

ments" and has suggested that the historical origin of a great proportion of religious phenomena has been in such movements. Interested readers will find a full application of his ideas in his recently published book *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (1970).

## INTRODUCTION

Behavioral scientists have described many instances of attempted and sometimes successful innovation of whole cultural systems, or at least substantial portions of such systems. Various rubrics are employed, the rubric depending on the discipline and the theoretical orientation of the researcher, and on salient local characteristics of the cases he has chosen for study. "Nativistic movement," "reform movement," "cargo cult," "religious revival," "messianic movement," "utopian community," "sect formation," "mass movement," "social movement," "revolution," "charismatic movement," are some of the commonly used labels. This paper suggests that all these phenomena of major cultural-system innovation are characterized by a uniform process, for which I propose the term "revitalization." The body of the paper is devoted to two ends: (1) an introductory statement of the concept of revitalization, and (2) an outline of certain uniformly-found processual dimensions of revitalization movements.

## THE CONCEPT OF REVITALIZATION

A revitalization movement is defined as a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture. Revitalization is thus, from a cultural standpoint, a special kind of culture change phenomenon: the persons involved in the process of revitalization must perceive their culture, or some major areas of it, as a system (whether accurately or not); they must feel that this cultural system is unsatisfactory; and they must innovate not merely discrete items, but a new cultural system, specifying new relationships as well as, in some cases, new traits. The classic processes of culture change (evolution, drift, diffusion, historical change, acculturation) all produce changes in cultures as systems; however, they do not depend on deliberate intent by members of a society, but rather on a gradual chain-reaction effect: introducing A induces change in B; changing B affects C; when C shifts, A is modified; this involves D... and so on *ad infinitum*. This process continues for years, generations, centuries, millennia, and its pervasiveness has led many cultural theorists to regard culture

change as essentially a slow, chain-like, self-contained procession of super-organic inevitabilities. In revitalization movements, however, A, B, C, D, E... N are shifted into a new *Gestalt* abruptly and simultaneously in intent; and frequently within a few years the new plan is put into effect by the participants in the movement.

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The term "revitalization" implies an organismic analogy. This analogy is, in fact, an integral part of the concept of revitalization. A human society is here regarded as a definite kind of organism, and its culture is conceived as those patterns of learned behavior which certain "parts" of the social organism or system (individual persons and groups of persons) characteristically display. A corollary of the organismic analogy is the principle of homeostasis: that a society will work, by means of coordinated actions (including "cultural" actions) by all or some of its parts, to preserve its own integrity by maintaining a minimally fluctuating, life-supporting matrix for its individual members, and will, under stress, take emergency measures to preserve the constancy of this matrix. Stress is defined as a condition in which some part, or the whole, of the social organism is threatened with more or less serious damage. The perception of stress, particularly of increasing stress, can be viewed as the common denominator of the panel of "drives" or "instincts" in every psychological theory.

As I am using the organismic analogy, the total system which constitutes a society includes as significant parts not only persons and groups with their respective patterns of behavior, but also literally the cells and organs of which the persons are composed. Indeed, one can argue that the system includes nonhuman as well as human subsystems. Stress on one level is stress on all levels. For example, lowering of sugar level (hunger) in the fluid matrix of the body cells of one group of persons in a society is a stress in the society as a whole. This holistic view of society as organism integrated from cell to nation depends on the assumption that society, as an organization of living matter, is definable as a network of intercommunication. Events on one subsystem level must

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affect other subsystems (cellular vis-à-vis institutional, personal vis-à-vis societal) at least as information; in this view, social organization exists to the degree that events in one subsystem are information to other subsystems.

There is one crucial difference between the principles of social organization and that of the individual person: a society's parts are very widely interchangeable, a person's only slightly so. The central nervous system cells, for example, perform many functions of coordinating information and executing adaptive action which other cells cannot do. A society, on the other hand, has a multiple-replacement capacity, such that many persons can perform the analogous information-coordination and executive functions on behalf of society-as-organism. Furthermore, that regularity of patterned behavior which we call culture depends relatively more on the ability of constituent units autonomously to perceive the system of which they are a part, to receive and transmit information, and to act in accordance with the necessities of the system, than on any all-embracing central administration which stimulates specialized parts to perform their function.

