

¹Department of Intelligence and Security Studies/Sociology, Novena University, Ogume, Kwale, Delta State, Nigeria.

²Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Niger Delta University, Nigeria.

³Department of Sociology, University of Calabar, Nigeria.

⁴Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria.

Accepted 3 June, 2012

This paper examines some violent cultural practices such as widowhood discrimination, female genital mutilation, wife battery, and early girl child marriage perpetrated against Igbo women in the three senatorial districts of Ebonyi State, South-east Nigeria. To achieve the purpose of this study, four hypotheses were formulated to guide the study. The questionnaire was one of the instruments used for data collection. The second instrument: Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was also employed to compliment the questionnaire method. The multi-stage sampling technique was employed to select samples in stages in the three senatorial districts of the state. One hundred respondents were selected as sample from each district, and in all, three hundred (300) respondents were selected as sample for the study. Chi square (X^2) was adopted to test the hypotheses at .05 level of significance. The results rejected the null hypotheses, and accepted the alternate hypotheses. The rejection revealed that these cultural practices were inimical to the development of women. Sequel to this, the paper suggests that the Ebonyi State House of Assembly should make laws to protect women from these violent and obnoxious cultural practices. Government at all levels, particularly in Ebonyi State should empower women through education (free tuition) and also through free micro-credit facilities to enable them embark on small-scale businesses to improve their poor economic status, and also their persons without any inhibitions from cultural practices.

Key words: Widowhood discrimination, female genital cutting, wife battery, early child marriage, patriarchy.

INTRODUCTION

One of the remarkable features of the present day traditional setting in Igboland, particularly in Ebonyi State, South-East Nigeria, has been the growing interest in perpetuating violent cultural practices against women, and also excluding them from the socio-economic development of their immediate milieu. Although this exclusion is currently strong and widely upheld, there has been a relative silence on how to liberate women from the firm hold of these cultural practices.

The Igbos are culturally endowed, and a good grasp of their cultural anthropology and cosmology show the pride with which they uphold their distinctive way of life. However, some of these cultural practices have been observed, according to Chukwu (2006), to be very archaic, dangerous, and damaging to the psyche of women. Corroborating this trend earlier, Ebirim (2005) argued that the situation was even worse for women who had low literacy level. In a similar strand Ritzer (1996) averred

*Corresponding author. E-mail: c_xtianchuks@yahoo.co.uk.

that women's situation was centrally that of being used, controlled, subjugated, and oppressed by men. Elucidating further, Ritzer (1996) concluded that women's oppression was basically by a system of patriarchy cultivated for the deliberate purpose of commandeering women to achieve the intents of the so-called power structure. In a related development, the erstwhile chairperson of Women Commission in Nigeria, Awe (1993) remarked: 'You know this is a patriarchal society in which men take the first place . . .', but later argued that they would, however, resist being forced into embracing obnoxious cultural practices. Awe's opening lines aptly summarized what Gerda (1986) had previously upheld in her study that women were socialised, indoctrinated and coerced into co-operating with the patriarchal system.

Contributing also to the plight of women as a result of patriarchy, Iwe (1985) observed that the perpetrators of these violent cultural practices against women were yet to acknowledge that the dignity of women was equal to that of men. He stated that the splendour of womanhood, which is based on human personality, the prerogative and quality of every human being, man or woman, is fundamentally, essentially and unquestionably equal to the dignity of man. Furthermore, he affirmed that, the truth of this statement is unassailable in spite of sex differences, for human dignity rests not on sex but on personality; and personality as such has no sex. Accepting this position therefore, there is an urgent need to change these violent cultural practices against women. This is a change Udoh (1996) asserts that cannot be achieved through muscle struggle, but simply by effective persuasion because cultural practices passed down from generation to generation are not easily discarded, but held sacrosanct. Thus, the general objective of this paper is to free Igbo women of Ebonyi State from being victims of these violent cultural encumbrances and also, to situate them amongst their kind globally.

Having averred the objectives of this work, it is obvious to note that every aspect of culture, whether material or non-material, is a product of man's endeavour. This explains why man occupies an enviable position as culture creating and culture using animal, and goes further to manipulate the natural endowments to his advantage. Charles (2010) argued that man is socialised by learning and imbibing sufficiently the appropriate ingredients of a given culture to become a cultural being. In other words, being a cultural being in any group demands the assimilation of the ways of life of the group to be seen and accepted as responsible member of the group.

Culture, taken in its ethnographic sense, is defined by Tylor (1871) as that, "complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". It was a simple, but inclusive definition which stated or implied focused on attributes that people acquired by growing up in a particular society, where they were exposed to a specific cultural tradition. In

furtherance to the explication of culture, Charles (2010) submitted that it consisted of observable things and events in the external world. Earlier, Herskovitz (1955) had defined culture as man's creation. Agreeing with Herskovitz (1955), Charles (2010) also explained that culture was indeed man's creation, and that man could manipulate his creation using his ingenuity to make it either useful or not to the society as he interacted with the natural environment. For example, leaves or bark of trees are natural endowments, and man can use these leaves or barks for the treatment of all kinds of ailments thus converting them to items of culture of usefulness. In other words, culture could be transformed into an item of good or bad depending on the circumstance.

Widowhood discrimination (WD), Female genital mutilation (FGM), Wife battery and Early child marriage (ECM) are some of the violent cultural practices which have become items of bad culture, not necessarily because they have degraded women, but because they undermine a people's progress both socially and economically, thereby making them the laughing stock of their neighbours and the civilised world. Centrally, no human society likes to be branded unprogressive, uncivilised, uncouth or lacking modern trends in human relations.

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

Widowhood discrimination (WD)

A woman becomes a widow (*isi mkpe*) when her husband dies. As a result, she is addressed as *Nwanyi isi mkpe* (a woman without a head; the deceased husband being the head), and this labelling justifies her widowhood status. At her husband's death, the rites of passage associated with widowhood practices begins. For example, the ritual practices accorded the dead varies according on the status of the male deceased, but culture demands, irrespective of the status of the deceased, that the wife goes into traumatic wailing immediately, beating her chest, flinging around her arms and falling down, and only to get up to repeat the cycle again and again until other women surround her immediately and restrain her and force her to sit down on the ground where they sit around her to commiserate with her. Among the Igbo, this kind of bitter wailing is expected to go on until the deceased is buried. Substantiating this observation, Basden (1966) held that, the wife is expected to enact a wail or two every morning between the hours of 5.00 am and 6.00 am for upwards of four days or more. In addition, Basden (1966) averred that she was also compulsorily expected to wail every morning of a feast day and recount to the hearing of her neighbours what her husband usually did for her on an occasion such as this. The veracity of her claims, according to the discussants in the Focus Group, was never questioned even

when it was obvious that all claims were false.

Writing also on the plight of widows, Obioma (2011) observed the pathetic state of Mrs. Gertrude Melo, a widow. According to Obioma (2011), Melo was discriminated against, and subjugated to all kinds of ill treatments even by her deceased husband's siblings. Prior to the burial of the deceased, the siblings sold everything they had in Lagos thereby rendering Melo with her two sons homeless. At the end of her husband's funeral, Obioma (2011) stated that, Melo was handed a mattress, a cabinet bed and a paltry sum of twenty thousand naira (approximately \$150) for their wellbeing. Corroborating, Charles Ogueri, a pastor with the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) at a suburb in Lagos, also contended in Obioma (2011) that:

It is crazy out there in the Igboland because the kinsmen of the deceased jumped at these widows and take everything that belongs to them and their children without a second thought on how they will cope. Today, landlords are trying to sleep with some of these widows in exchange for rent. Recently, I overheard a widow saying her landlord wanted to sleep with her in exchange for her rent, but who knows if she has not succumbed!

In a related development, Pastor Ogueri argued that widows were forced to marry their husbands' brothers (widow inheritance) and also compelled to sit by the ash and dine with broken plates and cups throughout the period of mourning which however, as earlier stated, varied according to the status of the deceased. In a similar strand, participants in the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) noted that, when a mourning process consumes a widow this much, episodes of depression, despairs, and regressive setbacks bound to envelope her. The Focus Group also observed that the perpetrators of the practices were not concerned even if widows died, and if they did, it was good riddance to bad rubbish because their death was a confirmation of their guilt. In other words, widows were not regarded as prime suspects in the demise of their spouses, but guilty. In another instance, Charles (2010) asserted that, widows were labelled husband killers, husband snatchers, adulteress, problematic, destitute and women with ill-luck. Continuing, Charles (2010) observed that, their innocence as husband killers was only established when they underwent the diabolical ritual cleansing by drinking the filthy water used in bathing the corpses of their deceased husbands.

Prior to the funeral purification, the researchers observed that, widows were secluded and locked up in a small dark room in order to compel them to confess their role(s) in their husbands' death. Also, during this period, especially in the morning, widows avoided the elders, the custodians of the cultural practices because they regarded them as unclean and unfit to mingle with decent minded people. In the same vein, Charles (2010) averred

that the widows were not allowed to take their baths, changed their clothes, brushed their teeth, washed their hands, clothes, or even washed the plates used in serving them food. It was also observed that, widows were sent out to the stream at midnight to have their baths for funeral purification. Aside these, washing and bathing during this period called for punishment of the widows because they were assumed to be beautifying themselves (*icho mma*); they were expected to have only one set of black mourning dress (*akwa mpke*), which they must wear whenever they were in public. In another strand, Chukwu (2006) averred that the most humiliating of all the violent cultural practices meted out to widows was the scraping of their hair with broken bottles by *Umuada* (first born daughters within the extended family system), which usually left them with injuries on their skulls. Summarising the plight of widows, the Focus Group Discussants (FGD) agreed that the widows were left unkempt, dirty, unattractive and haggard.

Apart from these humiliations, the Focus Group Discussants (FGD) averred that the human greed inherent in man was responsible for all the religious rituals, the cleansing rituals, the superstitious sanctions, and other practices meted out to widows. According to the group, this was to make them more amenable to keeping silent over all other forms of oppression, and subjugation including being coerced to marry any of the willing siblings of their deceased husbands (widow inheritance) against their wish. The participants also observed that the human greed which manifested at the demise of a male member of the family offered the siblings the opportunity to confiscate the deceased assets without considering whether the deceased had wives and children when alive.

Corroborating the de-humanisation meted out to widows, in an interview [(Tell, October 10, 2005) Bismar Adah], a widow of late Major Adah of the ill-fated C-10 Jet that crashed at Ejigbo (Lagos, Nigeria) in 1993 remarked thus:

Widowhood is not something any woman would pray for. It is a terrible thing; it is a terrible stigma. The first shocker of my life after my husband's death was from my in-laws. When it happened, people were going to look for their relations, their children's children in the barracks. But my own in-laws went to Lagos to look for property to inherit. It was shocking to me. Thereafter, many things happened. I was taken to the highest authority in my place where I was told that women are not supposed to inherit property. Widowhood is like leprosy, I tell you. Even wives of your husband's friends will begin to suspect you. I do not know that as a widow, one has automatically become a prostitute that people would begin to suspect.

In an earlier report, *Ezekwesili* (1996) observed that widows were harshly treated and unfairly labelled. According to *Ezekwesili* (1996), widows were generally seen as a shackle of the devil and as result, they hid

away most of the time in order not to attract any ugly comment from passersby. In other words, the society interpreted every action of widows and reacted inappropriately to the extent that people pointed at them making unhealthy comments.

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)

Female genital mutilation (FGM) has been variously defined. According to Chukwu (2006), it is “an unnecessary gruesome and crude surgery that involves partial or total removal of the external female genitalia or other injury to female genitalia organs of women as a prerequisite to earn respect, and recognition in Igboland”. Chukwu (2006) further stated that, during the makeshift surgical procedure, or the ritualistic sexual mutilation, sharp objects such as razors and knives, which are most often than not sterilised, are used by non-medical practitioners in the home or other non-clinical setting to cut young women (removing the sensitive little soft knob at the front of the vaginal) in the name of initiating them into womanhood. However, on the relevance of the surgery, the Focus Group Discussants (FGD) noted that, the reasons traditionally advanced for the ritualistic sexual mutilation are, namely, that the exercise desensitises the clitoris by reducing libido and curbing sexual promiscuity; it ensures cleanliness, prevents immorality, keeps babies alive during birth, and also prevents an overgrowth of the clitoris.

Onuzulike (2006) has classified female genital cutting into four different types, namely, type I, type II, type III and type IV in line with the extent of the surgery. According to Onuzulike (2006), the most common is the type 1. Onuzulike (2006) further gave a detailed analysis of the four types as follows:

Type I: In this type, the prepuce is cut off with or without the excision of the part of or the entire clitoris.

Type II: The hooded clitoris together with a part of or all of the *labia minora* (inner lip of the vulva) is cut-off.

Type III: Part of or all of the external genitalia are cut-off. Then the raw edge of the remaining part may or may not be sewn up together. In this process, the vaginal opening may be narrowed. This is described as infibulations.

Type IV: This is unclassified, but includes pricking, piercing or incising the clitoris and surrounding tissues, scraping of tissue surrounding the vaginal orifice (known as *angurya* or *yankee* cuts in Hausa). In this type, the incision opens the vaginal either anteriorly or posteriorly into the surrounding tissues, resulting in the damage of the urinary bladder/ urethral opening or rectum and anus which causes vesico-vaginal fistula (VVF). Onuzulike (2006) further explained that the excision/cutting of a part or whole of the external genitalia included the clitoris and hood, *labia minora* (inner lip), *labia majora* (outer lip), vaginal and urethral openings. The incision also includes

the cutting of the vagina (*gishiri* cuts), another source for vesico-vaginal fistula (VVF). According to Ngouakam et al. (2008) and Onuzulike (2006), vesico-vaginal fistula (VVF) is attributed to the different kinds of incisions because there is no standardization in the methods employed as the circumciser's hand dictated the end result of the surgery. Corroborating, Darrah and Froude (1975) averred that 40% of the patients attending Zaria hospital (Nigeria) with VVF were victims of *gishiri* cuts. Similarly, Tahzib (1983) substantiated this study by asserting that 1443 VVF patients at the Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital, Zaria, between January 1969 and December 1980 had also received *gishiri* cuts. Furthermore, Human Rights Organizations such as World Health Organization, United Nations International Children Education Fund, and UNFPA have considered the fatal consequences of female genital mutilation (FGM), and thus submitted a joint statement supporting the fight against FGM (Ngouakam et al., 2008). According to Ngouakam et al. (2008) and Onuzulike (2006), female genital mutilation fringes on the physical and psycho-sexual integrity of women and girls, a form of violence against them. In addition, the Inter-Africa Committee (IAC), voluntary organization founded in 1984 has also been concerned with the promotion of grassroots programmes to eradicate FGM and other harmful traditional practices against women because of the attendant health consequences inherent in the exercise. Six years after its formation, the Inter-African committee (IAC) in 1990 at a meeting held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, adopted the terminology female genital mutilation (FGM) rather than its earlier terminology: Women Circumcision. However, most recently, the terminology, female genital mutilation has changed to female genital cutting (FGC). This embellishment does not remove the fact that, the damages inherent in the practice are enormous and irreparable, if not fatal.

In his assessment, Ahmed (1996) asserted that, more than eighty million women in Africa and around the world had undergone the practice, and many more are expected to do same to be accorded respect in their respective rural communities. But following the harrowing experiences of the unhealthy exercise, women of Ebonyi State extraction in Diaspora have rejected overtures to return home to contribute substantially in the development of their rural communities because of the fear of being ridiculed.

Wife battery

Wife battery is anti-human rights. Therefore, wife battery contradicts Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which runs thus: *All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.* Battery,

according to the Advanced Dictionary (1988), is a term in law which involves the unlawful beating of another person or any threatening touch to another person's clothes or body. The definition connotes great force or intensity; the use of excessive physical force that ultimately results to injury to that (person or animal) which the great force is being applied upon. Battery against women constitutes an oddity because women are the direct targets, even though the entire society indirectly shares in its effects in the long run. Burns et al. (1997) submitted that every day, women are slapped, kicked, beaten, humiliated, threatened, sexually abused and even murdered by their partners. Accepting the foregoing, Brown et al. (1997) argued that women were the sole victims of battery by stating the following to buttress their position:

1. Women are not battering their husbands in epidemic proportions.
2. Women are not regularly beating up their men and leaving them -crouched, huddled, sobbing and injured (or worse) on the kitchen floor.
3. Men are not fleeing their homes.
4. Men are not the spouses who live in terror.

The conclusion from Brown et al. (1997) was self explicit: women obviously the main victims of battery. In the same vein, Nosike (1996) observed that subjecting a wife to battery in order to earn the approval of male relations as an effective disciplinarian and head of the house is sickening.

In the history of humanity, Owan and Anizu (2002) averred that, man had been known to Lord it over the woman with power and authority as he used tradition as the camouflage to help perpetuate his misdeeds even in the faces of national and international initiatives on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. In addition, Bradley (1994) also submitted that the practice of wife beating is not just hidden and invisible, but hard to tackle because many traditional and transitional cultures have a blind-spot about it. Dwyer et al. (1996) viewed the invisibility of marital violence, especially as it affected women as stemming not necessarily from the fact that victims covered up the problem, but from the fact that society regarded the problem as normal and therefore not a problem.

Research on battery (Dwyer et al., 1996; Okolo, 2004) revealed that due to the private and hidden nature of the problem, it was somewhat difficult for the law enforcement agencies and similar bodies to have reliable documented and quantifiable information on it. This, in turn, made it difficult for the intensity of the problem to be known in order to ascertain how much effort to put towards addressing the problem. Amongst the Igbo, battery against women is not seen as 'a problem' but a 'normal' social occurrence. Okolo (2004) further observed many women who faced battery were reluctant to let even the closest person know, and even when their experiences were those of severe pains, they would

simply wear guise that all was well, all for the purpose of concealing their bitter and heart-rending experiences. The concealment of their bitter and heart-rending experiences, according to the discussants in the focus group were due to: (a) Women's fear that society would blame them for such happenings (b) Homes where battery is frequent are often stigmatized as unsuccessful homes, and because no woman would want her marriage to be stigmatized, in the event of battery, most women would rather keep the matter concealed than disclosed it. (c) Women would never want the public to know that their husbands have abusive tendencies because it is 'criminal' for them to disclose to an 'outsider' that their spouses were women barterers, and any attempt to go against this would mean more battery. Burns et al. (1997) also observed that most women stayed on in battered homes because they had no other place to go to. Furthermore, Bannett et al. (1993) observed that a number of women saw their marital homes as the only home they had and, did not know where else to go to if they left them. As such, to avoid the difficulty of having no home of their own or for fear of becoming homeless, most women simply accepted the only option open was to stay, the level of battery, notwithstanding.

The discussants in the Focus Group (FGD) submitted that in the traditional Igbo society, women were blamed and also condemned for all the wrongs that went on in their families. The discussants also averred that, women's inability to remain and manage their homes were always 'the talking talk' in different drinking spots, and the fear of becoming 'the talking talk' often made women remain with their partners in spite of the battery. In addition, the discussants also argued that the issue of social conditioning inculcated into women from childhood that, irrespective of their other interests, they would never be fulfilled unless they were married and had children. According to Brown et al. (1997), when women accepted this social conditioning, leaving an abusive husband meant failing not only as a mother or wife, but as a woman and also as a human being. This, from all sound arguments, rested on a disastrously premise that kept women in battered homes. From this, we could state that women stayed in abusive homes in order not to be branded as 'failures', stigmatized and shamed as unsuccessful wives. Furthermore, Brown et al. (1997) observed that women were told that love conquered all and as such, in the event of being battered, they were urged to remain in the hope that the men would change positively in no distant time for the wonderful times they once had during courtships to occur again.

Early girl child marriage

Marriage is the beginning of a legitimate family. In essence, marriage is a universal institution that contributes considerably to holding of the Igbo society together and providing continuity and stability to it. Coleman

(1988) defined marriage as “a socially approved sexual and economic relationship between two or more persons that are assumed to be permanent and includes mutual rights and obligations”. This definition highlights amongst others, one fundamental aspect; it provides the regulation of sex and childbearing. From this perspective, marriage is the vehicle through which legitimate reproduction is sanctioned. Marriage is, thus, for reproduction, and childbearing is seen as an indicator of the attainment of "married woman" status. Nwosu (2008) averred that, for reproduction to occur, the girl child was given out at a very young age; she was not allowed to mature fully to understand her desires and goals in life before being forced into marriage. In addition, the discussants in the Focus Group (FGD) submitted that in the Igbo traditional societies that when young girls were given out in marriage at very young ages, often before or during the process of puberty, they were delivered of healthy children. But Chukwu (2006) observed that the consequences of early child marriage were tragic because most of them felt frustrated and worthless after being diagnosed with vesico-vaginal fistula (VVF). From this perspective, it is obvious that early child marriage is fundamentally an assault on women.

Vesico-vaginal fistula (VVF) is a direct pathological communication between the urinary bladder and the vagina resulting in the uncontrolled leakage of urine into the vagina from the bladder (Murphy, 1981). In a study by Tahzib (1983), the study showed that 5.5% (80) of VVF sufferers were less than 13 years of age. In other words, children beget children. The high rate of vesico-vaginal fistula (VVF) amongst these girls during childbirth was attributed to their young ages (Murphy, 1981; Mustafa and Rushwan, 1971; Harrison, 1985). Furthermore, Murphy (1981) observed that VVF caused many serious problems, especially with respect to inability to bear any more children despite the young ages of these girls. Murphy (1981) further averred that, the tear from the contractions of the pelvic muscles resulted in a leakage between the legs, which invariably emitted a terrible odour causing bad odour in gathering. Finally, Murphy (1981) concluded that the plight of these unfortunate victims could be so devastating and dehumanizing that even when cured after surgery some of them never regained their self-esteem and as such shunned social life.

METHODS

This work adopted the ex-post facto research design (after-the-fact). Ex-post facto research design is 'a systematic and empirical inquiry in which the scientist does not have any control of independent variables because the manifestations have already occurred and therefore cannot be manipulated (Kerlinger, 1986). To achieve the purpose of this study, four hypotheses were formulated to guide the study and the population area was given equal and independent opportunity to be selected in the study. The questionnaire, one of the major instruments used for data collection was

subjected to face and content validity by experts in the field and other related fields including NGOs. The second instrument: Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was also employed to compliment the questionnaire method. Focus group discussion is primarily a qualitative method of administering open-ended questions in non-directive interviewing manner. One of the greatest advantages of the FDG is that the group situation generates information which can easily be overlooked in the questionnaire method. The discussants were between 8 and 12. The discussion was not be dominated by the researchers and so there was no 'high table effect'. That is, the researchers conducted the sessions in a way as not to appear knowledgeable than the discussants that they wanted to derive information from; there was no gap between the researchers and the researched. The population of the area of study was too large to accommodate any other sampling method other than the multi-stage sampling technique. Thus, the multi-stage sampling technique which involved to a large extent a combination of two or more sampling methods was employed to select the sample from the three senatorial districts, being the study area and one hundred respondents were selected as sample from each of the local government areas. In a nutshell, three hundred (300) respondents were selected as sample for the study. Chi square (X^2) was adopted to test the hypotheses at.05 level of significance.

The formula for chi-square (X^2) is computed using the formula,

$$x^2 = \frac{(Fo - FE)^2}{FE}$$

Df = (R - 1) (C - 1)

Fo = observed frequencies

FE = Expected Frequencies

DF = Degree of Freedom

R = Row

C = Column

Test of hypothesis

Hypothesis one

H₀ There is no significant relationship between widowhood discrimination and cultural practices.

H₁: There is a significant relationship between widowhood discrimination and cultural practices.

RESULTS

The result in the data analysis as presented Table 1 showed that at 0.05 significant level with 6 degrees of freedom, the calculated value of 35.55, and is greater than the table value of 12.592. In effect, there is a significant relationship between widowhood discrimination and cultural practices. Therefore, we accept the alternate hypothesis.

Hypothesis two

H₀: There is no significant relationship between female genital mutilation and cultural practices.

H₁: There is a significant relationship between female genital mutilation and cultural practices.

The result in Table 2 showed that at 0.05 significant levels with 6 degree of freedom, the calculated chi-

Table 1. The Chi square (χ^2) statistical analysis for hypothesis 1 is computed showing the relationship between widowhood discrimination and cultural practices.

O	E	O - E	(O - E) ²
20	73.33	-53.33	2844.09
80	26.67	-53.33	2844.09
0	0	0	0
	0	0	0
100	73.33	-53.33	2844.09
0	26.67	26.67	711.29
0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0
100	73.33	26.67	711.29
0	26.67	-26.67	711.29
0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0
	300		10666.14

Degree of freedom, 6; significant level, 0.05; table value, 12.592; calculated χ^2 , 35.55.

Table 2. The Chi square (χ^2) statistical analysis for hypothesis 2 is computed showing the relationship between female genital mutilation and cultural practices.

O	E	O - E	(O - E) ²
25	61	-36	1296
75	39	36	1296
0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0
68	61	7	49
32	39	-7	49
0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0
90	61	29	841
10	39	-29	841
0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0
	300		4372

Degree of freedom, 6; significant level, 0.05; table value, 12.592; calculated χ^2 , 14.57.

square value of 14.57 is greater than the table value of 12.592. In effect, there is a significant relationship between female genital mutilation and cultural practices. Therefore, we accept the alternate hypothesis.

Hypothesis three

H₀: There is no significant relationship between wife

Table 3. The Chi square (χ^2) statistical analysis for hypothesis 3 is computed showing the relationship between wife battery and cultural practices.

