

MIGRATION AND MISSION: THE PLANTING OF FRAFRA CHURCHES IN ASHANTI

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Abstract: *The advent of mono-ethnic churches in Southern Ghana for migrants from the North is a new development in Ghanaian Christianity. The new churches were generated by the prominent presence of migrants from Northern Ghana to the southern parts of the country. Church surveys undertaken by the Ghana Evangelism Committees revealed the mission opportunities that the phenomenon of migration from the north presented the churches in the south. The Frafra Churches have been selected for study because of their predominance in the mono-ethnic category of churches in the Ashanti region. The study establishes that the Frafra Christian Fellowship played a principal role in the planting of Frafra churches. Furthermore, the study highlights the cardinal importance of the mother-tongue in indigenous mission work. Other critical missiological issues raised for further consideration are the bane and blessing of migration, the significance of worldview in urban missions, linguistic factors in indigenizing mission and discipleship, and the imperative of a sense of community in urban churches.*

Key Words: Frafra; northern-southern; outreach; migration; mission; church planting; language.

Introduction

Migration is a universal perennial phenomenon that has been in existence since antiquity. It has become an integral part of mission studies, because it creates demographic changes which affect the mission of the church. The migration of people from the north to the southern regions of modern Ghana has been going on since the 1940s, but its implication for Christian mission was unnoticed.¹ It took a survey conducted by the Ghana Evangelism Committee (GEC) from 1986 to 1993 for Christians in Southern Ghana to learn that there were 2.3 million migrants from Northern Ghana in the southern territories who

¹ Cf. Joseph N. Tetteh, "Mother Tongue Literacy, Bible Translation and Church Planting among Northern Migrants in Southern Ghana," *Journal of Religious and Theological Studies* 2, no. 1 (2016): 282.

had no church affiliation. The problem is: what accounted for the disinterest, exclusion or isolation of the northern migrants from the southern churches? How could Christians in the south reach out to their neighbours from the north? How significant are Frafra Christians in mission to migrant Frafra? The case study approach is employed in examining ethnographic and historical data on indigenous initiatives in urban missions and the emerging missiological issues.

The Roman Catholic Church in the south attracted northerners, predominantly Dagaabes, through their operation in Northern Ghana. However, a huge number of ethnic people from the north still needed to be reached with the gospel. The mission activities of the Worldwide Evangelization for Christ Mission in Northern Ghana led to the establishment of Evangelical Church of Ghana (ECG) in parts of the north. There was no branch of the ECG in Southern Ghana. It was the report of GEC that challenged ECG to start new churches in Kumasi in the 1980s through the agency of the Frafra Christian Fellowship (FCF). The Presbyterian Church of Ghana had commenced an operation code-named the Northern Outreach Programme (NOP) in Accra, and wanted to replicate it in Kumasi. Through the agency of the FCF it became possible. Though evangelistic activities were rife in Kumasi in the 1970s/ 1980s, they were not extended to the northern migrants because of wrong perceptions, linguistic barriers and negative attitudes in relation to northerners.

The focus of this study is to explore the activities of the Frafra Christians and the agents involved in the outreach within the Kumasi metropolis. Within the metropolis, most of the churches of the northern migrants are Frafra, and the crucial mission agents are evangelical Frafra Christians and not the Akans. This study generates critical mission issues which need consideration and further research in consolidating the NOPs and the Frafra Community churches. The issues include the bane and blessing of migration, language and discipleship, language and mission, worldview and urban mission, and sense of community in urban churches.

Ethno-Linguistic Constituency of the Frafra

The Frafra as an ethno-linguistic group occupy territories in the Upper-East Region of Ghana, including most parts of Navrongo, Bolgatanga, Bongo, and Tallensi-Nabdam. Their principal towns are Zuarungu and Bolgatanga, with the former being the traditional capital and the latter the commercial and administrative capital of the Upper-East Region.²

The Frafra homelands share borders with southern Burkina Faso and are believed to have migrated from Burkina Faso to their present location in Ghana. Linguistically, the Frafra are presented by Peter Barker as an umbrella sub-group for the Farefare, Fra, Guren(n)e, Gudeni, Gorni and Grunshi, who belong to the Gur language of the Oti-Volta (Northern Ghana) group.³ The Frafra language is closely related to Moore (spoken by the Moosi, one of the major ethnic groups in Burkina Faso) and to Nankani, Nabt, Kusaal, and Talni. Nankani and Nabt are listed as separate languages but regarded as dialects of Frafra.⁴ Other Frafra dialects include Gudeni (found near Bolga) and Booni (spoken among the Boonsi) near Bongo.⁵

Atta-Akosah describes the linguistic structure as follows, “the Frafra people group has at least five dialects named after local towns and localities ... Grune, Booni, Nankani, Nabt, and Talni ... all intelligible to each other.”⁶ He estimates the “mutual intelligibility is about 85% between them.”⁷

² Peter Barker, *Peoples, Languages, and Religion in Northern Ghana: A Preliminary Report* (Accra: Ghana Evangelism Committee & Asempa Publishers, 1986), 98.

³ Barker, *People, Languages and Religion*, 99.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Thomas Atta-Akosah, “Christian Conversion and Culture from the Frafra Perspective” (BA Long Essay, Christian Service University College, Kumasi, 2000), 10.

⁷ Atta-Akosah, “Christian Conversion and Culture,” 10.