It is therefore functionally necessary for every person in society to maintain a mental image of the society and its culture, as well as of his own body and its behavioral regularities, in order to act in ways which reduce stress at all levels of the system. The person does, in fact, maintain such an image. This mental image I have called "the mazeway," since as a model of the cell-body-personality-nature-culture-society system or field, organized by the individual's own experience, it includes perceptions of both the maze of physical objects of the environment (internal and external, human and nonhuman) and also of the ways in which this maze can be manipulated by the self and others in order to minimize stress. The mazeway is nature, society, culture, personality, and body image, as seen by one person. . . .

We may now see more clearly what "revitalization movements" revitalize. Whenever an individual who is under chronic, physiologically measurable stress, receives repeated information which indicates that his mazeway does not lead to action which reduces the level of stress, he must choose between maintaining his present mazeway and tolerating the stress, or changing the mazeway in an attempt to reduce the stress. Changing the mazeway involves changing the total *Gestalt* of his image of self, society, and culture, of nature and body, and of ways

of action. It may also be necessary to make changes in the "real" system in order to bring mazeway and "reality" into congruence. The effort to work a change in mazeway and "real" system together so as to permit more effective stress reduction is the effort at revitalization, and the collaboration of a number of persons in such an effort is called a revitalization movement.

The term revitalization movement thus denotes a very large class of phenomena. Other terms are employed in the existing literature to denote what I would call subclasses, distinguished by a miscellany of criteria. "Nativistic movements," for example, are revitalization movements characterized by strong emphasis on the elimination of alien persons, customs, values, and/or material from the mazeway (Linton, 1943). "Revivalistic" movements emphasize the institution of customs, values, and even aspects of nature which are thought to have been in the mazeway of previous generations but are not now present (Mooney, 1892-1893). "Cargo cults" emphasize the importation of alien values, customs, and material into the mazeway, these things being expected to arrive as a ship's cargo as for example in the Vailala Madness (Williams, 1923, 1934). "Vitalistic movements" emphasize the importation of alien elements into the mazeway but do not necessarily invoke ship and cargo as the mechanism. "Millenarian movements" emphasize mazeway transformation in an apocalyptic world transformation engineered by the supernatural. "Messianic movements" emphasize the participation of a divine savior in human flesh in the mazeway transformation (Wallis, 1918, 1943). These and parallel terms do not denote mutually exclusive categories, for a given revitalization movement may be nativistic, millenarian, messianic, and revivalistic all at once; and it may (in fact, usually does) display ambivalence with respect to nativistic, revivalistic, and importation themes.

Revitalization movements are evidently not unusual phenomena, but are recurrent features in human history. Probably few men have lived who have not been involved in an instance of the revitalization process. They are, furthermore, of profound historical importance. Both Christianity and Mohammedanism, and possibly Buddhism as well, originated in revitalization movements. Most denominational and sectarian groups and orders budded or split off after failure to revitalize a traditional institution. One can ask whether a large proportion of religious phenomena have not originated in personality

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transformation dreams or visions characteristic of the revitalization process. Myths, legends, and rituals may be relics, either of the manifest content of vision-dreams or of the doctrines and history of revival and import cults, the circumstances of whose origin have been distorted and forgotten, and whose connection with dream states is now ignored. Myths in particular have long been noted to possess a dream-like quality, and have been more or less speculatively-interpreted according to the principles of symptomatic dream interpretation. It is tempting to suggest that myths and, often, even legends, read like dreams because they were dreams when they were first told. It is tempting to argue further that culture heroes represent a condensation of the figures of the prophet and of the supernatural being of whom he dreamed.

In fact, it can be argued that all organized religions are relics of old revitalization movements, surviving in routinized form in stabilized cultures, and that religious phenomena per se originated (if it is permissible still in this day and age to talk about the "origins" of major elements of culture) in the revitalization process—i.e., in visions of a new way of life by individuals under extreme stress.