O	E	O - E	(O - E) ²
24	64.67	-40.67	1654.05
76	35.33	40.67	1654.05
0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0
72	64.67	7.33	53.73
28	35.33	-7.33	53.73
0	13.33	-13.33	177.69
0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0
98	64.67	33.33	1110.89
2	35.33	-33.33	1110.89
0	0	0	0
	300		5637.34

Degree of freedom, 6; significance level, 0.05; table value =12.592; calculated χ^2 , 18.79.

battery and cultural practices.

H₁: There is a significant relationship between wife battery and cultural practices.

The result in Table 3 showed that at 0.05 significant level with 6 degrees of freedom, the calculated chi-square value of 18.79 is greater than the table value at 12.592. Therefore, we invalidate the null hypothesis and validate the alternate hypothesis which states that there is a significant relationship between wife battery and cultural practices.

Hypothesis four

H₀: There is no significant relationship between early child marriage and cultural practices.

H₁: There is significant relationship between early child marriage and cultural practices.

The result in Table 4 showed that at 0.05 significant level with 6 degrees of freedom, the calculated chi-square value of 20.64, and is greater than the table value of 12.592. Therefore, we invalidate the null hypothesis and validate the alternate hypothesis which states that there is a significant relationship between early child marriage and cultural practices.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The findings on widowhood discrimination are supported by the studies of Ezekwesili (1996) and Charles (2010).

Table 4. The Chi square (χ^2) statistical analysis for hypothesis 4 is computed showing the relationship between wife battery and cultural practices.

O	E	O - E	(O - E) ²
22	64	-42	1764
78	36	42	1764
0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0
70	64	6	36
30	36	-6	36
0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0
100	64	36	1296
0	36	-36	1296
0	0	0	0
0	0	0	0
300			6192

Degree of freedom, 6; significant level, 0.05; table value, 12.592; calculated χ^2 , 20.64.

Specifically, Ezekwesili (1996) stated that widows were harshly treated and unfairly labelled. Furthermore, she observed that the society interpreted every action of widows and reacted inappropriately to the extent that people pointed and made unhealthy comments about them. Ezekwesili (1996) concluded that they were generally seen as a shackle of the devil and hideaway most of the time in order not to attract any ugly comments. In the same vein, Charles (2010) observed that, widows were labelled husband killers, husband snatchers, and women with ill-luck, adulteress, problematic and destitute. According to Charles (2010), their innocence as husband killers was only established when they underwent diabolical ritual cleansing by drinking the filthy water used in bathing the corpses of their deceased husbands. Aside this, Charles (2010) averred that widows were not allowed to take their baths, changed their clothes, brushed their teeth, washed their hands, clothes, or even washed the plates used in serving them food. Summarizing the plight of widows, the participants in the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) agreed that the widows were left unkempt, dirty, and unattractive and haggard.

On female genital cutting (FGC), Chukwu (2006) argued that the subjugation of women had introduced inadvertently female genital cutting, a gruesome and crude surgery as a prerequisite to be accorded respect, and recognition among the Igbo. According to Onuzulike (2006), the most common is the type 1. In this type, the incision opens the vaginal either anteriorly or posteriorly into the surrounding tissues, resulting in the damage of the urinary bladder/ urethral opening or rectum and anus thereby causing vesico-vaginal fistula (VVF). The incision

also includes the cutting of the vagina (*gishiri* cuts), another source for vesico-vaginal fistula (VVF). According to Ngouakam et al. (2008) and Onuzulike (2006), vesico-vaginal fistula (VVF) is attributed to the different kinds of incisions because there is no standardization in the methods employed as the circumciser's hand dictated the end result of the surgery. Corroborating, Darrah and Froude (1975) averred that 40% of the patients attending Zaria hospital (Nigeria) with VVF were victims of *gishiri* cuts. Similarly, Tahzib (1983) substantiated this study by asserting that 1443 VVF patients at the Ahmadu Bello University Teaching Hospital, Zaria, between January 1969 and December 1980 had also received *gishiri* cuts. Earlier, Murphy (1981) concluded that the plight of these unfortunate victims could be so devastating and dehumanizing that even when cured after surgery some of them never regained their self-esteem.

On wife battery, Ugwu (2003) contended that, the patriarchal culture as practised empowered men against women. We could situate this de-empowerment of women in the words of the erstwhile chairperson of Women Commission, Bolanle Awe (1996) thus: "you know this is a patriarchal society in which men take the first place". Awe's position aptly summarised what the feminist historian, Gerda (1986) had earlier upheld in her study that women were socialized, indoctrinated and coerced into co-operating with the patriarchal system. The discussants in the Focus Group (FGD) also observed that women were blamed and also condemned for all the wrongs that went on in their families. The discussants also averred that, women's inability to remain and manage their homes were always 'the talking talk' in different drinking spots, and the fear of becoming 'the talking talk' often made women remain with their partners in spite of the battery. In addition, the discussants also argued that the issue of social conditioning inculcated into women from childhood that, irrespective of their other interests, they would never be fulfilled unless they were married and had children. According to Brown et al. (1997), when women accepted this social conditioning, leaving an abusive husband meant failing not only as a mother or wife, but as a woman and also as a human being. This, from all sound arguments, rested on a disastrously premise that kept women in battered homes. Furthermore, Brown et al. (1997) observed that women were told that love conquered all and as such, in the event of being battered, they were urged to remain in the hope that the men would change positively in no distant time for the wonderful times they once had during courtships to occur again.

On Early Child Marriage, Nwosu (2008) averred that, for reproduction to occur, the girl child was given out at a very young age; she was not allowed to mature fully to understand her desires and goals in life before being forced into marriage. In addition, the discussants in the Focus Group (FGD) submitted that in the Igbo traditional societies that when they were given out in marriage at

very young ages, often before or during the process of puberty, they were delivered of healthy children. But Chukwu (2006) observed that the consequences of early child marriage included amongst others, vesico-vaginal fistula (VVF). From this perspective, it is obvious that early child marriage is fundamentally an assault on women. In a study by Tahzib (1983), the study showed that 5.5% (80) of VVF sufferers were less than 13 years of age. Murphy (1981) further averred that, the tear from the contractions of the pelvic muscles due to the inadequacy of the pelvic muscles of these teenage mothers leads to prolonged obstructed labour and trauma during delivery. Chukwu (2006) concluded that the problem of early child marriage was indeed a frightening reality.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

RECOMMENDATIONS

Suggestions considered appropriate to dismantle these afore-discussed practices are hereby advanced for creating a conducive and enabling environment for Igbo women of Ebonyi State extraction to strive for excellence.

1. Emphasis should be placed on enlightenment programmes to make women realize that they are fundamentally equal in personality and dignity with men. Women should see themselves as equal in human dignity with their men folk and as a result, must have free hand to plan their lives without any disabling or de-personalizing cultural practices or prejudice or taboo. Igbo women, like their men, should be free to live their lives without any cultural obstacles.
2. Education plays a vital role in the favourable attitude of the sexes towards each other. There is need for the government and religious leaders not only to inspire individuals to a higher educational qualification, but also to make conditions conducive for women to be educated if possible, at no cost.
3. Women are naturally endowed with unique qualities which when properly developed can aid them broaden their horizons for the better, irrespective of the cultural inhibitions they face. In other words, developing the capabilities of women is an important investment not only because their population accounts for more than half of the world, but because they have a major responsibility toward nurturing the young. Therefore, government at all levels; particularly in Ebonyi State should empower women through free micro-credit facilities in order to enable women embark on small-scale businesses and improve their poor economic status, and also improve their persons.
4. Finally, the paper concurs with the efforts of the Ebonyi State House of Assembly to make laws to protect women from these violent and obnoxious cultural practices.

Conclusion

Many dynamic changes have ushered in improvements in the conditions of women worldwide, especially in the sub-African region. But the Igbo ethnic group of south-east Nigeria is not yet sufficiently aware of the extent to which her cultural practices have displaced, dislodged, and marginalized women. Consequent upon this, the surest way out of these cultural practices, this paper concludes, is empowerment through critical education, access to credit facilities and enlightenment in order for Igbo women to acquire intellectual mind power to free themselves from these shackles of old times. The paper also concludes that man-women relationship in Igbo society should be characterized by the fundamental appreciation of each other's obligations and opportunities and, should therefore not be allowed to lead to any form of enslavement. In essence, women should take positive steps toward improving and transforming their minds, the most fundamental and vital aspect of social engineering and the husbanding of human resources.

REFERENCES

- Advanced Dictionary (1988). USA: Scott Foresman.
- Ahmed S (1996). Learning the Female Body Intact. *Nurse N. Z* 2(4):20-22.
- Awe B (1993). *Nigerian Women in Perspectives*. Ibadan: University Press.
- Bannett OW, Lavolette AD (1993). *It could happen to anyone: Why battered women stay*. London: Sage Publication.
- Basden GT (1966). *Niger Igbo*. London: Frank Class Press.
- Bradley C (1994). "Why male violence against women is a development issue: Reflections from Paupau, New Guinea" In: Davies M (Ed) *Women and violence: Realities and responses worldwide*. New York: Zed Books.
- Brown L, Dubau F, McKeon MYD (1997). *Stop domestic violence: An action plan for saving lives*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- Burns AA, Lovich R, Maxwell Y, Shapiro K (1997). *Where women have no doctor: A health guide for women*. California: Macmillan.
- Charles JO (2010). *Social Anthropology: concept, theory and ethnography*. Lagos: Serenity Publishers.
- Chukwu CC (2006). *Socio-cultural practices as obstacles to women empowerment in Nigeria: A case of Bekwarra, Ogoja and Yala local government Areas of Cross River State*. Unpublished M. Sc thesis submitted, University of Calabar, Nigeria.
- Coleman JS (1988). *Intimate Relationships, Marriage, and Family*. New York: Macmillan.
- Darrah A, Froude J (1975). *Hausa medicine for western doctors*. Kaduna: Ahmadu Bello University.
- Dwyer DC, Smokowsk PR, Bricout YC, Wodarski Y (1996) "Domestic violence and women battering: Theories and practice implications" In AR. Roberts, (Ed). *Helping battered women: New perspectives and remedies*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ezekwesili IB (1996). *Widowhood Practices*. Enugu: Snaps Publications.
- Harrison KA (1985). *Obstetric fistula: One social calamity too many*. *Commentary Br. J. Obstetrics Gynaecol.* 90:385-386.
- Herskovitz MJ (1955). *Man and his works*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Iwe NSS (1985). *Christianity, Culture and Colonialism in Africa*. Port Harcourt: University Press.
- Kerlinger FN (1986). *Foundations of behavioural sciences*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Wilson.
- Murphy M (1981). *Social consequences of vesico-vaginal fistula in Northern Nigeria*. *J. Biosoc. Sci.* 13:139-150.
- Mustafa AZ, Rushwan HME (1979). *Acquired genito-urinary fistulae in*

- the victims. Sudan J. Obstetrics Gynaecol. 78:1039-1043.
- Ngouakam H, Longjohn ME, Chukwu CC (2008). Paradigmatic Health Implication of Female Genital Cutting at childbirth in Abua-Odual, Rivers State.
- Nosike AN (1996). Violence against Women and Sustainable Development: Contemporary Perspective. In Oruwari (Ed) Women Development and the Nigeria Environment. Ibadan: Vantage Publishers.
- Nwosu C.J. (2008). 'The Girl Child, Still run your race' In Nigeria and the Millennium Development Goals. Lagos: Fulbright Alumni
- Obioma, F (2011). "They sold everything "in the Vanguard Newspaper., (26th November)
- Okolo GU (2004). Violence against women. Calabar: Baye Communications.
- Onuzulike NM (2006). Issues in health. Owerri: Megasoft Publishers.
- Ritzer G (1996). Sociological theory. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Tahzib F (1983). Vesico-vaginal fistula in Nigerian children. Lancet., 1291–1293.
- Tell Magazine (2005). IBB's C-Plane crash: the untold story. 41:36 (10th October).
- Tylor ED (1871). Primitive culture. London: Harper Torchbooks (1).
- Udoh EN (1996). The Adoption of Cultural Impositions on Gender as Instruments of Development in Nigeria In Oruwari(Ed) Women, Development and Nigeria Environment. Ibadan: Vantage Publishers.
- Ugwu NS (2003). The Agony of a woman. Jos: Verdem Publishers.

Full Length Research Paper

Child's growth and nutritional status in two communities-Mishing tribe and Kaibarta caste of Assam, India

Debashis Basu^{1*}, Gulenur Islam², Ratul Gogoi², Swarupa Dey³ and Junumai Deori²

¹Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata, India.

²Department of Anthropology, Gauhati University, Assam, India.

³Department of Anthropology, G C College of Science, Silchar, North Cachar Hills, Assam, India.

Accepted 13 November, 2013

Physical growth and development studies were carried out among the populations of both tribal and non-tribal in eastern India by different scholars in different milieu and environmental factors from the eighties and onwards. Since then, the inhabitants of those areas have been doing agriculture, fishing, etc as prime occupation, but after a few decades in the same region, demographic and socio-economic changes took place under the influences of worldwide globalization of industrialization. These are evident in the increase of budget allocation of the respective governments. At the same time, people living in the regions who are under the influence of industrialization have received improved life style being marked with over nutrition; while people in the regions that do not have the impact of socio-economic improvement still struggle with under-nutrition. This co-existing situation of under- and over nutrition among the populations of Indian subcontinent is aptly described as double burden of malnutrition by Shukla et al. In this paper, growth based on anthropometric measurements of height and weight statistically treated in terms of height-for-age-, weight-for-age and BMI-for-age-z score is analyzed by lms formula with reference to WHO. The nutritional status of 3 to 10 years plus children of Mishing (a scheduled tribe) and Kaibarta (a caste population of Assam, India) is studied. The children of 3-10 years plus of Mishing and Kaibarta populations were observed to be shorter than those of the children of CDC2000, Indian, and IndUp; but are taller than their ICMR counterpart. In the present study, the proportions of stunting, underweight, and thinness categories among the boys of both populations were observed to be higher than those of girls; this indicates suffering from chronic under-nutrition due to prolonged deprivation of required nutrients and illness.

Key words: Mishing Tribe, Kaibarta caste, height, weight, BMI, Assam, India, stunting, wasting, thinness.

INTRODUCTION

Physical growth and development studies were carried out among the populations of both tribal and non-tribal in eastern India by different scholars in different milieu and environmental factors from the eighties and onwards (Das and Das, 1969, 1972; Das and Choudhury, 1982; Das, 1996; Das, 2009). Since then, the inhabitants of

those areas have been doing agriculture, fishing, etc as prime occupation, but after a few decades in the same region, demographic and socio-economic changes took place under the influences of worldwide globalization of industrialization. These are evident in the increase of budget allocation of the respective governments. At the

same time, people living in the regions who are under the influence of industrialization have received improved life style being marked with over nutrition; while people in the regions that do not have the impact of socio-economic improvement still struggle with under-nutrition. This co-existing situation of under- and over nutrition among the populations of Indian subcontinent is aptly described as double burden of malnutrition by Shukla et al. (2002). During this transition period, the economy supplemented by different occupations of the people from other places that do not depend solely on agriculture /or fishing has been much more diversified. This has reshaped their life style including nutritional intakes; and ultimately it has broadened their horizon of economic activities (Sarma and Ali, 2005). Due to constant socio-economic changes in fields like education, job opportunities, modern amenities of communication, transports, the people have been involved in entrepreneurship to design their livelihood pattern to be more socio- biologically sustainable. This phenomenon is not restricted within certain boundaries; in other words, this part of the globe along with other global counterparts has also been experiencing the transition in the demography and socio-economic fields for the last few decades (UNDP, 2004). Physical growth is well documented as it is influenced by genetic and environmental factors-the latter being the most significant factor in assessing the health status of a population. Usually, genetic factors play important role in growth while environmental factors are prerequisite at optimal level.

On the other hand, the focus on the study of nutritional status has been shifted from malnutrition to primarily obesity and/or overweight particularly at population level both in the developed countries; in other words, the worldwide random occurrence of overweight and obesity particularly among the highly industrialized nations, which has made WHO (2000, 2005) to address it as global health problem in developing countries. Simultaneously, studies on state of malnutrition among children in the developing countries are also being carried out since positive impact of industrialization on the health of the children worldwide is not uniform in all the regions. Hence the populations living particularly in the developing countries exhibit both under nutrition/malnutrition (de Onis et al., 1992; WHO, 1995; Collins, 2007) and over nutrition (Popkin, 2001; Khadilkar and Khadilkar, 2004; York et al., 2004; Shafique et al., 2007; Agarwal et al., 2008; Janewa et al., 2012).

The following indicators recommended internationally for assessing children's growth and nutritional status are stunted growth (low height-for-age) (de Onis and Habicht, 1996) and underweight children (low weight-for-age) and BMI-for-age by de Onis et al. (2007) and USCDC. While stunting, as coined by Waterlow (1972), reflects a failure to reach linear growth potential due to suboptimal health and/or nutritional conditions and underweight reveals low body mass relative to chronological age, which is influenced by both a child's height and weight (WHO,

1995).

In this paper, an attempt has been made to assess the physical growth and nutritional status of children of Mishing- a scheduled tribe- and Kaibarta- a caste population of Assam. There is a dearth of study on the children of 3 to 10 years plus and the same data are compared with the reference populations at national level viz., Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) (ICMR, 1989), Indian schoolchildren belonging to the upper socioeconomic strata (IndUp) (Marwaha et al., 2011), (Khadilkar et al., 2009), National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) (Frisancho, 1990), CDC 2000 (CDC, 2002) and WHO (2006, 2007) reference populations at International level.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Population of Mishing

Mishing or Miris being the second largest plain tribes of Assam, Northeastern India is affiliated to the Mongoloid race. The tribes' primary occupation is agriculture and rice is their staple food. They relish pork meat along with *Apong* (rice beer) in all their ethnic festivals (Bordoloi et al., 1987). Their occupation is supplemented by wage labour, shop keeping and small scale business. The Mishing people are very fond of green leaf/ vegetables that they grow in their kitchen garden, and they include any one of them at least in their diet almost every day (Basu and Gajbhiye, 2004). Usually, the Mishing claim to be Hindus by religion, but at the same time they observe all their ethnic traditional rituals and festivals. In the course of cultural evolution, their religions, along with their traditional belief, Vaishnavism and Christianity have become part of their life. Their literacy rate is much higher than the Kaibarta people Mishing people consume leafy vegetables in higher frequency than the Kaibarta people.

Kaibarta

The Kaibartas, a scheduled caste community of Assam, North-eastern India, belong to the Indo-Aryan linguistic group of Caucasoid racial stock. They follow Hinduism. They survive on fishing – an old-age occupation which is also supplemented with small scale business, daily labour, shop keeping, *ricksaw* pulling, etc. The Kaibartas are non-vegetarian but pork is prohibited in table menu (Khongsdier and Basu, 2004).

A cross-sectional method was used to study the anthropometric measurements among the children of Mishing, a scheduled tribe and Kaibarta- a scheduled caste population of Lakhimpur- and Cachar districts of Assam respectively during December-January, 2006-07. The anthropometric measurements were taken by well trained anthropometrists (GI, RG, and JD) following standard techniques. A total number of 604 Mishing children (Boys: 313; Girls: 291) and 452 Kaibarta children (Boys: 225; Girls: 227) were anthropometrically measured. The children were compared in terms of their physical growth status with references to Indian schoolboys and girls belonging to the upper socioeconomic strata (IndUp) (Marwaha et al., 2011), Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) (ICMR, 1986), Indian Affluent Children (Indian) (Khadilkar et al., 2009), National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) (Frisancho, 1990), and CDC 2000 (CDC2002). The children in both places- Mishing and Kaibarta- were assessed in terms of Z-scores (WHO, 1986) of Weight-for-age, Height-for-age, BMI-for-age with reference to WHO (2006, 2007) since linear growth (height-for-age)

Table 1. Anthropometric means (m) and SDs of weight, height and BMI of Mishing and Kaibarta children.

Age	Mishing													
	Boy	Girl	Weight (kg)				Height(cm)				BMI			
			Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys		Girls	
	N	N	m	sd	m	sd	m	sd	m	sd	m	sd	m	sd
3+	22	16	13.00	1.61	12.28	1.78	91.30	5.30	91.15	6.53	15.5	1.16	14.75	1.23
4+	33	29	13.80	1.94	14.06	1.21	96.70	6.63	98.10	5.17	14.76	2.21	14.68	1.59
5+	58	35	15.29	1.99	16.17	1.85	105.41	5.47	108.16	5.21	13.76	1.44	13.80	0.98
6+	50	50	16.38	2.10	16.72	2.09	109.35	7.34	110.85	6.27	13.71	1.34	13.59	1.21
7+	50	37	19.24	2.24	19.09	2.62	116.21	6.06	117.84	6.06	14.25	1.31	13.75	1.61
8+	37	45	21.27	2.70	20.51	3.46	121.99	7.86	121.07	6.16	14.27	1.09	13.91	1.42
9+	21	36	22.79	2.88	22.54	3.26	122.59	7.76	124.59	5.31	15.25	2.24	14.47	1.40
10+	42	43	24.05	2.37	24.98	3.56	127.91	5.64	129.76	5.50	14.75	1.66	14.77	1.35
	Kaibarta													
3+	17	18	12.62	1.46	11.22	1.52	99.67	7.19	92.88	7.23	12.71	0.90	14.75	1.23
4+	26	25	14.33	1.77	14.36	1.18	104.99	5.58	102.40	4.83	13.00	1.38	14.68	1.59
5+	28	30	16.05	2.63	15.15	1.08	108.62	7.28	108.13	5.55	13.62	1.87	13.80	0.98
6+	29	28	18.29	2.54	16.31	1.78	115.29	6.42	111.14	5.31	13.74	1.26	13.59	1.21
7+	31	29	18.95	2.82	17.81	1.71	118.03	6.13	114.53	5.37	13.56	1.32	13.75	1.61
8+	29	34	20.07	2.25	20.12	3.11	120.42	6.20	120.83	7.99	13.86	1.31	13.91	1.42
9+	32	33	20.63	2.56	21.26	3.03	122.21	7.05	123.32	6.55	13.76	0.50	14.47	1.40
10+	33	30	23.62	2.50	28.00	6.23	128.00	3.83	133.75	8.17	14.39	1.10	14.77	1.35

and ponderal growth (weight-for-age) have different nutritional requirements. The states of stunting, wasting, and thinness of low height-for-age Z-, weight-for-age Z-, and BMI-for-age Z-scores respectively are denoted by <-2. The occurrence of weight-for-age in children have been selected as an indicator of under nutrition, as it combines information on both chronic (height-for-age) and acute under-nutrition (weight-for-height) and it is one of the most widely used nutritional indicators (WHO, 1986; UNDP, 2004; UNICEF, 2004; World Bank, 2004). The individual z-score for a measurement y at age t was computed by LMS formula (WHO, 2006) as follows:

$$SD\text{-score} = \frac{[measurement/M(t)]^{L(t)} - 1}{L(t)S(t)}$$

Where M denotes median; L is the power needed to transform the data in order to remove skewness (that is to normalize the data), and S is the coefficient of variation.

The three Indian references were not considered for calculating the measurement-for-age Z score since the IndUp (Marwaha et al., 2011) does not have the lms values of the same measurements; Indian (Khadilkar et al., 2009) does not provide information of the measurements of the Indian children aged 3 to 4 years; and finally the ICMR (1989) sample lacks lms values and moreover, the data were collected more than three decades ago. The curves in all the figures were smoothed by line style of Format Data Series option in Windows 7 OS.

RESULTS

Table 1 describes the arithmetic means and SDs of height, weight and BMI by age and sex of Mishing and Kaibarta children of 3 to 10 yrs. It shows that the

difference of values of weight between 3 and 10 yrs among the Mishing girls being 12.70 kg is higher than those of their boys' counterpart (11.05 kg); and the value of difference of height among the Mishing boys and girls are 36.61 and 38.61cm, respectively. Total increase of weight gain being 16.78kg among the Kaibarta girls of values between 3+ years and 10+ years is higher than the Kaibarta boys being 11.00kg. Again, the difference of values of height of the Kaibarta girls in same age groups being 38.61 cm is also higher than those of their boys' counterpart (36.61 cm); the same trend in terms of weight and height in the Kaibarta children is also observed. While the ranges of BMI values in both populations – Mishing (boys: 13.77 and 15.5; girls: 13.59 and 14.77) and Kaibarta (boys: 12.71 and 14.39; girls: 13.59 and 14.77), respectively are hereby reported to be almost increasing in tandem.

Figures 1 to 4 show the graphical comparison of height and weight of the children aged 3 to 10 years by age and sex of the two populations - Mishing and Kaibarta, respectively with the NHANES -, Indian -, ICMR -, IndUP and CDC 2000 Children.