Etymology of the Name *Frafra*

The name *Frafra* is an umbrella term for four major ethnic groups in Upper East of Ghana: the Gurune or Gurunse, the Tallensi, the Boose and the Nabdam.⁸ These groups share a common cultural heritage, with minor linguistic differences. Atta-Akosah points out that the name *Frafra* originated from the phrase *fara-fara* which means “well done”. It is usually used (sometimes with soft applause) to appreciate people who have worked hard.⁹

According to Atinga, *Frafra* is derived from a form of greeting in the Gurune language. He adds that the British colonial authorities coined *Frafra* as a simplification of *fara fara* and applied it to the Gurune-speaking. It was easier for them to pronounce the name *Frafra* than *Gurune* which is the proper name. But it is not very clear how the term became associated with the three ethnic groups. Atinga suggests the reason may be “due to the closeness of language, cultural practices and above all ritual action.”¹⁰

Frafra Religious Life and Thought

It is often assumed by the southerners in Ghana that the northern peoples are predominantly Muslim. However, a 1986 demographic study of the *Frafra*,¹¹ even before the recent onslaught of Pentecostal/Charismatic Christianity, contradicts this assumption. Indigenous religion had been predominant among the *Frafra* with over 80% being adherents. Christianity was professed by 8% - with Protestants forming 4%,

⁸ Abraham Berinyuu, “Understanding the Role of Nyaa Healing Among the *Frafra* of Northern Ghana,” *Journal of Development Studies* 46 (2006): 1. According to Berinyuu, it is generally believed that the name *Frafra* was coined by a foreigner from the common informal greetings or murmuring by way of thanks or petition: “*fara fara*” or “*fura fura*”.

⁹ See Thomas Atta-Akosah, “Christian Conversion and Culture from the *Frafra* Perspective” (BA Long Essay, Christian Service University College, Kumasi, 2000), 12.

¹⁰ Samuel Ayinbora Atinga, “Death and Dying: A Study of the Mortuary Rites of the *Frafra* of Northern Ghana in the Light of Christian Funeral Liturgy. An Attempt at Inculturation” (Doctoral Thesis, Katholieke University, Leuven, 2006), 7.

¹¹ The demographic study which was undertaken by Peter Barker was contemporaneous with the Ghana Evangelism Committee Church Survey commenced in 1986.

Roman Catholics 4%; and Islam 4%. In order of size, Roman Catholics are placed first; followed by Assemblies of God church, and then other Protestant churches.¹² The advent of Evangelical, Charismatic/Pentecostal, Adventist, Prophet-Healing Churches has increased access to Christianity. Besides the so called ‘one-man churches’, there are now over twenty (20) mainline church denominations in Frafra homelands.¹³

The cosmology of the Frafra indigenous religion comprises belief in the Supreme Being, divinities, ancestors and other spirits. The Supreme Being is very prominent in Frafra cosmology. As a male being, the Supreme Being is called *Yine*. *Yine* is often prefixed with *Na-a*, which means chief. *Na-ayine* thus means the only “Supreme Chief”. *Na-ayine* is believed to be “above all other gods; he knows all, sees all and is all-powerful”.¹⁴ This belief is evident in Frafra prayers such as *tebora yine fara*, (we give God praise), and *yine nde naba* (God is king).

The abode of the Supreme Being is often viewed as the skies or even beyond the skies. The sky is therefore called *yinin*, which means the abode of *Yine*; connotating the Frafra God is completely transcendent and far remote (*deus otiosus*). Yet, they consider *Yine* as one who is immanent and always with them. It is common to hear the Frafra say, *yine-ka zāe* – God is not far, *yine-yeti* – God sees.¹⁵

To the Frafra, God is love, powerful, merciful, and the creator of all there is in the universe. This is reflected in many Frafra names which are theophorus, such as *Ayinyre* (God’s love), *Ayinbono* (God’s

¹² Barker, *People, Languages and Religion*, 98.

¹³ Atta-Akosah, “Christian Conversion and Culture,” lists the following churches: AME Zion, Anglican, Apostolic Church, Assemblies of God, Baptist (Convention), Baptist (Missionary Association), Bible Church of Africa, Christ Apostolic, Church of Christ, Church of God, Church of Pentecost, Church of the Lord Brotherhood, Deeper Life Bible Church, Evangelical Church of Ghana, Evangelical Presbyterian Church, Ghana, Fountain Gate Chapel, Methodist Church Ghana, Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Musama Disco Christo Church, Resurrection Power and Living Bread, Roman Catholic, Salvation Army, Seed Across Nations Evangelistic Ministry, and Seventh Day Adventist.

¹⁴ Barker, *People, Languages and Religion*, 102.

¹⁵ Atinga, “Death and Dying,” 7.

property) *Ayingagya* (God is above) and so on. In spite of all these, the Frafra do not offer sacrifices to the Supreme Being directly. Their belief is that one can only approach God (as the Supreme Chief) through the mediation of the ancestors.

The Frafra also believe in the existence of other divinities which are endowed with some divine powers that influence human lives. These divine beings are regarded as benevolent spirits with keen interest in the welfare of the human communities. They are perceived to inhabit natural phenomena -- big trees, rocks, mountain and hills, rivers and so on. They are considered to be good mediators between the communities they represent and the Supreme Being. These divinities are consulted in times of crisis such as drought, famine, epidemics or unexplained deaths. They are believed to be most active at night, particularly after midnight. People are often warned not to linger at night around the vicinity of shrines dedicated to these divinities to prevent spiritual encounters which may be harmful.¹⁶

The Frafra associate more with the ancestors than with the divinities because the former were once humans and are believed to know the human conditions and needs very well thus they are better positioned to solicit help and blessings from the Supreme Being. For the Frafra, there is a strong link between the ancestors and their living progeny—a link which death does not break. The Frafra therefore build ancestral shrines within their homesteads to emphasize the permanent link that exists between the living and the dead. According to Ayeremoah, “the ancestors are closer to the Almighty God. They are mediators between God and us. When we sin we ask for forgiveness through them. We also get our blessing through them”.¹⁷

Besides the ancestors and the divinities, belief in the existence of other spirits is an integral part of Frafra worldview. The divinities are spirits that are connected in one way or the other with the family, clan or

¹⁶ Atinga, “Death and Dying,” 8.

¹⁷ John Ayeremoah, interview granted the author, Bolga Tendongmologo Tengdaana, January 15, 2015.

village community. On the other hand, the other spirits are free-ranging spirits that are not confined to any particular place. They are generally feared because they are believed to be malevolent and could manifest themselves in various forms and cause havoc to humans. Witches are believed to possess some of these spirits and that make them kill and eat human beings. It is also believed that witches have the power to cause accidents on roads, water bodies, and in fact everywhere.