### THE PROCESSUAL STRUCTURE

A basic methodological principle employed in this study is that of event-analysis (Wallace, 1953). This approach employs a method of controlled comparison for the study of processes involving longer or shorter diachronic sequences (vide Eggan, 1954, and Steward, 1953). It is postulated that events or happenings of various types have genotypical structures independent of local cultural differences; for example, that the sequence of happenings following a severe physical disaster in cities in Japan, the United States, and Germany will display a uniform pattern, colored but not obscured by local differences in culture. These types of events may be called behavioral units. Their uniformity is based on generic human attributes, both physical and psychological, but it requires extensive analytical and comparative study to elucidate the structure of any one. Revitalization movements constitute such a behavioral unit, and so also, on a lower level of abstraction, do various subtypes within the larger class, such as cargo and revival cults. We are therefore concerned with describing the generic structure of revitalization movements considered as a behavioral unit, and also of variation along the dimensions characteristic of the type.

The structure of the revitalization process, in cases where the full course is run, consists of five somewhat overlapping stages: (I) Steady State; (II) Period of Individual Stress; (III) Period of Cultural Distortion; (IV) Period of Revitalization (in which occur the functions of maze-way reformulation, communication, organization, adaptation, cultural transformation, and routinization), and finally, (V) New Steady State. These stages are described briefly in the following sections.

I. *Steady State.* For the vast majority of the population, culturally recognized techniques for satisfying needs operate with such efficiency that chronic stress within the system varies within tolerable limits. Some severe but still tolerable stress may remain general in the population, and a fairly constant incidence of persons under, for them, intolerable stress may employ "deviant" techniques (e.g., psychotics). Gradual modification or even rapid substitution of techniques for satisfying some needs may occur without disturbing the steady state, as long as (1) the techniques for satisfying other needs are not seriously interfered with, and (2) abandonment of a given technique for reducing one need in favor of a more efficient technique does not leave other needs, which the first technique was also instrumental in satisfying, without any prospect of satisfaction.

II. *The Period of Increased Individual Stress.* Over a number of years, individual members of a population (which may be "primitive" or "civilized," either a whole society or a class, caste, religious, occupational, acculturational, or other definable social group) experience increasingly severe stress as a result of the decreasing efficiency of certain stress-reduction techniques. The culture may remain essentially unchanged or it may undergo considerable changes, but in either case there is continuous diminution in its efficiency in satisfying needs. The agencies responsible for interference with the efficiency of a cultural system are various: climatic, floral and faunal change; military defeat; political subordination; extreme pressure toward acculturation resulting in internal cultural conflict; economic distress; epidemics; and so on. The situation is often, but not necessarily, one of acculturation, and the acculturating agents may or may not be representatives of Western European cultures. While the individual can tolerate a moderate degree of increased stress and still maintain the habitual way of behavior, a point is reached at which some alternative way must be considered. Initial consider-

ation of a substitute to increase stress over the possibility will be even less and that it may at the execution of it poses the threat. Furthermore, administrative is worthless because it implies system may be inactive. III. *The Period of Cultural Distortion.* The prolongation produced by failure techniques and by of changing behavior differently by different persons apparently present of chronic stress rates adaptive changes to flexible persons to maze-way changes attempting to reduce substitution of maze or less concern for it. Some persons turn to progressive innovations empirically exhibits tendencies of such thing passivity and indolence highly ambivalent and intragroup violence, sexual mores, irresponsibilities, states of depression and probably a variety of neurotic disorders. Social action systems become maladaptive patterns.

In this phase, the system is distorted; the elements related but are mutually interfering. For this reason stress continues to rise. "Regret" defined by the society, and guilt and hence increase at least maintain it at a general process of piecemeal substitution will multiply social conflict and misunderstanding increase stress-level. Finally, as the inability of acting to reduce stress more evident, and as the activities of the maze-way systems of anxiety over the way of life also become intertwined with the maze-way problems of adaptation. IV. *The Period of Cultural Deterioration.* The process of deterioration

revitalization process, which is run, consists of overlapping stages: (I) Period of Individual Stress; (II) Period of Distortion; (III) Period of High Stress; (IV) Period of Reformulation, communication, and adaptation, cultural revitalization, and final stabilization. These stages are described in the following sections.

