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New Urbanization and the Changes of Christian Churches in County Towns and Rural Areas

——Taking L County in Central Henan as an Example

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Abstract: Since the reform and opening up, China has been developing through the stages of old urbanization and new urbanization. In recent years, with the rise of county economy, the new urbanization centered on county towns, as an important way to promote the urbanization of the population transferred from rural areas, has played a significant role in the changes of Christianity in urban and rural areas. Based on the case study of L County in central Henan, this paper analyzes the new trend of the flow of Christian believers and the changes of churches in county towns and rural areas from five aspects: number and population characteristics of Christian believers, church activities and participation of Christian believers, theological personnel training, theological construction and finantial offerings. The study finds that the gap between urban and rural churches has further widened. the uprooted settlement of immigrant in county towns has led to a sharp drop in the number of rural Christian believers, a growing aging population, single and simplified church activities, the lost of theological talents, the re-emergence of heretical cults in rural areas, and shrinking finantial offerings. The decline and fall of rural churches has become a general trend. Although the development of urban churches is on the rise as a whole, it also faces many challenges and difficulties.

Key Words: New urbanization; County; Rural church; Urban church

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Ⅰ. Background and Research questions

Urbanization refers to the social phenomenon of a large rural population moving into cities to reside, work and live together in the process of modern industrialization.[1] Since the reform and opening up, China has undergone the largest and fastest urbanization process in human history. According to the data of the National Bureau of Statistics, the resident population in cities and towns increased from 170 million to 850 million from 1978 to 2019, and the urbanization rate increased from 17.9% to 60.60%. By the end of 2019, 280 million people were separated from their registered

〔1〕 李强 Li Qiang,《主动城镇化与被动城镇化》Zhudong chengzhenhua yu beidong chengzhenhua[Active Urbanization and Passive Urbanization],《西北师大学报(社会科学版)》xibei shida xuebao(shehui kexue ban)[Journal of Northwest Normal University (Social Sciences Edition)],2013,50(6):1-8.

residences,of which 236 million were migrants.[2] China's urbanization not only profoundly affects the global development in the 21st century, but also has great significance in breaking the long-standing dual structural system of urban-rural gap and segmentation in Chinese history.

Urbanization brings changes not only in people's living style, but also in the production and lifestyle of the whole society. It is a process of social transformation, so it requires the adaptation and integration of multiple generations. During the 42 years of China's reform and opening up, urbanization has gone through different stages of development.

Early urbanization, or old urbanization, is mainly represented by the expansion of urban space, focusing on building houses and facility construction. Spatial urbanization has not brought about population urbanization. Although migrant workers in cities have made great contributions to urban construction, the barrier of household registration system has prevented them from sharing the results of urbanization. While working in cities, they have to complete their household and labor force reproduction in villages, due to their status of "quasi-citizen" that is difficult to obtain citizenship in cities.

Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) proposed to "take a new road of urbanization with Chinese characteristics" in 2012, China's urbanization has entered a new stage of people-oriented, with equal emphasis on scale and quality. In 2014, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council issued the "National New Urbanization Plan (2014—2020)" to promote human urbanization, that is, to promote the urbanization of the population transferred from rural areas and the civilization of economic and social life, which has become an important task in the development of new urbanization. In order to speed up the urbanization of migrant workers, in 2019, the government proposed to loosen the restriction for settling in large cities and lift the ban on settling in small and medium-sized cities. In recent years, with the rise of county economy, urbanization centered on county towns has drawn wide attention and concern from all walks of life. The key tasks of new urbanization and urban-rural integration development in 2020 recently issued by the National Development and Reform Commission require "promoting new urbanization with county towns as an important carrier". A country is safe when its counties are well-governed. County areas account for 89% of China's land area and support 70% of its registered population,[3] which means they play a key role in the hierarchy administration of the country. On the one hand, the new urbanization centered on county towns highlights the large-scale and intensive benefits of urban construction; on the other hand, it conforms to the characteristics of Chinese people's identification of local culture and can provide them with higher levels of public services such as education and medical care.[4] Therefore, local and nearby urbanization within the county become an important way to promote the urbanization of migrant workers.

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〔2〕 http://www.qqjjsj.com/show70a123823,2020-02-28.

〔3〕 阎国文,阎若思,Yan guowen, Yan ruosi.《县域治理是国家治理的基础和重点》Xianyu zhili shi guojia zhili de jichu he zhongdian [County Governance Is the Basis and Focus of Country Governance],廉政文化研究 Lianzheng wenhua yanjiu[Incorrupt Government Culture Studies],2019(4):38-45.

