

## How does the religious culture influence Lisu immigrants reconstruct their village order? —Take Lisu Immigrants Resettlement Community of Pu'er City as Example

Yang Lu<sup>i</sup> Zhang Lihui<sup>ii</sup>

### ABSTRACT

In recent year, most of papers discussing immigrants' life shows that the immigrant community has a low sense of belonging, difficulty in integration and disorder of social order. Observing the migrant village of Lisu Yang Lu<sup>iii</sup> Zhang Lihui<sup>iv</sup> ethnic group in Pu'er city, there is no "cultural desert" phenomenon brought by the relocation of immigrants, where is the effect of orderly and stable unity. The paper aims to interpreter the Christian influence on the village resettlement and explore the reasons of the orderliness, peace and unity in the village. The method is ethnographic, including participant-observation, in-depth interviews and group interviews. The information was contacted with the community's historical changes over a period from 1996 to 2017, which included the growth of Christianity, the reconstruction of economic life and village power network under the influence of Christian culture. In conclusion, Lisu Christian organizations are just like the cultural organization, which is the key for recalling the original culture. Cultural organization is the spiritual stabilizer in economic development and one of the important insurance to prevent the settlement community from the phenomenon of "cultural desert".

**Keywords:** Lisu immigrants, Religious culture, village order

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<sup>i</sup> Yang Lu is the associate professor from Pu'er College in Yunnan of China and the PHD student in National Centre for Borderlands Ethnic Studies in Southwest China at Yunnan University.

<sup>ii</sup> Zhang Lihui is the professor from Pu'er College in Yunnan of China.

<sup>iii</sup> Yang Lu is the associate professor from Pu'er College in Yunnan of China and the PHD student in National Centre for Borderlands Ethnic Studies in Southwest China at Yunnan University.

<sup>iv</sup> Zhang Lihui is the professor from Pu'er College in Yunnan of China.

## BACKGROUND

Immigration means fracture, changing the regional space. Immigrants lost their survival space and resources, the original social structure collapse, split, refactoring, recombination. Immigrant communities have low group sense of belonging, with integration difficulty and social disorder. In the paper, Zhou La and Ju Hua used to describe that there were "cultural desert" phenomenon and social disorder in the community of Xiazangtang reservoir resettlement, because the government did not pay much attention to the construction of humanistic environment in the community.<sup>[1]</sup> Wang peipei, a scholar, conducted a field survey from 2008 to 2014 in Wenzhou reservoir resettlement community.<sup>[2]</sup> She described the problem of resource sharing in the resettlement reservoir, which leads to the intergroup rejection and moral collapse, the low cohesion of the immigrants, the low social connectedness, and the instability of the community. In the article "the problems and countermeasures of minority nationalities' immigrants in the development of southwest hydropower resources", Zhou Songbai and Hu Xiaoden pointed out: *the minority immigrants in hydropower development face the plight, which the more open, the poorer, and the more help, the poorer. When the immigrants have very difficulties economy, the minority ethnic groups' traditional culture in southwest area was dying because of the hydropower resources development. The traditional culture of the immigrant community has been weakened, the traditional social organization has been disintegrated, and the mutual assistance have disappeared.*<sup>[3]</sup> A lot of researches have shown that due to the culture rupture, the immigrant communities in the process of reconstruction have the problems of the low correlation, the weak sense of belonging, moral landslide, poorly organized, and so on. Chinese government is eager to find some ways to eliminate the problems caused by resettlement, such as loss of original community tradition, reduced sense of belonging, difficulty of group integration and disorder of social order and so on. Under the government's leading, how can immigrant communities exert their initiative to maximize the integration of their own resources so that the relocated communities can regain order and vitality. This a problem the relocated communities have to deal with.

## THE PURPOSE OF RESEARCH

The writer took the field work in Lisu immigrant village from July to August, 2017, finding out that Lisu villages have strong internal order ability under the influence of Christian culture. The villagers have a strong sense of identity and belonging, with a good village cohesion. Their life is poor, but the spiritual life is rich. In the nearly 20 years of relocated life, the Lisu immigrants suffered the transformation from farmers to migrant worker, then to landless farmers; the group organization form transformed from company team to villages and their traditional culture experienced the process of being devalued to be valued by the government. With the powerful organization ability, there's no social problems, such as

interpersonal relationship slackness, moral unenforceability and depressed suicide, caused by public culture deficiency, weak cohesion, moral declination and cultural fracture. Why didn't the Lisu immigrants have the phenomenon of "cultural desert" brought by migration? The main cause has two aspects, on the one hand, the local government has implemented appropriate settlement policies, on the other hand, the immigrant villagers continued to keep the Lisu Christian faith. Focusing on the latter one, the paper aims to interpret the Christian influence on the village resettlement and explore the reasons of the orderliness, peace and unity in the village.

