Beyond the Buzzword: A Framework for an Indigenous Relational Evaluation in Traditional Communities in Ghana

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Abstract
The notions of indigenous knowledge and cultural philosophies are becoming ubiquitous in many social inquiries and evaluation is no exception. Nonetheless, the pursuit to making evaluation impulses embedded in indigenous philosophies relevant in evaluation activities is yet to succeed. Thus, the article discusses the indigenous relational philosophies, approaches and practices of evaluation. Using qualitative research approaches, the study interviewed 43 indigenous development leaders and other local representatives in three local government areas in Ghana. Utilising evidence synthesis approaches through a triangulation process, the paper realised that indigenous knowledge and other cultural ethos were distinct in community-based development evaluation process. The study grasped that there is an elusive intersection between indigenous and contemporary evaluation paradigms. It was observed that former has principles such as community spirit, mutual trust, self-organisation, relational patterns or networks, “ubuntu” ideals, consensus building, collectiveness inter alia that can complement the latter for effective and efficient evaluation of community development programmes and social policies. The article identified key indigenous elements and other indigenous relational assessment patterns to design an indigenously driven relational evaluation framework. The evaluative competencies embedded in indigenous philosophies are vast, thus, a call for future research is proposed.

Keywords
culturally responsive evaluation, cultural values, Ghana, relational stakeholders, indigenous evaluation

Introduction
The search for alternative evaluation approaches, philosophies and frameworks to curb the evaluation development impasse in Ghana and Africa as a whole has gained some traction in recent discourse.
There is extensive literature on contemporary monitoring and evaluation paradigms in Ghana and Africa at large (Parkinson, 2009; Matsiliza, 2012; Nzewi, 2012; Chouinard & Cousins, 2013; Muriungi, 2015; Boadu & Ile, 2017, 2019; Koenane, 2017; Tengan & Aigbavboa, 2017; Mbava & Dahler-Larsen, 2018), however, very limited research has been conducted on indigenously driven evaluation approaches (Easton, 2012; Chilisa, Major, Gaotlhobogwe, & Mokgolodi, 2016; Cloete & Auriacombe, 2019). Indigenous evaluation is relatively a latecomer in the evaluation development in Ghana. Thus, the paper unravelled the evaluative instincts, ideas, approaches and practices embedded in cultural philosophies to supplement contemporary evaluation paradigms.

The integration of indigenous knowledge systems and other cultural philosophies in the theories, methods and practices of evaluation is gaining greater recognition among African evaluators (Easton, 2012; Chilisa et al., 2017; Gaotlhobogwe et al., 2018), Ghana is no exception. The use of indigenous philosophies in the evaluation fields is still taking shape as an emerging area of interest. Indigenous evaluation is rooted in the acquisition of evaluation knowledge such that the indigenous people are actively involved in the design of what is evaluated, when it is evaluated, by whom, and with what philosophies. Thus, the indigeneity of evaluation is premise on the utility of indigenous knowledge, values, ideals, norms, relational patterns and other cultural realities to guide the theories, methods and practices of evaluation. Chilisa and Malunga (2012) aver that the indigenously responsive evaluation paradigms are not a perfect fit for the contemporary evaluation frameworks. Thus, there is a need to develop novel evaluation models, which redefines the paradigms, theories, methods, frameworks, and practices that are deeply rooted in indigenous philosophies, values, norms, axioms, metaphors, and relational knowledge systems (Easton, 2012; Chilisa et al., 2016; Boadu et al., 2020).

Despite the growing emphasis on building and strengthening indigenously responsive evaluation capacities in Ghana, very little attention has been given to building and developing the evaluation “new knowledge” in terms of the concepts, approaches, and practices (Easton, 2012; Porter & Goldman, 2013; Basheka & Byamugisha, 2015; Chilisa et al., 2016; Gaotlhobogwe et al., 2018). There is a lack of indigenously driven evaluation philosophies, concepts, and practices in the contemporary evaluation in Ghana, thus the need for an indigenously innovative approach to address the inadequacies. Nonetheless, the recent literature on indigenously responsive evaluation in Africa cannot be discounted (see for example Chilisa & Malunga, 2012; Easton, 2012; Jeng, 2020; Chilisa, 2015; Chilisa et al., 2016; Cloete, 2016; Gaotlhobogwe et al., 2018; Cloete & Auriacombe, 2019).