Among these two communities the boys of the Kaibarta are taller than their Mishing boys' counterpart at the age of 8 and thereafter same growth curves for height of the boys in both communities move in tandem at 10 years of age. The 3 to 10 years boys belonging to the groups of CDC 2000, Indian, and IndUp are taller than those of the Mishing and Kaibarta boys; while the same boys of both

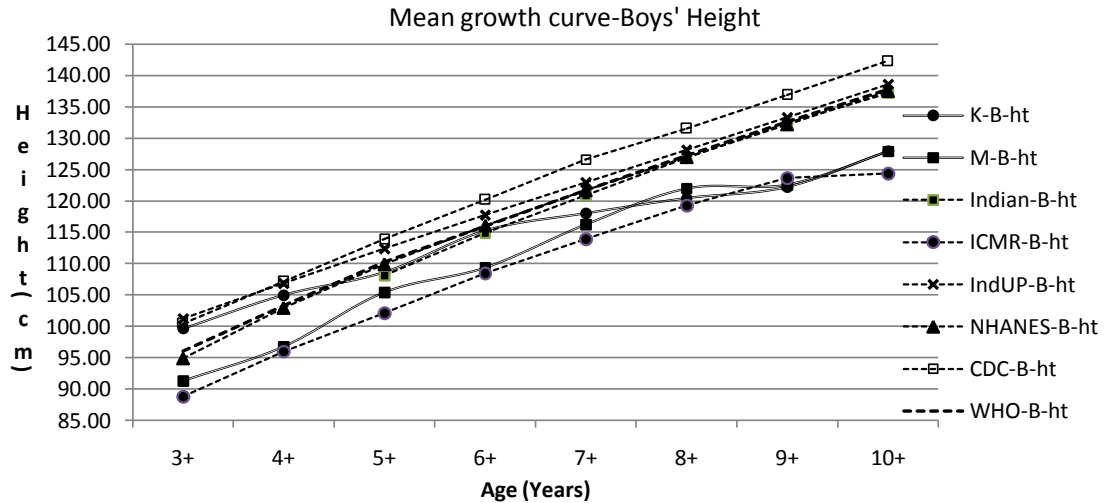


Figure 1. Distance growth curves for Height of Mishing and Kaibarta boys with reference to Indian -, IndUp-, ICMR -, NHANES -, CDC 2000 and WHO (2006 & 2007) boys (K: Kaibarta; M: Mishing; B:Boys).



Figure 2. Distance growth curves for height of Mishing and Kaibarta children with reference to Indian -, IndUp-, ICMR -, NHANES -, and CDC 2000 Girls (G:Girls).

communities are taller than their ICMR boys' counterpart. The phenomenon of the boys' height of these two studied communities being lower as compared to those of the boys of CDC 2000-, Indian-, and IndUp samples may be due to environmental factors like better socio-economic condition, better nutrition, food habits, etc. and of course, different ethnicity (Tables 1-2).

The mean height growth curve of the Mishing boys shows almost similar growth pattern compared to ICMR boys, but the Kaibarta boys of 8 yrs show higher growth

pattern than those of the ICMR boys; and again show similar growth pattern with ICMR at 10 yrs. Overall, the growth patterns of height among the Mishing and Kaibarta children do lag behind the other three CDC 2000 -, Indian Affluent -, NHANES boys population.

Table 2 describes the mean values of weight-for-age Z-scores, height-for-age Z-scores, and BMI-for-age z-scores of the children aged 3+years to 10+years by age and sex of the Mishing and Kaibarta populations. The values of above mentioned anthropometric indices in

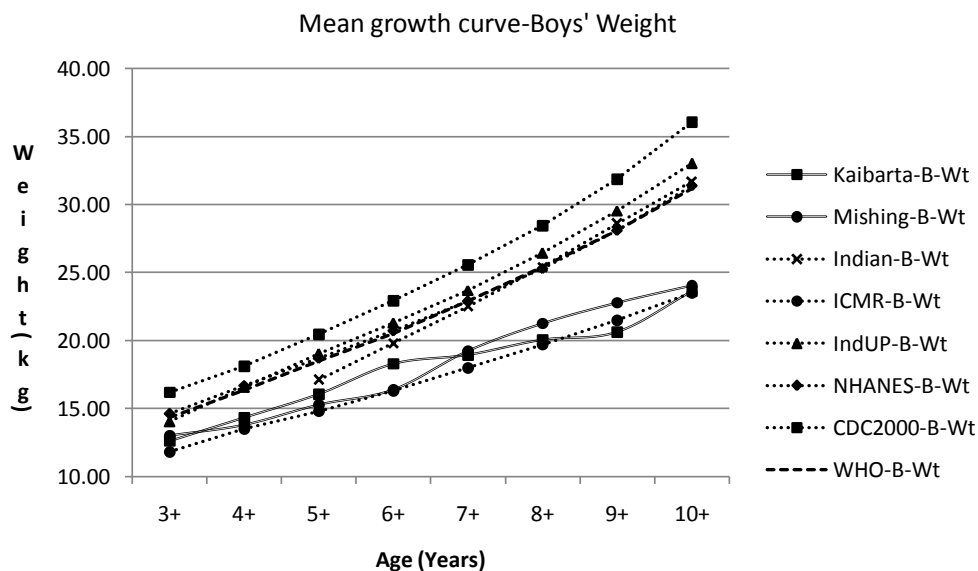


Figure 3. Mean growth curves for weight of Mishing and Kaibarta children with reference to Indian -, IndUp-, ICMR -, NHANES -, and CDC 2000 boys (B:Boys).



Figure 4. Mean growth curves for weight of Mishing and Kaibarta children with reference to Indian -, IndUp-, ICMR -, NHANES -, and CDC 2000 girls (G:Girls).

terms of measurement-for-age z-score were calculated based on the reference of CDC 2000. Among the boys of both groups the boys aged 3+ years of Mishing tribe show mean values of weight-for-age Z-scores below -2SD. Among the boys mean values of weight-for-age Z-scores increase with the increase of age in both the population ; while the Z-scores of height-for-age at the age of 3+ through 10+ years in the Mishing sample are negatively higher than -1.50 and there is a trend of increase,

negative in nature, of z-scores as the age increases. Table 2 shows that the girls of both populations are reported to have negative values of weight-for-age Z-scores, height-for-age Z-scores, and BMI-for-age z-scores with reference to the WHO.

Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4 exhibit the growth patterns of height and weight of the boys and girls in the Mishing and Kaibarta populations respectively. Figures 1 to 4 show that the mean values by age of height and weight of the

Table 2. WAZ-, HAZ-, BMIZ values of Mishing and Kaibarta children with reference to WHO (2006, 2007) (M: Mishing; K: Kaibarta).

Age	Boys					
	WAZ-M	WAZ-K	HAZ-M	HAZ-K	BMIZ-M	BMIZ-K
3+	-0.91	-1.12	-1.29	0.97	-0.12	-2.71
4+	-1.45	-1.11	-1.57	0.40	-0.61	-2.16
5+	-1.58	-1.24	-1.06	-0.36	-1.42	-1.65
6+	-1.83	-0.97	-1.34	-0.13	-1.46	-1.44
7+	-1.39	-1.55	-1.04	-0.70	-1.08	-1.72
8+	-1.40	-1.83	-0.09	-0.12	-1.19	-1.61
9+	-1.56	-2.34	-1.66	-1.72	-0.78	-1.76
10+	-1.79	-1.94	-1.55	-1.53	-1.33	-1.51
	Girls					
3+	-1.06	-1.78	-1.02	-0.57	-0.57	-2.14
4+	-1.02	-0.86	-1.08	-0.08	-0.52	-1.25
5+	-0.94	-1.39	-0.30	-0.31	-1.13	-1.83
6+	-1.40	-1.57	-0.84	-0.78	-1.30	-1.61
7+	-1.17	-1.61	-0.54	-1.15	-1.32	-1.32
8+	-1.45	-1.55	-0.95	-0.99	-1.28	-1.37
9+	-1.53	-1.53	-1.29	-1.50	-1.08	-1.44
10+	-1.62	-1.02	-1.39	-0.76	-1.14	-0.80

children in both communities increase in tandem with the children of same age of ICMR with an exception of Kaibarta girls being recorded with higher mean values of weight than those of the girls of ICMR at age 10 years. But the mean values by age and sex for height and weight for the children of both communities do lag behind the other three reference populations of CDC 2000, Indian Affluent, and NHANES (Figures 1 to 4).

Table 3 indicates the values of proportions of children by age and sex falling under the stunting, underweight, and thinness categories in both communities. The proportion of Mishing boys being 26.84% under the stunting category is higher than their girl counterpart (21.31%) and the same trend is also observed in other two underweight and thinness categories in the same population having the boys and girls of the same age range who are 31.63, 4.47, 30.99 and 15.81% respectively; while 33.33 % of the Kaibarta boys falls under the stunting category being higher than their girl counterpart (18.06 %) in the same population – the same trend is also observed in both categories of underweight and thinness in the Kaibarta population having the boys and girls of the same age range who are 35.11, 7.93, 52.44 and 24.23%, respectively. Among the Mishing children the girls aged 5+ years to 10+ years not a single girl child is reported hereby not to suffer from underweight; while the girls of the Kaibarta of the same age range like Mishing girls is also observed not suffering from underweight. So far the proportions of children of both populations under all categories are concerned; the boys

as compared to their girls' counterpart are thinner in higher proportions. In Mishing population, the proportions of stunting, underweight, and thinness are observed to be 28.91, 22.18 and 28.32% respectively; while the proportions of stunting, underweight, and thinness being 22.79, 21.46 and 17.92% respectively are observed in the Kaibarta population (Figures 5-8).

DISCUSSION

In the present paper, the present samples of Mishing scheduled tribal- and Kaibarta scheduled caste children aged 3+ years through 10+ years surviving on agriculture and fishing occupations respectively, were assessed in terms of physical growth and nutritional status resorting to anthropometric measurements which have been used globally to evaluate nutritional assessment at population level. WHO (1995) and Gelerand (2006) report that child growth is internationally recognized as a significant indicator of nutritional status and health at population level. The physical growth of the children may indicate the factors playing important impact upon, viz. poor environments including low income that limits the children to have access to quality housing, diet, and healthcare, increasing risk of poor health and nutrition, which in turn affect growth and development (Crooks, 1999).

Analysis of growth data based on height measurement indicates that mean values of both communities were observed to be lower than the mean values of height of

Table 3. Proportions of Mishing and Kaibarta children by age and sex falling under stunting, underweight, and thinness categories.

Age	Mishing					
	Stunting		Underweight		Thinness	
	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Boys (%)	Girls (%)
3+	27.27	37.50	22.73	56.25	0.00	6.25
4+	45.45	31.03	27.27	13.79	0.00	3.45
5+	24.14	5.71	25.86	0.00	13.79	14.29
6+	30.00	18.00	46.00	0.00	0.00	24.00
7+	24.00	10.81	30.00	0.00	36.00	18.92
8+	0.00	24.44	21.62	0.00	70.27	20.00
9+	42.86	25.00	38.10	0.00	66.67	13.89
10+	30.95	27.91	38.10	0.00	73.81	13.95
Total	26.84	21.31	31.63	4.47	30.99	15.81

Kaibarta						
3+	21.31	16.67	29.41	88.89	76.47	55.56
4+	0.00	0.00	11.54	8.00	0.00	12.00
5+	3.85	10.00	25.00	0.00	14.29	36.67
6+	21.43	17.86	13.79	0.00	0.00	28.57
7+	3.45	20.69	38.71	0.00	64.52	20.69
8+	16.13	17.65	41.38	0.00	79.31	17.65
9+	0.00	39.39	62.50	0.00	100.00	21.21
10+	46.88	16.67	48.48	0.00	78.79	13.33
Total	33.33	18.06	35.11	7.93	52.44	24.23

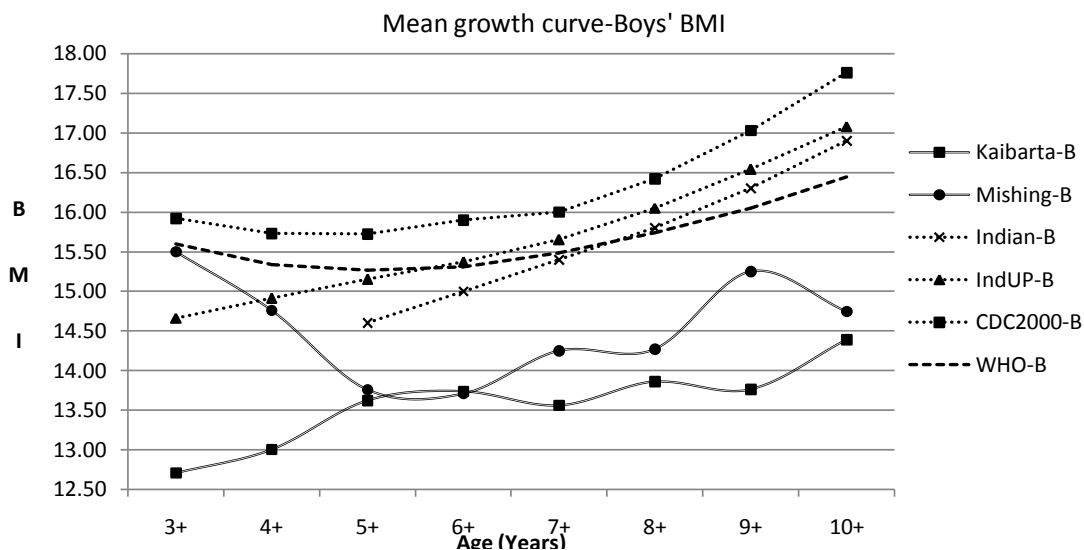


Figure 5. Mean growth curves for BMI of Mishing and Kaibarta with reference to Indian, IndUP, CDC 2000 and WHO boys (B: Boys).

the samples of CDC2000, IndUP, WHO (2006, 2007); and NHANES boys with the children of Kaibarta boys aged 3+ years to 5+ years being observed to be little higher than the boys of the same age groups of WHO

(2006), NHANES, and ICMR samples. This indicates that the boys of the Kaibarta sample struggle with poor environmental factors including low income, less than enough food quantitatively and qualitatively, less than required

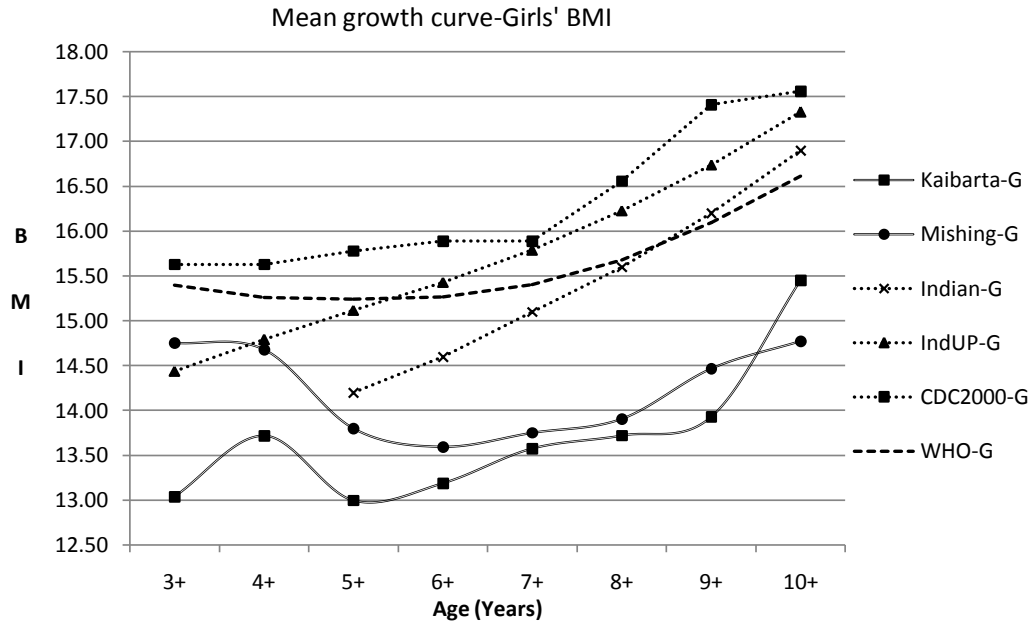


Figure 6. Mean growth curves for BMI of Mishing and Kaibarta with reference to Indian, IndUP, CDC 2000 and WHO boys (G: Girls).

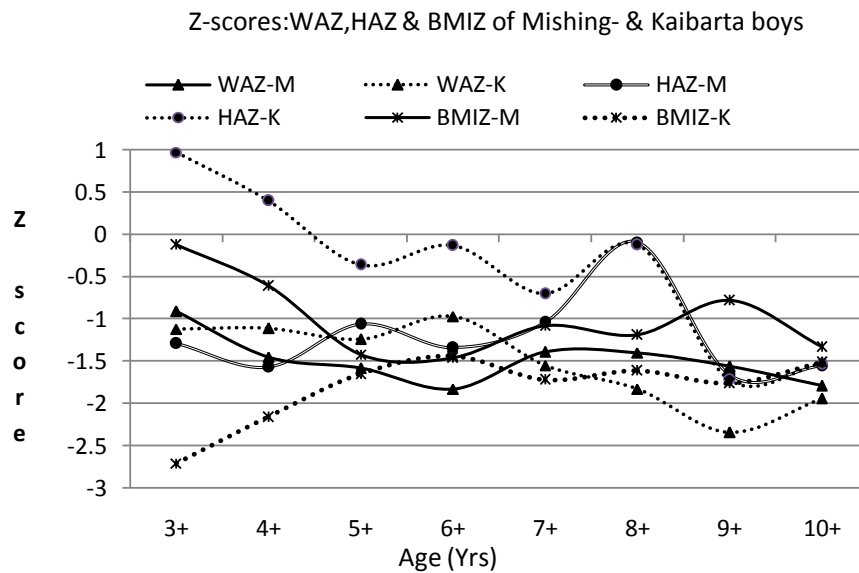


Figure 7. Mean Z-scores of WAZ, HAZ, and BMIAZ of Mishing- and Kaibarta boys relative to WHO (2006, 2007) reference (K: Kaibarta; M: Mishing).

amount of nutrients, etc. The same phenomenon of not getting their height gain in the other Mishing boys' sample is also applicable. And the difference of height gain among the boys of both the samples was due to ethnicity in combination with the other environmental factors evidenced through 32.00% stunting among the Kaibarta boys aged 3+ years through 10+ years as compared to those of Mishing boys (41.53%); while the proportions of stunting among the girls of both communities were

observed to be close to each other, but the same were much lower than their boys' counterpart.

The proportions of stunting in both populations of the present study are higher than the children of Santal (Chowdhury et al., 2008), Bangladesh (Chisti et al., 2007), Karnataka (Joseph et al., 2002), Nigerian (Fetuga et al., 2011a), West Bengal (Bose and Bisai, 2008a), Karachi (Jafar et al., 2008), Sagamu of Nigeria (Fetuga et al., 2011b) but lower than the children of West Bengal (Som

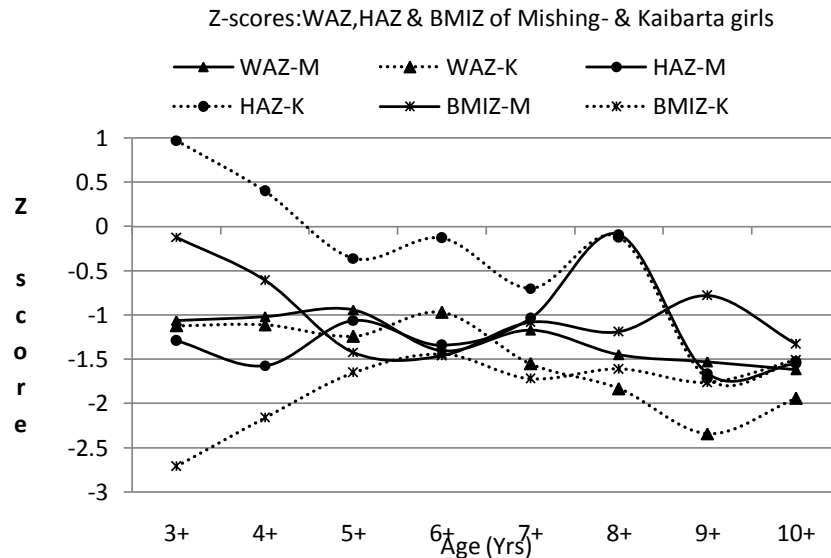


Figure 8. Mean Z-scores of WAZ, HAZ, and BMI-AZ of Mishing- and Kaibarta girls, relative to the WHO (2006, 2007) reference (K: Kaibarta; M: Mishing).

et al., 2007), Pakistani (Mian et al., 2002), Malaysian (Marjan et al., 1998), Indonesian (Hadju et al., 1995), Bihar (Rao and Vijay, 2006), WB preadolescent children (Bose et al., 2008b), Nepalese (Ghosh et al., 2009), Nepal (Ghosh et al., 2009). While comparing the present two populations with the rest of the populations as in the case of stunting, the proportions of underweight in these two populations are lower than the children of all the samples mentioned earlier but higher than the Bangladeshi children (Chisti et al., 2007) and estimated prevalence of childhood underweight for Asia (de Onis et al., 2004). The situations among the girls in both populations in terms of stunting reflecting a failure to reach linear growth potential due to suboptimal health and/or nutritional conditions are better than their boys' counterparts of respective populations. In both communities the boys as compared to the girls of the respective populations suffered more from high level of chronic under nutrition because of consistent lack of required nutrients' consumption both in quantity and as well quality and illness.

Weight-for-age reflects body mass relative to chronological age. It is influenced by both the height of the child and his/her weight. This index is often taken as a composite index integrating the first two anthropometric indices, as it reflects both chronic and acute malnutrition. The proportions of underweight among the boys of both populations were observed to be almost same while among the girls too of both the populations same trend was observed; but the boys of both populations exhibited higher proportions of underweight category than in the girls by which- the phenomenon indicating the boys suffering from chronic and acute malnutrition. In other words, they were deprived of getting sufficient amount of

required quality nutrients leading to prolonged under nutrition. The proportions of underweight category among these two groups were observed to be higher than the children of Karnataka (Joseph et al., 2002), Santal children of Purulia district (Chowdhury et al., 2008); Nigerian school children (Fetuga et al., 2011a and 2011b), Pakistani school aged children (Mustaq et al., 2012) and estimated prevalence of childhood underweight for Asia (de Onis et al., 2004a). While discussing the other two indices like height-for-age and weight-for-age for stunting and underweight respectively the boys in both the tribal and caste populations as compared to those of their girls' counterpart suffered from prolonged undernutrition to a larger extent; and at the same time the index -bmi-for-age for thinness with both compartments of height and weight the children suffered more from chronic and acute under-nutrition; thereby the results of their consistent lack of appropriate nutrients intake throughout the present age range and unfavourable socio-economic factors hindered them to attain expected height gain. The proportion of thinness among the boys of the Mishing population was observed to higher than the Nigerian school children (Fetuga et al., 2011), and Pakistani children (Mustaq et al., 2012) but, the proportion of thinness category in the Kaibarta population remained lower than the Nigerian school children (Fetuga et al., 2011). The phenomenon of the higher proportion of the boys suffering from thinness may indicate that the nutrients rich in protein responsible for height they consumed were far below the required amount, evidenced through the higher proportions of stunting than of the underweight category.

Overall, the situation of health of the children aged 3+ years to 10+ years among the Kaibartas at population level is jeopardize since the socio-economic status in the

same population is still same as they had earlier with a negligible amount of development. This is because their occupation –fishing follows with their age old traditional infrastructure leading to financial insecurity and making them unable to have access to state-of-the-art technology in fishing; and the children of the Mishing tribe surviving through their primary occupation-agriculture also failed to achieve growth potential due to suboptimal nutritional conditions that lead to low body mass relative chronological age, which is the resultant of the inadequate nutrients intake in combination with other environmental factors like poor socio- economic condition, quality housing, diseases, etc –the phenomenon which is applicable in both populations. Taking the facts as mentioned earlier into consideration, malnourishment among the children in both population was due to under nutrition as their diet did not provide them adequate nutrients like calories and protein for maintenance and growth; or the nutrients consumed by the children were not fully utilized due to their illness.

Overall, the children of both population based on the values of three indices remain vulnerable to suffer from malnutrition for which some interventions through multi-spectral programmes need to be implemented.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors gratefully acknowledge the Department of Anthropology, Gauhati University for extending all the help to one of the authors (RG), the help and cooperation from the schools' authority and children of respective villages in carrying out this study.