## METHODS

This case study focuses on the ways how the religious culture influence Lisu immigrants reconstruct their village order. The data were gathered using surveys, in-depth and group interviews and structured interviews and unstructured interviews and participant-observation over one month from July to August in 2017. Because of the example is the Lisu immigrant resettlement community, the key problem is how the religious culture influence the community to develop. The information was contacted with the community's historical changes over a period from 1996 to 2017, which include the growth of Christianity, the reconstruction of economic life and village power networks under the influence of Christian culture. The in-depth interviews were conducted by the immigrant community elites, who were the committee secretary of Taqinghe Village, the vice director of Bengnong village, the director of Naji village, 10 presbyters and 2 priests. The targets of group interview were the presbyters, the village team cadres, the Christian believers and villagers. 95% the interviewee were Lisu people, most of them were Christian believers. The main context of interview was to reveal their experience about their resettlement life, which were the questions about the beginning of resettlement life in Pu'er, how their life style is changing, how their culture is shaking. In addition, the in-depth interview has received the interviewee life history, which has a glance to their life in Nujiang. There was a Lisu girl come from Fugong county in Nujiang in the survey group formed by 4 people. The Lisu girl is a good bridge between the immigrant villagers and the survey group, she has always been called "Laoxiang", which was fellow-villager in Chinese. She also can speak Lisu Language. She is so nice that the survey group could get a good communication with Lisu immigrant villagers. Therefore, the survey was finished in only took one month, getting more than 50000 words report materials.

## INVESTIGATION

The investigation is divided into the following four aspects:

### I THE INTRODUCTION OF LISU IMMIGRANT VILLAGES

In 1996, Pu'er and Nujiang jointly started to conduct the relocation project of ecological migration. The government of Nujiang aim to solve the ecological burden, where many peasants have a few farm land, the peasants living in poverty. The government of Pu'er aim to the coffee company labor shortage problem. Therefore, the two cities' governments jointly conducted the migration mode of "*Company + Base + Farmers*". In 1996, the two governments began to the project. At first, the video of the resettlement area was shown in Lushui county and Fugong county villages. Secondly, the 60 youth from the villages were organized to a team to test the resettlement area, then, the 60 youth came back to the villages to do propaganda. The government adhered to the principle of voluntary registration, so as to make the Lisu villagers in Lushui and Fugong accept the relocation policy. There was a certain falsity in the propaganda, the living environment in the propaganda film was far better than the actual situation of the place. The 60 youth were carefully arranged to see some parts of the resettlement area. The scene of the imperfectly real resettlement area has formed the vision of a beautiful homeland in the beautiful wishes of the villagers. Some of the villagers complied with the resettlement plan, and some of them insisted on staying in their hometown.

Between 1997 and 2000, the Lisu ethnic groups in Lushui county and Fugong county in Nujiang gradually moved to Simao district of Pu'er city, where they were separated to resettle in in three administrative villages, which are Taqinghe, Bengnong and Naji. The immigrants from Fugong county were resettled in Taqinghe village, they were managed by Longsheng company, they were separated into four teams, then the four teams were turned to be managed by Jinxiang company. The Lisu immigrants from Lushui county were separated to be resettled in Bengnong village and Naji village. The Lisu immigrants in Bengnong village were constitute into one branch factory and five teams. The Lisu immigrants in Naji village were constitute into one branch factory and six teams. Both of the two villages' Lisu immigrants were directly managed by Hande Company, that is consistent with the relocation model for developing the poor, which is the mode of "*Company + Base + Farmers*". This mode means that the identity of the migrants has changed from the original farmer to the part-time worker of the company. The government of Nujiang set up a temporary office in Simao district for helping the Simao government to allocate resettlement in 1997 to 2002.