There is a lingering uncertainty surrounding the recent pursuit for the integration of indigenous philosophies into the design, methods and practice of evaluation in Ghana. While there are challenges, it also presents indigenous evaluators, scholars and students the opportunity to explore the evaluation impulses embedded in indigenous philosophies and cultural ideals (Chilisa et al., 2016). There is a need to rethink some of the philosophies underpinning the “new knowledge” of evaluation. The pressing question is, how has indigenous evaluation instincts embedded in cultural philosophies, knowledge systems, values, norms, metaphors, social networks and other cultural realities could be incorporated into contemporary evaluation paradigms? Indigenous evaluation is anchored on principles such as trust, transparency, accountability, collaboration, dialogues, open governance, citizens participation among others within a specific social life. These evaluative instincts are ingrained in traditional governance systems, local maxims, proverbs, wise-sayings, indigenous descriptive patterns, relational networks, hierarchical structures that promote some degree of inquiry, causal assessment, transparency, responsibility, trust, consensus building, collaboration, accountability inter alia.

Moreover, Ghana is in an era where indigenous knowledge systems and development have become the subjects for policy and scholarly trajectories. There is an increasing quest to addressing
the questions and issues surrounding the indigenously responsive evaluation approach (Easton, 2012; Chilisa et al., 2016; Gaotlhobogwe et al., 2018). The evaluation paradigm is the premise of re-orienting the already existing vital indigenous evaluation tenets and impulses embedded in everyday cultural realities. Despite the current quest among development practitioners, evaluators, researchers and students of evaluation to integrate indigenously driven evaluation concepts into a contemporary evaluation, very little research has been done in Ghana and Africa.

Contemporary perspectives of evaluation are embedded in co-production of evaluation knowledge where stakeholders are empowered to actively participate in the identification of the evaluation issues, design, data collection and analysis in order to provide a collective feedback to policy implementers and target beneficiaries for inform decisions making. It provides superficial control and influence to the voiceless in the evaluation process due to the power disparities between and among evaluators and programme or project target beneficiaries (stakeholders) (Ile, Allen-Ile, & Eresia-Eke, 2012). Contemporary evaluation methods, approaches and practices tend to emphasise more on the “who” and “what” of evaluation, with little or no attention to the “why” and “how”; which is premise on the purpose of evaluation. The “what” evaluation questions include, what methods, theories, models and techniques are utilised; what evaluation paradigm is been promoted; or what type of evaluation has been carried out? The assumption is that utilising these evaluation models, paradigms, theories inter alia could solve those lingering questions regarding who participates, whose knowledge is been used, when and how? (Chilisa et al., 2016). The indigenous evaluators tend to emphasise more on the “why” and “how” questions which further place prominence on the objectives of the evaluation and efficacy of cultural values in the evaluation activities (Easton, 2012; Gaotlhobogwe et al., 2018; Bremner & Bowman, 2020; Shepherd & Graham, 2020) and perhaps, the drive of the evaluation process.

Moreover, Chilisa and Malunga (2012) argued that the “why” and “how” questions have a tendency to interrogate the relevance of indigenous epistemologies in the practices, methods and concepts of evaluation. The contemporary evaluation inclines to pose the questions of “who” is involved in the evaluation design, “who” implements and “who” benefits from the evaluation activities inter alia. This could create a power differential between beneficiaries communities or individuals and programme implementer at the local levels (Boadu & Ile, 2019). It employs expert-driven knowledge-based evaluation models and practices with little or no contribution from grassroots people (emphasised top-down approach).

The “why” and “how” questions of evaluation presuppose the need for greater collaboration from various stakeholders by acknowledging the diverse viewpoints without any presumption of knowing what truly fit the culture of the target community or beneficiaries. Co-production of evaluation “new knowledge” has been professed in the indigenous evaluation scholarship (Carden & Alkin, 2012; Chilisa et al., 2016; Gaotlhobogwe et al., 2018). However, the contemporary and indigenous evaluation readiness, methods, theories and practices continue to be at their embryonic stage in Ghana, Africa (Holte-McKenzie, Forde, & Theobald, 2006; Chilisa et al., 2016; Njeri & Ndonga, 2016; Boadu & Ile, 2019; Eresia-Eke & Boadu, 2019). Chilisa et al. (2016) argued that an indigenously responsive evaluation approach could be the catalyst to curbing some of the pitfalls in contemporary evaluation approaches, concepts and practices. We argued that utilising a strength-based approach, the indigenous evaluation instincts embedded in cultural values that are not privy to the contemporary evaluators could be distilled and better integrated into mainstream evaluation frameworks.