REFERENCES

- Agarwal T, Bhatia RC, Singh D, Sobti PC (2008). Prevalence of obesity and overweight in affluent adolescents from Ludhiana, Punjab. *Ind. Pediatr.* 45:500-552.
- Basu D, Gajbhiye S (2004). Nutritional status of the Mishing of Sonitpur, Assam. In: *Nutritional Status of Indian Population: North east India*, Bhattacharya KK, Dutta SS, Choudhury and Tyagi D (eds.), Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata. pp.21-32.
- Bordoloi BN, Sharma Thakur GC, Saikia MC (1987). *Tribes of Assam Part-I*. -Published by Bordoloi BN, Tribal research Institute, Assam.
- Bose K, Bisai S (2008a). Prevalence of underweight and stunting among school children in West Bengal. *Ind. J. Pediatr.* 75:1272.
- Bose K, Bisai S, Chakraborty J, Dutta N Banerjee N (2008b). Extreme levels of underweight and stunting among pre-adolescent children of low socioeconomic class from Madhyamgram and Barasat, West Bengal, India. *Col. Antropol.* 32:73-77.
- CDC (2002). 2000 CDC Growth Charts for the United States: Methods and Development Vital and health statistics. Series 11, -Data from the National Health Survey p.246.
- Chisti MJ, Hossain MI, Malek MA, Farque AS, Ahmed T, Salam MA (2007). Characteristics of severely malnourished under-five children hospitalized with diarrhoea and their policy implications. *Acta. Paediatrica* 96(5):693-696.
- Chowdhury SD, Chakraborty T, Ghosh T (2008). Prevalence of undernutrition of Santal children of Purulia district, West Bengal. *Ind. Pediatr.* 45:43-46.
- Collins S (2007). Treating severe acute malnutrition seriously. *Arch Dis Child.* 92:453-461, doi: 10.1136/adc.2006.098327.
- Crooks DL (1999). Child growth and nutritional status in a high-poverty community in Eastern Kentucky. *Am. J. Phy. Anthropol.* 109:129-142.
- Das AK (1996). A study on growth among the Assamese and Rajasthani boys. In: S. Sengupta (ed). *People of Northeast India*. Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi.
- Das B (2009). Growth and development of Kaibarta children of Assam: A Bio-cultural Perspective. In: Sharma M (ed.) *Growth and development of children: A Bio-cultural Perspective*. Anthropological Survey of India, Published by Serial Publications. pp.151-189.
- Das BM, Das PB (1969-71). A study on some aspects of growth of Assamese boys. *J. Gau. Univ. (Science)*. 20-22:51-65.
- Das BM, Das PB (1972). A study of growth of the head in Assamese boys. *Bull. Deptt. Anthropol. Gau. Univ.* 1:86-88.
- Das PB, Choudhury B (1982). A mixed longitudinal study on growth of height and weight of Assamese children from 1 to 7 years. *Bull. Anthropol. Surv. Ind.* 31:37-42.
- de Onis M, Habicht JP (1996). Anthropometric reference data for international use: Recommendations from a World Health Organization Expert committee. *Am. J. Clin. Nutr.* 64:650-658.
- de Onis M, Monterio C, Akre J, Clugston G (1992). The Worldwide magnitude of protein-energy malnutrition: an overview from the WHO Global Database on Child growth. International Conference on Nutrition, World Declaration and Plan of Action for Nutrition, Rome, December 1992. Unpublished WHO/FAO document ICN/92/2.
- de Onis M, Blossner M, Borghi E, Frongillo EA, Morris R (2004a). Estimates of global prevalence of childhood underweight in 1990 and 2015. *JAMA*, 291:2600-2606.
- de Onis M, Onyango AW, Borghi E, Siyam A, Nishida C, Siekmann J (2007). Development of a WHO growth reference for school-aged children and adolescents. *Bull World Health Organ.* 85:660-667.
- Fetuga MB, Ogunlesi TA, Adekanmbi AF, Alabi AD (2011a). Nutritional status of semi-urban Nigerian school children using the WHO reference population. *WAJM* 30(5):331-336.
- Fetuga MB, Ogunlesi TA, Adekanmbi AF, Alabi AD (2011b). Growth pattern of school children in Sagamu, Nigeria using the CDC standards and 2007 WHO standards. *Ind. Pediatr.* 48:523-528.
- Frisancho AR (1990). *Anthropometric Standards for the Assessment of Growth and Nutritional Status*. Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press.
- Gelander L (2006). Children's growth: a health indicator and a diagnostic tool. *Acta Paediatr.* 95:517-518.
- Ghosh A, Adhikari P, Duttachowdhury S, Ghosh T (2009). Prevalence of undernutrition in Nepalese children. *Ann. Hum. Biol.* 36:38-45.
- Hadju V, Abadi K, Stephenson LS, Noor NN, Mohammed HO, Bowman DD (1995). Intestinal helminthiasis, nutritional status, and their relationship: A cross sectional study in urban slum school children in Indonesia. *Southeast Asian J. Trop. Med. Public Health* 26:719-729.
- Indian Council of Medical Research (1989). *Growth and Physical Development of Indian Infants and Children*. Technical Report Series No. 18. Indian Council of Medical Research, New Delhi.
- Jafar TH, Qadri Z, Islam M, Hatcher J, Bhutta ZA, Chaturvedi N (2008). Rise in childhood obesity with persistently high rates of undernutrition among urban school-aged Indo-Asian children. *Arch. Dis. Child.* 93:373-378.
- Janewa VS, Ghosh A, Scheffler C (2012). Comparison of BMI and percentage of body fat of India and German children and adolescents. *Anthrop.Anz.* 69/2175-187.
- Joseph B, Rebello A, Kullu P, Raj VD (2002). Prevalence of malnutrition in rural Karnataka, South India: A comparison of anthropometric indicators. *J. Health Popul. Nutr.* 20:239-244.
- Khadiolkar VV, Khadiolkar AV (2004). Prevalence of obesity in affluent school boys in Pune. *Indian Pediatr.* 41:857-858.
- Khadiolkar VV, Khadiolkar AV, Cole TJ, Sayyad MG (2009). Cross-sectional Growth curves for Height, Weight and Body Mass Index for Affluent Indian Children, 2007. *Indian Pediatrics.* 46(17):477-489.
- Khongsdier R, Basu D (2004). Nutritional status of the Kaibarta of Dibrugarh, Assam. In: *Nutritional Status of Indian Population: North east India*, Bhattacharya KK, Dutta Choudhury SS and Tyagi D (eds.), Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata. pp.73-86.
- Marjan ZM, Taib MNM, Lin KGE, Siong T (1998). Socio-economic

- of nutritional status of children in rural peninsular Malaysia. *Asia Pac. J. Clin. Nutr.* 7:307-310.
- Marwaha RK, Tandon N, Ganie MA, Kanwar R, Shivaprasad C, Sabharwal A, Bhadra K, Narang A (2011). Nationwide reference data for height, weight and body mass index of Indian schoolchildren. *National Med. J. India.* 24(5):269-277.
- Mian RMA, Ali M, Ferroni PA, Underwood P (2002). The nutritional status of school-aged children in an urban squatter settlement in Pakistan. *Pak. J. Nutr.* 1:121-123.
- Mustaq MU, Gull S, Mustaq K, Abdullah HM, Khursid U, Shahid U, Shad MA, Akram J (2012). Height, weight, and BMI percentiles and nutritional status relative the international growth references among Pakistani school-aged children. *BMC Pediatrics* 2(31):1-11; <http://www.biomedcentral.com/1471-2431/12/31>.
- Popkin BM (2001). The nutrition transition and obesity in the developing world. *J. Nutr.* 131:871S-73S.
- Rao TVRK, Vijay T (2006). Malnutrition and anemia in tribal pediatric population of Purnia district (Bihar). *Ind Pediatr.* 43:181-182.
- Sarma C, Ali ANMI (2005). The Kaibartas: A Fishing community of Assam, their society and economy. *J. Hum. Ecol.* 17(3):205-209.
- Som S, Pal M, Bharati P (2007). Role of individual and household level factors on stunting: A comparative study in three Indian states. *Ann. Hum. Biol.* 34:632-646.
- Shafique S, Akhter N, Stallkamp G, de Pee S, Panagides D, Bloem M (2007). Trends of under- and overweight among rural and urban poor women indicate the double burden of malnutrition in Bangladesh. *Int. J. Epidemiol.* 36 449-457.
- Shukla HC, Gupta PC, Mehta HC, Hebert JR (2002). Descriptive epidemiology of body mass index of an urban adult population in western India. *J. Epidemiol. Commun. Health* 56:876-80s.
- United Nations Development Programme & Human Development Report (2004). New York: United Nations Development Programme. Human Development Report. 2004.
- UNICEF (2004). The state of the world's children 2004. New York; 2003.
- Waterlow JC (1972). Classification and definition of protein-calorie malnutrition. *BMJ.* 3:566-569.
- World Bank (2004). World Bank Development Indicators 2004, Washington, DC. World Bank.
- WHO Working Group (1986). Use and Interpretation of anthropometric indicators of nutritional status. *Bull WHO.* 64(6):929-941.
- WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION (1995). Physical status: the use and interpretation of anthropometry. Report of a WHO Expert Committee Technical Report Series no.854. WHO, Geneva.
- World Health Organization (2000). Obesity: preventing and managing the global epidemic. WHO Obesity Technical Report Series, No. 894. Geneva. WHO.
- World Health Organization (2004). Global strategy on diet, physical activity and health. Fifty-Seventh World Health Assembly. Geneva: WHO. Available at: http://www.who.int/gb/ebwha/pdf_files/WHA57/A57_R17-en.pdf.
- WHO (2006). Child Growth Standards: Training Course on Child Growth Assessment: Interpreting Growth Indicators, Version 1 Nov 2006. - Department of Nutrition for Health and Development, Geneva.
- WHO (2007). WHO Child Growth Standards. Retrieved from <http://www.who.int/growthref>.
- WHO Working Group on Infant Growth (1994). An Evaluation of Infant Growth. Geneva. WHO.
- York DA, Rossner S, Caterson I, et al (2004). Obesity, a worldwide epidemic related to heart disease and stroke: worldwide demographics of obesity. *Circulation*, 110:463-470.

Full Length Research Paper

'Forgotten and forgiven'? Calvinism and French Society

Milan Zafirovski

Department of Sociology, University of North Texas, Denton, TX 76203, USA.

Accepted 18 December, 2013

This paper identifies and addresses a curious and persisting omission in the sociological literature on Calvinism, as specifically expounded in sociological journals. The omission consists in the failure of explicitly specifying or restating what originally Calvinism is from the standpoint of societal origin and framework, that is of which society it is the collective creation, on the implied assumption that this is commonly known and/or irrelevant. Whatever its reasons, the omission tends to make original--as distinguished from subsequent--Calvinism a partial mystery in respect of its specific societal genesis and setting, especially among many sociologists outside the specialty areas of the sociology of religion and historical sociology. The paper intends to correct this omission by reexamining Calvinism in its original societal type and context and its initial historical conjuncture such as a European society at a specific point of history. It aims to contribute to redressing a gap in the sociological literature and increasing the scope of the sociology of Calvinism by adding or making explicit this missing or implied, and yet sociologically relevant element.

Key words: Calvinism, Calvin, reformation, Protestantism, France, Geneva.

INTRODUCTION

What is exactly original Calvinism in sociological terms? One may wonder even five or so centuries after its emergence of which specific society Calvinism is the creation and element, that is, religious-political movement, 'revolution', or 'reformation'. Various important and insightful articles, including interestingly one in posthumous English translation by none other than Max Weber (1978), on Calvinism and related subjects have been published in major sociological and related journals. These articles span from these journals earlier (Mathews, 1912; Maurer, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1928a,b; Ross, 1907; Tillich, 1937) through intermediate (Bendix, 1946; Davis, 1978; Eisenstadt, 1965; Howe, 1978; Jonassen, 1947; Rossel, 1970; Thorner, 1952; Stokes, 1975; Tiryakian, 1975) to later (Camic, 1986; Clark, 1998; Clemens, 2007; Cohen, 1980; Goldstone, 1986; Gorski, 1993, 2000a, 2000b; Hillmann, 2008a, b; Kaufman, 2008; Lachmann, 1989; Loveman, 2005; Munch, 1981; Pellicani, 2013; Swidler, 1986; Tubergen et al., 2005; Zaret, 1989, 1996)

issues articles.

However, virtually none of these articles, included that by Weber, published in these sociological journals specifies or mentions what Calvinism originally is in sociological terms, namely which specific society is its collective creator or the societal framework in which it originates and develops. Consequently, many sociological readers even after reading all the past and current issues of these sociological journals may be left wondering what Calvinism is in respect of its societal point of origin and setting, simply 'where it comes from' in the sense of a society. In particular, those sociological readers searching for or having 'forgotten' the answer will not be able to find it in these sociological journals' articles studies on Calvinism and related subjects.

And the question as to 'what is original Calvinism' recurs or continues to be relevant for many sociologists and non-sociologists. This is so in light of the recurring or continuing studies and debates on Calvinism and its

variations in the contemporary sociology of religion and comparative-historical sociology in the Weberian and other traditions (Clemens, 2007; Gorski 2003; Hillmann, 2008a,b; Jenness, 2004; Kaufman, 2008; Loveman 2005; Lipset 1996; Munch 2001), nothing to say of theology and history, as well as in historically Calvinist and other modern societies. Also, although sociologically less important none of these studies of sociological journals' articles on Calvinism register or mention 'who Calvin was' in national or geographic terms, for example, his country birth; and those sociological readers looking for the answer will not find it and may wonder 'where he came from' in the first place. Similarly, this question recurs or remains important to many sociologists and other social scientists because of the recurrent or continuing interest in and controversy about Calvin in the sociology of religion, just as theology and history, as well as in contemporary Calvinist-rooted and other societies. In sum, answering the question 'what is original Calvinism' *sociologically*—that is, whose creation it is in terms of specific society—is "missing in action" in sociological and related journals, an evidently contradictory or ironic omission. In sum, in the midst of all the discussions of the strong and enduring impact of Calvinism and its derivatives like Puritanism (Pellicani, 2013) on subsequent social development, in particular in the United States, what Calvinism was in its original context has been to some degree lost¹.

Regardless of the reasons for it, such an omission concerning original Calvinism and Calvin himself in sociological journals is striking and unjustified, more serious and consequential than it seems at first sight or is commonly viewed. Generally, this is because the omission leaves a sort of void or gap in the sociological literature making the sociology of Calvinism incomplete and to that extent incoherent or imbalanced in the sense of 'forgetting' or neglecting what can be called the 'young Calvinism' and focusing on the 'mature Calvinism'. Hence, the omission unduly limits the scope of the sociology of Calvinism to its later and derivative versus its early and original forms. Specifically, the omission is serious because it is often difficult, if not impossible, to fully understand, explain, and predict the development, forms, and outcomes of Calvinism without considering its original form, societal-historical context, and social effects. The former are, as various analysts suggest from Hume and Tocqueville to Weber and contemporary sociologists, mostly determined (Munch, 2001) and predicted by or path-dependent on (Inglehart and Baker, 2000; Inglehart, 2004; Jenness, 2004; Lipset, 1996) the latter. Generally, this is a pattern observed in Protestantism overall and other religions and cultures. Alternatively, taking account of the Calvinist, like and any religious-cultural, just as technical-economic, original is the necessary condition for understanding and explaining Calvinist and other derivatives or copies. These, for example, include Puritanism as what Hume and Weber

consider the English or Anglo-Saxon (Mentzer, 2007; Mises, 1966; Pellicani, 2013) sectarian derivation and extension of Calvinism, 'Presbyterianism' as the latter's Scottish variant (Gorski, 1993; Hillmann, 2008b), etc.

In Durkheim's terms, investigating the 'genesis' of Calvinism as a religious institution, like all social institutions, precedes and allows analyzing and explaining its 'evolution' and 'functioning'. For instance, Tocqueville specifically holds that the Calvinist-as-Puritan pre-revolutionary genesis or origin of the 'new nation' determines and predicts that the 'destiny of America' is 'embodied' in the first Puritans (Kaufman, 2008; Lipset, 1996; Munch, 2001; Swidler, 1986; Tiryakian, 1975). These involve notably Winthrop et al. who defined 'austere Calvinism' (Kloppenber, 1998) and acting as 'orthodox Calvinists' (Gould 1996). They provide an extant model and inspiration for US religious-political conservatism (Adorno, 2001; Dunn and Woodard, 1996); neo-conservatism like Reaganism and/or revived evangelicalism, though *not* for American liberalism and America's Constitution, as epitomized by Jefferson. Moreover, arguably, the United States' constitutional founding comes 'in clear opposition to the theocratic model of the Puritan Fathers' (Pellicani, 2013) as orthodox Calvinists. It is simply to know better the ways and means of the 'old', 'mature', 'derivative', 'developed' Calvinism, including Puritanism, what Weber calls 'neo-Calvinism' (Hollinger, 1980; Hiemstra, 2005) and Calvinist-rooted evangelicalism (Juergensmeyer, 2003), like any religious and other social institution, presupposes knowing those of the 'young', 'fresh', 'early', 'initial, or 'native' Calvinism. This holds true no matter how much the latter has evolved and expanded since its birth and original setting through its maturity and subsequent settings. In short, what Mannheim (1936) suggests for the sociological analysis of ideas or 'modes of thought'—that is, they 'cannot be adequately understood as long as their social origins are obscured'—applies to analyzing Calvinism.

In addition, the omission is unjustified insofar as, as it often appears, not all sociological 'schoolboys', including academic sociologists and students, know what original Calvinism is sociologically, and secondarily who Calvin was nationally. For instance, it appears that many, especially US sociologists outside the specialized discipline of the sociology of religion, just as most ordinary people, particularly Americans, do not know or 'remember' what original Calvinism is and who Calvin was; in this sense in contrast to the virtually universal knowledge or 'remembrance' of Lutheranism and Luther. Thus, while it is commonly known that Lutheranism originally is the Protestant Reformation in Germany and Luther was a German, this does not seem, at least in America, so with respect to original Calvinism and Calvin. The latter is often described or regarded by many US sociologists outside the sociology of religion, just as most ordinary Americans, in identical and related terms, viz., Calvinism

as the Protestant Reformation or 'Reformed Church' originally in Switzerland, Holland, England, or early America, and Calvin as a native 'Swiss', 'Dutch', 'Englishman', if not 'American'—anything but a 'true answer'.

The above is an ironic cognitive asymmetry especially in America. Calvinism and Calvin have eventually proven more powerful and influential in modern Western, above all via the agency of Puritanism, Anglo-American, societies² (Gorski, 2000a) than Lutheranism and Luther, as Weber (1978) and other analysts (Elwood, 1999; Gorski, 1993; Walzer, 1965) argue and commonly agreed. It has also prevailed within the 'Reformed' theology and church to the point of Calvinism being usually equated or identified and identifying itself with 'Reformed Protestantism' (Gorski, 2000b) as a whole. In Durkheim's terms, Calvinism may have become in its 'evolution'—that is, its internal growth, external expansion--and ultimate outcomes in society, more relevant and enduring in the modern Western world, in particular America, than Lutheranism, and yet it remains less known, at least among many US sociologists and most Americans, in its 'genesis', its original form, societal-historical setting, and social effects.

The preceding yields a cognitive paradox. It consists of the deep and enduring societal impact of the Calvinist expansion and development *and* yet relative lack of knowledge or remembrance of original Calvinism, especially in America. America has been widely observed, since Tocqueville and Weber through contemporary sociology, as the most and even the sole surviving Calvinist society cum the 'Puritan Nation' (Adorno, 2001; Baudrillard, 1999; Clemens, 2007; Hillmann, 2008a; Kaufman, 2008; Jenness, 2004; Lipset, 1955; Munch, 2001; Swidler, 1986; Tiryakian, 1975). Yet paradoxically, in this mostly, though not solely, Calvinist society what original Calvinism is--and also who Calvin was--seems, judging from casual observations and impressions, less known or remembered than in other Western societies. These include once Calvinist Holland (Hsia and Nierop, 2002) and in part Germany (Gorski, 1993; Nischan, 1994), transiently Puritan England (Elwood, 1999; Goldstone, 1986; Gorski, 2000a; Moore 1993), and long-Presbyterian Scotland (Hillmann, 2008b; Hobsbaum, 1972; Sprunger, 1982). In Tocqueville's words, the 'austere Calvinism' of Winthrop et al. through its Anglo-Saxon sectarian derivative and agent Puritanism (Pellicani, 2013) may be the 'destiny' and the prerevolutionary 'father' via the 'Pilgrim fathers' of America.

However, Calvinism's own 'genesis' and original form and societal setting in Europe apparently remain a partial mystery in the 'new Calvinist-Puritan nation', as least for most ordinary Americans and many sociologists outside the field of sociology of religion. In sum, in terms of its major theological dogma of predestination, Calvinism has

sociologically be 'predestined'--i.e., via Puritanism 'over-determined' (Munch 2001)--America as the Calvinist society/'Puritan nation'. And yet, the latter hardly seems to know or remember accurately the original form, the historical-societal context, and social effects of its major religious determinant, which is a remarkable cognitive paradox and historical irony (perhaps analogous to a child not knowing or remembering exactly the father from childhood).

Against this background, the present article takes seriously and aims to redress the above ironic *sociological* omission in the sociological literature on Calvinism, as expounded in most social science journals. By correcting this omission, the article seeks to contribute toward filling a void in the sociological literature on Calvinism, as at least expounded in these journals. Therefore, it contributes toward making the sociology of Calvinism more complete or less incomplete and imbalanced than it has been due to the omission and the resulting void in the sociological literature. Its specific methodological contribution consists in expanding the scope of the sociology of Calvinism to encompass both its original or early and its derivative or subsequent forms, simply "young Calvinism" and 'mature Calvinism'. The article corrects the omission by exploring what original Calvinism is sociologically by investigating its original form and by implication the societal conditions and historical conjuncture and for its rise and its social effects as topics for separate sociological analyses.

At first glance, the exploration and knowledge of the original form, and implicitly historical-societal setting and social effects, that is 'genesis', of Calvinism, like any other religious and cultural phenomenon, may seem irrelevant or secondary for its subsequent development, expansion, and outcomes; briefly its 'evolution' and current condition³. Yet, as Weber implies and Keynes (1972) explicitly suggests with respect to the historical origins of the laissez-faire doctrine, 'a study of the history of opinion is a necessary preliminary to the emancipation of the mind' and by implication to the development of social science. In this case, a study of the history, namely the original form and by implication historical-societal conditions and social effects of Calvinism as a religious 'opinion' and institution may be a 'necessary preliminary' not only to the 'emancipation of the mind.' It is also specifically necessary for the development of the sociology of religion such as the sociological analysis of Calvinism, as well as comparative-historical sociology. Hence, exploring what original Calvinism is--and relatedly who Calvin was--in sociological terms provides a necessary element of and specific contribution to what can be described as the sociology of the Calvinist religion. In this respect, this article intends to be a study in the comparative-historical sociology rather than another history, let alone theological reappraisal of

Calvinism.

The Original Societal and Historical Form of Calvinism

This section reexamines the character and relevance of original Calvinism within a sociological framework. While certain historical as well as theological references and details are relevant and unavoidable, this examination is not another history or theology, but an exercise in the comparative sociology of Calvinism. It is by broadening the scope of the latter field through reconsideration of the original Calvinist type and by implication its initial societal conditions and effects. If even after reading various articles on the subject in this and related sociological journals, the reader may still wonder what original Calvinism is sociologically; redefining the latter may be useful to many sociologists, even if redundant and perhaps, as Weber⁴ puts it in his analysis of its relation to capitalism, 'superficial' for theologians and the historians of religion. Original Calvinism was defined as the 'Second Protestant Reformation in 16th century French society'.

This definition hence involves four defining or constitutive elements of original Calvinism. The first element is general theological (the Protestant Reformation), the second, specific theological (the Second Reformation), the third, historical (the 16th century), and the fourth and most important in the present framework is sociological or societal (French society). Every 16th century and later 'schoolboy', namely French and other European theologians, historians, or philosophers likely knew this original fact and consequently considered Calvinism as defined. Yet, it was somewhat forgotten or obscured and neglected with the subsequent geographical expansion and societal outcomes as well as the theological developments and derivations of Calvinism beyond its French societal-historical point of origin into continental Europe, Great Britain, America, and beyond. The outcome is that apparently not all contemporary, especially US, sociologists, not to mention ordinary people like most Americans, still know or remember the above fact about of Calvinism by the early 21st century.

Specifically, the only unknown or least known and forgotten element of original Calvinism as the French Protestant Reformation of the 16th century is precisely--and ironically for sociologists--the sociological. This is that original Calvinism is in societal terms *French* society's own original Protestant Reformation (Heller, 1986) as a sort of 'mystery variable' for many sociologists outside the sociology of religion and most ordinary people and an omitted factor by virtually all the articles on the subject in major sociological journals. In general, these four defining elements of original Calvinism are known or remembered in a descending order as follows. First, in

theological terms of Christianity as a whole--but not world religions⁵--original Calvinism is the *Protestant* Reformation or rather, as Hume, Weber, and contemporary analysts (Elwood, 1999; Gorski, 1993; Walzer, 1965) suggest, Revolution, thus Calvin being a Protestant Reformer cum Revolutionary. This seems universally known among sociologists and other scholars and even the lay public, and needs no elaboration.

Second, in intra-theological terms of Protestantism, original Calvinism is the *Second* Protestant Reformation (Ay and Dolphin, 1995; Gorski, 1993) following Lutheranism as the First, thus Calvin being the second-generation Protestant Reformer (Benedict, 2002) after Luther and his followers or heirs like Zwingli (Kim and Pfaff, 2012) as the first. This is commonly known or remembered among sociologists and the public, though perhaps not universally. This is indicated by that Calvinism is usually equated with--just as has defined itself as and virtually monopolized the venerable designation--the 'Reformed Church'⁶, as if Lutheranism were not or ceased to be the latter after Calvin, as he and his disciples claim. Still, despite such monopolistic claims since Calvin through contemporary Calvinists and their descendants, sociologists and most non-Calvinists seem to know or remember that original Calvinism is the Second and relatively late rather than the first and only 'Reformed Church' even in France. In France, although the Protestant Reformation eventually becomes almost completely Calvinist and equated with Calvinism (Elwood, 1999; Heller, 1986; Mentzer, 2007; Ramsey, 1999; Walzer, 1965), the latter is not the first and only 'Reformed Church' but historically prefigured or preceded by its initial or primitive Lutheran form, as in Germany and its Zwingli's more strident variation in Switzerland (Kim and Pfaff, 2012). In this sense, Calvinism recreates or 'reforms' the 'Reformed Church,' or however called, to become a sort of 're-reformed'⁷ religion. However, it does not create the latter in strict historical terms and hence arises and functions as the Second Protestant Reformation initially in France and subsequently beyond⁸. In fact, Calvin's own 'sudden conversion' is, as he describes it, to the already existing 'Reformed Religion' in France (Ramsey, 1999) rather than its invention in the strict sense and prior to his theological innovations.