〔4〕 李强 Li Qiang,《主动城镇化与被动城镇化》Zhudong chengzhenhua yu beidong chengzhenhua[Active Urbanization and Passive Urbanization],《西北师大学报(社会科学版)》xibei shida xuebao(shehui kexue ban)[Journal of Northwest Normal University (Social Sciences Edition)],2013,50(6):1-8.

The process of urbanization has greatly changed the social structure of our country. In the stage of old urbanization, the circulating route for migrant workers is from the countryside to the city and then back to the countryside. However, in the stage of new urbanization, they will settle down in the cities, which means the population will be "uprooted" from the rural land. A "non-industrial and non-agricultural" structure has been formed between the countryside and the first and second tier cities.[5] This change in social structure have a significant impact on the development and changes of Christianity. Taking L County in central Henan as an example, This paper focuses on what changes and impacts the new urbanization has brought to the churches in urban and rural areas of the county, on what kind of differentiation has taken place between urban and rural churches and what challenges will urban and rural churches face in their future development.

Ⅱ. Introduction of L County Case

1. General Situation of L County

Henan is a province with a large population and a large migrating population. In 2017, the urbanization rate of Henan's resident population exceeded 50%, realizing a leap from a province with a large agricultural population to a province with a large new urbanization population. In recent years, Henan's county economy has developed very rapidly. According to the "China County Economic Development Report (2019)" released by National Academy ofFinancial Strategy, CASS, 8 counties in Henan ranked among the top 100 counties (cities) with comprehensive competitiveness in 2019. In this regard, Henan was the fourth competitive province in the country.[6] With the rise of county economy, the growth rate of floating population outside Henan Province has slowed down obviously. The migrating population in the province is increasing, as they can take care of their families while working as migrant workers in the county (city, district). This strategy has become the first choice for most migrant workers.[7]

L County, with a total population of about 760,000, located in the hinterland of the Central Plains, has developed the transportation which can connect the east with the west and the south with the north. Its total economic output ranks first in the city. It has governed over 14 small towns, 2 subdistrict offices and 367 administrative villages.[8] In 2014, the General Office of Henan Provincial Government announced the "Implementation Plan for Comprehensive Pilot Work of New Urbanization in Henan Province". L County was listed as one of the 21 provincial pilot projects in cities and counties. In recent years, L County has taken the construction of a medium-sized city suitable for living and business as its goal, and has vigorously promoted the construction of a city's characteristic commercial district, an old city reconstruction district, an industrial agglomeration

〔5〕 桂华 Gui hua,《应对城乡"三元"结构的挑战》Yingdui chengxiang sanyuan jiegou de tiaozhan[Solutions to Challenges from Ternary Structure in Urban and Rural Areas],《环球时报》Huanqiu shibao[Global Times](2019 年 12 月 27 日),第 015 版.

〔6〕 中国社会科学院财经战略研究院课题组 Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan caijing zhanlue yanjiuyuan ketizu,《县域经济:国家治理能力现代化的关键》Xianyu jingji: guojia zhili nengli xiandaihua de guanjian[County Economy: The Key to Modern Country Governance Capacity],《中国社会科学报》Zhongguo shehui kexuebao[China Social Science Journal](2019 年 12 月 26 日),第 001 版.

〔7〕 http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2019-06/16/content_5400708.htm,2019-06-16.

〔8〕 http://www.linying.gov.cn/Item/5865.aspx,2020-02-16.

district, a Huanglong wetland reserve, and village in urban reconstruction district. L County's Industrial Agglomeration Zone has attracted a large amount of foreign capital, with 88 enterprises staying in it, bringing together 12 well-known trademark enterprises in China such as Panpan, Xiyingying and Huaguan Yangyuan. It has become a pilot zone to promote the coordinated development of L County's "three modernizations" (new industrialization, new urbanization and new agricultural modernization), driving nearly 50,000 returned migrant workers to work in their hometown.〔9〕

2. A Brief History of Christian Development in L County

Christianity has a long history of development in L County. As early as 1910, The China Inland Mission sent preachers to L County and set up the Gospel hall. In 1937, the Gospel hall was separated from China Inland Mission and the local priest presided over the church educational administration. The foreign priest left the county in 1941. During the Cultural Revolution, religious activities were banned. It was not until the reform and opening up that the church gradually resumed worship. In 1985, the "L County Christian Association" and the "Three Self" Patriotic Movement Committee were established. Since the reform and opening up, the development of Christianity in L County has gone through three different stages.