**Literature Review**

The evaluation instincts rooted in indigenous values, norms, maxims and other cultural ethos are largely under-recognized, under-investigated and under-utilized Chilisa et al. (2016), despite the existence in cultural philosophies in several countries in West Africa, including Ghana (Easton, 2012).
Examining the utility of indigenous evaluation ideals requires a closer examination of traditional relational patterns and other cultural philosophies that typify some of the tenets of evaluation. Such analysis is vital in enquiring about the present practice, methods, and approaches of contemporary evaluation (Chouinard & Cousins, 2013) and juxtaposed that with indigenous evaluative values (Chilisa et al., 2016).

Despite the growing qualms surrounding the indigenously driven evaluation underpinnings, Chilisa (2015) aver that it is gradually been regarded as one of the pointers for proper indigenisation of evaluation initiatives in Africa. Moreover, the depth and breadth of indigenous evaluation epistemologies in Africa remain contested in the culturally responsive evaluation literature (Cloete & Auriacombe, 2019). Chilisa et al. (2016) reasoned that a broader understanding of the indigenous relational evaluation philosophies, concepts and values that are rooted in everyday cultural epitomes may be vitals.

Boadu and Ile (2018) emphasise that mainstream monitoring and evaluation (M&E) theories, methods and practice continue to display some degree of weaknesses. Nonetheless, very little consideration has been given to alternative approaches such as indigenous evaluation (Chilisa et al., 2016; Cloete & Auriacombe, 2019). Research points to indigenous evaluation instincts bearing a disproportionate share of contemporary evaluation innovations. Specifically, several studies show that indigenous evaluation ideals embedded in cultural values, norms, maxims and other relational patterns are barely deduced, understand and appreciated by non-indigenous evaluators (Easton, 2012; Sillitoe, 2016; Gaotlhobogwe et al., 2018).

Within the local setting, community-based development programmes which are initiated and implemented by the indigenous people are sometimes evaluated using communal activities rooted in indigenous evaluation methods, concepts and practices (Boadu et al., 2020). The entire community utilised several relational patterns to monitor and report community development initiatives as delineated in Figure 1. Evaluation ingenuity in indigenous societies is largely manifested through cultural activities, norms, ideals, metaphor, proverbs and other cultural practices (Jollands & Harmsworth, 2006; Easton, 2012). Thus, the need for various forms of research to unpack these pertinent cultural epitomes to adequately capture the evaluative impulses embedded in them.

In the indigenous setting, community-based development programmes are evaluated using indigenous evaluation activities which are grounded in social relations or networks (Gaotlhobogwe et al., 2018); engrained in co-construction of knowledge and power-sharing (Easton, 2012); premised on collectiveness and “ubuntu” philosophies (Cloete & Auriacombe, 2019); community spirit (Chilisa & Preece, 2005); consensus building and ethno-philosophy (Chilisa & Malunga, 2012). Thus, the cultural milieu affects the indigenous evaluation values and philosophies in communities-based development evaluation (Boadu et al., 2020).

Copious studies have revealed the need for a blind indigenous ethos of monitoring and evaluation and contemporary evaluation and development paradigms, models and concepts (Sillitoe, 2016; Easton, 2012; Chouinard & Cousins, 2013; Boadu et al., 2020). While much of the monitoring and evaluation research in Ghana and Africa has focused on conventional monitoring and evaluation, result-based evaluation, participatory monitoring and evaluation (Parkinson, 2009; Boadu & Ile, 2017, 2019; Tengan & Aigbavboa, 2017; Goldman et al., 2018), with little or no emphasis on indigenous monitoring and evaluation. However, other researches have argued that there are several indigenous evaluation philosophies rooted in culture, indigenous knowledge systems and relational patterns that can supplement the just mentioned contemporary evaluation approaches (Easton, 2012; Chilisa et al., 2016; Cloete, 2016; Cloete & Auriacombe, 2019).

The theoretical intricacies of indigenous evaluation impulses remain uncertain (Cloete & Auriacombe, 2019) despite the efforts in the past three decades by indigenous evaluators to delineate both the tangible and intangible evaluation instincts in cultural philosophies (Easton, 2012; Chilisa et al., 2016). However, nature, form and practice as well as the factors and actors that
could better shape the philosophies and approaches underpinning indigenous evaluation in Ghana and Africa at large need proper interrogation. Moreover, contemporary evaluation frameworks have been deemed to be an alien in indigenous communities, thus, unpacking the existing but untapped indigenous relational evaluation ideals could shape the state and future of indigenously responsive evaluation in Africa (Easton, 2012; Chilisa, 2015; Chilisa et al., 2016; Cloete, 2016).