Third, historically Calvinism is the 16th century theology and religious-political movement and revolution in Europe, which is widely known, although not as universally as the previous two elements. This is indicated by certain confluences or lack of clear distinctions between original Calvinism and subsequent Calvinist ramifications, derivations, and generalizations such as Dutch, German, and other European 'Reformed' churches, Anglo-American Puritanism, Scottish Presbyterianism, etc. In spite of such occasional confusions, most sociologists and perhaps much of the lay public seem to know or remember that

original Calvinism is the earlier phenomenon, as distinguished from later Calvinist developments and extensions, including its sectarian derivations in the face of Puritans as Tocqueville's 'Pilgrim fathers' and 'destiny' of the 'new nation'. Simply, it appears almost commonly known that original Calvinism historically precedes⁹ (Roelker, 1972) and theologically shapes Puritanism in England and New England, Presbyterianism in Scotland, and "Reformed" churches in Holland, Prussia, and other European countries.

Fourth, in sociological terms original Calvinism is the Protestant Reformation of late medieval French society (Ramsey, 1999). It is judged by causal observations and informal surveys, least known or remembered among many US sociologists outside the specialized field of the sociology of religion and comparative-historical sociology, as well as virtually unknown by the lay public, particularly most Americans. Hence, in an anomaly or ironic twist the least unknown, almost 'mystery' variable among many US sociologists as well as in American society is precisely the sociological element of original Calvinism in contrast to the non-sociological elements noted above. And it is another anomaly or irony that virtually none of the articles in most *sociological* and related journal registers or mentions, let alone elaborates and emphasizes the sociological core and definition of original Calvinism, while doing so with respect to its non-sociological, theological and historical elements. Thus, most sociological studies register and often emphasize that originally Calvinism is the Protestant Reformation or the Reformed Church of the 16th century but not that it is this and generally a religious-political movement and ultimately, if failed revolution in *French society* during that period. Due to this omission, the historically less informed or uninterested and unspecialized sociological reader may be left in the darkness thinking as if Calvinism were sociologically anything but 16th century French society's own Protestant Reformation. Conversely, one may well think that instead Calvinism and Calvin himself is, say, 'Swiss', or 'German', or 'Dutch', or 'English-Scottish', if not even 'American', in a descending order of 'knowledge' or remembrance among many US sociologists as well as the general American public¹⁰.

Against this peculiar background of 'momentary lapse' of knowledge or memory among many, especially non-European, sociologists and omissions of the relevant literature in this and related journals, it is instructive to emphasize the sociological 'truth' or core of original Calvinism. This is Calvinism as the Protestant Reformation, that is, the theology and religious-political movement and revolution in *French society* during the 16th century. In short, the home of Calvinism and Calvin himself is the *ancient regime* of France as the social structure and historical conjuncture of its emergence and initial organization and expansion. On a lighter note, Calvinism in its

original form is sociologically as much the integral element and the product of French society, simply as French as 'French champagne'. Calvin himself was as French as 'French wine'. He was probably among the first and last notable Frenchmen, minus his followers and admirers (including Rousseau, cf., Garrard, 2003), to condemn 'corruptible food' and abstain from this quintessential symbol of France and part of Christ's last supper rejecting the Catholic sacrament of 'transubstantiation' (Jesus' presence in wine and bread) as 'carnal adoration'¹¹ (Elwood, 1999; Mentzer, 2007; Ramsey, 1999; Valeri, 1997; Vries, 1999).

In comparative terms, Calvinism and Calvin are as French in societal or national and cultural terms as Lutheranism and his Protestant predecessor Luther are German ethnically and culturally¹². Calvinism is as 'made in France' during the 1530s as Lutheranism is in Germany in the sense of an ethnic and cultural, though not yet unified political, entity over the 1520s. Alternatively, it is also useful to stress and repeat that originally Calvinism is *not* the theology and religious-political movement and revolution, that is, the Protestant Reformation, in Swiss, German, Dutch, English-Scottish, and any societies of the 16th century other than the French society of that period, contrary to widespread views. On a lighter note, original Calvinism sociologically is not and Calvin personally was not as "Swiss", or 'German' ((Kim and Pfaff, 2012), or 'Dutch', or 'Scottish', or through the sectarian form of Puritanism as English as whatever in popular ideas defines or exemplifies these national characters (e.g., 'Englishness'); let alone as 'American' as the 'apple pie'¹³, and any social and cultural attribute or origin other than pure simple 'French'.

For instance, even following Calvin's lasting exile in Switzerland (Geneva) and temporarily in Germany (Strasbourg), Calvinism does not somehow become some sort of 'Swiss' and 'German'. Instead, it remains the purely French, Protestant Reformation that expands to these and other regions beyond France as the territorial state, initially to French-speaking cultural areas anyway. After all, Calvin dedicates all the editions of his first and major theological work to the French Catholic king, translates and rewrites in French, and primarily addresses it to and otherwise directs and assists his followers in France, while spending almost his entire life in exile nowhere else than in Francophone cultural environments such as these two cities (briefly in Basel). Generally, even when in exile Calvin continues to 'live' in France in the sense of being obsessed or preoccupied with what he called 'our French nation' as the societal point of origin and destination alike of his theology and church, for which Geneva is just a local experiment, micro-model, and stepping stone. Crucially, during his exile therein Geneva becomes the center and headquarters (Walzer, 1965) of, first and foremost, *French Calvinism* (Ramsey,

Table 1. The general indicator of original Calvinism as the French Protestant Reformation.

The 'birth', initial organization, operation, and expansion of Calvinism in France
The first Calvinist 'revolution' as the (second) French Reformation
Jean Calvin's sociological profile—born, lived, and died Frenchman

1999) and Calvin the leader of Calvinists in France, and only later through natural generalization of their European extensions generally, the 'Rome' and 'Pope of Protestantism', respectively. In this sense, even in exile Calvin continues to envision his mother-country France first--and then Europe, including Scotland and England during his life--experiencing, as he does, the 'sudden conversion' via religious revolution or 'holy' war to the 'Reformed Religion' to be instituted (Hopfl, 1982) as the 'only true', and being ultimately governed by his church after the local model of Geneva (Walzer, 1965) becoming *Christiana Respublica*. Calvin is and remains as Frenchman in literally all respects, with the single exception of his 'Reformed' religion and consequently morality, including condemnation of and abstention from 'corruptible' food like wine and 'corruptible' music and other arts, as his 'beloved', 'majestic', and 'most Christian' Catholic king of France (Francis I) to whom he devotes his theological master piece.

The skeptical or impatient sociological reader may ask or wonder what is the 'proof' that original Calvinism is in terms of societal origins the Protestant Reformation within precisely French—and not any other European--society. Predictably, the general compelling sociological 'proof' or indicator is that Calvinism originates and develops within French society under certain societal conditions and historical conjunctures, including the fact that its founder was born, educated, and lived approximately half of his life in France (Table 1), combined with specific 'proofs'. For instance, the specific 'proofs' or indicators of French Calvinism include the following. The first national Calvinists are the so-called French 'Huguenots'; as a corollary, the earliest of national/regional Calvinist theocracies is the Huguenot theocracy in some French regions; the initial national wars of religion between Calvinism and Catholicism occur in France; the first major national Calvinist council is held in Paris; Calvinists are first officially recognized and tolerated in France.

The 'Birth', Operation and Expansion of Calvinism in French Society

First and foremost, Calvinism emerged and initially organized, operated, and expanded precisely within French society during the 16th century, as its 'place and date of birth' (Benedict, 2002), respectively. This represents the general 'proof' or indicator of Calvinism as the second Protestant Reformation initially in France and sub-

sequently in other European societies (Gorski, 1993; Walzer, 1963, 1965). In Durkheim's terms, the 'genesis' of Calvinism (Heller, 1986) as a religious and political institution is nowhere else than in the 16th century French *ancien regime* and culture in a general sociological sense to include also French-speaking cultural areas nominally outside of France as a political system (Geneva, Strasbourg, etc.). In short, original Calvinism is a theological, religious, cultural, and political product conceived, produced, expanded, and developed in France. For example, the 'emergent movement of French Calvinism' (Ramsey, 1999) originates in 'seven provincial centres'¹⁴ (Heller, 1986) of France, alongside the 'Francophone' (Mansbach, 2006) Swiss city-state of Geneva as substantively part of 16th century and later French society and culture (Garrard, 2003), if not formally of the French state, as during Rousseau's life, a Frenchman¹⁵ (McNeill, 1954), the self-declared 'proud citizen of Geneva' he extolled as 'anti-Paris' (Table 1).

And such societal 'genesis' or birth (Benedict, 2002) of Calvinism determines or anticipates what Durkheim would call its evolution, organization, and functioning as a religious-political institution in society. Calvinism is not only born but also develops, organizes, and functions on a societal scale initially in French society and culture, including Paris, as well as French-speaking Geneva (and Strasbourg). Thus, Calvinism first expands in 'Reformation France' (Elwood, 1999) as a cultural area resulting in the 'growing popularity of the 'Reformed' faith (Ramsey, 1999), and then beyond, especially Holland, Prussia in part, Scotland, England, and New England and America overall. Comparatively, Calvinism reportedly grows 'more powerfully and more rapidly in France' than in other European countries, including Holland. This resulted in the 'Protestant controlled regions of France'¹⁶ and even eventually after 1584 a local Calvinist leader becoming the 'heir apparent to the throne of France' (Benedict 1999). For instance, locally, alongside Calvin's Geneva, this expansion of Calvinism reportedly encompasses to some extent--by becoming 'a small but organized force' in--'Reformation Paris' to the point of appealing to 'the elite of the state officials in the *Parliament* and even to the princes of the blood' (Ramsey, 1999). As a peculiar curiosity, Paris is the site where the first major national theological and political-administrative council of Calvinism, directed and decisively influenced by Calvin from Geneva (Walzer, 1965). It was held during the mid-16th century (Heller 1986), which reflects the partial temporary transformation of the future 'city of lights' into

'Reformation Paris'. Another morbid curiosity that it is precisely in Paris during the 1530s that Calvin meets and has theological disagreement with Michael Servetus (Hobsbaum, 1972), who later while passing through is captured and burned at the stake in Calvin-ruled Geneva for 'heresy' apparently dating from his Parisian encounter with the future 'Pope of Protestantism'. Yet another striking moment is that a local Calvinist French leader during the 1580s enters triumphantly Paris, as Hume classically recounts, as the 'heir apparent to the throne of France'¹⁷ (Benedict, 1999).

At this juncture, Calvinism emerges as the second and native phase or form of 'Reformation France' succeeding and ultimately superseding the first and German expressed in Lutheranism¹⁸ (Gorski, 1993). Alternatively, 'Reformation France', including 'Reformation Paris', like Reformation Geneva, mutates into Calvinist, as French Protestantism is transformed from imported Lutheranism into home-grown Calvinism after Calvin enters the theological-religious and political stage, viz., his 'sudden conversion' (Hobsbaum, 1972; Ramsey, 1999) from the Catholic into the 'Reformed' religion and especially his first and major theological work. Thus, by 1535 a year before Calvin's lasting exile¹⁹ from France into Geneva, the process of Calvinist mutation of 'Reformation France', of transformation of French Protestantism into Calvinism is nearly more or less complete, although continues, expands, and intensifies later. The process is largely completed theologically with the completion of this work. The process also begins and develops politically in view of his founding and organizing of a religious-political movement through an 'extensive network' (Heller, 1986) of followers, thus early Calvinists as originally 'French Reformed Protestants' (Mentzer, 2007).

In this sense, Calvinism emerges, organizes, functions, and expands as a sort of yet another reformation of 'Reformation France', that is, as the 're-reformed' theology, religion and church reforming French Lutheran-based Protestantism. Calvin acts as the Protestant 're-reformer', succeeding and eclipsing Lutheranism and Luther and other 'reformers' (Walzer, 1965). Such an outcome materializes first in France and later, alongside Francophone Geneva, Calvinist Holland, Presbyterian Scotland, Puritan England and New England, and in part Prussia (Gorski, 2003), as well as evangelical 'Christian' America (Adorno, 2001; Juergensmeyer, 2003).

This another way to state that Calvinism arises and operates as the blueprint and practice of religious-political radicalism, revolution, and militancy, as Weber and other analysts suggest, (Elwood, 1999; Gorski, 1993; Heller, 1986; Ramsey, 1999; Tawney, 1962; Walzer, 1965). That is what he calls the 'Church Militant'. It represents radical and militant French-created Protestantism, or more so than its German-produced Lutheran version. And Calvin was 'natural born in France' revolutionary and 'holy

warrior, or rather 'super-naturally' conditioned to become so by his 1533 'sudden conversion'--though its facts are still "obscure" (Hobsbaum 1972)--more so than Luther, as Weber and other analysts suggest. Therefore, Calvinism 'reforms', that is reinvents and redefines the French Reformation as a religious-political revolution and militant movement. Calvin makes the Protestant reformers in France revolutionaries and warriors in contrast and deliberates opposition to Lutheranism and Luther, though revolutionary or militant elements and effects are not entirely absent in the latter, especially in its initial anti-Catholic phase. For example, Hume, in his seminal historical study, uses the terms Protestant-Lutheran 'reformation' and 'revolution' interchangeably, as do Pareto²⁰ and others (Walzer, 1965).

In general, Calvinism experiences not only initial intra-societal expansion and penetration into French society and culture, including Francophone areas like Geneva and Strasbourg, but also subsequent or parallel waves of inter-societal expansion and ramification beyond the latter to other European and non-European societies (Elwood 1999; Gorski 2003; Walzer 1965). While this issue is outside the scope of the present paper, it is useful to mention these waves or directions of Calvinist inter-societal movement and expansion beyond France, including many Calvinists leaving either voluntarily, as Sombart²¹ suggests, or involuntarily (Acemoglu et al., 2005; Scoville, 1952; Shipton, 1936), their home country.

Historically, the probably first wave is Calvinism's expansion from France into Holland²² (Gorski, 1993) in the late 16th century (1550-60s). The wave culminates in what Weber describes as the 'ecclesiastic revolution of the strict Calvinists in the Netherlands during the 1580s and their resulting political domination (Gorski, 1993; Hsia and Nierop, 2002; Sprunger, 1982). Another approximately simultaneous wave is Calvinism's expansion into Scotland, an independent state and ally of France at the time, in the form of Presbyterianism during the late 16th (1560s), according to Hume. Like in Holland, it also climaxes in the successful Calvinist cum Presbyterian revolution, personally incited, directed, and assisted by Calvin and his associates from Geneva, overthrowing the Catholic monarchy, and in the consequent enduring religious and political dominance of Presbyterianism as the official church in Scotland for long (Gorski, 1993; Hillmann, 2008b; Hobsbaum, 1972). Hume registers that the leading Scottish Presbyterian John Knox lived and personally encountered Calvin in Geneva before returning to Scotland upon the invitation of what Weber calls the Scottish nobility or barons (Hobsbaum, 1972). He launched its Calvinist anti-Catholic successful revolution, just as did many English Puritans²³.

An approximately simultaneous mutually reinforcing wave is Calvinism's expansion into England by its partial penetration, along with Lutheranism, into Anglicanism

(the dogma of predestination) and primarily by the agency and in form of Puritanism during that period. Also, Hume specifies the 1560s as the starting point and registers the early English Puritans' 'communication with Calvin, and the other reformers who followed the discipline and worship of Geneva'. Like in Holland and Scotland, this wave of Calvinism culminates in the form of a Calvinist religious-political cum English Puritan Revolution of the 1640s deposing Anglicanism and the monarchy. Yet, unlike these two countries, this Calvinist theocratic revolution turns out to be only transiently victorious resulting in the temporary rule of Puritanism eventually defeated militarily or discredited politically (Elwood, 1999; Goldstone, 1986; Gorski, 2000a; Hillmann, 2008b; Moore, 1993; Walzer, 1965). Another subsequent wave is the partial expansion of Calvinism into Prussia (Brandenburg) during the early 17th century (the 1640s). This led to the attempted yet ultimately unsuccessful Calvinization of this mostly Lutheran German state (Eisenstadt, 1965; Gorski, 1993; Nischan, 1994).

All these waves are followed and perhaps culminate in the inter-continental expansion of Calvinism--both in the original French or European form (Shipton 1936) and especially in that of English Puritanism--into the 'new world.' The latter primarily comprises what is to become Calvinist-Puritan New England (Hillmann 2008a; Kaufman 2008; Kloppenberg 1998; Munch 2001; Stivers 1994; Tiryakian 1975) during the early 17th century (the 1620-30s) and later other regions (e.g., Dutch 'Reformed Churches' and Scottish Presbyterians in Pennsylvania, New York, etc., plus parts of Canada).

In aggregate, as both a theology and religious-political movement Calvinism is basically conceived and created in France during 1533-36. And then it is immediately or gradually 'exported' to other societies from continental Europe to what is today Great Britain and colonial America, all 'importing' and 'consuming' this, as its founder would put it, the 'spiritual' product--as opposed to physical 'corruptible' products like wine and the 'corruption' of the arts--of the 'French nation'. In a way, original Calvinism, as during its first thirty years of existence (the 1530s-60s) and Calvin's life, is an almost exclusively French affair (Benedict, 1999; Hobsbaum, 1972), and Geneva during his exile the center of, first and foremost, 'French Calvinism' (Ramsey, 1999) and only later its European generalizations, including those in today's Great Britain over his lifetime.

The preceding implies that the first Calvinist revolution as the blueprint and in part practice is 'made in France' in the form of the second and internal--as distinct from the first, external Lutheran-based--French Reformation as revolutionary action, as Hume and Pareto imply for the Protestant 'reformation' cum 'revolution' in general. For instance, Calvin's 1533 self-reported 'sudden conversion' into the 'Reformed' religion and especially reported

completion of his first and major theoretical work in 1535 (Greef, 2008; Hopfl,²⁴ 1982) generates probably the original, first vision or dream of the Calvinist revolution in both religious and political terms. Thus, At this point he already has in mind and hand what Weber calls the 'concept of a religious revolution', thus ready for implementation and expansion, as Calvin attempts while still being in France and completely succeeds in Geneva, and his French followers continue and extend such attempts during and after his life, just as those in non-French social settings like Holland and Great Britain during his life. Curiously, Weber suggests that Calvin shares the master 'concept of a religious revolution', 'religious wars' and related ideas with Mohammad (Harrold, 1936; Hedges, 2006; Mansbach, 2006), and consequently Calvinism and in extension Calvinist-rooted evangelicalism (e.g., Dominionism in the US; cf., Juergensmeyer, 2003) with Islam, in contrast to Luther and Lutheranism²⁵.

At any rate, Calvin in the original 1536 edition of his theological magnum opus outlines the vision of the Calvinist revolution. He postulates medieval-style *Christiana Respublica* or the 'City of God'. This is what Weber calls the 'Biblical theocracy', as the prime, eternal goal and outcome of 'radical Calvinism' and its religious-political revolutionary action²⁶ (Elwood, 1999; Gorski, 2000a; Heller, 1986; Rosenblatt, 1997; Walzer, 1965). In a sense, the title of Calvin's first and crucial theological work is an implied, if not overt program of religious and political revolution. This is the 'Institution of the Christian Religion'. It is established (Hopfl, 1982) through the imposition of 'Reformed Religion' as the 'only true' faith and church; it is like Calvinism during its development and expansion attempts in all societies, from his 'French nation', Geneva, Holland and England/Scotland to New England and evangelical America. Calvin and his followers, from 16th century France to 21st century America, understand the process or act of 'instituting' the 'reformed' Christian religion, judging by their theological statements and especially political actions; they institute it by imposition and thus coercion or violence, hence religious-political revolution or 'cosmic war' (Juergensmeyer, 2003). Calvin's book, *Institution of the Christian Religion* can really be 'judged' by its 'cover' or title, which truly reveals its content or substantive argument.

Calvin's find and organizing of a radical religious-political movement in the form of an 'extensive network' of his followers and sympathizers throughout France following his 1533 'sudden conversion' marks the original act or first effort of the Calvinist revolution. Hence, the latter precedes his exile and the 'totalistic' (Eisenstadt, 1965) realization of his revolutionary vision in Geneva (Walzer, 1965), let alone such subsequent revolutions or revivals in other societies like Holland, Scotland and England, in part Prussia, New England, America during

the Great Awakenings and later, etc. Hence, by 1535-6 both the theological vision and the political organization of the first Calvinist revolution are created in France through Calvin's 'sudden conversion' and founding of a radical social movement providing the model or precedent and inspiration for later Calvinists' revolutionary visions and actions. French society in 1535-6 became the societal stage and historical conjuncture of the first Calvinist revolution as a vision or dream and attempt or embryo, even if not realization. It hence inspires or precedes not only such later revolutions in other European societies like Holland, Great Britain, and colonial America but also that in Geneva, a Francophone cultural area, during the 1540s. This is the first 'totalistic', yet local, revolutionary triumph of Calvinism. This marks Calvin's personal victory and leading to his absolute rule to become designated as the 'Pope of Protestantism' and thus reveals Calvinists of all times and places--and also to non-Calvinists--what he really means by 'Institution of the Christian Religion'. Both his adherents and critics or cynics may say 'he really meant [revolutionary-theocratic] business'.

Alternatively, in an unintended play of words, it is the *second* and native French Reformation that represents the *first* and original Calvinist revolution. It is understood, at the minimum as the vision or dream Calvin probably experiences during his 1533 'sudden conversion' or the dogma he expounds in his major theological work completed two years later. Calvin's last years in France are fateful or crucial in that they mark both the theological inception of the vision and the organizational initiation of the practice of the Calvinist religious-political revolution and thus revolutionary, radical Calvinism (Benedict, 1999; Elwood, 1999; Gorski, 1993; Heller, 1986; Walzer, 1965). This is instructive to emphasize and reiterate since most sociological studies center on Calvinist 'disciplinary revolutions' (Gorski, 2003; Loveman, 2005) in societal settings and historical conjunctures outside France and after 1533-36, for example, alongside the local setting of Geneva during and after Calvin's exile to Holland, Germany, Great Britain, colonial America, etc. of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. They thus leave the misleading impression as if nothing important happened in this respect while he is still in his native country, which is a salient omission.

Rather, the period of 1533-36 in France marked the original Act 1 of the Calvinist revolution both as vision and action, dream and attempt, setting the model, inspiration, and precedent for these subsequent revolutions, which are thus derivative acts. For illustration, in historical terms, Geneva was Act 2 from 1541—and not, as commonly believed, the first form—then Holland and Scotland Act 3, Prussia in part Act 4, and, in the Puritan form, England Act 5, New England Act 6, and late colonial or early revolutionary "Great Awakening" America Act 7,

etc., of the Calvinist revolution. All these Calvinist revolutions or revivals are directly or indirectly derived and inspired from, or in continuity with, the original act or revolutionary 'genesis' in France during 1533-36. Simply, the Calvinist revolution as both a vision and action begins in French society during that time and then continues and expands in other societies, including, alongside the local setting of Geneva, Holland, Germany, Great Britain, and colonial America. Consequently, reconsidering the original act or beginning of the Calvinist revolution can help better understand and explain these derivative acts or sequels. Conversely, overlooking or downplaying the first leaves a void in the societal settings and the historical sequence of such revolutions- revolutionary Act 1 or genesis in French society of 1533-36 is 'missing in action'.

Of course, the original vision and first action of the Calvinist revolution is Calvin's own creation and endeavor while in France. After all, the inception of the vision of religious revolution/war can probably be, as Weber intimates, traced to Calvin's earliest 'Reformed' beliefs resulting from his 'sudden conversion', and its completion to his first and major theological work already finished while living in France. This thus provides the prototype for all such subsequent visions in Calvinism (Benedict, 1999; Elwood, 1999; Walzer, 1965), including Puritanism, from Geneva to Holland and Great Britain to early and modern America. Also, the first action of the Calvinist revolution is Calvin's finding and organization of a radical religious-political movement through the network of proto-Calvinists during his last years in France serving as the 'father' and role model of subsequent Calvinist revolutionaries²⁷ (Elwood, 1999) and 'holy' warriors of all social spaces and times. For example, Calvin's revolutionary and warfare 'children' include Beza, Coligny, Condé, etc., in France and Geneva, Dutch Calvinists like William of Orange, Knox and other Presbyterians in Scotland, what Weber calls 'Calvinist Puritans' a la Cromwell and Winthrop et al. in England and New England, 'Great Awakenings' and 'Bible Belt' evangelicals in America, and so on. Hence, the preceding reintroduces more fully and explicitly Calvin in person at the 'stage' of this article in the form of a proxy sociological profile.