The first stage is a period of rapid growth from the 1980s to the end of the 1990s. According to the Annals of L County, in 1989, there were 7,453 Christians in L County, and 4 Christian churches were opened throughout the county. In 1993, the number of Christian churches increased to 34. In 2000, the number of Christian churches continued to increase to 55, with a total of 114 clergy.〔10〕

The second stage is from 2000 to 2010. With the acceleration of urbanization in the whole country and Henan Province, the number of migrant workers in L County began to increase. According to the introduction of the leader of the "Three Self" Patriotic Movement Committee, Christianity in L County as a whole entered a period of slow growth.

The third phase is the period after 2010, during which L County began to vigorously promote the construction of new urbanization, and the county economy rose rapidly to absorb a large number of local labor force. In addition, the property price in the county was relatively low compared with that in the prefecture-level cities. Like non-believers, more and more Christian believers also work, buy properties, educate their children and seek medical treatment in county towns. It has gradually become a common phenomenon that the whole family of rural Christian believers resettle in counties and small cities. As a result, the number of Christian believers begun to drop on the whole. In addition, the government's special governance of Christianity since 2018 has also influenced the overall development of Christianity in L County.

As a pilot county of new urbanization in Henan Province, L County can be regarded as an epitome of the new urbanization in the whole country and the rapidly development of county economy. L county can thus typically show the new development and changes of urban and rural Christian mobility in the upsurge of new urbanization.

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〔9〕 http://www.linying.gov.cn/Item/6240.aspx,2019-09-12.

〔10〕 临颍县志编纂委员会 Linying xianzhi bianzuan weiyuanhui [Linying County Annals Compilation Committee]编:《临颍县志(1986—2005)》Linying xian zhi[Linying County Annals (1986—2005)],(评审稿 Pingshen gao [Review Draft],2013),597-598.

Ⅲ. The Changes and Development of the Urban and Rural Christian Churches in L County

This part will discuss the flow of urban and rural Christian and the development and changes of Christianity in L County based on the analysis from five aspects: number and population characteristics of Christian believers, church activities and participation of Christian believers, theological personnel training, theological construction and finantial offerings. The main churches involved in the survey include two urban churches (the North Church and the Che Church), and three rural churches (Li Church, Ni Church and Gang Church). Gang Church was only mentioned when analyzing financial offerings.

1. Number of Christian Believers and Population Characteristics

Since 2010, with the advancement of new urbanization in L County, a large number of rural population have begun to flock to the county for employment, purchasing properties and settling down. The number of rural Christian believers began to decline sharply, with an increasing ratio of aging people. Meanwhile, the number of urban Christian believers has continued to grow with the age structure of Christian believers more reasonable and the proportion of young and middle-aged Christian believers gradually increasing.

1.1 Rural Churches: the number of believers began to decline sharply, with an increasing ratio of aging people

This issue will be discussed based on analysis of Li Church and Ni Church.

Li Church's last new building was built in 2014. The total number of seats can basically accommodate 800—900 people. However, soon after the Church was built, the number of Christian believers attending gatherings began to shrink, and the shrinkage increased year by year. According to the leader of the church, when the new church was built in 2014, the number of church-goers was 400—500. Now, with the addition of the church-goers after the merging,[11] only 300 people have been registered. The author visited the Li church twice during Spring Festival in 2019, the number of people attending getherings in Li Church may be even smaller. The first field observation was conducted on the 6th day of the Chinese Lunar New Year, and only about 200 people gathered on Sunday worship. The second visit was conducted on the 9th of the new year, when the church held a Spring Festival revival gathering,[12] and the number of church-goers was only about 300. The Spring Festival is the peak period for migrant workers to return home, and we can infer that the number of people who come to the church to attend worship at ordinary times may be less than 200. When talking about the development of rural churches, the leader of Li Church said: "Around 1996, the choir made more than 80 suits of clothes, but during this Christmas, the number of believers attending the choir was only over 40, and they were all members of the old choir with the age of at or above 60 years old. Now the young Christian believers have gone out to work, and those with

[11] In the government's special campaign, some church sites were cancelled and believers were transferred to the merged church sites.