Though, generally, the Frafra consider these spirits as malicious and wicked, they also believe that there are good spirits among them. These good spirits can possess an individual and reveal some secrets to him or her for the good of the community. The secret could be power to heal various kinds of diseases and ailments, prevent witchcraft activity, grant the ability to divine and see the future, prevent epidemics, drought and so on. The good spirits thus exercise their power for the benefit of the community.¹⁸

Socio-Economic Conditions and Frafra Migration

The traditional occupation of the Frafras is farming which is carried out within a single rainy season - May to October - followed by a long dry season October to April. With very little to do in terms of farm work during the long dry season, the Frafras engage in social activities such as festivals, marriage ceremonies, funerals and various forms of entertainment, with hunting as the only subsistence activity.

With the limited employment opportunities in the area, there is a high level of poverty among the people. Besides, the harvest at the end of the farming season suffices for just a few months due to low output. Atta-Akosah asserts that “most of the land is unsuitable for agrarian purposes” as indicated by the name of the capital town ‘Bolgatanga’.

¹⁸ Atinga, “Death and Dying,” 10.

‘*Bolga*’ means red soil and ‘*tanga*’ rock.¹⁹ Thus, Frafras tend to migrate from their traditional homelands in the north to the southern parts of Ghana for permanent or seasonal work opportunities.

Most of the youth used to shepherd cattle in time past when cattle was kept in almost every compound in Frafraland. Today, the story has changed and most of the youth are out of that job as the cattle base of most families continue to dwindle.

According to Boniface Adagbila Agambila, “the environment makes it difficult for job creation. There is only one farming season with little to feed the people. There is no electricity in the rural areas. The roads are bad and therefore the only option is for the youth to migrate to the south” with the hope of securing a job to get money and return home in the next farming season.²⁰

The north-south migration which has become an established phenomenon in modern Ghana is believed to have existed in the Gold Coast times around the 1940s.²¹ It was and still is principally driven by search for employment. Other reasons given are: “to escape persecution, to visit relatives, to learn a trade, to seek good education, or simply, out of curiosity.”²² The southward movement which is now pronounced is aided by improvement in transportation and communication.

The Frafra migrants can be classified into two different categories. First, there are those who migrate to the south only in the dry season to work and return at the onset of the rainy season. This category of migrants can be referred to as seasonal/temporary migrants. Secondly,

¹⁹ Atta-Akosah, “Christian Conversion and Culture,” 9.

²⁰ Boniface Adagbila Agambila, Member of Parliament for Nabdam Constituency, interview granted the author, **date**. Cf. Tetteh, “Mother Tongue Literacy,” 282.

²¹ Tetteh, “Mother Tongue Literacy,” 282. See H. McCoy, *Great Things Happen* (Montreal: The Society of Missionaries of Africa, 1988), 37.

²² See, Elom Dovlo and Solomon Sule-Saa, “The Northern Outreach Program of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 23, no. 2 (1999): 112. These reasons are attributed to Meyer Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship Among the Tallensi* (Oosterhout, Netherlands: Anthropological Publications, 1969), 10-11; and G.K. Nukunya, *Tradition and Change in Ghana* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press), 229.

there are the permanent/settled migrants - Frafras who have migrated to the south and settled permanently with their families to live and work in villages, towns and cities which have become a home away from home.

With little or no education to gain good jobs, some of these migrants lodge with kinsmen till they find work, which are mostly menial in nature such as being a houseboy, grounds-man/gardener, cleaner, cook, hotel steward; or roasting meat at drinking spots or pounding *fufu* at local diners called “Chop bar”, car washing, etc. Some trade in meat in market places and convenient butcher shops in communities. Some manage to find jobs as watchmen/security guards, shop attendants, porters/carriers or ‘loading boys’ in shopping malls in the central business districts. The women become petty traders, head porters (*kayaye*) or attendants/dish washers at Chop bars. Others settle in rural farming communities as farm labourers.

With time the fortunate ones in rural areas get elevated as cocoa farm caretakers. Some manage to secure their own cocoa farms through the share-cropping system. In urban centres, others become self-employed in the informal sector of the economy as shopkeepers, hair dressers, barbers, shoe makers, food joint operators, tailors, and artisans such as carpenters, masons and plumbers. A few who become businessmen and women run mini-malls or operate as sub-distributors of various consumer items. A few others become transport operators. In all, majority eke out a living as casual labourers, whilst many remain unemployed.

It has been observed that the type of jobs that the Frafra migrants find in the south sometimes determine the religious group they identify with. For instance, those who operate as load boys for minibus (*trotro*) or truck drivers tend to be attracted to the Islamic faith. This is due to the fact that many of the drivers of heavy duty vehicles are Muslims who live in the *Zongos* (Muslim settlements).

Zongo Enclaves and Islamisation

The northern migrant settlements in southern Ghana are ethnic based, and are usually separated from the communities of the southern indigenes. These are outlying wards nicknamed *Zongos*, a Hausa word for ‘strangers’ quarters,’²³ but usually designated Muslim quarters. Actually the southerners had “an erroneous impression that all northerners were Hausa and were therefore Moslems.”²⁴ According to Tetteh, this perception alienated and marginalized the northerners to the extent of making some who were not from predominantly Islamic communities in the north convert to Islam.²⁵ The predominant “Islamic-based sense of community and social order” in the *Zongos* caused the northern migrants to be “subsumed under the prevailing Islamic identity”.²⁶ Thus, by virtue of being resident in the *Zongos*, the northern migrants are perceived by southerners to be Muslims.

This perception coupled with a general tendency of superiority of southerners towards northerners, are the major obstacles to effective Christian mission among the migrant settlers from the North.²⁷

Southern-Born Frafra Elite

Apart from migrant Frafra people who come to southern Ghana to look for jobs, there are Frafra people who were born and bred in southern Ghana, and have had a significant level of education, therefore some of them are gainfully employed and occupy top positions in the south. It is worth noting that the southern-born Frafra seem to be well settled and integrated. Even though they have an identity as Frafra, they are very much influenced by the cultures of southern Ghana. In terms of marriage, some of the southern-born Frafra men and women

²³ Dovlo and Sule-Saa, “Northern Outreach Programme,” 112.

²⁴ Tetteh, “Mother Tongue Literacy,” 282.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Dovlo and Sule-Saa, “Northern Outreach Programme,” 112. On the *Zongos* as Muslim enclaves in southern cities, see Deborah Pellow, “Muslim Segmentation: Cohesion and Divisiveness in Accra,” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 23, no. 3 (1985), 419.