The Sociological Profile of Jean Calvin—'Born and Forever Frenchman'

In a sense, the ultimate 'proof' that original Calvinism constitutes French Protestantism, in particular the first Calvinist revolution being the second Protestant Reformation in France, is the founder, Calvin himself. Perhaps one may wonder, especially by those sociologists outside the sociology and history of religion, who originally and really Calvin is. As implied and known in the sociology

and history of religion and theology but seemingly not beyond, originally Calvin is the French Protestant Reformer (Benedict, 1999; Foerster, 1962; Walzer, 1965) born in France in 1509, specifically, of all places, the vicinity of Paris (Noyon, the province of Picardy) (Davis,²⁸ 2010; Elwood, 1999; Heller, 1986; Ramsey, 1999). Furthermore, Calvin lives, with minor interruptions (like his stay in Basel over 1534-6), all his life and dies in French societal or cultural settings; first in France until 1536, including Paris and later in French-speaking areas (Scoville 1953) while in exile, mostly the city-state of Geneva (1536-38 and from 1541 to 1564, the year of his death); and the then German town Strasbourg (1538-41). Moreover, the 'three important first generation leaders of the Reformed church, namely, [Jean] Calvin, Theodore Beza and Pierre Viret' as sort of original holy 'Calvinist trinity' (Linder, 1975; also, Kingdon, 1964) are all French, born (except for the third) and educated, living and acting, notably converting²⁹ to the "Reformed" religion, in France, notably Paris, before and after their second home Geneva. For instance, Calvin is educated at the "great intellectual centers of France" (Linder, 1975), including even the University of Paris, a decade or so before moving to exile in Geneva.

In this respect, Calvin was born, always lived, 'felt', and died as the 'child' of France; simply a 'Frenchman' (Foster, 1927; Mansbach, 2006; Walzer, 1965). This intimates that his original name is *Jean*--not, as commonly believed or pronounced especially in English-speaking countries, John--Calvin³⁰ (Elwood, 1999; Ramsey, 1999), as one can see from the title of the French edition of his first and major theological work³¹ *Institution of the Christian Religion (Institution de la religion Chrétienne par Jean Calvin)*. It suggests that US and other English-speaking sociologists perhaps need to do justice to Calvin by using and pronouncing his original French name rather than its English translation, to say nothing of Anglo-Saxon Calvinists in America and elsewhere, for their theological 'Father Calvin' (Foster, 1927) likely would not be very pleased with this curious change or ignorance of his true name by his own 'children'. Calvin is and remains the genuine, typical 'child' of France not just because of such biographical details as born, christened, lived, and died as a true 'Frenchman' but more importantly, he is 'the Frenchman Calvin' (Ay and Dolphin, 1995) in substantive, including theological-religious and cultural-political, terms.

Thus, Calvin is and remains the theological and generally religious 'child' of France on account of his works in theology and his activities in religion overall. First, Calvin dedicates and addresses to none other than the French Catholic king Francis I (Walzer,³² 1965) his theological magnum opus *Institution*; although he originally publishes it and later republishes it while being in exile formally outside France and thus the monarchy's jurisdiction,

conceivably persecution. Specifically, Calvin dedicates to Francis I all the editions of *Institution*; three in Latin (Basel, 1536; Strasbourg, 1539; Geneva, 1559) and two in French (Strasbourg, 1541; Geneva, 1560) (Durand,³³ 1888). For instance, the first Latin edition (*Christianæ religionis institutio*) contains Calvin's following dedication³⁴: 'preface addressed to the most Christian king of France, present him this book as confession of faith by Jean Calvin, of Noyon. Basel, 1536.' Also, the first and last French editions are dedicated with the following words: 'For the most Christian king of France Francis I by His Name. His Prince and Sovereign Master, Jean Calvin, Peace And Health In Our Lord Jesus Christ'. The address to Francis I ends on the following 'high note' and well-wish: 'May the Lord, King of the kings, establish your throne in justice and your fortress in equity'³⁵. Curiously, both in the last Latin (1559) and French (1560) edition he personally edits and reviews, Calvin retains his dedication and address overall to Francis I even though the latter died before 1547. On this account, in this major theological work Calvin is as a true 'Frenchman' in national terms as his 'most Christian' Catholic king of France Francis I, rather than 'Swiss' or 'German', as one may erroneously infer by the fact that *Institution* during his life time is not published in France but only in Geneva (and Basel initially) and then German Strasbourg, and he lives in them during his exile (from 1536 to 1564), yet Francophone linguistic and cultural areas anyway.

At this juncture, that Calvin remains a loyal, patriotic child of France is indicated by the fact that he personally translates (in 1541 while being in exile in Strasbourg) from Latin into French *Institution*. Calvin entitles the French edition *Institution de la religion Chrétienne* 'composed in Latin by Jean Calvin and translated in French by myself' and states in the preface that 'at first it was written in Latin in order to serve all men of study, of whatever nations they were, and then after wishing to communicate what can prove of benefit to our French nation it was translated in our language'. Apparently, even during his theological work and religious-political activity in exile from France, Calvin has above all in mind the 'French' nation and language, including evidently its Catholic king. Also, Calvin personally edits or finalizes (in 1560 while living in Geneva) the second and last French edition³⁶ of *Institution* (Durand, 1888). Moreover, as implied by his reference to 'our language', Calvin probably hopes that *Institution* will indirectly and does, as subsequently observed in France³⁷ (Durand, 1888), contribute to the development or codification of the French language and literature, just as to make a direct cardinal contribution to 'Christian' cum 'Reformed' theology and religion³⁸. Also, Calvin originally writes in French *First Catechism* in 1537 and in Latin the following year. And Calvin apparently succeeds in attaining the first goal by virtue of 'his French prose' being 'admired' for long

(Linder, 1975).

Notably, Calvin likely creates or conceives the original version of *Institution* in France in that he completes the book already in 1535 (Greef, 2008), a year before his exile to Geneva; at least he envisions it prior to his stay in Basel (Hopfl,³⁹ 1982), where it is published. Calvin experiences what he describes as the 'sudden conversion'⁴⁰ from the Catholic to the "Reformed" religion in France just a few years (1533-4) (Linder, 1975; Ramsey, 1999) prior to the initial publication of *Institution* (March 1536), which suggests that he writes or outlines it in these intermediate years (1533-35), as also indicated by the fact that it is published the same year he moves to exile in Geneva. In light of the interval between Calvin's 'sudden conversion' in his 'French nation' and its initial publication, the original version of *Institution* substantively is a theological, as well as literary, product 'conceived and made in France', which is confirmed by the later French versions he personally rewrites or 'polishes'. After all, even though published outside France, this version ensures, first and foremost, Calvin's 'undisputed position as the leading voice of the French Reformed church'⁴¹ (Ramsey, 1999). An indirect implied 'proof' that *Institution* is already conceived and completed in France is the striking moment that Calvin is theologically challenged by and 'fell out' with Servetus initially nowhere else than in Paris⁴² (Hobsbaum, 1972), two decades prior to Geneva. Servetus' theological challenge and disagreement suggest that Calvin's major doctrines, including the defining twin, composite doctrine⁴³ of predestination and absolutely sovereign God, are created, proposed, and even partly known, and to that extent *Institution* conceived and completed, in Paris around 1534-6.

And although while in exile in Geneva (and Strasbourg) Calvin expands⁴⁴ the first version of *Institution*, this expansion is the further elaboration of fundamental theological conceptions already formed or germinated in France during the time between his 'sudden conversion' and its first publication. For instance, Calvin's cardinal twin theological dogma of omnipotent God and Divine predestination, i.e., what precisely defines original Calvinism, is conceived in France following or perhaps precisely during his 'sudden conversion', as confirmed by that it is expounded in the original version of *Institution*. Thus, in the latter he proclaims and glorifies an 'omnipotent God' (*omnipotentis Dei*), including the absolute 'power, wisdom, justice, mercy, truth' of 'magnificent and miraculous' God (*magnus and mirabilis Deus*) (Calvin, 1536,181) as the 'King of kings'. In Weber's words, Calvin's 'Christian God' is 'a transcendental being, beyond the reach of human understanding [with] quite incomprehensible decrees [unlike] the Father in heaven of the New Testament; so human and understanding, who rejoices over the repentance of a sinner', instead of becoming a sort of 'hard, majestic king' revealing

'omnipotence' and 'pitiless' law (Harrold, 1936), and acting like 'Oriental despot' (Artz, 1998). In passing, this probably prompts even Puritan Milton to say (as cited by Weber) 'though I may be sent to Hell for it, such a God will never command my respect.' By contrast to omnipotent, non-understanding, inhumane, and 'pitiless' God (MacKinnon, 1988a), Calvin (1536,138/151) posits and condemns the 'corruption' (*corruptionis*) of humans and human activities and creations, especially their artistic forms (e.g., 'corruption of songs'), and urges purging them from their 'corruption' (*corruptione expurgentur*)⁴⁵.

Calvin explicitly presents the doctrine of 'predestination of God' (*prædestinatio Dei*) into salvation or election (*electio*) and damnation or reprobation (*reprobationis*, *reprobis*) engendering the 'elect' and the 'reprobate'. For instance, he states in the first edition of *Institution* that by 'God's incomprehensible wisdom' (*incomprehensibilem Dei sapientiam*) humans are divided into, 'those who are eternally his designed elect (*aeterno eius consilio electi*) and those who are reprobate (*reprobati*)' (Calvin, 1536, 140). This forms an evidently original and classic statement of the doctrine of Divine predestination, which Weber describes as 'harsh', 'merciless', gloomy, and 'extreme inhumanity' (Fourcade and Healy, 2007). Also, Calvin (1536,490) expounds the vision of 'Christian Republic' (*Christiana Respublica*) and thus what Weber calls the 'Biblical theocracy' or 'Bibliocracy' considered 'Divinely ordained' by original Calvinism. Consequently, it is so considered by its European developments like 'neo-Calvinism', British derivatives such as Puritanism and Presbyterianism, and US Protestant generalizations and revivals involving evangelicalism, fundamentalism, sectarianism, Dominionism, etc. reconstructing 'Christian America' (Hedges, 2006; Juergensmeyer, 2003; Lindsay, 2008; Phillips, 2006; Smith, 2000). *Institution of the Christian Religion* is in essence Calvin's vision of institution or establishment--both as the condition and process, outcome and act--of evangelical theocracy designated as the 'Christian Republic' (Rosenblatt,⁴⁶ 1997) and the 'city of God' (*civitas Dei, la ville de Dieu*) a la Saint Augustine, i.e., 'godly' society⁴⁷ or "holy commonwealth" (Gorski, 2000a; Walzer, 1965).

In aggregate terms, in France following his 'sudden conversion' of 1533 Calvin conceives and formulates the dogma of omnipotent, omniscient, infinite Christian God, the doctrine of Divine predestination, the idea of depraved and corrupt, basically evil, humans to be purged from their depravity, and the design of Biblical theocracy. These are the foundational and defining elements of original Calvinism, as what Hume calls the 'doctrine of absolute decrees.' At this societal and historical point of France, 'Calvinism' as a theological system is in its foundations complete and created, despite the relatively embryonic character of the first edition of *Institution* compared to its final version, and hence Calvin

becomes 'Calvinist'. What remains is to implement and expand his theology, as Calvin personally attempts and totally succeeds in Geneva during his exile, and through, albeit with temporary or partial success, his French followers 'Huguenots' in his native France. In turn, his other European children or followers cum Calvinist "saints" (Walzer, 1965) are triumphant completely and enduringly in Holland, Scotland, New England and evangelical America, transiently in England, and partly in Germany.

In sum, on this account Calvin's 'Reformed' doctrine of 'Christian' God, predestination, and 'republic' is 'conceived and made in France' and he becomes 'Calvinist' during 1534-5, thus effectively creating what is designated after him 'Calvinism' as the 'new' theology and religion already prior to his exile. Comparatively, Calvin is considered, as in Weber's comparative sociology of religion, the 'Christian' counterpart of Muhammad and thus original Calvinism the Protestant 'Christian' equivalent of Islam on the account of the shared doctrine of omnipotent God and Divine predestination (and predetermination⁴⁸) and related doctrines and practices, notably religious revolutions and wars for the 'glory of God' (Harrold, 1936; Hedges, 2006; Juergensmeyer, 1994; Mansbach, 2006). In this connection, when his main disciple in France and Geneva, Beza admits that Calvin "in doctrine made scarcely any change" (Walzer,⁴⁹ 1965), this explicitly refers to Christian theologian, notably St. Augustine as the crucial influence and precedent. It also implicitly refers to Islam that historically precedes and apparently inspires early or later Calvinism (e.g., Carlyle in Great Britain according to Harrold 1936), just as Islamic fundamentalism is reportedly admired and emulated in its theocracy by revived Calvinist-rooted theocratic evangelicalism (e.g., Dominionism) in contemporary America⁵⁰ (Juergensmeyer, 2003).

Even if Calvin's expansion and elaboration of *Institution* in exile generates certain, mostly secondary theological innovations or novel reformulations of the original doctrine formed or conceived in France, these are still produced in Francophone settings like Geneva as the center of French Calvinism (Ramsey, 1999; Walzer, 1965) and to that extent are also French products, so substantively 'made in France' in social-cultural terms. Recall he translates himself the original Latin version into 'our [French] language' for the 'benefit of our French nation' and dedicates not only the first edition but also the later editions, including the last, of *Institution* to King Francis I of France. This suggests that Calvin, though nominally in exile from France as a political system, feels or acts as if he still lived in and never left France as a cultural or linguistic entity encompassing or influencing adjacent French-speaking cities like Geneva and Strasbourg. When he refers to 'our French nation' he appears to include, at least culturally, both France as the territorial

state and French-speaking areas like his adopted home, Geneva. Also, Calvin's exile is part self-imposed, a sort of free 'rational choice' in the sense of being induced by the feeling of 'his own righteousness' and 'for conscience's sake'⁵¹ (Heller, 1986), and partly banishment resulting from persecution following his public renunciation of Catholicism in 1534; though he does not experience the fate befalling his theological critics like Servetus and 'libertines' for 'heresy' in Geneva under his 'Reformed Church'. Hume remarks that 'Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva' (Bien, 1961; Linder, 1975; Merton,⁵² 1984) Inquisition-style for "heresy" stemming from their initial disagreement in Paris (Hobsbaum 1972). Calvin thus comes full circle from his own heretical conversion--for which he evidently evaded the same fate he inflicted on his Geneva 'heretics'--to the 'Reformed Religion' in France. At any rate, during his exile Calvin as a 'Frenchman' in Francophone Geneva (and Strasbourg) probably feels and acts as being 'home' in his "French nation" ('fish in the water'), easily fitting in and eventually subjugating and ruling in an autocratic manner the city-state (Mansbach, 2006; Mason, 1993; Swidler, 1986; Walzer, 1965).

Furthermore, Calvin is the true 'child of France' not only in a theological or linguistic sense of *Institution* conceived in and devoted to 'our French nation' and he translated in 'our [French] language.' He is even more so on the account of his religious and political activity. His religious and political action, notably his organizing activity making the 'Reformed Church' a highly organized, coherent, and effective revolutionary movement (Elwood, 1999; Gorski,⁵³ 1993; Heller, 1986; Ramsey, 1999), focuses initially and persistently on France—and subsequently and jointly on all Europe, notably Great Britain--during his life, including that in exile. Specifically, this activity encompasses the three decades spanning from his 'sudden conversion' nearby Paris (1533) to his death in French-speaking Geneva (1664). Calvin proves himself a true Frenchman by virtue of the initial and persistent French focus and scope of his religious and political activity, though later expanded to all Europe, especially Scotland and England, notably his design and practice of revolution, just as of his theological magnum opus *Institution*. For instance, just a few years before his death, Calvin from Geneva directly or indirectly via his disciples (Beza, etc.) crucially shapes the decisions (e.g., 'Confession of Faith') of the first national synod of Calvinism in France held in Paris in 1559 (Heller, 1986; Ramsey, 1999; Walzer, 1965). He naturally extends this persistent focus on 'our French nation' to his increasing involvement in Europe's religion and politics, most openly and successfully in Great Britain, England through the early Puritans and Scotland via Knox et al., both making pilgrimage to and personally instructed by Calvin in Geneva in the Calvinist revolution and theocracy.

In a way, 'our French nation' is and remains Calvin's obsession or major preoccupation, extended in or joined with his later interest and involvement in Europe, of his 'Reformed Church' and political activities, as of his theological writings. He therefore proves to be the genuine and loyal 'child of France' even when living in exile from the later, yet still remaining in French cultural areas. Predictably, from his 'sudden conversion' in the vicinity of Paris 1533 to his death in Geneva 1564 Calvin is virtually obsessed with and determined through his religious-political activities, as well as his theological writings, in expanding his own personal conversion. This involves converting, first of all, France to the 'Reformed Religion' and then other major European nations, notably Great Britain, just as he converts Geneva as a sort of local experimental exercise or stepping stone to this primary national and in extension international goal. Calvin's original Paris-native and eternal Geneva-exile dream is the Calvinist 'Reformed' 'French nation' after his example and image, to be subsequently or simultaneously extended to other 'Papist' European states, including still Catholic Scotland and yet again England during the 1550s. First and foremost, it is precisely in France that Calvin founds Calvinism not only as the new 'Christian' theological doctrine expounded in *Institution*. He also founds it as the 'Reformed' religion and politics, i.e., a radical religious movement and ultimately revolution seeking, though eventually failing, to become and acting as the 'only true' faith and church of the 'French nation.' Simply, Calvin founds the 'Reformed church' precisely in France (Kingdon, 1964).

Thus, during the time between his 'sudden conversion' to the 'Reformed Religion' and his exile, Calvin already effectively forms an embryonic yet extended Calvinist revolutionary movement in France, including Paris, through creating 'an extensive network of personal ties throughout the kingdom'⁵⁴ (Heller, 1986), just as his major theological doctrines. To that extent, the last few years in his "French nation" (1533-36 or even 1534) mark effectively the birth or embryos of 'Calvin's cultural [and political] revolution' (Ramsey, 1999). This applies to the latter at least as a design to be implemented in parts of France by Calvin's followers under his political and theological leadership from exile, as well as in Geneva by himself in person, and through his 'spiritual' direction or impact as the 'Pope of Protestantism' in other European countries, notably Great Britain, Holland, Prussia in part, and colonial and contemporary America. If so, as the design and practice of religious-cultural and political revolution, just as theological doctrine, Calvinism basically emerges or originates in France following Calvin's 'sudden conversion' and prior to his exile to Geneva (and even his stay in Basel). Moreover, Calvin's 'sudden conversion' is perhaps the very act of creation or inception of the Calvinist revolution as a design, just as of Calvinism

as theology. In this sense, Calvin substantively writes or conceives during his last years in France, notably Paris, the blueprint of the Calvinist religious and political revolution and 'holy' war, just as he does his theological system *Institution*. For instance, recall during that period precisely in Paris with its expanding Calvinist network, Calvin has initial contact and disagreement with Servetus (Hobsbaum, 1972), in which the first apparently does not forget and forgive and for which the second pays the price in the form of Inquisition-style burning for 'heresy' in Calvin-ruled Geneva two decades or so later (1553). This indicates that 1533-36 are fateful years for Calvin as well as Servetus. In this connection, 'Calvin's murder of Servetus'⁵⁵ (Bien, 1961) in 1553 is in a way perhaps anticipated by the first given his being 'quarrelsome', 'harsh and vindictive' and 'ill-tempered' (Linder, 1975; Davis, 1996); at least predictable, already when they meet and become theological adversaries in Paris exactly two decades earlier. In this sense, what Scheler⁵⁶ (1964) depicts as 'Calvin's dark, stormy, passionate and power-hungry soul' is a sort of predictor of Servetus' adverse fate in Geneva.

In sum, the period between his 'sudden conversion' in and his exile from France is the most fateful time in Calvin's theological thinking and religious and personal life and hence in the origin and development of what is designated after his name as Calvinism cum the 'Reformed Religion.' Simply, when he moves to exile Calvin leaves behind an emergent Calvinist revolutionary movement later expanding to and temporarily ruling parts of France, while taking to Geneva the unfulfilled, yet in France, design of religious-political revolution to be fully implemented in this city-state, just as his theological doctrines in *Institution*. In this sense, Calvin forms and initially organizes Calvinism as a revolutionary design and movement, like a theological doctrine, in France, and only implements and renews it in Geneva. When he moves to the later he is fully ready to implement and renew what he has already invented in his 'French nation'. After all, he considers Geneva (and Strasbourg) an integral element of 'our French nation' or culture and no wonder renders it the center of French Calvinism. This is important to emphasize and reiterate because the received opinion or conventional wisdom among sociologists, at least those outside the historical sociology of religion, is that Calvin created both his 'Reformed' theology and his design of religious-political revolution while living in exile in Geneva. This overlooks or downplays the period between his 'sudden conversion' in and moving out of France as the fateful time for the creation of Calvinism in theological and political terms and his life.

Consequently, Calvin becomes the leader of the emergent Calvinist revolutionary movement, just as conceives his 'Reformed' doctrine, precisely while living

in France, notably Paris, during these fateful years following his 'sudden conversion' and prior to his exile to Geneva (and even his stay in Basel). As implied, Calvin assumes the mantle of the political leader of the French Reformation through his 'extensive network of personal ties' throughout France, including Paris, his 'organizing powers', and 'by force of his example'⁵⁷ (Heller, 1986) before as well as during his exile, just as he establishes himself as the theological 'leading voice of the French Reformed church' (Ramsey, 1999) by *Institution* written or conceived in France. Curiously, this time gap reveals that Calvin first becomes known, as in Paris' circles or his native town,⁵⁸ gracing and immortalizing him today with *Musée Calvin de Noyon*, as a religious revolutionary or political organizer for the cause of the 'new' religion before the publication of *Institution*. This means that he becomes only later famous or notorious as (in Rousseau's words) a theologian, though the sequence is probably opposite, as himself implies, during his fateful 'sudden conversion'.

Furthermore, even upon moving out of France as the territorial state Calvin remains obsessed with 'our French nation' and the genuine 'child of France' in terms of religious and political action, just as in a theological or linguistic sense, as he moves, along with his followers like Beza, to Francophone regions like Geneva⁵⁹. First and foremost, while being in exile (not counting his stay in Basel to return to France, first, in Geneva, then Strasbourg, and Geneva again), Calvin continues to be or reestablishes himself as the leader of the French 'Reformed' religion as the design and movement of religious-cultural and ultimately political revolution, just as a theological doctrine indicated by his translating and republishing *Institution* in French. For instance, upon returning to Geneva in 1541 Calvin resumes and exercises until his death the 'leadership of the evangelical movement in France as well as elsewhere' making emergent French Calvinism an 'effective religious and political movement'⁶⁰ (Heller, 1986). In particular, during this period he exercises leadership not only by theological doctrine but by political activity, simply 'sword' as Calvinism's instrument of choice (Tawney,⁶¹ 1923), the 'development of the highly organized communities of French Huguenots from his exile in Geneva' (Ramsey, 1999; Benedict, 1999; Scoville, 1953). Hence, the 'French Huguenots' develop effectively as the first Calvinists in national terms. At this point suffice it to register that their national political leader, joined with their local or regional leaders, just as their original and supreme theological master, is Calvin even when living outside France as a territorial state.

In military terms reflecting the trust of original Calvinism as Weber's 'Church Militant', even in exile Calvin is 'commander in chief' by 'word and sword', dogma and action, of the French Huguenots (Benedict, 1999; Walzer,

1965). And the latter are his 'Christian soldiers' or 'holy warriors' for the 'glory of God' and in defense of *Christiana Respublica*, Geneva is the 'command post', and France, including Paris, the initial, constant, and major 'field of operations' or 'frontline'⁶² extended to Europe during his life, notably Great Britain. In economic terms, Geneva is the 'headquarters' of French Calvinism (Watt,⁶³ 2002) as national and eventually international religious 'free enterprise' with various 'entrepreneurs', 'divisions', 'affiliates', or 'subsidiaries' in France and later beyond. And French society is the initial, primary, and largest 'market' in Europe for Calvinist spiritual and political 'products', though this is an analogy rather than an exercise in the 'economics of religion' as sometimes applied to the Protestant Reformation (Ekelund et al., 2002).

In theological and geographic terms, Geneva is the relatively small 'city of God' à la St. Augustine, the main theological influence on Calvin (Harrold, 1936; Mathews, 1912; Maurer, 1924; Spengler, 1973; Walzer, 1965), and the point of departure and part of a future total, national 'godly' society in the form of *Christiana Respublica* in France and generally Europe. This suggests that Geneva's French-speaking 'City of God' is best understood and explained in the context of Calvin's overarching vision of France and in extension Europe as 'Christian Republic' (Rosenblatt, 1997). After all, under Calvin's autocratic and Machiavellian⁶⁴ rule (Walzer, 1965) Geneva becomes the 'capital of French Protestantism'⁶⁵ and then via a sort of natural extension of the European 'Reformed' religion as a whole, including that in Great Britain⁶⁶. In comparative terms, the 'direct links' of Calvin in Geneva to French Calvinism are 'far more substantial' than, for example, those between the 'great Calvinist city on a hill' and Dutch Calvinists (Benedict, 1999).

Notably, Calvin establishes and enforces in Geneva the first French-speaking and local Calvinist theocracy as a sort of experiment, stepping-stone, of micro-model (Heller,⁶⁷ 1986; Rosenblatt,⁶⁸ 1997; Walzer, 1965) for establishing full-blown theocratic state in France through his French followers the 'Huguenots', and eventually in other European countries, including Holland⁶⁹ and Great Britain⁷⁰ (notably, Scotland). At this juncture, Calvin's main and perpetual aim, simply--to paraphrase the name of a perfume evoking his name--'obsession', is to implement his vision of theocracy by establishing the 'Reformed Religion' as the 'only true' Christian not just in local French-speaking areas like Geneva, but above all and ultimately in 'our French nation' and in a natural escalation Europe. This is what his followers the Huguenots in France precisely attempt and partially, as Hume and Weber note, succeed under his theological and political mastery during his lifetime and especially after his death⁷¹.