At present, the spatial arrangement of the villages is consistent with the arrangement of the initial resettlement area. Taqinghe village has 13 village teams in total, where have 3035 people and 830 families, there are 15 ethnic groups, such as Lisu, Hani, Lahu, Bai, Han, Jinuo and so on. 80% people is Lisu immigrants in

Taqinghe village, most of them believe in Christianity, having 10 churches. Bengnong village has 13 village teams in total, the Lisu immigrants have been settled in 5 village team, the five village team were in the same area, one adhere to another, so the location people called them as “development area”, where has 687 people and 5 churches. Naji village committee, 70 kilometers away from Yixiang town, is close to Jiangcheng county. There are 15 village team in the village, the Lisu immigrants are divided into six village teams, where has six of them.

## II THE GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE IMMIGRANT VILLAGES.

The spread of Christianity in Nujiang area has a long history. The history of the spread and development of Christianity in Fugong and Lushui county began in the 1930s. A period of gradual development of Christianity in Nujiang was from the establishment of the new China to the Cultural Revolution. After the Cultural Revolution, Christianity suffered a setback and a stopping development period. 1978 years later, Christian revitalized again in Lisu villages in Nujiang, especially after banning all kinds of folk religion in the local, the Lisu peasant put them feelings into Christianity, which became a substitute for the original folk religion.<sup>[4]</sup> Religion is both a practice of faith and a social force as well as a way of life.<sup>[5]</sup> After the migration, the Lisu people have very strong desire to continue their religious culture, the reasons were as the following three points. Firstly, being the immigrants, they had to face the unexpected encounter, the unpredictable risks, the pressures from the production and life. This made Lisu immigrants' feeling of worry and fear rise suddenly. How to face it? Only in Christianity can they seek spiritual comfort and temporary peace. Secondly, when they first arrived, the local people rejected, despised or even antagonized the immigrants, which made the Lisu people feel lonely and helpless. The common situation they encountered let them realized that it is very important condition to unite Lisu people for obtaining the living capital. Christianity is undoubtedly the most important unity factor in their group. Finally, whether the government of Nujiang city or the government of Pu'er city has an insufficient understanding for the complexity of the relocation work, especially in cultural comfort and other blind area, this also makes Christianity in the immigrant village develop rapidly.

The Lisu immigrants keep their religious culture in the transitional period, finding the linking factor with the native land from the religious belief. Half of the Lisu immigrants who moved from Nujiang were Christian. At the beginning of resettlement, The Christian believers quickly organized daily religious activities in their villages, they actively built churches. A Christian believer said: "When we get here, we can't build your own house, but we have to fix the church first." This was the voice of the Christian believers in the early days of the resettlement. Due to the shortage of funds and difficulties in life, many of the churches in the villages were the yak houses. During the development of the last 20 years, the church was rebuilt several times.

*What was the situation of building the church in Taqinghe village Dalongdong team 1st and 2nd for 20 years? The situation was the following describe:*

*In early 1998, there was no church, only in private tents can the Christian believers take the religious life, such as studying Bible, prayer, spirituality, Sunday worship. There were so many believers that the tent was hard to hold, so they chose to worship under the big trees. After their consultation, they choose a small hill where is about 200 meters away from the highway as a gathering place, then they built a small house by tree branches.*

*In February 1999, the minister OM and some believers contributed 5,000 red bricks and 6 tons of cement for building the brick wall structure church. At that time, the traffic was inconvenient, the truck was unable to reach the place they built the church. All the materials for the church could only be transported by hand. The believers word hardly together, carrying the material by their hands or shoulders from one kilometre away to the site of the building. In 2006, after years of neglect, the church on the hillside became a dilapidated house, the road to the church was so inconvenient that the believers raised money to buy eight acres of land for rebuilding the church. In 2007, the church was rebuilt with a frame structure at the eight acres of land, which was 450 square meters in total. Later, the church has become the Lisu Church Training Center by various efforts. NH is the school head, where is 90 families believer, 270 believers, all of whom are Lisu ethnic group. Today, the church is not only the place where the believers of Taqinghe village Dalongdong team 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>, but also the Lisu Church Training Center for cultivate the socialist construction personnel and the church staff.*

*Bengnong 5<sup>th</sup> village team has built the church since 1998, the situation as following:*