²⁷ Dovlo and Sule-Saa, “Northern Outreach Programme,” 113. See also Peter K. Sarpong, *Odd Customs, Stereotypes and Prejudices* (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2012).

have inter-married with indigenous southerners. Some of these marriages are contracted either in the indigenous, Islamic or Christian sense.

In an interview, Mrs. Priscilla Bonsu, a Frafra, revealed that she came to Kumasi about 30 years ago in search of job. She got a temporary accommodation and a job after which she got married to an Akan man. They live at Atonsu, a suburb of Kumasi. Together, they attend church at Light House Chapel International.²⁸

The established Frafra businessmen and women who have business relationships with the southerners tend to affiliate with the southern churches. When the Frafra churches emerged, the established middle class Frafra, often shunned the mono-ethnic Frafra churches. The new Frafra churches subsequently tended to be predominantly of the lower class Frafra and just a few of those of middle class.

Association of Frafra Migrants

As far as the migrant Frafra are concerned, the story is different. Some of them tend to shy away from most of the southern people. They do not often associate with the southerners outside working hours. Usually, they prefer taking up temporary residence with established relatives or make-shift shelters in some reserved or secluded areas.

One issue worth noting is the coming together of some of these Frafra people into associations to foster goodwill and unity among themselves and to seek their mutual welfare. These associations often meet monthly, or fortnightly to discuss issues that pertain to their welfare and continuous stay in the south. Some of the issues that often call for the involvement of almost all the people include funerals and marriages. In the view of Baba Nabil Lok, these tribal associations offer the Frafra in the south opportunity to identify with one another. Over

²⁸ Mrs. Priscilla Bonsu, interview granted the author, Atonsu, Kumasi, January 20, 2015.

the years, the associations have been instrumental in settling disputes amongst the people and assisting them in diverse ways.²⁹

In terms of language, the migrants from the north tend to use their various dialects in communication among themselves wherever they settle in the south. It usually takes a long time before they adjust to the southern system, and also learn the southern languages. Conversely, most of the Frafra people who are born in the south often find it difficult to speak their own mother tongue because they have assimilated the southern languages, and have become closely associated with the southerners either in school, business or areas of residence.³⁰

As far as relationships are concerned, it is interesting to note that, those who migrate to the south tend to associate more with their kinsmen, fellow tribesmen and other ethnic groups also from the north than with people of the south, outside official working hours. They usually resent being looked down upon and seek no contact with the southerners. In terms of church life, the migrant Frafra people tend to see it as a southerner's affair and wish not to be part of it.

As early as 1975, the Islam Committee of Christian Council of Ghana drew attention to the mass of northern people in the southern Ghana who had been neglected by the churches. According to James Anquandah:

In 1975, the Committee issued a call alerting urban congregations about the mass movement of Northerners into Southern Ghana cities and towns and urging them to broaden their ministries as imaginatively and boldly as possible in order to accommodate Northern Christians and non-Christians in their areas of concern so as not to lose them to Islam.³¹

²⁹ Baba Nabil Lok, Head, Nabdam Community in Ashanti Region, interview granted the author, January 20, 2015.

³⁰ From the observation of Mark Nso-Yine, Co-ordinator, Frafra Community Baptist Churches, Kumasi.

³¹ James Anquandah, *Together We Sow and Reap: The First Fifty Years of the Christian Council* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1979), 55.

The Unfinished Task: Ghana Evangelism Committee Reports of 1989 and 1993

In early 1970s, the Ghana Evangelism Committee (GEC) was established as an indigenous interdenominational agency to implement a programme of evangelism designated “New Life for All” (NLFA).³² The GEC was initially made up of representatives of both Pentecostal and Christian Council of Ghana Churches. When the GEC began implementing the NLFA Programme in Ghana in 1975, the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches became the main collaborating denominations, supported by some parachurch organisations, including Scripture Union.³³

The Ghana Evangelism Committee conducted two extensive national church surveys between 1985-1989, and 1991-1993, which revealed the neglected evangelistic task of the churches in southern Ghana. The survey reports titled: “Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church,” sparked off the mono-ethnic church planting movement. The reports specified unreached towns and villages, as well as communities of northern extraction and West African people resident in the big southern towns and cities who were without churches of their own. The 1993 report stated specifically that, more than 2.3 million northerners who constituted about 18% of Ghana’s population were residing in the seven (7) southern regions of Ghana.³⁴

Many evangelical Christians in the south generally avoided or bypassed the northerners in their midst during evangelistic outreach programmes. Thus, the task of evangelizing northerners in Southern Ghana became the task of the few northerners in the south who by divine providence had become Christians. In the last two decades of the 20th century, it was realized that a considerable number of the Frafra people living in the seven southern regions of Ghana had not

³² Ghana Evangelism Committee, *What is New Life For All?* (Accra: GEC, 1975), 5.

³³ Publisher's note on back cover of *National Church Survey: Facing the Unfinished Task of the Church in Ghana* (Accra: GEC, 1989).

³⁴ Ghana Evangelism Committee, *National Church Survey Update* (Accra: GEC, 1993), 5.

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heard the gospel of Jesus Christ and accepted Him as their Lord and Saviour.

Apparently, as Dovlo and Sule-Saa have observed, the problem was more with the Protestant churches in the south. The Roman Catholic Church which commenced operations in Northern Ghana in 1906 had long integrated northerners in its ministry.³⁵ Northerners did not feel alienated in Catholic congregations in the south. Provision was made for Mass to be said in northern languages and church-based social associations existed in Catholic congregations for northerners in the urban south.³⁶

Attitude to Northerners, rather than language, was the problem with the Protestants in the south. Hence, the need to consider the instrumentality of the Frafra Christian Fellowship in the rise of Frafra churches in the Ashanti.

Antecedent to the Frafra Christian Fellowship: The Christian Fellowship Movement and Evangelism

Outside church circles, non-denominational evangelical groups known as Christian Fellowships became the agents of evangelism in urban communities in southern Ghana from the 1960s to 1980s. The Christian Fellowships in urban communities emerged as extensions of the ministry of Scripture Union (SU) in Ghana. The local Christian Fellowships were designated Town Fellowships (TFs) because they were community-based.³⁷ The Fellowships were basically for Bible study/expositions and prayer (occasionally with fasting).