In this sense, counterfactually Calvin would die fully 'happy' only if he, to paraphrase the proverb about Rome, saw France, including Paris, completely under the established 'Reformed Religion' and himself in person. However, he did not see this outcome materialized during his life and probably fell short of full 'happiness'. Yet, his first 'children' the Huguenots partly and temporarily fulfill his ultimate wish in France (Benedict, 1999; Scoville, 1953), and his followers, self-declared Calvinist 'saints' (Walzer, 1965) in Europe do so fully, immediately following his death, as in Scotland and Holland during the 1560s-80s, or afterwards, including Prussia and England over the 1640s, New England of the 17th-19th century, the post-bellum 'Bible Belt', evangelical America, etc. On this account of especially instituting the 'Reformed Religion' in non-French, notably Anglo-Saxon, societal settings, Calvin might well be, as his descendants and apologists (Davis, 2010) suggest, a 'happy man' to a degree, although would be much 'happier' if it is also instituted in 'our French nation'. This is so despite his and most Calvinists', notably--as Hume and J. S. Mill suggest and Weber implies--Puritans' 'trained incapacity' for happiness or 'trained capacity' for unhappiness, including pleasure and enjoyment of life (Heller, 1986; Phelps 2007) due to declaring and presenting themselves as 'saints' (Walzer, 1965).

And when, as Hume bluntly puts it, 'Calvin has burned Servetus at Geneva' for the 'heresy' of a different interpretation of the Christian holy trinity, as well as 'libertines' for other heresies or blasphemies he commits the first act and provides the model of what Weber, Tawney, and others suggest as the Calvinist variant or proxy of Inquisition (Kaplan, 2002). Generally, intentionally or not he sets the pattern of behavior or precedent for his followers in France and beyond, including Holland, Great Britain, and Puritan America. For instance, just a few years following this event in 1553 on the 20th anniversary of Calvin's 'sudden conversion' into anti-Catholic 'heresy', the first major national Calvinist theological and political council held, of all places, nearby Paris in 1559 decides that the 'Reformed Religion' can be fully established in France only by the 'extermination' of Catholics and other non-Calvinists, inspired by or evoking his original method of dealing with Servetus, other 'heretics', and 'libertines' in his Geneva theocracy. Like the latter, Calvin's literally inquisitorial punishment of Servetus and other dissenters in Geneva (Linder,⁷² 1975; Fromm, 1941; Heller, 1986; Walzer, 1965) represents a local experiment, exercise, or blueprint for applying the method of 'godly' extermination of the 'ungodly' on a national or regional scale in France, as his followers try and partially succeed after his death, a sort of 'pre-game workout' for the main Calvinist 'game' in 'our French nation' and later beyond, especially Great Britain and Puritan America.

Calvin would thus die fully 'happy' if he saw not only

Geneva but France and eventually Europe 'purified' from non-Calvinists burned at the stake or otherwise purged from their 'corruption', but did not see this outcome realized and not attain 'full happiness' at his death. Yet, 'Father Calvin' might be, after all, a 'happy man', in part. For following the Calvinist Synod's decision, like related decisions, under 'Calvin's strict guidance' (Walzer, 1965), his first French 'children' partly succeed to implement his dream of extermination or purging of 'enemies of God' through religious wars, though much happier if they do totally so and win them. So do, for that matter, more fully and lastingly his later disciples like Calvinists in Scotland (Knox, etc.) and Holland (William of Orange) and Puritans in England and New England (Cromwell, Winthrop et al.), as well as, with some qualifications, Protestant sectarians, evangelicals, or fundamentalists in contemporary America, at least the South (the "Bible Belt").

In general, Calvin's virtually every political action in and outside France, notably directing his French followers the Huguenots as the methodical executors of his will, reveals himself as the 'child' of France obsessed with the 'French nation', naturally expanded into and joined with his interest in Europe, including Great Britain, to be placed under the 'Reformed Church,' ultimately himself as the 'Pope of Protestantism'. Simply, what Hume calls Calvin's instituted and enforced 'discipline and worship of Geneva' represents the local prototype of Calvinist disciplinary, ascetic theocracy via the 'only true' church to be established, first and foremost, in France and in extension beyond, including Great Britain (especially Scotland), Holland, and New England, as happens mostly after his death.

Calvin remains the 'child of France' even outside France on at least four accounts. The first is moving to and remaining the rest of his life within French-speaking cultural environments. The second is directing and dedicating his first and major theological work to 'our French nation' and king and translating it himself in French. The third is focusing and spending his religious-political activity and energy primarily on, notably directing the first organized national Calvinist movement in, France. The fourth is aiming and attempting to establish national theocracy in France through his followers after the micro-model and local setting of Geneva. Alternatively, French-born, raised, and educated Calvin does not become 'Swiss' or 'Genevan' while living in Geneva (or Basel) nor 'German' in Strasbourg but 'feels', acts and stays as French⁷³ (Mason, 1993) as his first followers the French Huguenots and the 'most Christian' Catholic king of France. This is a commonplace in history and theology, yet omitted by virtually all the articles in sociological journals and perhaps unknown or 'forgotten' by many sociologists outside the sociology of religion, and the lay public in the US and other non-French contexts.

Conclusion

The paper identifies and attempts to redress an evidently ironic and incongruent omission concerning Calvinism in much of the sociological literature. This is the omission or 'lapse of memory' of the *sociological* core of Calvinism in this literature, as particularly expounded in various journals of the discipline. Consequently, even five centuries or so after its rise, one may wonder what original Calvinism is from the perspective of its societal point of origin and milieu. Thus, after perusing virtually all the articles on the subject published in sociological journals, the question remains or arises as to 'of what national society Calvinism is its creation', its own religious and political movement or revolution, specifically the Protestant Reformation, or conversely, which specific social-cultural system is its collective creator.

Specifically, in much of the sociological literature, as found in these journals, Calvinism as the Protestant Reformation of the late medieval society of France and Calvin as a Frenchman seem almost 'forgotten'⁷⁴ and perhaps 'forgiven', given Calvinist typically theocratic and generally repressive, disciplinarian, militant, radical, ascetic, sectarian, as via Puritanism as its 'pure sect', and related attributes and outcomes. By contrast, history and theology have not 'forgotten'--and non-Calvinist Catholic and in part Lutheran theologians have not 'forgiven'-- this historical moment yet. Thus, virtually all sociological articles, including Weber's posthumous article, on the subject in these sociological journals do not explicitly specify or mention that Calvinism is the French Protestant Reformation and Calvin was a native Frenchman, nearly 'Parisian', let alone his correct first 'all-French' name, on the likely presumption that these are commonly known historical facts and so redundant to state. Regardless of the reasons, by such omissions and even sometimes incorrect commissions the sociological literature in this and related journals leaves the impression⁷⁵ as if Calvinism is anything but the Protestant Reformation of late medieval France and the French 'Reformed Church'—of Germany? Switzerland? Holland? England and Scotland? New England? America?--and Calvin anyone other than a Frenchman (Genevan/Swiss? German? Dutch? English-Scottish? perhaps American?).

This is an incongruous situation in light of Calvinism's profound and enduring impact on modern Western society, including its economy, politics, and culture, as sociologists and other social scientists have emphasized since at least Weber's assumed Calvinist 'elective affinity' with modern capitalism. It is in particular incongruous with respect to America observed to be the most, largest, and even the last contemporary Calvinist-as-Puritan society. At least, this reportedly applies to the evangelical "Bible Belt" as the major one of the vestiges or "stumbling-blocks" of Calvinism cum Puritanism in the country

(Hobsbaum, 1972). Ironically, America has historically been and remains in religious terms mostly 'one nation indivisible under God [of Calvinism]', yet much of the sociological literature in this and related journals does not specify or register, just as most ordinary Americans do not seem to know or remember, what originally Calvinism is. Hence, perhaps it is the time to correct this omission, and the paper has been a contribution in this direction. Generally, the article aims to contribute toward making the comparative-historical sociology of the Calvinist religion more complete and better known to those sociologists outside this field.

REFERENCES

- Acemoglu D, Simon J, James R, Pierre Y (2005). The Rise of Europe: Atlantic Trade, Institutional Change, and Economic Growth. *Am. Econ. Rev.* 95:546-79.
- Adorno T (2001). *The Stars Down to Earth and Other Essays in the Irrational in Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Artz F (1998). *The Enlightenment in France*. Kent: Kent State University Press.
- Ay K-L, Dolphin A (1995). Geography and Mentality Some Aspects of Max Weber's Protestantism Thesis. *Numen* 41:163-194.
- Baudrillard J (1999). *America*. London: Verso.
- Bendix R (1946). Max Weber's Interpretation of Conduct and History. *Am. J. Sociol.* 51:518-526.
- Benedict P (1999). *Reformation, Revolt And Civil War In France And The Netherlands 1555-1585*. Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.
- Benedict P (2002). *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Bien D (1961). Religious Persecution in the French Enlightenment. *Church History* 30:325-333.
- Bourdieu P (1998). *Acts of Resistance*. New York: Free Press.
- Calvin J (1536). *Christianæ religionis institutio*. Basel [online edition].
- Calvin J (1546) [2010]. *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Translated by Henry Beveridge. Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society [online edition].
- Calvin J (1888). *Institution de la religion Chrétienne*. Geneve: E. Beroud & Éditeurs; Paris: Librairie de la Suisse Française [online edition].
- Camic C (1986). The Matter of Habit. *American Journal of Sociology* 91, 1039-87.
- Clark S (1998). International Competition and the Treatment of Minorities: Seventeenth-Century Cases and General Propositions. *Am. J. Sociol.* 103:1267-1308.
- Clemens E (2007). Toward a Historicized Sociology: Theorizing Events, Processes, and Emergence. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 33:527-549.
- Cohen J (1980). Rational Capitalism in Renaissance Italy. *Am. J. Sociol.* 85:1340-1355.
- Davis T (1996). *Images of Intolerance: John Calvin in Nineteenth-Century History Textbooks*. *Church History* 65:234-248.
- Davis T (2010). *John Calvin's American Legacy*. Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Davis W (1978). Preface to 'Anticritical Last Word on The Spirit of Capitalism', by Max Weber. *Am. J. Sociol.* 83:1105-1131.
- Dunn C, Woodard D (1996). *The Conservative Tradition in America*. Lanham: Rowan & Littlefield.
- Durand L (1888). *Préface, L'Instilation de la religion chrétienne, par Jean Calvin* (pp. v-vii). Paris: Librairie de la Suisse Française.
- Eisenstadt S (1965). Transformation of Social Political, and Cultural Orders in Modernization. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 30:659-673.
- Ekelund R, Robert H, Robert T (2002). *An Economic Analysis of the*

- Protestant Reformation. *J. Polit. Econ.* 110:646-671.
- Elwood C (1999). *The Body Broken*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Foerster N (1962). *Image of America*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Foster H (1927). International Calvinism through Locke and the Revolution of 1688. *Am. Historical Rev.* 32:475-499.
- Fourcade M, Healy K (2007). Moral Views of Market Society. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 33:285-311.
- Fromm E (1941). *Escape from Freedom*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Garrard G (2003). *Rousseau's Counter-Enlightenment*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Goldstone J (1986). State Breakdown in the English Revolution: A New Synthesis. *Am. J. Sociol.* 92:257-322.
- Gorski P (1993). The Protestant Ethic Revisited: Disciplinary Revolution and State Formation in Holland and Prussia. *Am. J. Sociol.* 99, 265-316.
- Gorski P (2000a). The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism. *Am. J. Sociol.* 105:1428-1468.
- Gorski P (2000b). Historicizing the Secularization Debate: Church, State, and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ca. 1300 to 1700. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 65:138-167.
- Gorski P (2003). *The Disciplinary Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gould P (1996). *Covenant and Republic*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Greef WD (2008). *The Writings of John Calvin*. Westminster: John Knox Press.
- Harold F (1936). The Nature of Carlyle's Calvinism. *Stud. Philol.* 33:475-486.
- Hedges C (2006). *American Fascists*. New York Free Press.
- Heller H (1986). *The Conquest Of Poverty*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hiemstra J (2005). Calvinist Pluriformity Challenges Liberal Assimilation: A Novel Case for Publicly Funding Alberta's Private Schools, 1953-1967. *J. Can. Stud.* 39:146-173.
- Hollinger D (1980). What is Darwinism? It is Calvinism! *Rev. Am. History* 8:80-85.
- Hillmann H (2008a). Localism and the Limits of Political Brokerage: Evidence from Revolutionary Vermont. *Am. J. Sociol.* 114:287-331.
- Hillmann H (2008b). Mediation in Multiple Networks: Elite Mobilization before the English Civil War. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 73:426-454.
- Hobsbaum P (1972). Calvinism in Action: The Super-Ego Triumphant. *Hudson Rev.* 25:23-50.
- Hopfl H 1982. *The Christian Polity of John Calvin*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Howe H (1978). Max Weber's Elective Affinities: Sociology Within the Bounds of Pure Reason. *Am. J. Sociol.* 84:366-385.
- Hsia P-c, Nierop HV (2002). *Calvinism And Religious Toleration In The Dutch Golden Age*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Inglehart R, Baker W (2000). Modernization, Cultural Change and the Persistence of Traditional Values. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 65:19-51.
- Inglehart R (2004). *Human Beliefs and Values*. México: Siglo XXI.
- Jenness V (2004). Explaining Criminalization: From Demography and Status Politics to Globalization and Modernization. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 29:147-171.
- Jonassen C (1947). The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism in Norway. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 12:676-686.
- Juergensmeyer M (1994). *The New Cold War?* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Juergensmeyer M (2003). *Terror In The Mind Of God*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kaplan B (2002). 'Dutch' Religious Tolerance: Celebration and Revision, In Hsia Po-chia and Henk van Nierop, eds., *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*. New York: Cambridge University Press pp.8-27.
- Kaufman J (2008). Corporate Law and the Sovereignty of States. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 73:402-425.
- Kim H, Pfaff S (2012). Structure and Dynamics of Religious Insurgency: Students and the Spread of the Reformation. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 77:188-215.
- Kloppenber J (1998). *The Virtues of Liberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lachmann R (1989). Elite Conflict and State Formation in 16th and 17th century England and France. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 54:141-62.
- Linder R (1975). Calvinism and Humanism: The First Generation. *Church History* 44:167-181.
- Lindsay M (2008). Evangelicals in the Power Elite: Elite Cohesion Advancing a Movement. *Am. Sociol. Rev.* 73:60-82.
- Lipset S (1955). The Radical Right: A Problem for American Democracy. *Br. J. Sociol.* 6:176-209.
- Lipset S (1996). *American Exceptionalism*. New York: Norton.
- Loveman M (2005). The Modern State and the Primitive Accumulation of Symbolic Power. *Am. J. Sociol.* 110:1651-1683.
- MacKinnon M (1988a). Calvinism and the Infallible Assurance of Grace: The Weber Thesis Reconsidered. Part I: *Br. J. Sociol.* 39:143-177.
- Mannheim K (1936). *Ideology and Utopia*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Mansbach R (2006). Calvinism as a Precedent for Islamic Radicalism. *Brown J. World Affairs* 12:103-115.
- Mason P (1993). The Communion of Citizens: Calvinist Themes in Rousseau's Theory of the State. *Polity* 26:25-49.
- Mathews S (1912). The Social Origin of Theology. *Am. J. Sociol.* 18:289-317.
- Maurer H (1924). The Sociology of Protestantism. *Am. J. Sociol.* 30:257-286.
- Maurer H (1925). Studies in the Sociology of Religion II. Religion and American Sectionalism. *The Pennsylvania German. Am. J. Sociol.* 30:408-438.
- Maurer H (1926). The Consciousness of Kind of a Fundamentalist Group. *Am. J. Sociol.* 31:485-506.
- Maurer H (1928a). The Political Attitudes of the Lutheran Parish in America: A Study in Religious Sectionalism. *Am. J. Sociol.* 33:568-585.
- Maurer H (1928b). The Lutheran Community and American Society: A Study in Religion as a Condition of Social Accommodation. *Am. J. Sociol.* 34:282-295.
- McNeill J (1954). *The History and Character of Calvinism*. New York, Oxford University Press.
- Mentzer R (2007). Fasting, Piety, and Political Anxiety among French Reformed Protestants. *Church History* 76:330-362.
- Merton R (1984). The Fallacy of the Latest Word: The Case Of Pietism And Science. *Am. J. Sociol.* 89:1091-1122.
- Mises LV (1966). *Human Action*. Chicago: Henry Regnery.
- Moore B (1993). *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Munch R (1981). Talcott Parsons and the Theory of Action. I. The Structure of the Kantian Core. *American Journal of Sociology*, 86, 709-739.
- Munch R (2001). *The Ethics of Modernity*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. Musée Jean Calvin de Noyon http://photo.lrx.free.fr/noyon_e.htm
- Niskan B (1994). *Prince, People, and Confession*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Phelps E (2007). Macroeconomics for a Modern Economy. *Am. Econ. Rev.* 97:543-561.
- Phillips K (2006). *American Theocracy*. New York: Viking.
- Pellicani L (2013). The Cultural War between Athens and Jerusalem: The American Case. *Telos* 162:151-163.
- Ramsey A (1999). *Liturgy, Politics, And Salvation*. Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press.
- Roelker N (1972). The Appeal of Calvinism to French Nobleswomen in the Sixteenth Century. *J. Interdisciplinary History* 2:391-418.
- Rosenblatt H (1997). *Rousseau and Geneva*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rossel R (1970). *The Great Awakening: An Historical Analysis*. Am. J.

- Sociol. 75:907-925.
- Scheler M (1964). The Thomist Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. Sociol. Anal. 25:4-19.
- Scoville W (1953). The Huguenots in the French Economy, 1650-1750. Quart. J. Econ. 67:423-444.
- Shipton C (1936). Immigration to New England, 1680-1740. J. Polit. Econ. 44:225-239.
- Sombart W (2001). The Jews and Modern Capitalism. Kitchener:Batoche Books.
- Spengler J (1973). Review of The Role of Providence in the Social Order: An Essay in Intellectual History. by Jacob Viner. J. Econ. Lit. 11:1376-1377.
- Sprunger K (1982). Dutch Puritanism. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.
- Stivers R (1994). The Culture of Cynicism. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Stokes R (1975). Afrikaner Calvinism and Economic Action: The Weberian Thesis in South Africa. Am. J. Sociol. 81:62-81.
- Swidler A (1986). Culture in Action: symbols and strategies. Am. Sociol. Rev. 51:273-86.
- Tawney R (1923). Religious Thought on Social and Economic Questions in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. J. Polit. Econ. 31:804-825.
- Tawney R (1962). Religion And The Rise Of Capitalism. New York, Harcourt, Brace and company.
- Thorner I (1952). Ascetic Protestantism and the Development of Science and Technology. Am. J. Sociol. 58:25-33.
- Tillich P (1937). Protestantism in the Present World-Situation. Am. J. Sociol. 43:236-248.
- Tiryakian E (1975). Neither Marx nor Durkheim...Perhaps Weber. Am. J. Sociol. 81:1-33.
- Tubergen F, Grotenhuis M, Ultee W (2005). Denomination, Religious Context, and Suicide:Neo-Durkheimian Multilevel Explanations Tested with Individual and Contextual Data. Am. J. Sociol. 111:797-823.
- Valeri M (1997). Religion, Discipline, and the Economy in Calvin's Geneva. The Sixteenth Century J. 28:123-142.
- Vries JD (1999). Luxury and Calvinism/ Luxury and Capitalism: Supply and Demand for Luxury Goods in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic. J. Walters Art Gallery 57:73-85.
- Walzer M (1963). Puritanism as a Revolutionary Ideology. History Theory 3:59-90.
- Walzer M (1965). The Revolution of the Saints. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Watt J (2002). Calvinism, Childhood, and Education: The Evidence from the Genevan Consistory. The Sixteenth Century J. 33:439-456.
- Weber M (1978). Anticritical Last Word on the Spirit of Capitalism. Am. J. Sociol. 83:1105-1131.
- Zaret D (1989). Religion and the Rise of Liberal-Democratic Ideology in 17th century England. Am. Sociol. Rev. 54:163-179.
- Zaret D (1996). Petitions and the Invention of Public Opinion in the English Revolution. Am. J. Sociol. 101:1497-1555.

NOTES

¹ I thank an anonymous reviewer for this observation.

² Gorski (2000,1455-8) observes that historically Calvinism 'was the most obvious thing the North Atlantic polities had in common', including Great Britain and America (plus Holland) described as 'the Calvinist countries of the North Atlantic.'

³ Simply, one may object what it is not really a 'great deal' for sociology, as different from history or theology, to reexamine what original Calvinism is and relatedly who Calvin was. The paper argues that it is, as elaborated throughout.

⁴ Weber in his analysis of the 'elective affinity' between Calvinism and capitalism admits that 'we have continually to deal with aspects of the Reformation which must appear to the truly religious consciousness as incidental and even superficial.' And in the article posthumously translated and published, Weber (1978, 1113) describes himself as a 'theological layman', as would the present author.

⁵ Recall Weber includes Christianity as a whole into the great 'world religions', and not Calvinism and Protestantism overall, as do following his lead most contemporary sociologists. This is instructive to recall because Calvinism or Protestantism is often misclassified or misperceived, just as it claims to be, a 'world religion', but at least in the conventional Weberian sociological framework only Christianity is, alongside such other religions as Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Judaism, and Islam. Calvinism becomes a 'world religion' if theologically claiming, as it typically does from Calvin to contemporary evangelicalism, to be the 'only true' Christian, not to mention 'Reformed', Church. Yet, Weber and most sociologists (e.g., Gorski 2000b) do not take such claims--or those by other Christian churches or sects--seriously as sociologically relevant, although these are presented by Calvinist theologians and believers, just as repudiated by their non-Calvinist Catholic, Orthodox, and Lutheran counterparts, with theological strictness and deadly seriousness and effects. This is witnessed during Protestant-Catholic and even Calvinist-Lutheran and Puritan-Anglican post-Reformation and in part current wars of religion or tensions (Northern Ireland, etc.).

⁶ Historically, the term 'Reformed Church' was first used in reference to that of Luther's followers like Zwingli in Switzerland (Zurich). Weber also registers that the 'Reformed' is not necessarily identical with the 'Calvinist' church. In turn, he implies that the original, earliest Calvinists were those in France in observing that the Calvinist 'first' translation of the Bible--and so the concept of a calling (translated as *labour*)--was in French ('Romance') language.

⁷ One of the two largest Calvinist denominations in contemporary Holland is reportedly self-designated as the "Re-reformed Church" and is more theologically conservative or orthodox 'Calvinist' than the other simply called the 'Reformed Church' (Tubergen, Grotenhuis and Ultee 2005).

⁸ If original Calvinism as the Second rather than the first 'Reformed Church' is the 'best kept secret' or lost truth among early Calvinists and their heirs, then this is the 'worst kept secret', simply no secret or mystery, among sociologists and other scholars and even the non-Calvinist lay public.

⁹ Roelker (1972, 408-9) insists on 'distinctions between the theological-ecclesiastical-cultural "system" called Calvinism in the 17th century, especially in Anglo-Saxon countries [Puritanism], and the beliefs and practices of 16th century French men and women who looked to Calvin as their spiritual guide.'

¹⁰ If this sounds implausible or exaggerated, the US and other non-European reader is invited to ask informally colleagues outside the sociology of religion and historical sociology, students, friends, etc. the question 'what Calvinism originally is' or 'who was Calvin' (in a simple or multiple-choice format) in terms of societal/national origin, and see what responses will receive. Likely, the smallest numbers of responses will answer that Calvinism is the French Reformation, and Calvin a native Frenchman, compared to, above all, the 'Swiss', following in a descending order by 'German', 'Dutch', 'English', and perhaps even 'American.' Even more likely is that not many, if any, will give the correct answer to the question about the exact first French name of Calvin (Jean, not John) or his birthplace (Noyon or nearby Paris).

¹¹ Valeri (1997,136-7) comments that for Calvin those 'who ran taverns that catered to profligate wine bibbers [etc.] had chosen their callings selfishly and poorly.' Still, showing that he was and remained a true French, in the last edition of his *Institution* Calvin contrasts 'good wine' (*bon vin*) to 'bitter and muddy water'. Vries (1999,75) cites Calvin's saying that he who "hesitate[s] respecting good wine, will afterward be unable with any peace of conscience to drink the most vapid; and he will not presume even to touch purer and sweeter water than others."

¹² According to the Cambridge History of the Reformation, the 'Reformed Church bore indeed even more than the Lutheran the impress of a single mind; but then that mind was as typical of France and the second Protestant generation as Luther was typical of Germany and the first.'

¹³ This is particularly useful to note, because Puritanism did and does via Puritan-inspired evangelicalism claim to be and is commonly regarded and extolled as American as the 'apple pie', the source and model of 'Americanism', for example, the idea of America's 'manifest destiny'. However, the preceding indicates that Puritanism is sociologically sectarian Calvinism and geographically the European--immediately English, ultimately French--'foreign' product, just as Catholicism initially persecuted and in part still denounced as 'Roman' and 'un-American', as well as Lutheranism branded or downplayed as 'German', by Puritans and their evangelical heirs. If the extant form or source of Puritanism as the Calvinist 'pure sect' is Calvinism rising as the Protestant Reformation of French society and, 'of all places', Paris, Calvin's near-birthplace, it is a sociological and historical non sequitur to claim that Puritans are as 'American' as the 'apple pie' despite being Tocqueville's 'Pilgrim fathers' and 'destiny' of the 'new nation.' This is a special case of the frequent general historical pattern of a foreign non-native religious or political group founding or over-determining a society. Simply, Calvinists as French Protestants are original proto-puritans, and Puritans derivative sectarian Calvinists and in that sense 'foreign' forces, geographically and theologically, coming to America and before, as Weber suggests, to England in theological terms. The latter also involved a geographical dimension, as some English Puritans make pilgrimage to or are, as Hume notes, in 'communication, with Calvin in Geneva' and then return to England to import and implement his geographically 'foreign'--and at that French-made--vision of religious revolution and war, as do Scottish Presbyterians like Knox.