*In April 1998, there were 66 households from Nujiang area to Bengnong village team 5<sup>th</sup>. There are now 54 remaining households, among which there are only seven non-believers, and there are about 210 believers. In June 1998, after the villagers had built their homes, they started building churches. Each family of believers offered two pieces of asbestos, which together amounted to 118 pieces. They cut up the column to build the wooden church, the church was used for seven years. In 2005, Each family of believers offered 10 bricks and 2 three-ply wood, 470 bricks and 94 three-ply wood, in order to build the brick church. In 2007, the brick church was flooded by mud-rock flow and landslip. The church should to be rebuilt in other place. The village government provided 2,000 red bricks, 5 tons of cement, 5 Windows and 2 iron gates for rebuilding the church near by the river.*

*The above information was collected by group interview in July 2017.*

The church firstly appeared as an informal public space in each immigrant village. The daily worship is carried out in Lisu language, accompanying with the

Lisu song and dance. The open religious activities attracts many villagers, even though some of them are not the believers, they enjoy listening to songs and watching dances nearby the church. This is undoubtedly attractive to the villagers who are extremely deficient in cultural life. The number of believers is increasing year by year, attracting non-believers with Lisu's native Christian religion and missionary methods. The changes in the number of Christian believers in Taqinghe village shows as the following chart:

The name of village team	1998	2017
Dalongdong team 1 <sup>st</sup>	About 30 person	Above 100 person
Dalongdong team 2 <sup>nd</sup>	About 60 person	Above 200 person
Xiaoxinzhai team 1 <sup>st</sup>	20 person	Above 40 person
Xiaoxinzhai team 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Above 10 person	Above 60 person
Xiaoxinzhai team 3 <sup>rd</sup>	0	Above 30 person
Pumichang team 1 <sup>st</sup>	Above 10 person	Above 100 person
Pumichang team 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Above 30 person	Above 180 person
Pumichang team 3 <sup>rd</sup>	60 person	Above 100 person
Dadutian team 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup>	60 person	Above 200 person
Dadutian team 3 <sup>rd</sup>	30 person	Above 80 person
Dadutian team 4 <sup>th</sup> and 5 <sup>th</sup>	50 person	About 200 person

The above data is provided by NH presbyter.

*Interview material 1:*

*Time: July 2017*

*Location: Taqinghe village*

*Interviewee: Priests OM and presbyter PF*

*Content:*

*Presbyter PF said: "We were the first group to arrive at Taqinghe village Dalongdong, 25 Lisu families in the group, only 3 families were the believers, which were about 10 person. We came here with the Bible and hymns, we gathered at my house, praying and singing hymns. Our faith moved the other Lisu villagers of Dalongdong team slowly. More than a year later, the number of religious people was increasing, reaching about 60 people. There are above 100 believers in Dalongdong team."*

In addition, priests OM and presbyter PF had been approved by God in Nujiang, they move to Taqinghe village with their family. With their positive contact and organization, all of the Lisu immigrants' Christian believers gathered together to celebrate the three major festivals of Christianity from 1998 to 1999. Since 2000, as the number of religious believers has increased, Christian believers have separated to three parts to hold the festivals in their three administrative villages. In order to develop the regular Christianity in Pu'er area, Lisu immigrants took the Christian organization of Pu'er area together to engage the Vice President of the two Christian Sessions in Yunnan Province for the training. At that time, 70 people attended into the training, Lisu immigrants Christian believers accounted for 50 people. The Lisu immigrants have constructed a new network of community culture based on Christian organizations. After the relocation, the Lisu immigrants quickly rebuilt the public space, resuming the festival etiquette, they achieved cultural continuity and innovation in the fracture.

The situation the Lisu immigrants' believers had the first to third Christian holiday in Pu'er was the following describe.