In the formative stage the Fellowships were predominantly elitist, although membership was opened to anyone. The meetings in Accra and Kumasi had a tremendous appeal to the upwardly mobile Christian professionals, especially those who fellowshipped with SU, the Ghana

³⁵ Dovlo & Sule-Saa, "Northern Outreach Programme," 113.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ S.B. Adubofuor, "Evangelical Parachurch Movements in Ghanaian Christianity, c1950s-1990s" (PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1994), 79-84.

Fellowship of Evangelical Students (GHAFES) and the Nurses Christian Fellowship (NCF) in their school/university days. Other members were people who had settled to work in the cities as civil servants or bank clerks, with some becoming converted after joining.

With Pentecostal influence in the late 1960s and early 70s, there was a phenomenal expansion of the Christian Fellowship movement. The scope of membership expanded to embrace the “educationally underprivileged” and “non-professional literates”. The TFs adopted public auditoria and classrooms of elementary schools for their meetings. In Kumasi, the TF adopted the Unicorn House which was a much bigger place in the city centre as meeting place and later designated “power house”. The TFs became a renewal movement - evangelical power houses, a place for augmenting one’s spiritual life. According to Kwaku Hutchful, the Christian Fellowship became – “a place where a Christian goes, as an alternate place for good Bible study, teaching, worship and prayer.”³⁸

As community-based fellowships, the TFs became effective instruments in extending the social boundaries of SU - by evangelising and thus drawing into the movement the category of urban workers described as “literate proletariat”³⁹ — auto-mechanics, dressmakers, petty-traders, taxi-drivers, untrained school teachers, office messengers, and factory workers. They became most instrumental in extending SU evangelicalism beyond the world of the literate to illiterate urban and rural dwellers. By 1984, the Town Fellowships numbered 188 countrywide, and were acknowledged as the cutting edge of SU evangelistic outreach.⁴⁰

³⁸ Adubofuor, “Evangelical Parachurch Movements,” 81.

³⁹ Terminology used by Prof. Andrew F. Walls for those who for various reasons have acquired just elementary school education, or dropped out of secondary school.

⁴⁰ Adubofuor, “Evangelical Parachurch Movements,” 83.

Emergence of Frafra Christian Fellowship and Planting of Frafra Churches

In the 1980s, the Frafra Christian Fellowship (FCF) became the vanguard of Protestant Christian mission among the Frafra in the Kumasi Metropolis. As English and Akan were used in churches and the Scripture Union's Town Fellowships, ethno-linguistic factors led to the formation of the Frafra Christian Fellowship (FCF) in 1981 by a group of Frafra Christians from different churches in Kumasi.⁴¹ The FCF provided the avenue for a number of evangelical Frafra Christians to meet and have fellowship. The principal leaders were Peter Awana, James Aluruba Amoah, Solomon Ayamga, Moses Apore, Paul Adombire, Mark Nso-Yine, Daniel Ayamga and Joseph Ayimbire.⁴² Their meeting place was the Canteen of Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) in Kumasi. The main purpose was to bring the Frafra people together to study and understand the word of God in the Frafra language. This step was taken because most of the people felt the need to worship God in the context of their own culture.

Peter Awana's account is as follows:

I was working at the University and used to fellowship at the Roman Catholic Church there. Frafras were already meeting as a tribal group to talk about funerals and other things. But I realized that most of them could not understand what was preached in the Church. I shared my concern with people like James Aluruba and others. We decided to meet and help our people to become literate in their mother tongue and especially understand the Scripture. This resulted in the Frafra Christian Fellowship and we are meeting at the University Canteen.⁴³

⁴¹ Nso-Yine, Mark, "History of the Eternal Life Baptist Church" (Kumasi: Unpublished Work, 2003), 13.

⁴² Nso-Yine, "History of the Eternal Life Baptist Church," 13.

⁴³ Atta-Akosah, "Christian Conversion and Culture," 31.

As time went by, it dawned upon them to reach out to other Frafra people with the word of God. Eventually, the Frafra Christian Fellowship decided to initiate Frafra Christian missions by starting Frafra churches where preaching and worship would be done in Frafra language. The co-operation of local churches was needed to make the church planting ventures successful. The Evangelical Church of Ghana, Presbyterian Church of Ghana, Methodist Church Ghana and the Ghana Baptist Convention are the mainline churches that shared the vision of the Frafra Christian Fellowship.

The Evangelical Church of Ghana (ECG) was the first beneficiary of the Frafra mission of FCF. The Church which has branches nationwide emerged through the missionary endeavours of the UK-based Worldwide Evangelization for Christ (WEC) Mission in Northern and Southern Ghana. In 1987, Rev. Jonathan Lam came to Ghana from Hong Kong under the auspices of the WEC and ECG to work among the northern groups in the southern part of the country.⁴⁴ In this missionary venture, the assistance of the Frafra Christian Fellowship was sought and granted. Thus, in 1989 the first Frafra Church in Ashanti was planted at Ayigya (Kumasi), in the environs of Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, and named Victory Evangelical Church of Ghana. This successful venture was replicated at Moshie Zongo with the planting of Peace Evangelical Church of Ghana; followed by the Evangelical Church of Ghana (ECG) at Ejisu, and later the ECG at Atonsu and Asem, all in the Kumasi Metropolis. All these churches were initially shepherded by senior members of the Frafra Christian Fellowship, James Aluruba Amoah and Paul Adombire, both of who later left the Fellowship to become full-time ministers of the emergent Frafra churches.