¹⁴ Heller (1986; xi) registers that 'the history of the beginnings of French Calvinism [starts with] its genesis in [besides Geneva] seven provincial centres' in France during the 1530s.

¹⁵ McNeill (1954,227) describes Calvin as a 'frail, earnest Frenchman'.

¹⁶ Benedict (1999,70) adds that by 'in France, upwards of a thousand Reformed congregations may have been founded by 1562. The Protestants 'already represented a majority of the population of some cities.'

¹⁷ Benedict (1999,4) refers to the 'emergence of the Protestant Henri de Navarre as the heir apparent to the throne of France' after 1584.

¹⁸ In an insightful article published, Gorski (1993,275) remarks that 'early modern historians often distinguish between a first Reformation, which begins with Luther, and a second Reformation, which begins with Calvin', but does not specify the national origin of the latter and thus of Calvinism apparently assuming that this is commonly known also among sociologists.

¹⁹ Between 1534-36 Calvin reportedly visited or lived in Basel where his first theological work is published but still returns and remains in France before moving to Geneva and the date of his exile is usually considered 1536. Even if this date is changed into 1534 or 1535, this does not substantively affect the argument that Calvin creates his theological doctrine as well as founded his religious-political movement while still in France. For Calvinist theology the fateful moment is his 'sudden conversion' to the 'Reformed Religion' in 1533, thus effectively the date of the birth of Calvinism as a doctrine at least in the mind or vision of Calvin, and for the Calvinist revolutionary movement, his network of arch-Calvinists formed or initiated over 1534-35.

²⁰ Furthermore, Pareto suggests that 'the revolution known as the Protestant Reformation' is no less than a special case of a revolution against 'economic and social progress' (i.e., against its agents "speculators" vs. *rentiers*), thus contradicting the conventional wisdom linking Protestantism, in particular the Calvinist Revolution, to modern capitalism in the manner of Weber as well as to democracy or republics a la Parsons et al. In turn, Pareto considers the Reformation a form of adverse 'religious reaction' to social progress or change, notably the secular and humanistic (as also described by Simmel and Parsons) Renaissance and in that sense a religious counter-revolution. To that extent, this casts the new light--or perhaps 'darkness'-- on Weber's Calvinist religious disciplinary revolutions as counter-revolutions or restorations of a primitive social state, as are in Bourdieu's (1998) view, all conservative 'revolutions', including the Nazi 'revolutionaries' of the

1930s and the neo-conservative 'revolution' in the US and the UK since the 1980s.

²¹ Sombart (2001,176) invokes the *Calvinistic Jewish Mirror* of 1608 in which some Calvinists in Germany say 'we left our country [France] to wander in other lands where we are not known in our true colours.'

²² Gorski (1993,275) observes that the 'first Calvinist preachers spilled over the French border into the southern Netherlands in the 1550s', forming a 'movement more militant, better organized, and better able to resist state-sponsored persecution than those that had preceded it', and identifies 1559-68 as the 'first phase of the revolt'.

²³ According to the Cambridge History of the Reformation, 'English Reformers, fleeing from martyrdom, found a refuge within its hospitable walls, and, returning to England, attempted to establish the Genevan discipline, and failed, but succeeded in forming the Puritan character.'

²⁴ Hopfl (1982,20) notes that *Institution* was 'completed' in 1535, such that the 'prefatory letter' to the French king is dated 23 August 1535.

²⁵ Weber remarks that within Christianity 'the concept of a religious revolution was consistent most' with original Calvinism, i.e., Calvin's teachings, in contrast to Luther 'who absolutely rejected religious wars and revolutions'. Weber adds that also the 'duty of religious revolution for the cause of faith was naturally taught by the religions that engaged in wars of missionary enterprise and by their derivative sects', namely Islam and its various sects. Generally, Weber finds that 'radical Calvinism' provides a 'similar [revolutionary, violent] solution to the problem of the relation between religion and politics' as does Islam. Also, Weber proposes that, like Calvinism, 'the religion of Muhammad' is 'fundamentally political in its orientation', and that 'his position in Medina was nearly identical that of Calvin at Geneva.' Thus, in Weber's view, 'Calvin and Muhammad, each of whom [was] convinced that the certainty of one's own mission in the world came not from any personal perfection but from his situation in the world and from god's will.' As it stands, Weber implies that Calvin is a sort of Christian or rather specifically Protestant emulation or functional equivalent, even if unwittingly or denied by him and Calvinists, of Muhammad, and Calvinism of Islam, as Harrold (1936) explicitly suggests.

²⁶ Elwood (1999:172) suggests that Calvinist 'religious radicalism supplied a new political framework and laid the foundation for the forms of political praxis that profoundly disturbed social and political relations through most of the societies of early modern Europe'.

²⁷ Elwood (1999:171) comments that 'if the French context ultimately undermined Calvinist militancy, elsewhere [it] was a potent source of revolutionary energy. Calvinism in Scotland galvanized the revolt against the regency of Mary of Guise and provided symbolic and conceptual support for the deposition of Mary Stuart. Calvinists in the Netherlands threw off Spanish rule and established a republic. In England Calvinists deposed and executed a king and temporarily abolished the monarchy. There is considerable irony in [an] association of revolutionary politics with a figure as politically conservative as Calvin.'

²⁸ Davis (2010,4) notes that 'Calvin was born and educated in France. He earned both bachelor's and master's degrees in Paris.'

²⁹ Linder (1975,173) observes that 'Calvin's conversion apparently took place sometime late in 1533 or early in 1534, Beza's in 1548, and Viret's sometime between 1527 and 1530' all in France, notably Paris.

³⁰ According to the Cambridge History of the Reformation, his original last name was actually Cauvin, but he decided to call himself Calvin.

³¹ Prior to the 1536 edition of *Institution* Calvin had published a legal text *Commentary on Seneca's De Clementia* in 1532 (followed by *Commentary on Romans* in 1540). After *Institution* Calvin published some other theological works such as *First Catechism* (1537, first written in French, and a year later in Latin) followed by *The Genevan Catechism* (1542) and *A Reformulated Catechism taken from the Geneva Catechism* (1560), as well as *Comments on Isaiah* dedicated to England's Queen Elizabeth only three months after she was crowned in January 1559, although, according to the Cambridge History of the Reformation, she 'distrusted Calvin' and 'swore that she never read his books'.

³² Walzer (1965,2) comments that 'it was not reverence but cold practicality which led him to start with the French monarch.'

³³ In the preface to the final 1560 French edition, Durand (1888,vi) comments that *Institution* 'has had three principal editions in Latin and two in French' and that it 'is correctly considered as the main work of Calvin.'

³⁴ Curiously, the first English translation of *Institution* published in 1545 is longer: 'Prefatory Address To His Most Christian Majesty, The Most Mighty And Illustrious Monarch, Francis, King Of The French, His Sovereign John Calvin Prays Peace And Salvation In Christ'.

³⁵ The English (1545) translation is 'Most illustrious King, may the Lord, the King of kings, establish your throne in righteousness, and your sceptre in equity.'

³⁶ Durand (1888,vi) comments that the last French edition that Calvin himself reviewed or polished (but, one has reason to believe, only in part) was that of Geneva 1560.'

³⁷ Durand (1888,6) suggests that 'in terms of form one finds in presence of one of great classics of the French language of the 16th century.' He cites approvingly a French literary analyst's evaluation that 'the style of Calvin is one of the greatest styles of the 16th century, simple, correct, elegant, clear, ingenious, animated, varied of forms and tones, it has commenced to fix the French language for prose as that of Clément Marot has done for the verses.' Also, the Cambridge History of the Reformation registers 'Calvin's services to the French tongue. He perhaps more than any other man made it a literary vehicle, a medium for high philosophical and religious discussion. The *Institutio* has been said to be the first book written in French which can be described as logically composed, built up according to a consecutive and proportioned plan.'

³⁸ Interestingly, one of the best known and most used English translations in 1580 of *Institution* was from the last French edition rather than the Latin editions. (Yet, the lay public and even some sociologists outside the sociology of religion in English-American settings seem to believe that Calvin was writing in 'English' or at least in 'German', but not many know or remember his writing in French.) This implicitly confirms that Calvinism as theology and religion overall originates and develops as the 'Reformed' doctrine and faith in, and Calvin himself is the true 'child' of, France as a society or culture (to include Francophone areas like Geneva and Strasbourg). Also, the date of publication of the English translation indicates that in terms of theological formulation and codification French Calvinism as the original precedes Anglo-Saxon Calvinism as the derivative to be rechristened Puritanism (England) and Presbyterianism (e.g., 1536/1541 versus 1545/1580). Negatively, it confirms that Calvinism originally is not the Anglo-Saxon or German Reformation, and so Calvin not the English or 'German' or 'Swiss' reformer. Also, it is curious that the English translation of *Institution de la religion Chrétienne* is *Institutes of the Christian Religion* though evidently the title *Institution of the Christian Religion* does more justice to Calvin's own French original. Also, it does not do justice to the Latin original title *Christianae religionis institutio* for the plural word *Institutes* does not fully reflect *institutio*, first as singular, and second, meaning institution as both the static institutional arrangement and the dynamic process of instituting of the 'Christian Religion'. One wonders why various English translators (from Beveridge in 1845) translate the title this way when Calvin himself previously (1841) translates it into French as *Institution de la religion Chrétienne*, simply as 'institution', not 'institutes.' Hopfl (1982,20) objects the English translation is *Institutes* but the 'work wore no resemblance whatever to a legal codex [so] *Institution* has come to be preferred again [i.e.] an account of that religion as 'instituted' or founded by Christ, as opposed to its current man-made deformations.'

³⁹ Hopfl (1982,10) implies this in noting that 'some time before he left France [for Basel in 1535], Calvin's attention has been concentrated entirely on [evangelical] theology'.

⁴⁰ Ramsey (1999,8) notes that 'Calvin's own break with Catholicism can be dated to the period of 1533-34.'

⁴⁰ Ramsey's (1999,8) full statement is that 'the publication in 1536 of the first edition of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* established his undisputed position as the leading voice of the French Reformed church'.

⁴⁰ Hobsbaum (1972, 29) remarks that 'Servetus, was seized for heresy and burnt. The laws of Geneva had no jurisdiction over him; he was merely passing through.'

His crime was to have fallen out with Calvin some years before in Paris’.

⁴⁰ Ramsey (1999,8) notes that ‘Calvin’s own break with Catholicism can be dated to the period of 1533-34.’

⁴¹ Ramsey’s (1999,8) full statement is that ‘the publication in 1536 of the first edition of his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* established his undisputed position as the leading voice of the French Reformed church’.

⁴² Hobsbaum (1972, 29) remarks that ‘Servetus, was seized for heresy and burnt. The laws of Geneva had no jurisdiction over him; he was merely passing through. His crime was to have fallen out with Calvin some years before in Paris’.

⁴³ For instance, Calvin (1888,426-8) admonishes in the last 1560 French edition of *Institution* that the ‘ignorance of this principle diminishes the glory of God’ [la gloire de Dieu] and also subtracts of true humility [la vraie humilité] and further that ‘by whatever whoever renders the doctrine of predestination odious (odieuse) detracts or negates overtly God [detracte ou niesdit de Dieu ouvertement].’

⁴⁴ The difference in length is significant but not dramatic: the first 1536 Latin edition has 522 pages, and the 1560 final, French edition 755 pages.

⁴⁵ In the later Latin editions of *Institution* Calvin states that from the ‘sentiment of our ignorance, vanity, penury, infirmity, what is more, perversity and corruption (*ignorantiae, vanitatis, inopiae, infirmitatis, pravitatis denique et corruptionis*), we are led to know that there is only in Lord (*Domino*) true clarity of wisdom, solid truth, perfect affluence of all good, pure justice (*sapientiae lucem, solidam veritatem, bonorum omnium perfectam affluentiam, iustitiae puritatem*), such that we are influenced by our evils (*malis*) to consider Divine good’ (*Dei bona*). For those readers interested in his French writing, Calvin himself translated this statement from Latin as follows: ‘Parquoy du sentiment de nostre ignorance, vanité, disette, infirmité, voire, qui plus est, perversité et corruption, nous sommes induits à cognoistre qu’il n’y a nulle part ailleurs qu’en Dieu vraye clarté de sagesse, ferme vertu, droite affluence de tous biens, pureté de justice, tant y a que nous sommes esmeus par nos misères à considérer les biens de Dieu: et ne pouvons aspirer et tendre à luv à bon escient, qu’ayant commencé à nous desplaire du tout.’

⁴⁶ Rosenblatt (1997,259) comments that ‘according to Calvin, the Christian republic was meant to serve as an aid to sanctification: the business of both Church and State was the enforcement of Christian virtue. The roles of Church and State were inextricably connected; being a good citizen was closely linked with being a good Christian.’

⁴⁷ Gorski (1993, 274) suggests that ‘Calvin had cautiously articulated the vision of a “godly commonwealth” modeled on the polity of the ancient Jews, in which religious and secular leaders would cooperate in effecting a radical Christianization of society [and] a revolutionary defense of traditional privileges.’

⁴⁸ Weber states in the *Protestant Ethic* that Islamic (Mohammedan) doctrine ‘was that of predetermination, not predestination, and was applied to fate in this world, not in the next’, unlike Calvinism. However, in his later work *Economy and Society* (section the Sociology of Religion), he suggests that Islam has and thus shares the ‘belief in predestination’ with Calvinism.

⁴⁹ Walzer (1965,21-2) remarks that Calvin’s ‘innovation was far less important in theology than in moral conduct and social organization’.

⁵⁰ Juergensmeyer (2003:212) observes that US evangelicalism like Calvinist-based Dominion and Reconstruction theology ‘admires the attempts of Muslims in Iran, Sudan, and Afghanistan to create regimes grounded in Islamic law.’

⁵¹ Heller (1986:115) elaborates that Calvin ‘was supremely confident of his own righteousness [and] willingness to abandon everything, i.e., career, fortune, esteem in his native land, and consciously to accept exile for conscience’s sake’

⁵² Merton [1984,1098] comments that ‘Michael Servetus [was] denounced by Calvin and burned alive after trial by the magistrates of Geneva.’ Also, Linder (1975,179) admits that ‘no one can excuse him for his part in the trial and execution of Michael Servetus in 1553.’

⁵³ Gorski (1993,273) suggests that ‘Calvin devoted most of his life not to theology but to building the Reformed church.’

⁵⁴ Heller (1986; 116) remarks that ‘Calvin’s influence made itself felt even prior to his exile from France. Before leaving the country Calvin established an extensive network of personal ties throughout the kingdom. These included contacts in his hometown of Noyon as well as with humanists and jurists at Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Angoulme and Poitiers.’

⁵⁵ Bien (1961,329-30) comments that ‘this Christianity which Voltaire so detested embraced Calvinism as well as Catholicism; when all was said and done, Calvin was no better than Loyola.’

⁵⁶ Scheler (1964,18) remarks that ‘Calvin’s dark, stormy, passionate and power-hungry soul was inflamed to its very depths by the deep resentment which he had against [Catholic ideals].’

⁵⁷ Heller (1986; xi) comments that Calvin ‘had an important hand [within] the development of French Protestantism from the 1530s onward’. In this view, ‘without Calvin there would of course have been a French Protestantism. But without him it would have remained an inchoate, fragmented and powerless sect—isolated, unable to organize itself effectively at the political level, or to develop the internal coherence necessary to its survival in the long term. Calvin, by force of his example, through his organizing powers, and by means of the clarity of his theological teaching, likewise placed himself at the head of the French Reformation’ (Heller 1986; 112).

⁵⁸ Ironically, Catholic France has eventually been more graceful and even generous to Calvin than Anglican England to its own Calvinist cum Puritan ‘saints’ a la Cromwell. While Calvin is today graced and immortalized by the museum bearing his name in his home town, about half hour from Paris by train, Cromwell’s body was reportedly desecrated from the grave and thrown on the streets to dogs by the masses following the restoration of the monarchy and the reestablishment of Anglicanism. For instance, in dramatic contrast to Calvin’s posthumous gracious fate in France, Spencer notes that ‘Cromwell’s body was exhumed, and his head stuck on Temple Bar’, like criminals and tyrants being ‘drawn and quartered as well as hung’.

⁵⁹ The Cambridge History of the Reformation emphasizes that ‘men like John Calvin and Theodore Beza did not cease to be sons of France though they became citizens of Geneva; and they used their foreign citizenship to serve their mother land more effectually than they could have done in any of her own cities.’

⁶⁰ Heller (1986:120-30) states that ‘following his exile in 1536 Calvin’s primary concern was no longer with France’ but Europe overall, including today’s Great Britain, and then relaxes, if not dispense with, this statement by observing that by 1545 there was ‘Calvin’s leadership of the evangelical movement in France as well as elsewhere’. Conceivably, if his ‘primary concern was no longer with France’, Calvin would not have become the leader of the Calvinist movement in France to the point of instigating and directing the Huguenots, including their first Synod, from Geneva; conversely, the fact that he did proves that it was. Heller (1986;111) implicitly acknowledges this observing that from the 1540s Calvin ‘was able not only to master the popular reformation in France but to make it the basis of an effective religious and political movement. Through his intellectual and political leadership a subterranean and fragmented movement of reformation gradually became a cohesive force challenging the existing ecclesiastical and political order.’

⁶¹ Tawney (1923,804) registers that following its founder ‘Calvinism, assuming different shapes in different countries, became an international movement, which brought not peace but a sword, and the path of which was strewn with revolutions.’

⁶² Consider the following account in the Cambridge History of the Reformation: while a ‘French preacher’ at Strasburg, in Geneva Calvin did ‘develop his system of education; it supplied the Reformed Church, especially in France, with the men which it needed to fight its battles and to form the iron in its blood. France was the main feeder of the Academy; Frenchmen filled its chairs, occupied its benches, learned in it the courage to live and the will to die. From Geneva books poured into France; and the French Church was ever appealing for ministers, yet never appealed in vain. Within eleven years, 1555-66 Geneva sent 161 pastors into France.’

⁶³ Watt (2002,444) register that various disputes (including that over the ‘naming of children’), ‘pitted the native Genevan laity against the French clergy’ and ‘clearly bred resentment among Genevans toward the French pastors.’

⁶⁴ Walzer (1965,9-10) observes that the 'people in Geneva [did] discover in Calvin' not just an (autocratic) person but a movement and ideology, and that 'Calvin pursued power in Geneva with all the artfulness of a Machiavellian adventurer [as did] his followers in England [i.e.] the English Calvinists' cum Puritans.

⁶⁵ In the account of the Cambridge History of the Reformation 'Geneva was in fact now regarded as the capital of French Protestantism; French refugees had gone there in increasing numbers, and had contributed to Calvin's definite triumph over his opponents in the very year, 1555, in which the French Churches began to be organized.'

⁶⁶ As known, the Protestant Reformers in England and later Scotland rebelled against the Roman Catholic Church and the rule of the Pope on the ground of being 'foreign'. Yet, in an apparent contradiction or irony, they overlooked that both Geneva to become the 'Rome of Protestantism' and Calvin becoming the 'Pope of Protestantism' were also 'foreign'. Notably, Calvin effectively instigated and directed ('advised') the 'Reformation' in these two then independent countries during his last years, notably via his disciple Knox the Presbyterian Scottish anti-Catholic rebellion, and in part the English (second) abolition of Catholicism and restoration of Protestantism under Queen Elizabeth. Even more contradictory or ironic, given the English-French near-permanent wars or hostilities and tensions in those and later times, both Geneva and Calvin were not just foreign but at that French in cultural and national terms, respectively. And another irony was, as noted, that the 1580 widely used English translation of Calvin's *Institution* was from the last (1560) French edition rather than the Latin editions.

⁶⁷ Heller (1986:124) registers the 'new system of ecclesiastic discipline introduced by Calvin at Geneva'. In this account, for Calvin 'the secular order is ordained by God. Because mankind is under original sin this order necessarily is one of repression. The people are incapable themselves of government but must be governed. Accordingly, social and political inequality including both differences in wealth and station are inevitable. Even tyranny must be suffered in obedience because it is ordained by God. [Such a view was] based on the idea that the people at all costs must be held in check' (Heller 1986:131). In short, 'popular sovereignty as an ideal thus occupies no place in Calvin's political or ecclesiastical thought' (Heller 1986:132).

⁶⁸ Rosenblatt (1997,10) notes that 'Calvin wanted Geneva to be the very model of a Christian commonwealth. His vision was predicated upon the fusion of belief and citizenship, illustrated by the oath he tried to impose upon the Genevan population in 1537. The people of Geneva were asked to accept the confession of faith at the same time as they swore their loyalty to the city. (In the *Serment des Bourgeois*) each newly admitted member of the bourgeoisie was made to promise that he would "live according to the Reformation of the Holy Gospel" even before promising to be "good and loyal to this city of Geneva." This explains why a Genevan citizen who changed his religion automatically lost his citizenship. Rosenblatt (1997, 259) adds that 'according to Calvin, the Christian republic was meant to serve as an aid to sanctification: the business of both Church and State was the enforcement of Christian virtue. The roles of Church and State were inextricably connected; being a good citizen was closely linked with being a good Christian.'

⁶⁹ According to the Cambridge History of the Reformation, the 'ideal then realised in Geneva exercised an influence far beyond France. It extended into Holland, which in the strength of the Reformed faith resisted Charles V and his son, achieved independence, and created the freest and best educated State on the continent of Europe.'

⁷⁰ Hume registers that early English and Scottish Puritans were in 'communication with Calvin, and the other reformers who followed the discipline and worship of Geneva'. For instance, in Hume's account in 1557 'John Knox arrived from Geneva, where he had passed some years in banishment, and where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the highest fanaticism of his sect, augmented by the native ferocity of his own character [and] invited back to Scotland by the leaders of the reformation.'

⁷¹ Rosenblatt (1997,12) suggests that 'Calvinism, since Calvin, has been an evolving and multifarious religion [e.g. in Geneva] at the end of the 17th century, many Calvinists believe[d] that the period since Calvin had been plagued by excessive attention to relatively obscure matters of dogma such as predestination and Original Sin at the expense of more important ethical concerns [so] the trend was toward liberalization and greater humanism in dogma. This had an undeniable effect on the doctrines of predestination and Original Sin, and on the Calvinist portrayal of human nature'. In this view, 'in their moral theologies (Pictet, Turretini, Vernet) the doctrines of Original Sin and predestination were consistently down-played or avoided [so] by the 18th century Genevan Calvinism had undergone an "Enlightenment" of its own [i.e.] anthropologically optimistic, "reasonable," and moralistic brand of Calvinism' (Rosenblatt 1997,17).

⁷² Linder (1975, 179) notes that 'Calvin certainly was harsh and vindictive in many of his dealings with people [especially] increasingly ill-tempered in his declining years'.

⁷³ Mason (1993,28) describes Calvin following his exile from France as "a preacher come from France who subjugated Geneva and made it over into his image".

⁷⁴ This forgetting is perhaps by analogy to 'champagne', almost forgotten in the US at least that it is French due to California and other 'American champagne', or for that matter to 'aspirin' forgotten as being German due to the US government's effective expropriation of Bayer on evident nationalistic grounds during WW I, both incidentally in apparent violation of applicable national or international copyright laws.

⁷⁵ As a result, even many academic sociologists, not to mention their students, may lack precise knowledge or recollection of these elemental facts from Western religious history, specifically the Reformation period, which 'every schoolboy' should know but seemingly does not, especially in US and other non-French environments. Thus, anecdotal evidence suggests that many US sociologists outside the fields of the sociology of religion and historical sociology, like most of their students and ordinary Americans, have 'forgotten' and hence conceivably 'forgiven' what Calvinism originally is--and relatedly who Calvin actually was--in respect of its society-creator or country of origin. In the author's informal surveys, the answers to 'what is Calvinism's and Calvin's original country of origin' have ranged from Germany to Switzerland or Geneva and Europe overall to England? No one answered that Calvinism is the French Protestant Reformation and that Calvin was a Frenchman born nearby Paris, let alone knowing his true first name.

UPCOMING CONFERENCES

**The 2014 Conference on Anthropology & Sustainability in Asia, Hiroshima,
Japan, March 16-18, 2014**



**41th Annual Western Departments of Sociology and Anthropology
Undergraduate Research Conference, California, 12 April 2014**



Conferences and Advert

March 2014

The 2014 Conference on Anthropology & Sustainability in Asia, Hiroshima, Japan, March 16-18, 2014

International Conference on Social Science and Management, Chicago, USA, 14 Mar 2014

International Conference on Business, Economics, Marketing and Management, Pattaya, Thailand, 13 Mar 2014

April 2014

41th Annual Western Departments of Sociology and Anthropology Undergraduate Research Conference, California, 12 April 2014

International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology

Related Journals Published by Academic Journals

- Journal of Economics and International Finance
- Journal of Hospitality Management and Tourism
- African Journal of Business Management
- Journal of Accounting and Taxation
- African Journal of Marketing Management
- International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology

academicJournals