[12] The Spring Festival revival gathering is organized by the the "L County Christian Association" and the "Three Self" Patriotic Movement Committee, which usually lasts for 2—3 days. The "L County Christian Association" and the "Three Self" Patriotic Movement Committee send outstanding theological students and preachers from various churches to preach in various villages and towns.

children have also taken their parents-in-law to city. People are getting older and older. Therefore, the development of the rural church is facing crisis". When the author visited Sun Village under the government of Li Church, a villager said that "8 or 9 out of the 10 households have moved away."

The last new building of Ni Church was built in 2011. The new church was renovated into a two-story building based on the old building. The hall on the second floor can accommodate nearly 600 people. The author attended the Sunday worship of the Ni Church during the National Day in 2019, and found that the number of Christian believers was only about 160. According to Zhang Mei who is in charge of a village gathering site, the number of believers in her village reached 80－90 at the most, but at present there were only less than 20 people, and most of them were over 60 years old. Most Christian believers in the village bought houses in the county.

To sum up, from the fact that the two rural churches were both built after 2010, and the number of Christian believers in rural areas has decreased significantly since the new church was built. It can be inferred that the period around 2010 is an important time point for obvious changes in the number of Christian believers in rural areas, and it is also since 2010 that L County has started to promote the development of new urbanization and rapidly develop the county economy.

1.2 Urban churches: the number of church-goers is increasing and the proportion of young and middle-aged Christian believers is raising

Compared with the rural churches, the number of church-goers of North Church and Che Church in county town is increasing, and the proportion of young and middle-aged Christian believers is raising year by year.

North Church is the earliest church in L County. Its predecessor was theGospel hall established by the China Inland Mission. Its last new building was built in 2007 with the help of the Christian believers throughout the county, covering an area of about 8.8 acres in Bei Village. The North Church, located in the northeast of L County, used to be the urban-rural fringe. With the development and construction of a new urbanizing project named "two cities, one district and one base",[13] the county continued to expand outward. At present, Bei Village has gradually developed into a core area of the county. Gulou commercial district, Huanglong wetland reserve and industrial area are all situated nearby. With numerous commercial residential buildings, well-equipped commercial, entertainment, medical and educational facilities, it has attracted a large rural population to work and live nearby.

The North Church is a three-floor building. The first floor is a large parking garage, the second floor a Children Sunday School lobby, and the third floor a gathering hall, which can accommodate about 1200 people. Sunday worship is divided into three sessions: morning, afternoon and evening. According to the author's observation, about 900－1,000 people attend in the morning service and about 500 people attend in the afternoon service. The Christian believers in the North Church are mainly composed of urban residents, surrounding rural farmers and migrant workers. With the increase of young and middle-aged migrant workers in this church, the age structure of the North

[13] "Two Cities, One District and One Base" mainly refers to the new industrial city with an asset of 100 billion yuan, the civilized ecological new city, the new rural construction demonstration district and the logistics and e-commerce bases in the central and southern Henan market.

Church is more reasonable, and the Church has become very lively and energetic. The North Church also set up a special youth gathering on Friday evening, and the worship and praise gathering on Saturday evening was mainly led by young and middle-aged Christian believers. The on-site interaction and atmosphere were very exciting.

The last new building of Che Church was also built in 2007. It was located in the southwest of the county, near Guo Village and Xing Village in the urban-rural fringe. As Xing Village has gradually developed into a distribution center for small commodity markets, this area has gathered a large number of migrant population to do small business here. Moreover, the county government has in recent years renovated Guo Village by constructing a large number of buildings around them. The surrounding educational resources are relatively rich. The best senior high school in the county is located nearby. Many rural residents have bought houses and settled here. The place has gradually become the core area of the county too. The Sunday worship of the Che Church is divided into the morning service and the afternoon service. The author attended a morning service, and the hall was full of people with number of 500—600. The Christian believers were mainly composed of nearby urban residents, small commodity traders, small shop owners, and farmers settled in the county. According to the author's observation, among the believers who sit down, the young and middle-aged account for a large proportion.

2. Church Activities and Participation of Christian Believers

In terms of church activities and Christian believers' participation, the gap between urban churches and rural churches is also widening. This comparative analysis is based on the observations of the North Church in the county and the Ni Church in the village.