The Presbyterian Church of Ghana (PCG) was one of the few Protestant Churches that responded early to the need for churches in southern Ghana to reach out to northerners in their midst. The PCG's outreach to northerners in the south commenced in Accra and later extended to Kumasi. In 1991, Rev. Dr. John Azuma who was then

⁴⁴ Atta-Akosah, "Christian Conversion and Culture," 31.

with the Peyer Presbyterian Church, Bantama, Kumasi, approached the Frafra Christian Fellowship to solicit the assistance of the Fellowship to start a Frafra Church at Bantama.⁴⁵ The Fellowship readily granted the request. A joint evangelistic effort was initiated which led to the commencement of the Northern Outreach Programme (NOP) of the Presbyterian Church at Bantama.⁴⁶ The NOP of the Asante Presbytery currently has five (5) Frafra Congregations in Kumasi at Bantama, Adum, Asokwa, Kwadaso and Tanoso.⁴⁷

The Methodist Church of Ghana also followed suit. In 1992, the then Kumasi District of Methodist Church Ghana sought the assistance of the FCF to start a Frafra Church at the Krobo Odumase (K.O.) area of Ashanti New Town, Kumasi. A crusade was organized with Rev. Mark Nso-Yine (FCF leader who had been ordained a Baptist Minister), as the preacher.⁴⁸ The evangelistic event was successful and led to the establishment of the first Frafra Society in the Kumasi District (now Diocese) of Methodist Church Ghana and the beginning of the NOP of the Church. The NOP of the Kumasi Diocese of Methodist Church Ghana now operates seven (7) Frafra Societies in various circuits of the Diocese.⁴⁹

The need to undertake Christian outreach to ethnic minorities from Northern Ghana was accepted by the Protestant churches in the south as a kind of corporate social responsibility. Later, other Frafra

⁴⁵ The ministry of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana to migrants from the north has been well documented by Elom Dovlo and Solomon Sule-Saa. See, "The Northern Outreach Program," 112-116.

⁴⁶ The department for Northern Outreach Programme was created at the PCG Head Office in Accra, with Rev. Solomon Sule Saa as officer-in-charge of Accra Zone and Rev. John Azuma in charge of the Kumasi (Ashanti) Zone respectively. See Tetteh, "Mother Tongue Literacy," 286.

⁴⁷ Mr. Alex Abugbire Anafo, Secretary, Frafra Congregation, Presbyterian Church, Bantama, interview granted the author, 3rd December 2016. In addition to the Frafra Congregations, the NOP of the Asante Presbytery has fifteen (15) other congregations of northern migrants, comprising six (6) Builsa, seven (7) Kasena, one (1) Mamprusi, one (1) Kusasi.

⁴⁸ Nso-Yine, "History of the Eternal Life Baptist Church," 13.

⁴⁹ Within the Kumasi Diocese, the NOP of the Methodist Church also operates one (1) Builsa Society and one (1) Dagaare Society. The Builsa society at Daaban, a suburb of Kumasi Metropolis, caters for the Builsa community in Daaban town which has developed into an affluent residential area.

churches were established by the Presbyterian and the Methodist denominations in Ashanti through the assistance of FCF. This phenomenon inspired other denominations in Kumasi to establish their own Frafra congregations. The Church of God in Kumasi has two (2) Frafra congregations, the first of which commenced around the year 2000 at the mission premises at the metro-suburb of Fankyenebra, and the other at the City Church of God place at Patasi. The Assemblies of God also operates two (2) Frafra Assemblies.⁵⁰ Lighthouse Chapel International too has started a Frafra congregation at Bantama, Kumasi.⁵¹

The First Frafra Baptist Churches in Ashanti

The Baptists realized the need to have their own Frafra community church, and therefore took steps to initiate a Frafra church planting movement with the collaboration of FCF. With support of Rev. Frank Adams (the then General Secretary of the Ghana Baptist Convention) and Rev. Steve Asante (the Chairman of the Evangelism Committee of the Ghana Baptist Convention at the time), the Frafra Baptist Church of Ghana Baptist Convention was established through the instrumentality of the Frafra Christian Fellowship. In 1992, Rev. Steve Asante and Rev. Dr. Frank Adams visited one of FCF's regular meetings and gave the FCF the mandate and moral support to start a Frafra Baptist Church. The Executive Committee of the FCF together with their wives declared a period of fasting and prayer to seek the Lord's direction in starting a Frafra Baptist Church.⁵²

After a session of fasting and prayers, the FCF executives convened a meeting at Ayigya *Zongo* near Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology. The agenda was the formation of the Frafra Baptist Church. The meeting was a hectic one with doctrinal arguments as the members of the Fellowship belonged to different

⁵⁰ Assemblies of God also shepherds two (2) Dagbane Assemblies.

⁵¹ Mentioned by Mrs. Linda Amoako Banning, Pastor, Lighthouse Chapel International, Kumasi, in MA Christian Ministry Seminar on the Unique Ministry and Growth of Lighthouse Chapel International, Ghana.

⁵² Nso-Yine, "History of the Eternal Life Baptist Church," 15.

churches with different doctrines. After a lengthy deliberation and some disagreements, the door was opened for those who wanted to be part of the Baptist Church to do so. All the members present agreed to join the church except a Catholic couple, David and Elizabeth Anaba, who could not do so because of their commitment to the Roman Catholic Church. Samuel Azure of 'Go Ye Harvest Ministry' also did not join because of doctrinal issues.

Apparently, the Catholic members who decided to join the Frafra Baptist Church had earlier contacted Rev. Steve Asante for water baptism by immersion at the KNUST swimming pool on 29th January 1989 which meant that they had become Baptists three good years before the decision to start a Frafra Baptist Church. The members who had agreed to join the Baptist Church immediately set to work. They held an indoor crusade at New Tafo Baptist Church, Kumasi. The indoor crusade was chosen so that the target group could be reached without outside interference. The crusade lasted three (3) days, from Thursday 4th to Saturday 6th February 1993. On Sunday February 7th, 1993, the first Frafra Baptist Church service was held. The congregation is now called 'Eternal Life Baptist Church' located at Anyano in Kumasi.

Following the establishment of the Frafra Community Churches in Kumasi, the Frafra Christian Fellowship began to disintegrate. The reason for this was that most of the leading members of the Frafra Christian Fellowship accepted appointments as full-time ministers of the established churches. However, Rev. Mark Nso-Yine and some key FCF members decided to commit themselves to the strengthening of the churches that had been planted. They visited these churches preaching and teaching.