*Interview material 2*

*Time: July 2017.*

*Location: Taqinghe village*

*Interviewees: 5 Lisu believers*

*Content:*

*In 1998, we had no church at all, so we all met in the opening place. The first Easter was in April 1998, we gathered in Taqinghe Daxidi village, where more than 200 Lisu people including non-believers came to help. We sang hymns, sharing biblical knowledge. We made a meal in the price of 5yuan for each people, five or six dishes to ten different dishes. Nowadays, we made the meal in the price of 8yuan. The second time was Thanksgiving in October 1998, the gathering place was Taqinghe Dalongdong team 2<sup>nd</sup>. We sang the song to thank God for creating all things for the world and thank God for giving us coffee and tea. Each people in the feast should pay 5yuan (now 8yuan) for the meal, in which were five or six dishes to ten different dishes. The third holiday was Christmas in 1998. The gathering place was Taqinghe Dadutian village team, lasted for three days. We sang hymns, sharing the biblical knowledge of the birth of Jesus. Each people in the feast should pay 5yuan (now 8yuan) for the meal, in which were five or six dishes to ten different dishes.*

The local government has the attitude for the church activities of the Lisu religious believers, which is not to not to interfere in, not to participate in and no support. With the principles of freedom of religious belief, Lisu immigration people and the local government to keep the balance.



### III THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ECONOMIC LIFE UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIAN CULTURE

Transition was a stressful process. The Lisu people who had never left their homeland, under the propaganda of the government, were looking forward to their beautiful homeland after seven days and seven nights, they had made the long journey to the resettlement land that the government promotes. The resettlement situation was different from the propaganda of the government, where the homes was just the building using eight or nine pillars supporting the more than 60 pieces of asbestos shingle, without bricks or stones wall, the inner floor of these house is unlevelled mud land. Some of the immigrants selected to come back to homeland. More immigrants selected to stay here. Because there is closer to the market than Nujiang villages, and the land is gentler slop than their homeland.

At the beginning of the resettlement, it was most prominent that the indigenous people discriminate against the immigration. The Indigenous people is generally believed that: the reason Lisu immigrant moved to here was they were not able to make a living in their homeland, so they moved to here for robbing resources, including land, road, forest, water, etc. Therefore, the immigrant were called “Mahe”, that means barbarian. In commodity trading, the Indigenous people sell their goods to Lisu immigrants at a higher price. When the immigrants face these difficulties, they could only use the existing network of human relationships to get a mutual help group. Christian organization replaced the social-support network after they left homeland. Family, faithful brothers and sisters are the most powerful support group.

#### *Interview material 3*

*Time: July 2017.*

*Location: Taqinghe village*

*Interviewees: 5 Lisu believers*

*Content:*

*"Believers get together to worship, singing praises, sharing with knowledge of the Bible, the Eucharist, the atmosphere is quiet and sacred, in which everyone is full. Each people has temporarily rest and empty mind." "We communicate with each other faithfully and freely. We talk about unsatisfied thing to release our sad feeling. The believers abandon their troubles feeling through these ritual to embrace life in a calm state of mind."*

In some degree, the religious culture shaped the Lisu's gentle personality. When the immigrants was in experience discrimination and unfair treatment, they tried to walk away. This can be proved that the Lisu immigrants had have not an excessive mass confrontation events since they moved here.

Whether the resettlement model of "*Company + Base + Farmers*" can become the sustainable survival mode of migration is the fundamental question, which is the key to the success of the immigrants' project. As mentioned above, the Lisu ethnic group changed their peasant's identity into semi-worker and semi-peasant. Their main works was to cultivate coffee. During 1998 to 2001, there was a 1 yuan to 2 yuan for the diggings, and 15 yuan to 30 yuan for the management of an acre of coffee. After the coffee was put into production, the company was paid at a discount to the market price. During this period, the villagers were able to maintain their subsistence through hard work, there were no dispute and unhappiness about the discounted company's price. The company had technicians who teach immigrants how to grow and manage coffee and tea. Some aborigines were also employees of the company, contacting with Lisu immigrants at work. In the process of constant communication, their perception and cognition about the Lisu immigrants were also changing, from the original idea "Lisu people are poor and lazy, do not want to do more work, always go to worship god" to the idea of "hard work, personality peace, unity". After that time, the Lisu immigrants and the aborigines established the relationship of reciprocity, which can be treated each other with courtesy in the marriage feast and festivals' ritual.

However, the resettlement model of "*Company + Base + Farmers*" has not been able to withstand the impact and inspection of the market economy. From 2000 to 2003, the market price of coffee was 2 to 5 yuan/kg, while the company's purchase price was 0.5 yuan/kg. Under the pressure of rapidly rising prices, the Lisu immigrants' life is very difficult, most families are struggling to maintain normal living expenses. Many Lisu students dropped out of school because of difficulties in their lives. The government has not deal with the problem promptly. The children who dropped out of school could learn Lisu knowledge in church, or they were sent to the Christian Training Centre for learning knowledge in Taqinghe.