2.1 The North Church in the county

The daily activities are very frequently held in the North Church (see Table 3-1 below for details). There are gatherings almost every day. Except for the worship and praise gatherings on Tuesday and Saturday evening, and the prayer gatherings on Thursday evening, there are services from morning to evening every day. The services are composed of praise, prayer and sermon. According to the leader of the North Church, the daily service started in 2007 when the new Church was built, and some Christian believers suggested that this tradition should be preserved. So it lasts until today.

The author participated in and observed several activities. The number of participants in the North Church's daily preach gathering was not very large, with an average of about 10—20 people, 30—40 people at most, mainly the elderly. The number of participants in the prayer gathering on Thursday night was relatively large, totaling about 150 people. On Saturday, there were more people attending the Praise gathering, totaling about 500—600 people, mainly led by 14 young people. There were 8 lead singers, all uniformly dressed. They were also equipped with 3 piano players, 2 guitarists and 1 drummer. The leaders and the congregation also had a lot of on-site interaction. For example, the congregation would be invited to applaud, raise their hands, follow the beat to make movements, etc in an exciting atmosphere. The pastor would also be invited to sermon in the last stage of the praise meeting.

Table 3-1 Activities of North Church

Time	Early Morning	Morning	Afternoon	Evening
Monday	Morning prayer	Preaching gathering	Preaching gathering	Preaching gathering
Tuesday	Morning prayer	Preaching gathering	Preaching gathering	Worshipand Praise gathering
Wednesday	Morning prayer	Preaching gathering	Preaching gathering	Preaching gathering
Thursday	Morning prayer	Preaching gathering	Preaching gathering	Prayer gathering
Friday	Morning prayer	Preaching gathering	Preaching gathering	Young Christian Gathering; middle-aged Christian Gathering
Saturday	Morning prayer	Preaching gathering	Preaching gathering	Worship and Praise gathering
Sunday	Morning prayer	Worship and sermon	Worship and sermon	Worship and sermon

In addition, the author also observed and recorded the Sunday worship in the North Church, and found that the Sunday worship in the North Church was carried out in an orderly manner, with special parking guides wearing armbands, and receptionists in uniform at the entrance of the party hall on the third floor. After entering the hall, there was also someone to guide them to their seats. The whole worship is carried out through fairly complete procedures, including Scripture reading, congregation singing, prayer, reading apostle's epistles, choir performance, welcoming new friends, sermon, reading witness and prayer requests, announcing notification, praying, and blessing (see Table 3-2 below for details).

Table 3-2 Procedures for SundayWorship of The North Church[14]

	Procedures	Description
1	Thehost greets and reads the scripture.	
2	The congregation stand up and sing together	51New Psalm "It is a blessing to have Jesus."
3	The host prays on behalf of the congregation.	
4	The congregation read theepistles of the apostles	
5	Hymn performed by the choir	317 New Hymn "Heavenly Family Is Most Beautiful, Jesus Loves You"
6	Welcome new friends	The new friends stand up and the congregations applaud.
7	Sermon	The preacher sings, "Blessed are the Christians", leading the congregation to pray, read the scriptures, sermon, andpray
8	Read testimony and prayer requests	The host reads out the congregation testimony and prayer requests.
9	Announcements	Reported by host
10	The leader of the church pray	Pray for church and announced prayer requests.
11	The congregation recite the Lord's prayer	
12	The leader of the church gives the blessing and final prayer	

[14] It is collated based on the Sunday service that the author participated in the observation on the morning of September 29, 2019.

2.2 The Ni Church in the Village

Compared with the North Church in the county, the Ni Church has much fewer daily activities. At present, the activities mainly include Sunday morning worship; Thursday evening Bible study class, Saturday evening prayer gathering and daily Morning Prayer (see Table 3-3 below for details).

Table 3-3 Activities of The Ni Church

Time	Early Morning	Morning	Afternoon	Evening
Monday	Morning prayer			
Tuesday	Morning prayer			
Wednesday	Morning prayer			
Thursday	Morning prayer			Bible class
Friday	Morning prayer			
Saturday	Morning prayer			Prayer gathering
Sunday	Morning prayer	Worship and sermon		

The participation of Christian believers is as follows: about 10—15 people take part in Morning prayer, and about 40—50 people take part in Bible class on Thursday night, and about 20—30 people take part in prayer gathering on Saturday night, and about 150—200 people take part in Sunday worship. However, the participation of rural Christian believers is also affected by the seasons. Generally speaking, compared with the slack season, the number of Christian believers attending gatherings will be smaller during the busy farming season, and sometimes the activities will be cancelled.