Community-based development programmes are not sacrosanct, they are influenced by the cultural context within which they are designed, implemented and evaluated. Easton (2012) avows that evaluation instincts are rooted in this cultural milieu and tends to influence the community to drive evaluation activities within the indigenous societies. However, the dilemma among African indigenous evaluators in recent time is to fill the cultural gap within the contemporary monitoring and evaluation practices, methods, and theories by discovering “new knowledge” of evaluation that is deeply rooted in Afrocentric philosophies, values, and knowledge systems (Easton, 2012; Chilisa, 2015; Chilisa et al., 2016; Cloete, 2016; Cloete & Auriacombe, 2019).

Chilisa (2015) argue that the “Made in Africa” evaluation mantra among African indigenous evaluators could only be realised when the theories, methods and practices of evaluation underpinning contemporary evaluation are influenced by indigenous values and cultural ethos. Easton (2012) asserts that the evaluation impulses in several African proverbs are not in doubt. The author specified that there are several evaluative instincts embedded in local maxims in many West Africans countries including Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Benin, Ivory Coast and Chad as well as other and East African states. We argued that the focus of this study is apt not only for Ghana but for other African countries with similar cultural values that have entrenched evaluative predispositions. However, the indigenous evaluation values, norms and practices in Ghana, Africa are still emerging, thus, needs to gain recognition among evaluators, researchers and students of evaluation.

Evaluation in the indigenous communities is a collective activity rooted in cultural tenets, thus, evaluation and cultural ideals are intrinsically linked (Chilisa et al., 2016; Thomas & Parsons, 2017; Bowman & Dodge-Francis, 2018; Cloete & Auriacombe, 2019; Acree & Chouinard, 2020). Nonetheless, originality and innovation are required in both. The notion is that indigenous knowledge systems have many evaluative ideas, philosophies and understanding to offer non-indigenous evaluators but needs to be better conceptualise by researchers and students of indigenous evaluation (Chilisa et al., 2016; Cloete & Auriacombe, 2019).

Cloete (2016) argued that it is appropriate to have a broader understanding of the existing indigenous evaluation values, norms, techniques, approaches inter alia that are rooted in cultural philosophies and how they could be further developed, decolonise and integrated into contemporary evaluation concepts. Moreover, there are very little evaluation novelities that seek to integrate indigenous philosophies and other cultural realities to shape the thinking and practices of evaluation in Africa (Chilisa et al., 2016; Gaotlhobogwe et al., 2018) and Ghana is no exception. Besides, the existing indigenously driven monitoring and evaluation research, methods and practices are underutilised in community development programmes and policies in Ghana.

Monitoring and evaluation of community-based development programmes are vital for service delivery and development. However, it has been argued that the current practice of community-based evaluation and participation in Ghana are premise on a “donor-driven accountability-based evaluation” to the detriment of the local people (Boadu et al., 2020). This evaluation approach tends to over-emphasize donor driven assessment concepts and practices that erroneously diagnose the measurement and outcomes of evaluation (Jeng, 2012; Chilisa et al., 2016). The need for the assimilation of indigenously driven evaluation epistemologies and other cultural values and knowledge systems have been proposed by several indigenous evaluators in Africa (Easton, 2012; Chilisa, 2015; Chilisa et al., 2016; Cloete, 2016; Cloete & Auriacombe, 2019).

Chilisa et al. (2016) maintain that within the indigenous social organizational life, there are enormous communal activities, consensus building, dialogues, collectiveness as well as shared goals
which typifies some tenets of participatory evaluation activities. Cram, Chilisa, and Mertens (2013) assert that there are a limited contribution and participation of indigenous people in the evaluations of community-based development programmes. Mkabela (2005) affirms that indigenous communities and their ideas are mostly neglected in research and development process. Evaluation research, philosophies, approaches and practices are deeply rooted in interventionism and globalisation rather than localization and that tend to marginalise indigenous evaluation philosophies, values and paradigms (Cram et al., 2013; Chilisa et al., 2016).