In the vast majority of cases, the most widely recognized techniques operate with such stress within the sustainable limits. Some severe stress may remain constant, and a fairly constant level under, for them, they employ "deviant" techniques. Gradual modification or substitution of technique needs may occur in a steady state, as long as satisfying other needs are deferred with, and (2) a new technique for reduction of a more efficient level of other needs, which is also instrumental in the process of satisfaction.

Increased individual stress over the years, individual stress (which may be defined, "either a whole society, religious, occupational or other definable social system, increasingly severe decreasing efficiency of the system, and eventually unchanged or stable changes, but in a continuous diminution in the system's ability to meet its needs. The agent of interference with the system are various: social change; military invasion; extreme pressure resulting in inter-ethnic economic distress; the situation is often, of acculturation, and may or may not be a modern European cultural individual can tolerate a decreased stress and still maintain a way of behavior, which some alternative techniques are initially considered.

ation of a substitute way is likely, however, to increase stress because it arouses anxiety over the possibility that the substitute way will be even less effective than the original, and that it may also actively interfere with the execution of other ways. In other words, it poses the threat of mazeway disintegration. Furthermore, admission that a major technique is worthless is extremely threatening because it implies that the whole mazeway system may be inadequate.

III. *The Period of Cultural Distortion.* The prolonged experience of stress, produced by failure of need satisfaction techniques and by anxiety over the prospect of changing behavior patterns, is responded to differently by different people. Rigid persons apparently prefer to tolerate high levels of chronic stress rather than make systematic adaptive changes in the mazeway. More flexible persons try out various limited mazeway changes in their personal lives, attempting to reduce stress by addition or substitution of mazeway elements with more or less concern for the *Gestalt* of the system. Some persons turn to psychodynamically regressive innovations; the regressive response empirically exhibits itself in increasing incidences of such things as alcoholism, extreme passivity and indolence, the development of highly ambivalent dependency relationships, intragroup violence, disregard of kinship and sexual mores, irresponsibility in public officials, states of depression and self-reproach, and probably a variety of psychosomatic and neurotic disorders. Some of these regressive action systems become, in effect, new cultural patterns.

In this phase, the culture is internally distorted; the elements are not harmoniously related but are mutually inconsistent and interfering. For this reason alone, stress continues to rise. "Regressive" behavior, as defined by the society, will arouse considerable guilt and hence increase stress level or at least maintain it at a high point; and the general process of piecemeal cultural substitution will multiply situations of mutual conflict and misunderstanding, which in turn increase stress-level again.

Finally, as the inadequacy of existing ways of acting to reduce stress becomes more and more evident, and as the internal incongruities of the mazeway are perceived, symptoms of anxiety over the loss of a meaningful way of life also become evident: disillusionment with the mazeway, and apathy toward problems of adaptation, set in.

IV. *The Period of Revitalization.* This process of deterioration can, if not checked,

lead to the death of the society. Population may fall even to the point of extinction as a result of increasing death rates and decreasing birth rates; the society may be defeated in war, invaded, its population dispersed and its customs suppressed; factional disputes may nibble away areas and segments of the population. But these dire events are not infrequently forestalled, or at least postponed, by a revitalization movement. Many such movements are religious in character, and such religious revitalization movements must perform at least six major tasks.

1. *Mazeway Reformulation.* Whether the movement is religious or secular, the reformulation of the mazeway generally seems to depend on a restructuring of elements and subsystems which have already attained currency in the society and may even be in use, and which are known to the person who is to become the prophet or leader. The occasion of their combination in a form which constitutes an internally consistent structure, and of their acceptance by the prophet as a guide to action, is abrupt and dramatic, usually occurring as a moment of insight, a brief period of realization of relationships and opportunities. These moments are often called inspiration or revelation. The reformulation also seems normally to occur in its initial form in the mind of a single person rather than to grow directly out of group deliberations.