Since 1993 under the leadership of Rev. Mark Nso-Yine, the first Frafra Baptist Church has spawned over 30 Frafra Community Baptist Churches in the Ashanti region. In Kumasi, Frafra Community Baptist Churches have been established at Moshie Zongo, Bantama, Bomso, Akwatialine, Ahinsan, Ampabame, Kotwi, and Atimatim. Outside Kumasi, active Frafra Community Baptist Churches are functioning among Frafra settlers in other towns in Ashanti, including Agona, Ofinso-Ahenkro, Asante Mampong, Nsuta, Offinso-Abofour, Asuofua,

Barekese, Konongo, Wadie-Adwumakese, Adagya, Kenyase-Kwabre, and Bima.

Today, there are over 84 Frafra Churches in Ashanti,⁵³ with 32 being Baptist, 7 Methodist, 5 Presbyterian, 5 Evangelical Church of Ghana, 2 Assemblies of God, 2 Church of God. Over 30 independent Frafra Charismatic churches have also emerged through fissiparous means and other church planting initiatives. The 2015 report of the *Third Church Survey* by the Ghana Evangelism Committee states that 9,648 people regularly attend Frafra churches in Ashanti; 7,716 (80%) being Protestants and 1,932 (20%) Catholics.⁵⁴

The Bane and Blessing of Migration

The emergence of mono-ethnic churches for northern migrants highlights the bane and blessing of migration around the world as discussed by Professor Andrew F. Walls.⁵⁵ The first recorded migration in the Bible is found in the book of Genesis. The migration took Adam and Eve out of Paradise. Andrew Walls sees migration as “basic to the human condition, for it has been repeated endlessly in human history, and has often been determinative in its effects on the lives of peoples.”⁵⁶

In migration, people experience dispossession, dislocation, deprivation, loss of patrimony or habitat. Adam lost Eden, Cain lost the security of the group, Israel lost land, kingdom and temple. These cases make migration punitive, the result of wrongdoing. On the other hand, migration could be redemptive rather than punitive.⁵⁷ Abraham was

⁵³ Ghana Evangelism Committee, *Third Church Survey – Ashanti Region, March 2015 Report* (GEC: Kumasi, 2015), 19. An unpublished up-date received by Rev. Mark Nso-Yine indicates the number has risen to 53 for mainline denominations.

⁵⁴ GEC, *Third Church Survey*, 17.

⁵⁵ See Andrew F. Walls, “Mission and Migration: The Diaspora Factor in Christian History,” *Journal of African Christian Thought* 5, no. 2 (December 2002): 3-11.

⁵⁶ Walls, “Mission and Migration,” 3. The Book of Genesis narrates a number of migrations, and the Book of Exodus contains the epic migration of Israel.

⁵⁷ Walls, “Mission and Migration,” 3.

not expelled but divinely called from his Mesopotamian city, with the promise of another land for his descendants (Gen. 12).

Migration in the biblical record has a dual character which has been examined by Walls.⁵⁸ One paradigm of migration is ‘Adamic’, which stands for migration that spells disaster, deprivation and loss. The other is ‘Abrahamic’, where migration indicates escape to a superlatively better future. In the Abrahamic migration, the promised better future is linked with the knowledge of God.⁵⁹ There is an overlap of the models because in the divine economy, disaster itself could have a redemptive purpose. Both models represent the significance of migration for the migrant. Migration may bring bane or blessing to both the migrant and the host community.⁶⁰

The migration of the Frafra and other ethnic groups to the south, being seasonal or permanent, has been both a blessing and a bane in its effects. The missions of the Catholic Church and Northern Outreach Programme of the Protestant Churches have been a blessing to many migrants. The fortunate few with good education have gained good jobs and settled well to integrated lives in the south, and their relatives at home benefit from remittances. Other migrants, however, subsist on income from menial jobs and petty trading. But majority who are homeless eke out a living as casual labourers or market porters. Stereotypes and prejudices influence attitude of southerners to the migrants. Host communities see the latter as nuisance and dangerous; thus, they exercise a lot of caution in dealing with them. Still many southern Christians do not appreciate the mission opportunities that the presence of the migrants offer. Until recently, the migrants did not even feature in the evangelistic agenda of the many southern churches. A critical observation indicates the NOPs are appendages to the mission of the mainline of churches in the south. There is a need for the NOPs to be mainstreamed into the mission of the churches as a whole.

⁵⁸ Walls, “Mission and Migration,” 3-4.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

Worldview and Urban Mission

The on-going Northern Outreach Programmes (NOPs) include urban mission. Besides language, the worldview of the people is important in making outreach to northern migrants in urban centres effective. “Worldview is inter-twined with culture, which invariably includes language and self-identity.”⁶¹ Mbiti states that “Africans are notoriously religious,”⁶² and so they take their religion wherever they go, and it tends to influence whatever they do. The same could be said of the urban African also. Andrew Walls has argued that, “a person’s worldview, understood as their map of the universe and how it works, is something that cannot be obliterated; it can only be redrawn.”⁶³ The metropolitan African, no matter the impact of education or modernity on him/her, remains primal in worldview.⁶⁴ Christian conversion does not even destroy the traditional worldview of the believer. It may only be adjusted to accommodate the new faith.

Quarshie sees the African worldview as “the greatest potential for mission in the African city.”⁶⁵ It must be noted that Africans have an integrated view of life. There is no dichotomy between the spiritual and physical. The two are held together all the time and expressed in religious practice in everyday life.

Language and Discipleship

In Matthew 28:19, the words of the Great Commission of Jesus Christ are recorded: “Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you” (NIV). According to Andrew Walls, “the task of the disciples of Christ

⁶¹ B. Y. Quarshie, “Mission in African Cities Today: Some Pointers from the Apostle Paul,” *Journal of African Christian Thought* 17, no. 1 (June 2014): 36.

⁶² J. S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy* (London: Heinemann, 1969), 1.

⁶³ Andrew F. Walls, “Introduction: African Christianity in the History of Religions,” in *Christianity in Africa in the 1990s*, ed. C. Fyfe and A.F. Walls (Edinburgh: Centre of African Studies, 1996): 1-16; Quoted in Quarshie, “Mission in African Cities Today,” 36.