Abma and Widdershoven (2008) affirm that social relationships among indigenous evaluators and stakeholders have the potential to promote effective and efficient community-driven evaluation activities. The authors further argue that the relationship between the indigenous evaluator and indigenous stakeholders is crucial in the evaluation design, implementation and sustainability. The indigenous evaluation approach is premise on the inclusion of multiple stakeholders, vulnerable voices, and economically or socially disadvantage grouping by seeking their perspectives and creating a dialogue between stakeholders and the evaluators (Abma & Widdershoven, 2008; Abma & Widdershoven, 2011; Chilisa et al., 2016).

Hanberger (2010) maintain that evaluation happens in varying cultural settings with different values systems and must be recognized and use by both non-indigenous and indigenous evaluators. Besides, indigenous evaluators have argued that the recognition or otherwise of the evaluative instincts embedded in these cultural values could enhance or weaken the evaluation process. Others have questioned the design of evaluation in multicultural communities such as indigenous societies in Ghana, Africa (Easton, 2012; Chilisa et al., 2016), to say: “How can an evaluation be designed to be accepted by different groups in a multicultural society?”(Hanberger, 2010:182).

Symonette (2004) in support of Hanberger (2010) argument reiterated that non-indigenous evaluators stand a chance of designing and developing effective and efficient evaluation activities or framework if they are attuned to the cultural stakeholder groups and other socio-cultural realities within the indigenous societies. We argue that this can be done by understanding the cultural setting, integrating indigenous stakeholders, acknowledging the cultural philosophies and values systems, observing and the relational information gathering and flow, and knitting the indigenous feedback and reporting layout into the community evaluation activities. Easton (2012) in his study in West Africa recognised the relevance of some of the unnamed cultural values and indigenous stakeholders embedded in local axioms and relational evaluation activities.

**Conceptualising the Indigeneity in Evaluation**

The indigenization of evaluation activities has varied undertones and assumptions of philosophies, approaches, and practices. Culturally responsive indigenous evaluation (CRIE) paradigms complement some of the core philosophies underpinning culturally responsive evaluation (CRE) and vice-versa. Easton (2012) asserts that there is evidence of socially responsive indigenous evaluation practices that are rooted in traditional axioms, relational patterns and other cultural realities. CRIE is deeply deep-rooted in consensus building, community spirit, collective decision making inter alia that are relevant for designing indigenously responsive evaluation activities. Thus, the approach advocates for evaluation activities that are rooted in cultural philosophies, norms, values and practices (Bowman, Dodge Francis, & Tyndall, 2015; Blanchet-cohen & Geoffroy, 2018). The indigenous knowledge reservoir and governance structural capacities are key in the design of a robust CRIE.

Moreover, the methods, theories and practices are rooted in cultural relevance, inclusivity, indigenous participation and local empowerment (Blanchet-cohen & Geoffroy, 2018; Chouinard & Milley, 2018; Fetterman, 2019). Bremner and Bowman (2020) posit that the CRIE evaluators should consider community linguistical experiences, context, and sovereignty of the community-
based governance systems in policy development and evaluation enquiries. Bowman and Dodge-Francis (2018) affirm that the evaluation design and application should be grounded in a cultural context and political structures within the indigenous community.

Furthermore, there is a growing body of literature on the necessity of cultural philosophies and etymological ideals in evaluation the CRIE complements the emerging cultural values in the theories, methods and practice of evaluation (Easton, 2012; Bowman et al., 2015; Chilisa et al., 2016; Bowman, 2019; Bremner & Bowman, 2020). CRIE approach tends to accentuate the utility of indigenous knowledge and incline towards merging indigenous evaluation values and contemporary evaluation designs to better manage and execute evaluation activities to ensure accountability and transparency (Samuels & Ryan, 2011; Boyce & Chouinard, 2017; Bowman & Dodge-Francis, 2018). Indigenous knowledge and traditional governance systems are tangible and intangible resources with saturated evaluative impulses which could serve as the basis to developed an indigenous evaluation framework.

Bowman and Dodge-Francis (2018) hastened to add that CRIE strategies should be rooted in ideals and knowledge systems of the indigenous people as well as their tribal government structures.

Bowman et al. (2015) argue that the CRIE approach is at its embryonic stage, however, proponents of the evaluation approach have developed a framework based on the four core keys. Firstly, the framework should permit for the incorporation of community context, values, norms and other indigenous structures; secondly, the framework must embrace cultural sensitivity issues or traditional knowledge systems in the search for solutions to social issues; thirdly, the approach must acknowledge the merits and challenges of the indigenisation process; and fourthly, it must have the ability to respond to local aspirations while not neglecting the requirements from external knowledge in the development of an indigenously-based evaluation framework. Perhaps, fifthly, the framework should ensure that the individual or community actively engaged in the evaluation activities as illustrated in Table 1. Inclusivity is key in the indigenous relational evaluation process. However, the level of participation and extent of engagement may differ due to the hierarchical structures in the indigenous community organizational life.