The Sunday service procedure of Ni Church is also relatively simple (see Table 3-4 below for details). As a large number of young and middle-aged people leave the village to work, there is no more choir performance in Sunday worship, and the traditional testimony moment has been cancelled in the past two years.

Table 3-4 Sunday Service Procedures of the Ni Church[15]

	Procedures	Description
1	Thehost greets and prays	
2	Sermon	
3	The host prays	
4	Congregation singing	"In love I want to declare"
5	The leader of the church blesses and prays	
6	Announcements	
7	The congregation recites the Lord's prayer	

Through the comparison of urban and rural churches, we found that, in terms of activity frequency, activity content and worship procedures, urban churches are relatively dynamic and their

[15] It is collated based on the author's participation in observing Sunday service on the morning of October 6, 2019.

activities are well-managed, while rural churches lack vitality and their activities are relatively simplified, and the tradition of "testimony", which had a long history, has disappeared in the past two years in rural churches. In a word, the rural churches has reduced its attraction to the remaining believers and non-believers.

3. Training of Theological personnel

Almost all theology students of the rural church in L County come from the county Bible training class which was established in 1995. The program lasted one year at first three years, and then changed into two years. There were 4－5 full-time teachers in the class. Other teachers are visiting teachers who usually teach in a short period of time, for 3－5 days. The teaching content of the course is mainly Bible learning, supplemented by some pastoral courses. There were in total 12 terms graduated from the class, each term with 50－100 students enrolled. In 2017, the county Bible training class was closed.

The rural churches in L County generally pay more attention to building facilities than to training theological students. For example, In the Ni church, theology students only have a monthly living allowance of 300 Yuan. As migration becomes the mainstream culture in the local area in recent years, many theology students in rural churches went outside. The theology students who stay in the rural areas were often overwhelmed by the great tension between faith and secular society. A theology student in Ni church said: "I pray for the Lord to prepare a job that can both provide time to serve and earn money. I am still young, if I have been at home all the time, others will gossip." Another theology student said: "In the age of money, young people all go out to earn money. Migrant workers can earn more than 1,000 Yuan as a dishwasher. It is very difficult to support my life with subsidies from the church. I have to support my families. Sometimes I also want to escape from the service."

The training andgeneration continuation of theology students in urban churches are relatively better. Besides the graduates from the county Bible training classes, younger theology students who have a high school degree or higher degree can be sent to Henan Theological Seminary, Zhongnan Theological Seminary or Nanjing Jinling Theological Seminary to study theology undergraduate. For example, in the North Church, there are 4－5 young theology students graduating from the seminaries mentioned above. Moreover, the income of theology students in the urban church is relatively better. A couple of theology students from the Che Church said that they have a monthly subsidy of 3,000－4,000 Yuan, which is fully sufficient.

After the government's special governance of Christianity in 2018. relevant government departments require that future theology students should be sent to formal seminary qualified by the state, and should meet the requirement for education background and age limit. This will undoubtedly further aggravate the differentiation between urban churches and rural churches in the cultivation of theology students.

4. Theology Construction

The survey found that the beliefs of Christian believers in L County are generally of great practicality and utilitarianism. They pay more attention to the treatment of diseases, the success and blessing, economic income and good work brought by beliefs to families. In public prayers, some words expressing secular success, such as "everything goes well", and "happiness for a lifetime", are

often brought into prayers. The testimony read out at the end of Sunday worship is almost all about success in disease treatment, children's schooling, examinations, work, finding a partner, pregnancy, etc. A Christian believer said: "We believe that the Lord must let others see that we are children of God. Believing in the Lord is good for us."

In addition, the church in L County also has the obvious charismatic inclination, characterized by folk religious belief. It is mainly represented in the following aspects. Firstly, in worship and praise, the congregation will clap hands, applaud, dance, speak dialects and laugh. Secondly, it is also common for Christian believers to have strange dreams and to see visions. For example, one preacher of Che Church was told by an elder who can see vision that God had chosen her exceptionally and she should go to study theology. During the interview, the author often heard believers talking about what dreams they had and how God inspired them. Thirdly, it is about curing diseases and driving out demons. When the leader of the church prays for sick believers, they usually make the believers put their hands on the part of the body which is sick and pray to drive out the sick spirit in the name of the Lord. However, The author found that they did not understand or pay attention to what Christianity is really about, neither to the teachings and doctrines of Christianity.