With a few exceptions, every religious revitalization movement with which I am acquainted has been originally conceived in one or several hallucinatory visions by a single individual. A supernatural being appears to the prophet-to-be, explains his own and his society's troubles as being entirely or partly a result of the violation of certain rules, and promises individual and social revitalization if the injunctions are followed and the rituals practiced, but personal and social catastrophe if they are not. These dreams express: (1) the dreamer's wish for a satisfying parental figure (the supernatural, guardian-spirit content), (2) world-destruction fantasies (the apocalyptic, millennial content), (3) feelings of guilt and anxiety (the moral content), and (4) longings for the establishment of an ideal state of stable and satisfying human and supernatural relations (the restitution fantasy or Utopian content). In a sense, such a dream also functions almost as a funeral ritual: the "dead" way of life is recognized as dead; interest shifts to a god, the community, and a new way. A new mazeway *Gestalt* is presented, with more or less innovation in details of content. The

prophet feels a need to tell others of his experience, and may have definite feelings of missionary or messianic obligation. Generally he shows evidence of a radical inner change in personality soon after the vision experience: a remission of old and chronic physical complaints, a more active and purposeful way of life, greater confidence in interpersonal relations, the dropping of deep-seated habits like alcoholism. Hence we may call these visions "personality transformation dreams."

2. *Communication.* The dreamer undertakes to preach his revelations to people, in an evangelistic or messianic spirit; he becomes a prophet. The doctrinal and behavioral injunctions which he preaches carry two fundamental motifs; that the convert will come under the care and protection of certain supernatural beings; and that both he and his society will benefit materially from an identification with some definable new cultural system (whether a revived culture or a cargo culture, or a syncretism of both, as is usually the case). The preaching may take many forms (e.g., mass exhortation vs. quiet individual persuasion) and may be directed at various sorts of audiences (e.g., the elite vs. the down-trodden). As he gathers disciples, these assume much of the responsibility for communicating the "good word," and communication remains one of the primary activities of the movement during later phases of organization.

3. *Organization.* Converts are made by the prophet. Some undergo hysterical seizures induced by suggestion in a crowd situation; some experience an ecstatic vision in private circumstances; some are convinced by more or less rational arguments, some by considerations of expediency and opportunity. A small clique of special disciples (often including a few already influential men) clusters about the prophet and an embryonic campaign organization develops with three orders of personnel: the prophet; the disciples; and the followers. Frequently the action program from here on is effectively administered in large part by a political rather than a religious leadership. Like the prophet, many of the converts undergo a revitalizing personality transformation.

Max Weber's concept of "charismatic leadership" well describes the type of leader-follower relationship characteristic of revitalization movement organizations (1947). The fundamental element of the vision, as I have indicated above, is the entrance of the

visionary into an intense relationship with a supernatural being. This relationship, furthermore, is one in which the prophet accepts the leadership, succor, and dominance of the supernatural. Many followers of a prophet, especially the disciples, also have ecstatic revelatory experiences; but they and all sincere followers who have not had a personal revelation also enter into a parallel relationship to the prophet: as God is to the prophet, so (almost) is the prophet to his followers. The relationship of the follower to the prophet is in all probability determined by the displacement of transference dependency wishes onto his image; he is regarded as an uncanny person, of unquestionable authority in one or more spheres of leadership, sanctioned by the supernatural. Max Weber denotes this quality of uncanny authority and moral ascendancy in a leader as charisma. Followers defer to the charismatic leader not because of his status in an existing authority structure but because of a fascinating personal "power," often ascribed to supernatural sources and validated in successful performance, akin to the "mana" or "orenda" of ethnological literature. The charismatic leader thus is not merely permitted but expected to phrase his call for adherents as a demand to perform a duty to a power higher than human. Weber correctly points out that the "routinization" of charisma is a critical issue in movement organization, since unless this "power" is distributed to other personnel in a stable institutional structure, the movement itself is liable to die with the death or failure of individual prophet, king, or war lord.

4. *Adaptation.* The movement is a revolutionary organization and almost inevitably will encounter some resistance. Resistance may in some cases be slight and fleeting but more commonly is determined and resourceful, and is held either by a powerful faction within the society or by agents of a dominant foreign society. The movement may therefore have to use various strategies of adaptation: doctrinal modification; political and diplomatic maneuver; and force. These strategies are not mutually exclusive nor, once chosen, are they necessarily maintained through the life of the movement. In most instances the original doctrine is continuously modified by the prophet, who responds to various criticisms and affirmations by adding to, emphasizing, playing down, and eliminating selected elements of the original visions. This reworking makes the new doctrine

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more acceptable to special interest groups,  
may give it a better "fit" to the population's  
cultural and personality patterns, and may  
take account of the changes occurring in the  
general milieu. In instances where organized  
hostility to the movement develops, a crystal-  
lization of counter-hostility against unbeliev-  
ers frequently occurs, and emphasis shifts  
from cultivation of the ideal to combat  
against the unbeliever.