Despite the core components of CRIE, Bowman and Dodge-Francis (2018) avow that the power disparities between individuals and community-owned government/tribal governments and funding institutions create unequal relationships in the evaluation activities. Consequently, indigenous communities have very little or no influence, control and power to alter the design and implementation of the evaluation framework to their advantage.

While the CRIE approach is distinct, it also permits the integration of other evaluation models as well as theoretical and methodological assumptions that are rooted in a culturally sensitive evaluation approach (Bowman et al., 2015). The approach has the potential to employ a multiplicity of information, values, norms, and other cultural realities in the design of an indigenously responsive evaluation. This is done through oral traditions, documentary review, community consultations, community-owned or tribal government representatives, opinion leaders, communal outreaches and ethnography, surveys and participant observation (Bowman & Dodge-Francis, 2018; Bowman, 2018).

**Methodology**

Utilising evidence synthesis analysis (ESA) (Slavin, 1995) coupled with a triangulation approach (Bengtsson, 2016), the transcripts obtained from the field study in three traditional and local government areas as well as other documentary data were thorough sorted and analysed. The approaches are rooted in a systematic analysis of all the evidence in a given subject matter. ESA was espoused because it is typically used in intervention research which goes beyond the superficial recorded data, transcripts and other documentary information. Bowen (2009:27) argued that a “document
analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (computer-based and internet-transmitted) material. The analysis approaches espoused assisted the researcher in developing a thorough and methodical strategy of searching, screening, assessing, harmonizing and analysing the evidence obtained from the field study and other documentary data.

Moreover, for a robust study outcome and analysis, the researcher maintains a good quality process of interpretations, reliability and validity throughout the data collection process and analysis. Morse and Richards (2002) argue that in qualitative studies, validity means that the study outcome truly reflects the phenomena studied while reliability is premised on producing the same outcome if each stage of the study were to be repeated. Patton (2002) reasoned that the use of several sources or methods of data collection is an appropriate triangulations approach which can also confirm the validity of the study outcome as demonstrated in this study.

### Data Collection Instruments and Participants

The field research was conducted from February–August 2019. The data were generated through in-depth interviews and key informant interviews with 30 community development leaders and traditional leaders. Besides, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 13 local government representative and other community development opinion leaders. A total of 43 participants were interviewed regarding the utility of indigenous knowledge systems and other cultural realities in community development programmes and evaluation activities. A convenient sampling approach was used in the selection of all the participants.

Themes covered during the field interviews included: indigenous relational patterns, indigenous stakeholders and their role in community development evaluation, indigenous people participate in the community development programme and evaluation, indigenous information gathering,
information dissemination, reporting and feedback systems and other indigenous evaluative ideas and perspectives. The study was also utilised a participant observation approach through efficient and effective notetaking and recording of interactions and indigenous events that were pertinent in this study. This was done to complement the in-depth interviews; semi-structured and documentary data that were obtained during the field study. The approach further offered the researcher opportunity to observe other indigenous and community gatherings, self-organization, communal development activities in diverse settings.

The field interviews were conducted in three traditional areas (Akuapim Traditional Council (ATC) and Okuapeman Traditional Council (OTC) and Akye-Abuakwa Traditional areas (AATA) within three local government districts (Akuapim South Local Government Areas, Akuapim North Local Government Area and Suhum Municipality) in the Eastern Region, Ghana. The key research questions which guided the study were as follows:

(a) What are the evaluation instincts embedded in indigenous philosophies?
(b) What indigenous relational patterns explains the philosophies, approaches and practice of evaluation?
(c) What are the stakeholders in the indigenous evaluation framework?
(d) What plausible framework could be synthesised to improve indigenously driven evaluation systems in community development programmes?

Data Analysis Approach
The data analysis was rooted in a critical qualitative analysis approach grounded in a thematic study. Moreover, open, axial and selective coding premised on sequential modelling was critical in creating the relevant themes using the research objectives and questions. Using the open coding procedures, the data obtained from the three traditional and local government areas were concurrently likened together to develop other relevant categories (Kenny & Fourie, 2015). The connexion between the various categories was of interest to the study, thus, the axial coding aided in determining the evolving relationships between the categories (Charmaz, 2017). Several codes were initially generated, themes were developed and defined using a qualitative data reduction software, ATLASTi. The transcripts were read and re-read to find relevant patterns which were compared to the various themes to find answers to the research questions and to resolve the research objectives.