*Interview material 4*

*Time: July 2017.*

*Location: village Bengnong*

*Interviewees: 3 Lisu villagers*

*Content:*

*"Our relationship with the company has lasted four years. Since 2000, the company started to contract the coffee and tea lands to the farmers by contract. The famers managed these lands by themselves. The fruits of the harvest should be sold to Hande Company. In 2003, the price of coffee bought by Hande Company was too low, and the price was only one kilogram. We went to the local government to tell the truth in order to grow our own coffee price for paying for the fertilizer. But we failed. We have to sell the coffee to Hande Company."*

In 2003, Longsheng company was in difficulty, facing with bankruptcy, and three months did not pay the Lisu immigrant workers, they faced the plight of no rice to cook. When their basic life was unsustainable, the contradictions between the company and the Lisu immigrants were explosive. In July, there was a mass conflict between the immigrants and the contract companies, and the situation became more and more serious. Eventually, they were asked to leave the company. Meanwhile, the contract relations between Hande Company and the Lisu immigrants who were in Naji and Bengnong village were experiencing the same experience. The local government establish a coordination group to deal with the problem. But, they have not quickly resolved the problem. It let the Lisu immigrants dissatisfy a lot, the way to solve the problem was just to placate, seeking the method in national policy and laws. With the government unable to meet their all demands, the immigrants have turn to obtain support and strength from the village. Standing by the power structure of Christian organization, they gamed with the companies, so as they finally leave away from the companies.

*Interview material 5*

*Time: July 2017.*

*Location: Taqinghe villager*

*Interviewees: 7 Lisu villagers*

*Content:*

*"Christian doctrine advocates love, and the church organization is like a big family. In this big family, we call each other with our brothers and sisters, caring about each other, helping each other. That is to say, a person in too hard, all the help. Thus formed a closed relations between the individual and individual, between individuals and groups. As believers gain strength, they also have the ability to compete with the outside world. At the very least, our hearts are strong, the outside world will be threatened, and we will not dare to provoke or bully us."*

*"In 2007, because Longsheng company didn't pay us wages, if we wait, we must be starved to death. So we went to fight with the company, it is so many villagers came to there that the police station has no enough room to accommodate with. The event make the government know how serious the matter is, and the government will bring to attention."*

*Interview material 6*

*Time: July 2017.*

*Location: Bengnong villager*

*Interviewees: 9 Lisu villagers*

*Content:*

*"In December 2011, the market price of the price per kilogram of special fresh coffee was RMB 1.7 yuan, and the market price was 3 to 3.5 yuan/kg. We have*

*negotiated with Hande Company to raise the purchase price to 2 yuan/kg. The company does not agree. So we banded together to not sell the coffee to Hande, seeking a better price. Seeing how hard we all are together, Hande has no choice but to raise the price. That's how we got rid of Hande."*

The disintegration of "Company + Base + Farmers" mode is the result of the resultant effect of multiple factors. The author has no intention of judging a pattern, not to blame it on the survival of immigrants. As a matter of fact, the Lisu immigrants who have left the companies also face many problems and difficulties, especially in the issue of land use rights and ownership, this is not included in this article. What the author described is just to show that, in the face of the naked survival pressure, the power produced by religion is not to be underestimated. Without this power, it is hard to imagine that loose immigrants could cope with the impact of the market, how can they deal with unfamiliar fields and fear and despair. This also responds the beginning of the article, these communities are the immigration area, why did some communities these articles mentioned have the situation of "cultural desert" and social order chaos? It can be said that the Christian culture plays the function of life decompression and social control in the Lisu immigrants' living. The power of faith controls people's thoughts and actions. They may have fortitude, facing difficulties.