5. *Cultural Transformation.* As the whole  
or a controlling portion of the population  
comes to accept the new religion with its  
various injunctions, a noticeable social re-  
vitalization occurs, signalized by the reduction  
of the personal deterioration symptoms of  
individuals, by extensive cultural changes,  
and by an enthusiastic embarkation on some  
organized program of group action. This  
group program may, however, be more or  
less realistic and more or less adaptive: some  
programs are literally suicidal; others repre-  
sent well conceived and successful projects  
of further social, political, or economic re-  
form; some fail, not through any deficiency  
in conception and execution, but because  
circumstances made defeat inevitable.

6. *Routinization.* If the group action pro-  
gram in nonritual spheres is effective in  
reducing stress-generating situations, it be-  
comes established as normal in various eco-  
nomic, social, and political institutions and  
customs. Rarely does the movement organi-  
zation assert or maintain a totalitarian con-  
trol over all aspects of the transformed  
culture; more usually, once the desired trans-  
formation has occurred, the organization  
contracts and maintains responsibility only  
for the preservation of doctrine and the per-  
formance of ritual (i.e., it becomes a  
church).

V. *The New Steady State.* Once cultural  
transformation has been accomplished and  
the new cultural system has proved itself  
viable, and once the movement organization  
has solved its problems of routinization, a  
new steady state may be said to exist. The  
culture of this state will probably be differ-  
ent in pattern, organization or *Gestalt*, as  
well as in traits, from the earlier steady state;  
it will be different from that of the period of  
cultural distortion.

#### VARIETIES AND DIMENSIONS OF VARIATION

I will discuss four of the many possible  
variations: the choice of identification;  
the choice of secular and religious means; nativ-  
ism; and the success-failure continuum.

1. *Choice of Identification.* Three varieties

have been distinguished already on the basis  
of differences in choice of identification:  
movements which profess to revive a tradi-  
tional culture now fallen into desuetude;  
movements which profess to import a for-  
eign cultural system; and movements which  
profess neither revival nor importation, but  
conceive that the desired cultural endstate,  
which has never been enjoyed by ancestors  
or foreigners, will be realized for the first  
time in a future *Utopia*. The Ghost Dance,  
the Xosa Revival, and the Boxer Rebellion  
are examples of professedly revivalistic  
movements; the Vailala Madness (and other  
cargo cults) and the Taiping Rebellion are  
examples of professedly importation move-  
ments. Some formulations like Ikhnaton's  
monotheistic cult in old Egypt and many  
Utopian programs, deny any substantial debt  
to the past or to the foreigner, but conceive  
their ideology to be something new under the  
sun, and its culture to belong to the future.

Culture areas seem to have characteristic  
ways of handling the identification problem.  
The cargo fantasy, although it can be found  
outside the Melanesian area, seems to be  
particularly at home there: South American  
Indian prophets frequently preached of a  
migration to a heaven-on-earth free of Span-  
iards and other evils, but the promised land  
fantasy is known elsewhere; North Ameri-  
can Indian prophets most commonly empha-  
sized the revival of the old culture by ritual  
and moral purification, but pure revival  
ideas exist in other regions too. Structural  
"necessity" or situational factors associated  
with culture area may be responsible. The  
contrast between native-white relationships  
in North America (a "revival" area) and  
Melanesia (an "importation" area) may be  
associated with the fact that American Indi-  
ans north of Mexico were never enslaved on  
a large scale, forced to work on plantations,  
or levied for labor in lieu of taxes, whereas  
Melanesians were often subjected to more  
direct coercion by foreign police power. The  
Melanesian response has been an identifica-  
tion with the aggressor (vide Bettelheim,  
1947). On the other hand, the American Indi-  
ans have been less dominated as individuals  
by whites, even under defeat and injustice.  
Their response to this different situation has  
by and large been an identification with a  
happier past. This would suggest that an  
important variable in choice of identification  
is the degree of domination exerted by a  
foreign society, and that import-oriented re-  
vitalization movements will not develop un-

til an extremely high degree of domination is reached.