Employing a portfolio of data analysis approaches, the field data were analysed. The analysis built a narrative explanation of indigenous relational patterns of evaluation, community participation, communal building, stakeholders and other cultural norms, ideals, values about indigenous development programmes. This was done by highlighting some of the indigenous relational paradigms, perspectives and how they have impacted local development evaluation, reporting, information dissemination and communal feedback systems. Employing an evidence synthesis analysis approach through a grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2014), the field data and pertinent documentary evidence were analysed. The field interviews and documentary evidence were also triangulated to ensure data accuracy, consistency and robust interpretations (see Bengtsson, 2016).

Findings

Inclusivity Component of the Indigenous Relational Evaluation Frameworks
Underpinning the indigenisation of evaluation is the concept of “indigenous participation”- community or local participation. It is one of the core components of the culturally responsive evaluation framework. The inclusion of local people in the framework is, therefore, crucial if the framework
is to be sustained. Community members active participation has the potential to generate local support which is likely to ensure some level of community ownership of the development initiatives and evaluation activities. The community developmental needs, ambitions and evaluation activities are co-constructed by all indigenous stakeholders.

The individual, community members, and other community stakeholders tend to participate in every facet of the community development initiatives from the design to impact evaluation. This has the potential to empower the local beneficiaries, improve the evaluation design, learning, capacities, and ultimately sustainability of the evaluation activities. However, the degree of inclusivity in the decision-making process tends to vary with age, culture, gender, education (formal or informal) within the local communities. Thus, delimit some vulnerable groupings such as children, women and youth. Thus, one capacity is perhaps not enough and must be accompanied by other cultural competence:

There are tangible and intangible factors such as age, cultural belief systems, gender, level of education and other relational patterns that tend to influence once level of participation in any community-based development programme and other cultural activities. These factors coupled with other indigenous hierarchical structures rooted in the governance systems authorities affect the individual, families, clans, divisional leaders and relational structures within the indigenous societies.1

The quote is evidence of some of the tangible and intangible factors that influence community decision making and implementation although it must be supported by the traditional authorities as well as the indigenous people. Nonetheless, the relational patterns, age and educational level and other cultural beliefs systems tend to render other stakeholders such as children, youth and women vulnerable in the decision-making process. The is consistent with a study conducted in Kenya where the age, level of education coupled with cultural beliefs of the beneficiaries enhances or hinders their level of participation in a community development programme and evaluation activities (see Holte-McKenzie et al., 2006).

**Indigenous community-based stakeholders.** It was evident that within the indigenous communities, various groupings hold some intimate and rich local knowledge and innovations with regards to indigenous community development programmes evaluation that are mostly not privy to sub-national and national development agencies. Besides, it was apparent during the field study that some multi-layered traditional structures and stakeholders utilised indigenous philosophies and ideals in the design of community development programmes and monitoring. The study accorded with Mapitsa and Ngwato (2020) where they observed indigenous evaluation are rooted in relational ethics. It was further observed that the participation of the indigenous people in the relational evaluation methods and practices tend to be voluntary.

The framework identified relational stakeholders as well as other dormant and dominant stakeholders who are actively or otherwise involved in the indigenous development design, implementation, and evaluation. Multiple layers of indigenous stakeholders that comprised of sub-divisional heads, chiefs, youth groupings, women groupings, clan heads, family heads, community development leaders, individual indigenous members and other indigenous groupings such as farmers association were identified. These groupings constitute the relational stakeholders and other social networks within the indigenous communities as illustrated in the synthesised indigenous evaluation framework in this paper.

From the individual level, the indigenous people voluntary participation in the indigenous community gathering, communal labours/activities and local social networks that are rooted in camaraderie. These indigenous stakeholders are actively involved in the design of indigenous initiatives, assessment and delivery of community services and projects. The indicators to be used for the
assessment are agreed upon by both the indigenous authority and various indigenous groupings. The framework illustrates the various stakeholders in designing and implementing the indigenous participatory evaluation models. These include:

- Women’s groupings
- Youth groupings
- Community development clubs
- Individual community members
- Farmers association
- Local trader’s association
- Indigenous and local authorities
- Local government leadership
- Other community-based interest groups