With the reduction of rural church clergy and volunteers, the weakening of pastoral ability, and the lack of discernment and resistance of some elderly believers, in addition to the background of the overall pragmatism of the church belief in L County and the neglect of doctrine, heresy cults have been especially rampant in rural areas in recent years. The "Blood and Holy Spirit" heresy first appeared in L County around 2012, and has began to spread to the rural areas in recent years. A long-term residence has been set up in Hu Village under the government of the Ni Church and the leading quarters of the heresy been set up in another nearby village. They openly "rob sheep" from the churches. And the "Eastern Lightning" heresy has resurfaced in some villages under the government of the Li Church.

In addition to the invasion of heretical cults from outside, the internal pastoral situation of the rural churches is also relatively chaotic. Due to the lack of pastoral talents, some churches indiscriminately absorb learning materials from all over the country. The author participated in the morning prayer of the Ni Church and found that the material they used was a book called "Song of Songs" brought back by a believer from her relatives in Heilongjiang province. The author browsed the book and found it a word by word interpretation of the Song of Songs in bible, full of personal subjective experiences and feelings. It also recorded the words the Holy Spirit said to the church and songs sung by the Holy Spirit. The Ni Church not only promotes and learns this material throughout the church, but also encourages believers to join the organization's WeChat official website and learn other sermons and materials. From this incident, we can get a glimpse of the chaos in the theological construction of rural churches.

However, the sermons of the urban churches is relatively more faithful to the Bible. Moreover, the author discovered that in the youth gathering in the North Church, believers adopted a novel way of group discussion and attached great importance to the interaction between the scripture and the believers. During one feild investigation, The sub-theme of the gathering was "looking at your self-worth through the characters in the Bible", and the leaders interpreted deeply to help the believers apply the bible to their personal lives.

5. Finantial Offerings

With a large number of rural believers settling down in county, the gap between the offering income of rural churches and urban churches is gradually widening. In the old urbanization stage, rural believers often returned home from time to time after going out to work, and brought their offerings back to their hometown. In particular, the Spring Festival is the peak period for migrant workers returning home, and it is also the period when rural churches receive the most offerings. However, with the development of new urbanization, believers have "uprooted" and settled down in county towns. Offerings from rural areas have been decreased continually, and offerings from churches in county towns have continued to grow. For example, the offerings of the Che church in the county is as high as 250,000 Yuan in just two months, while the Li church's income in the last quarter is only 36,892 Yuan, in addition to the special offerings of Christmas.

In addition, If we look at the building of the Church, Urban churches are very modern in both external architecture and internal decoration. However, Some rural churches are still very crude, for example, the church building of Gang Church is still rebuilt from the original three-storey tile house. The internal facilities are very scarce. There are neither infrastructure such as holy platforms and projectors, nor special offices and parking sheds. Believers' vehicles are parked in the alley outside the church. And the alley is still a dirt road, which makes it difficult for vehicles to enter in rainy days.

Ⅳ. Conclusion

To sum up, through the analysis of the development and changes of urban churches and rural churches in L County in the past ten years, we think that the differentiation of urban and rural churches is getting worse and worse under the background of new urbanization. Although such differentiation, especially in some aspects, such as finantial offerings and theological personnel training already existed in the old urbanization period, even before the rise of urbanization in the late 1990s. However, the wave of urbanization of migrant workers brought about by the new urbanization in the past ten years undoubtedly intensified further the differentiation of urban and rural churches, making the problem even more prominent.

In addition, since 2018, the government's special governance measures in Henan Province has sharply reduced the number of rural churches, and the number of churches in county town remains unchanged. Some people may think that it is because of the government's governance measures that the gap between rural churches and urban churches has futher widened, but we think that the government's special governance measures are not the main reason that affects the intensification of the differentiation between rural and urban churches. The urbanization of the agricultural transfer population, and the wave of settlement brought about by the new urbanization are the fundamental reasons.

Judging from the current situation, it is a general trend for rural churches to decline and fall. However, with the implementation of the rural revitalization and development strategy put forward by the government in 2017, if believers who flow to cities or towns can be attracted back to their hometowns to start their own businesses, it may also bring new opportunities to rural churches,

which requires researchers to continue to follow up and pay attention. Although the development of urban churches is on the rise as a whole,it also faces many challenges and difficulties:

Firstly,there is a tension between the increasing number of believers and the limited capacity of the church. With the emphasis of the state on "promoting the development of new urbanization with county towns as an important carrier",Financial transfer payments and public expenditures will be more transferred to county towns. Predictably,in the next few years,it will continue to attract more migrant workers flowing out of the province back to the county for employment and buying houses. So the number of believers in county towns will continue to rise, but according to the author's research and observation,the space in the church hall in county has been slightly tight at present. How to cope with the continuous influx of new comers in the future is a problem to deal with as soon as possible.