2. *The Choice of Secular and Religious Means.* There are two variables involved here: the amount of secular action which takes place in a movement, and the amount of religious action. Secular action is here defined as the manipulation of human relationships; religious action as the manipulation of relationships between human and supernatural beings. No revitalization movement can, by definition, be truly nonsecular, but some can be relatively less religious than others, and movements can change in emphasis depending on changing circumstances. There is a tendency, which is implicit in the earlier discussion of stages, for movements to become more political in emphasis, and to act through secular rather than religious institutions, as problems of organization, adaptation, and routinization become more pressing. The Taiping Rebellion, for instance, began as religiously-preoccupied movements; opposition by the Manchu dynasty and by foreign powers forced it to become more and more political and military in orientation.

A few "purely" political movements like the Hebertist faction during the French Revolution, and the Russian communist movement and its derivatives, have been officially atheistic, but the quality of doctrine and of leader-follower relationships is so similar, at least on superficial inspection, to religious doctrine and human-supernatural relations, that one wonders whether it is not a distinction without a difference. Communist movements are commonly asserted to have the quality of religious movements, despite their failure to appeal to a supernatural community, and such things as the development of a Marxist gospel with elaborate exegesis, the embalming of Lenin, and the concern with conversion, confession, and moral purity (as defined by the movement) have the earmarks of religion. The Communist Revolution of 1917 in Russia was almost typical in structure of religious revitalization movements: there was a very sick society, prophets appealed to a revered authority (Marx), apocalyptic and Utopian fantasies were preached, and missionary fervor animated the leaders. Furthermore, many social and political reform movements, while not atheistic, act through secular rather than religious media and invoke religious sanction only in a perfunctory way. I do not wish to elaborate the discussion at this time, however, beyond the point of suggesting again that the obvious distinctions between religious and secular

movements may conceal fundamental similarities of sociocultural process and of psychodynamics, and that while all secular prophets have not had personality transformation visions, some probably have, and others have had a similar experience in ideological conversion.

Human affairs around the world seem more and more commonly to be decided without reference to supernatural powers. It is an interesting question whether mankind can profitably dispense with the essential element of the religious revitalization process before reaching a Utopia without stress or strain. While religious movements may involve crude and powerful emotions and irrational fantasies of interaction with non-existent beings, and can occasionally lead to unfortunate practical consequences in human relations, the same fantasies and emotions could lead to even more unfortunate practical consequences for world peace and human welfare when directed toward people improperly perceived and toward organs of political action and cultural ideologies. The answer would seem to be that as fewer and fewer men make use of the religious displacement process, there will have to be a corresponding reduction of the incidence and severity of transference neuroses, or human relationships will be increasingly contaminated by character disorders, neurotic acting out, and paranoid deification of political leaders and ideologies.

3. *Nativism.* Because a major part of the program of many revitalization movements has been to expel the persons or customs of foreign invaders or overlords, they have been widely called "nativistic movements." However, the amount of nativistic activity in movements is variable. Some movements—the cargo cults, for instance—are antinativistic from a cultural standpoint but nativistic from a personnel standpoint. Handsome Lake was only mildly nativistic; he sought for an accommodation of cultures and personalities rather than expulsion, and favored entry of certain types of white persons and culture-content. Still, many of the classic revivalistic movements have been vigorously nativistic, in the ambivalent way discussed earlier. Thus nativism is a dimension of variation rather than an elemental property of revitalization movements.