Under certain pressure of survival, the religious culture of immigrants presents a scene of alienation from the government. However, when the conflict of survival is resolved, the immigrants must return to the interaction of the grass-roots society, with normal economic exchanges and social exchange, they keep an mutual interaction with the government. In the practice of daily life, the immigrants, while maintaining the stability of the village order, use the existing cultural capital to create various social connections. And the religious cultural resources become the most representative cultural capital. How do you do that? First of all, Christian culture actively embraces national symbols. The main manifestations of this are: the believers make the worship, except reading the long classics and ode, the relevant clergy will publicize the policies and laws and regulations of the Party and the state, so as to let the believers to follow the governmental rule, being a law-abiding citizen. Such behavior shows that the immigrants struggle to establish national identity in their own world of ideas. Secondly, as a national representative, the local government give necessary support to the development of religious culture, with governance needs, from local order maintenance, highlighting the perspective of political sense and creating economic value. In 2014, with the support of the Cultural Bureau of Pu'er city, a group of immigrants from the Lisu ethnic group of Lisu, named Coffee Famer Singer Band, participated in the song friendship association of farmers, which was hosted by Anhui satellite TV. They get a good judgement with a cheerful and beautiful song, the audience were impressed a lot. All the member in Coffee Famer Singer Band are the Christian. They sang their own Lisu songs, which the local government paid attention to. Once Pu'er city

government holds a variety of performances, they will be invited to participate. The head of Coffee Farmer Singer Band is NH presbyter, he always try to communicate with the leaders of government in order to obtain funds for the formation and maintenance of the band's development. In addition, the religious elite cadres of Lisu villages are working together for draw up a plan to construct Pu'er Lisu Research Council in September 2017, with the help of the association for the research of Lisu in Yunnan province, with the support of local government.

Thus we can see that the Lisu ethnic group after immigration get out of the living plight, step by step towards a well-off life, accompanying by the government and the religious culture.

#### **IV RECONSTRUCTION OF VILLAGE POWER NETWORKS UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY.**

The power structure is based on the masses, and the power that is built on the basis of "consent" of the masses can run smoothly. The soil foundation of the villagers is the key of what kind of rural power structure will be. Since there are a large number of Christian believers in Lisu immigrant villages, the governmental power of the village is mixed with the form of Christian culture.

The Lisu immigrants moved to the three administrative villages of the town with the mode of "*Company + Base + Farmers*". In the first year, the Lisu immigrants of Taqinghe village were divided into four factories, tree branches' team in a factory, the factory director is sent by the company, the head of the branch team is appointed by Nujiang office in Pu'er. In the same way, the Lisu immigrants of Bengnong village are band into a factory, dividing into five branches' team. The Lisu immigrants of Naji village are band into a factory, dividing into five branches' team. The following year, in 1998, with the support of Nujiang office in Pu'er, every village team voted democratically for the cadres of team. The election process was smooth and mild, with no fierce fighting. As the church's administrators, accountant and presbyter were democratically elected by the believers. The church's administrators, accountant and presbyter were smoothly elected for the cadres of team in the villages with many believers. The latest villager's election for the cadres of village team was June in 2016, Lisu villages' election speed was faster and smoother than Zhaotong immigrant villages, Lisu villagers elected for the cadres in a peaceful atmosphere. The villager director LS said: "Our Lisu ethnic group is very united, whether it is electing the cadres or meeting, we can get together in a very short time. We can finish a lot of group matter in once time. But other villages need seven or eight times to unite villagers for the cadres' election. It is also very difficult for gathering people for meeting at ordinary time in other villages."

At present, some of the cadres of village team are not only the religious elites but also the political elites, 7 such village team cadres from Taqinghe administrative village, where is 13 normal village team cadres. There are 6 such village team cadres from Bengnong administrative village, where is 7 immigrant village team. There are 5 such village team cadres from Bengnong administrative village, where is 5 immigrant village team. In fact, being influence by the strong Christian atmosphere and the effective intervention of the state authority, the village cadres in Lisu village hide their thoughts about their true beliefs, they would say: "I give up my religion for the time being, I will resume my faith when I resign the job." However, few of the cadres are so capable and influential that they could not hide their beliefs. LS is the one, who is the director of Naji administrative village, the deputy secretary general of Christian Two Sessions of Pu'er, the managing vice president of the Training Center of Taqinghe. Before 2016, he was the leader of village team 1st and the member of the village committee in Naji, at that time, he repaired the pool and the production road in village. In 2013 and 2014, the church dilapidated houses were renovated, he led the villagers to the Bureau of Ethnic Group and Religious so as to apply for the repairing fund, which were applied for 300000yuan. The leaders from town and village repeatedly persuaded him to abandon the Christian belief for joining the Party. But he always persisted to, and he said firmly: "I will not give up my belief, it is good. To manage Lisu people well should control the church. The church teaches people not to drink, to gamble, to fight, to be nice to others, to be humble. The unbelievers were drinking and fighting, many fights in our village is the unbelievers did."