Secondly,there is a tension between the diversity of believers and the "rough" way of pastoring of migrant workers. Although the educational level,occupational distribution,living background and lifestyle of the believers in the county are not as complicated as those in the first and second tier cities,the identity differentiation between urban residents and farmers settled down in the county still exists. For the farmers,they need to adapt to the new social and church environment. The new urbanization not only asks migrant workers to adapt the mode of modern industrial operation,but also to change to modern civilized lifestyle.[16]In the future,it is necessary to think about whether the church can play an active role in promoting the urbanization of migrant workers and help the believers from rural areas to integrate into cities and urban churches.

Thirdly,the form of activities is relatively traditional and its attraction to young and middle-aged believers is generally insufficient. At present,the main form of activities of the churches in L counties is still the traditional "preach gathering",that is,the preachers "speak" and the believers "listen", and most of the participants are the elderly. Although the worship and praise gathering of the Northern Church and the youth group have certain innovations and attractions in their activities,they are still far from enough. The number of participants in the youth group gathering is not very large, only about 10 people. In the future,with the diversification of the structure of believers,the demand of believers will also take on diversified directions. Apart from economic problems,the demand for paying attentions to psychological and emotional problems will continue to rise. It is urgent for urban churches to continuously innovate their forms of activities according to the diversified needs of believers,so as to attract more young and middle-aged believers to actively participate.

Fourthly,church leaders are characterized by tendencies of aging, feminization and lack of theological education, The phenomenom of patriarchy is also very serious. In the early days, the church leaders in L County were older believers who were enthusiastic about church affairs and had certain qualifications and prestige. In recent years, they began to seek intentionally to pass their authority to the next generation,but the replacement was still relatively slow and church leaders have generally become aged. Most of the church directors in L County are 55 to 65 years old,and the director of the North Church is as old as 70 years old. From a gender perspective,in the 1980s and

〔16〕 李强 Liqiang,《人的城镇化的本意》Ren de chengzhenhua de benyi[The original intention of human urbanization],《北京日报》Beijing ri bao[Beijing Daily](2018 年 05 月 14 日),第 013 版.

1990s,the proportion of male church leaders was on the high side,but in recent years,the proportion of female church leaders has become higher and higher,and the proportion has far exceeded that of male. Most of these church leaders did not receive systematic theological training either. Therefore, aging,feminization and lack of theological training have become the main characteristics of church leaders in L County. In terms of governance,patriarchy is also adopted,and democratic consultation governance within the church has a long way to go.

The above discussion is mainly based on the analysis of the development and changes of urban and rural churches in L County in central Henan. Although it is a case study,to a certain extent,it also reflects some new situations and trends in the flow of believers in urban and rural areas in recent years under the background of new urbanization. In the future,with "new urbanization centered on county towns" gradually becoming the development focus and general trend of urbanization in China, the development of county churches still needs more scholars' attention and in-depth research.

中文题目:

新型城镇化与县域城乡基督教会发展变迁研究——以豫中L县为例

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摘　要:改革开放以来,中国经历了旧城镇化和新型城镇化两个阶段。近年来随着县域经济的崛起,以县城为中心的新型城镇化成为促进农业转移人口市民化的重要方式,并对城乡基督教的发展格局产生了重要影响。本文以豫中L县为个案,从信徒数量与人口特征、组织活动与信徒参与、神学人才培养、神学建设、经济奉献五个方面具体分析了近年来L县城乡信徒流动的新趋势和城乡教会的发展变迁。研究发现,在新型城镇化背景下,农村教会与城镇教会的差距进一步加剧。农民"拔根"式的进城定居,使得农村信徒数量大幅减少、老龄化越来越凸出,且教会组织活动单一、简化,神学人才流失严重,农村异端邪教重新肆起,经济奉献萎缩。农村教会走向凋敝已是大趋势,城镇教会虽然整体处于发展上升期,但也面临不少挑战与困难。

关键词:新型城镇化;县域;乡村教会;城镇教会