A further complication is introduced by the fact that the nativistic component of a revitalization movement not uncommonly is very low at the time of conception, but increases sharply after the movement enters the adaptation stage. Initial doctrinal formu-

lations emphasize standing, and the expect the powers and accepting. With the movement take the form of arponent in the doctrinal factors are imposed of the course and c

4. *Success and stages as given ear to a revitalization to a revitalization. Completely successful, abortive; their pro intermediate point question: how man ment achieve in o sion in the category original conception ization by culture c requisite number c have selected only the first three stage cation, and organi fourth (adaptation). of our information will deal with circ late adaptation, rati ters as initial blocka interference with or*

Two major but seem to be very imp fate of any given "realism" of the doc force exerted again: opponents. "Realism define without invo cess or failure, and fined, is of no use a of success or failur criterion of conver since revitalization r tion unconventional doctrine in every m every person's maze alistic in that predic the basis of its assur more or less in error, of behavior in which success of a revitaliz tion of the outcome

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lations emphasize love, co-operation, under-  
standing, and the prophet and his disciples  
expect the powers-that-be to be reasonable  
and accepting. When these powers interfere  
with the movement, the response is apt to  
take the form of an increased nativistic com-  
ponent in the doctrine. Here again, situational  
factors are important for an understanding  
of the course and character of the movement.

4. *Success and Failure.* The outline of  
stages as given earlier is properly applicable  
to a revitalization movement which is com-  
pletely successful. Many movements are  
abortive; their progress is arrested at some  
intermediate point. This raises a taxonomic  
question: how many stages should the move-  
ment achieve in order to qualify for inclu-  
sion in the category? Logically, as long as the  
original conception is a doctrine of revital-  
ization by culture change, there should be no  
requisite number of stages. Practically, we  
have selected only movements which passed  
the first three stages (conception, communi-  
cation, and organization) and entered the  
fourth (adaptation). This means that the bulk  
of our information on success and failure  
will deal with circumstances of relatively  
late adaptation, rather than with such mat-  
ters as initial blockage of communication and  
interference with organization.

Two major but not unrelated variables  
seem to be very important in determining the  
fate of any given movement: the relative  
"realism" of the doctrine; and the amount of  
force exerted against the organization by its  
opponents. "Realism" is a difficult concept to  
define without invoking the concept of suc-  
cess or failure, and unless it can be so de-  
fined, is of no use as a variable explanatory  
of success or failure. Nor can one use the  
criterion of conventionality of perception,  
since revitalization movements are by defini-  
tion unconventional. While a great deal of  
doctrine in every movement (and, indeed, in  
every person's mazeway) is extremely unre-  
alistic in that predictions of events made on  
the basis of its assumptions will prove to be  
more or less in error, there is only one sphere  
of behavior in which such error is fatal to the  
success of a revitalization movement: predic-  
tion of the outcome of conflict situations. If

the organization cannot predict successfully  
the consequences of its own moves and of its  
opponents' moves in a power struggle, its  
demise is very likely. If, on the other hand, it  
is canny about conflict, or if the amount of  
resistance is low, it can be extremely "unre-  
alistic" and extremely unconventional in  
other matters without running much risk of  
early collapse. In other words, probability of  
failure would seem to be negatively correlat-  
ed with degree of realism in conflict situa-  
tions, and directly correlated with amount of  
resistance. Where conflict-realism is high  
and resistance is low, the movement is  
bound to achieve the phase of routinization.  
Whether its culture will be viable for long  
beyond this point, however, will depend on  
whether its mazeway formulations lead to  
actions which maintain a low level of stress.

## SUMMARY

This programmatic paper outlines the con-  
cepts, assumptions, and initial findings of a  
comparative study of religious revitalization  
movements. Revitalization movements are  
defined as deliberate, conscious, organized  
efforts by members of a society to create a  
more satisfying culture. The revitalization  
movement as a general type of event occurs  
under two conditions: high stress for individ-  
ual members of the society, and disillusion-  
ment with a distorted cultural *Gestalt*. The  
movement follows a series of functional  
stages: mazeway reformulation, communica-  
tion, organization, adaptation, cultural trans-  
formation, and routinization. Movements  
vary along several dimensions, of which  
choice of identification, relative degree of  
religious and secular emphasis, nativism,  
and success or failure are discussed here.  
The movement is usually conceived in a  
prophet's revelatory visions, which provide  
for him a satisfying relationship to the super-  
natural and outline a new way of life under  
divine sanction. Followers achieve similar  
satisfaction of dependency needs in the  
charismatic relationship. It is suggested that  
the historical origin of a great proportion of  
religious phenomena has been in revitaliza-  
tion movements.