These elites are the bridge linking the country and the village. At the same time, they can effectively use the local resources in the village to manage the village reasonably and effectively. In the process of village governance, the religion is one of the most distinctive local resources. The villagers make full use of the traditional culture of Lisu, which is embedded in Christianity, carrying out self-teaching, self-management and self-development. In Lisu villages, the security is good, the villagers have not a lot of disputes, which generally happened in unclear land boundary. The way to mediate is: Church managers are responsible for disputes between believers. The village team cadres charge with the disputes of unbelievers. If it fails to mediate, they get to mediate together, who are the village team cadres, the deputy leader, the accountant and the church deacon, the elders and so on. The dispute problem can be solve in here, if not, it will be reported to the office in the administrative village. Each village has a mediation committee, which is responsible for mediation of disputes submitted by the villagers' teams. In recent years, disputes among the Lisu villagers have rarely been reported to the administrative villages and the town's judicial offices. The villagers' group has given full play to the self-governing capacity of self-management, the internal power of the village has been used to resolve the contradiction, which has greatly reduced the country's management cost to the countryside.

French thinker Michel Foucault proposed that the modern government must have a concept of people's livelihood -- "governmentality", that is "the art of government", and the method the government make citizens happy. The national government governance the villages with the village religious' power, laying emphasis on people's livelihood. The local government does not use bureaucratic authority to put religious cultural resources aside in governing the immigrants' villages, which is a practical and realistic approach. Of course, this is a form of Christianity sinicization, which is the grass-roots practice in the integration of Christianity and minority cultures.

## CONCLUSION

The villages in Yunnan border ethnic areas are "complex" societies between "traditional" and "modern". The religious culture is rooted in the homeland, which deeply affects the villagers. The village organization and the village order, it is an important resource that can be used in grass-roots community and frontier governance. In the case, The Christian organization of Lisu immigrants is a religious organization as well as a cultural organization. The organization has preached, organizing various cultural activities with Lisu language and traditional song and dance. These activities have become Lisu immigrant villagers' important content in their Leisure and recreation life and spiritual life. It is effective to comfort their sadness, holding villagers together. From this perspective, The Christian organization of Lisu immigrants were more like cultural organizations in the village. If immigrant villagers' cohesion and belonging depend on the continuous inheritance of the culture of the original place, then the continuous inheritance of such culture needs the reconstruction of cultural organization in new areas. So the reconstruction of cultural organization is the key for recalling the original culture. Cultural organization is the spiritual stabilizer in economic development and one of the important insurance to prevent the settlement community from the phenomenon of "cultural desert". In this paper, during the reconstruction process of the Lisu immigrant villages, the local government pay more attention to develop economy, less attention on rebuilding culture, neglecting villagers' spiritual life. In such circumstance, the Lisu Christian organizations have kept the religious life, reshaping their spiritual and cultural life, which enabled the villagers to have a strong sense of cohesion and belonging in the environment of cultural fracture and economic hardship.

Coping with religion actively and adapting to the socialist society is one of the important policies of the Communist Party of China to solve religious problems. On November 13, 2017, the symposium on Christian China in Yunnan province was held in Kunming. This conference proposed to explore the idea of integrating the core values of Christianity with the core values of socialism, to explore the deep integration of Christian culture and Chinese excellent culture. <sup>[6]</sup> The governance for religion is not the governance of religion, but to let religion participate in

governance under the premise of safeguarding national interests and the interests of the whole nation. Sorting out the reconstruction process of Lisu migrant villages undoubtedly provides a good example, In this case, we find that in the process of rural governance and the construction of grass-roots government, that the public resource constructed by religious culture has become a resource to be borrowed. At the same time, a serious problem cannot be avoided: Will the authority of grassroots party organizations and local governments be challenged with the religious organization, when so many farmers increasingly rely on church organizations for material help and spiritual comfort? Although Christianity emphasized the separation of politics and religion, but there are some of the rural society should be borne by the Party organizations at the grass-roots level and grass-roots government affairs, can only be completed with the power of the church, the concern is makes sense. This issue is subject to further investigation and long-term concern.

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