⁶⁴ Quarshie, “Mission in African Cities Today,” 36.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

is to *disciple the nations*, to make the nations disciples.”⁶⁶ Nationhood implies cultural identity – commonality – features and attributes that a people share: “location, history, traditions, customs, and sense of belongingness.” In simple terms “nationality implies shared experiences and relationships, specific ways of doing things”.⁶⁷

Edwin Smith upholds language as the “shrine of a people’s soul”.⁶⁸ Within the *shrine*, Walls observes, “lie that people’s history, its traditions, its corpus of recognized literature (oral or written).” Thus, if a nation is to be made a disciple of Christ, all contents of the *shrine* must be opened to the influence of Christ - “the influence of Christ is brought to bear on the points of references in each group” - “for Christ has redeemed human life in its entirety.”⁶⁹ When Edwin Smith wrote about “the shrine of a people’s soul” he was thinking of language.⁷⁰ The language factor is crucial in Christian mission, in the transmission of the faith – in Bible translation, evangelism, worship, etc. The essence of this exposition is to explain the task of the outreach to northern migrants as gospel and culture engagement, with the mother tongue as a vital tool for making Christ relevant to the receivers.

Language and Mission

The Frafra churches in Ashanti constitute an archetype of mono-ethnic churches for northern migrants in southern Ghana. The emergence of these ethnic minority churches in the last three decades highlights the importance of the linguistic factor in Christian mission. The two main reasons why the northerners were apathetic to churches in the southern Ghana were that southerners did not show respect to northerners, and the northerners did not understand southern languages.

⁶⁶ A.F. Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (New York: Orbis, 1996), 49.

⁶⁷ Walls, *The Missionary Movement*, 49.

⁶⁸ Edwin W. Smith, *The Shrine of a People’s Soul* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1930) quoted in Walls, *The Missionary Movement*, 50.

⁶⁹ Walls, *The Missionary Movement*, 51.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 50. Cf. Smith, *The Shrine*.

The former reason did not make northerners feel at home with southerners, while the latter did not make the northerners understand the faith to appreciate the benefits of becoming Christians.

Christianity would have perhaps remained a Jewish sect if Koiné Greek did not exist as a *lingua franca* in the Hellenistic-Roman world to aid its transmission into the gentile world.⁷¹ Southern Ghana is a stronghold of Christianity partly because the Akan language, alongside English (colonial language for school and business), is quite predominant and has served the church in Akan areas as unofficial *lingua franca*. However, as Atta-Akosah observes, “wherever Christianity operates in the colonial or imposed lingua franca, the Christian faith does not take root in the indigenous cultures.”⁷² Similarly, Juliana Senavoe notes that “mission by *lingua franca* [of the missionary] leads to a general marginalization of the receptor culture.”⁷³ It also stifles indigenous Christian initiative as she observes:

The initiative and creativity of Guan Christians in historic churches seems to have been stifled by the common language policy of the church. There is no equivalent, in the Guan congregations of the historic churches, of spontaneous singing of lyrics in the mother tongue, like Fante *Abibidwom*, or of the heart-warming drumming and dancing and singing of mother tongue songs found in Northern Outreach congregations of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana. ... Spontaneous expressions of religious belief and experience have been largely absent.⁷⁴

For most migrants from the Upper-East Region, Frafra, (the common language) serves as a *lingua franca*. The use of Frafra as a medium of

⁷¹ Cf. Quarshie, “Mission in African Cities Today,” 39.

⁷² Thomas Atta-Akosah, “The Language Factor in African Christian Mission: Bible Translation and Biblical Interpretation in the African Church,” *Journal of African Christian Thought* 15, no. 2 (2012): 23.

⁷³ Juliana Senavoe, “Effects on Non-Translation of the Scriptures among the Guan of Southern Ghana – Some Preliminary Findings,” *Journal of African Christian Thought* 5, no. 1 (June 2002): 58.

⁷⁴ Senavoe, “Effects on Non-Translation of the Scriptures,” 58-9.

communication accounts for the proliferation of Frafra Churches down south in the Northern Outreach Programmes.

Sense of Community in Church

A critical factor for success in missions in the city is the ‘sense of community’ - the ‘we-feeling’, which so characterizes life in traditional African societies, but is quite often missing in the city. This communal way of life is preserved to some degree in ‘tribal associations’ in some ethnic enclaves of migrants in southern Ghana. However, as Quarshie observes, it is rather a “sense of anonymity and alienation that prevails among city dwellers.”⁷⁵ For many in the Ghanaian cities, “social integration and living an integrated life are giving way to fragmentation: life is no longer easily appreciated as one whole but is fast becoming atomized into its social, professional and religious segments.”⁷⁶ Thus ‘family’ for many city dwellers now is the trade groups, professional bodies or the church.

In urban missions, the church in the African city is expected to foster the African sense of community by functioning in way that makes the church become the ‘family’ that the migrant or city dweller has left behind in the rural area/homeland. As a member of the church in the city, the African Christian should be able to experience the good old sense of ‘we-feeling’ which is expressed by Mbiti as: “I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am.”⁷⁷ Indeed the church should be a home away from home.

Conclusion

The emergence of Frafra and migrant churches in Southern Ghana is a new development in Ghanaian Christianity. As products of the outreach to northerners, the churches in the Northern Outreach Programme (NOP) now function as agents of mission to the mass of young migrants from northern Ghana. Migration may be baneful, but

⁷⁵ Quarshie, “Mission in African Cities Today,” 39.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*, 108-9.

the operations of the NOPs of the Protestant Churches serve to mitigate the hazardous effects of migration. It is expected that the blessing of migration to the migrants in the south would have a positive religious impact on Christianity in the north. To advance studies on this issue, Professor Andrews Walls recommends further research on African religious initiatives associated with migration.⁷⁸

In the Christian outreach to Frafra migrants, the Frafra agency became imperative because the transmission of the faith required the use of mother tongue resources. It highlights the cardinal importance of the linguistic factor in Christian mission. The critical role played by the Frafra Christian Fellowship as the vanguard in the genesis of the Frafra Churches in Ashanti magnifies the importance of indigenous initiatives for success in mission.

⁷⁸ Walls, "Mission and Migration," 8-9.