Community-based development programmes require active local stakeholders’ participation in the various decision-making stages including monitoring and evaluation. The study observed that for a successful participatory evaluation activity, these local stakeholders coupled with other sub-national and national level stakeholders must be involved in the design of community-based development programme(s), its implementation and impact evaluation. The relevance of indigenous stakeholders in the community-based development and evaluation activities were pointed out:

Several groupings with varying interest exit in all the indigenous societies. From the individual to families, groups of families with their heads, clan leaders, sub and divisional leaders the traditional council (the highest decision body in the indigenous communities). These groups act in most cases as the representative of the people in the community-based decision making, project implementation and evaluation. Again, through other community gathering and engagement, and festivals, community members get the chance to participate in the decision-making process, transparency, accountability and monitoring activities.²

The was further highlighted by a local community development member with the OTC traditional and local government area:

Indigenous societies have numerous stakeholders that contribute to the development of the community. They participate in every community-based initiative either emanated from the indigenous authorities or the local government development agencies […] the youth especially are actively involved in all community initiatives. Besides, chiefs, queen mothers, sub-chiefs, women’s groupings, farmer associations and many other groupings within the indigenous society. They participate, evaluate every development project and hold the traditional leaders accountable and ensure that the projects are sustained.³

It was observed that the indigenous evaluation activities require constant collaboration, partnership, and communication between the community members, local stakeholders or individuals and development implementers (local, districts, national and donor partners) as articulated by the majority of the respondent in three traditional and local government areas (see figure 9.3). It seems that after extensive reading of the literature, the participatory development approach has many underpinning principles that enhance evaluation such as efficiency, effectiveness, empowerment, innovation, sustainability, and social change that brings about development (see Chouinard & Cousins, 2013; Boadu & Ile, 2019; Boadu et al., 2020).

Consequently, the indigenous participatory evaluation framework does not depart from the mainstream practices but rather how can the local knowledge systems, experiences, cultural realities could
be drawn on to enhance experts/outsiders driven participatory evaluation framework. The framework is consistent with the principles of participatory evaluation in social intervention programmes or community-based development initiatives as well as studies conducted in another part of Africa (see Holte-McKenzie et al., 2006; Tengan & Aigbavboa, 2017; Boadu & Ile, 2019), where local knowledge, cultural philosophies, stakeholders, and target beneficiaries influenced the design, implementation and impact evaluation of community-based social intervention programmes.

**Indigenous Governance Structures and Relational Evaluation**

The indigenous governance systems and relational structures embody the cultural realities existing in traditional societies. The relevance of the indigenous political, social and governance institution (chieftaincy), the critical position that indigenous leaders occupy and the role they play in community decision making, development programmes and evaluation activities. A traditional leader pointed out that:

> All traditional areas in Ghana have a local administrative institution. So just like the presidency, the traditional areas have paramountcy which is equivalent to the president today. There are many sub-divisional chiefs who together form the local council like the present-day cabinet members, and they take decision of governance, development, and assessment activities.4

This is further emphasised by a community development member:

> The local administrative body occupies a territorial area and makes social, political, and economic decisions for their people… but with the advent of democracy where government institutions have been well established, from the minister of local government to the district assemblies, their powers are limited. However, within the indigenous societies, the traditional institution is prominent in the community development activities, from consensus decision making to implementation and evaluation.5

Despite the functional state-run institutions in Ghana, traditional authorities and other indigenous systems continue to operate together with these contemporary established administrative systems. The duality of governance systems: indigenous and contemporary governance and administrative structures persist. Besides, established democratic institutions such as the local or district assembly system work hand in hand with the indigenous institutions.

The framework identified pertinent indigenous relational evaluative patterns that are engrained in traditional relation, community gatherings, cultural beliefs, values, concepts, and practices. The model shows the flow of indigenous people participation in community development activities, reporting, assessment and feedback structures which were observed from the field study and perceived to be indigenous relational evaluation and reporting framework. From the smaller units to the ultimate decision-making authorities within the indigenous communities.

The framework indicates the indigenous authority and governance systems (paramountcy) which is the ultimate decision-making authorities within the indigenous societies. Their decision is not without several community consultations. The aspiration of the indigenous communities become apparent through the existing experiential knowledge, value, norms and other cultural philosophies that are agreed upon through consensus building and community spirit. The macro-level of indigenous participation, decision making, implementation and evaluation tend to include other local government development agencies and officials as illustrated in the framework below. A study conducted by the Boadu and Ile (2020) observed a similar flow of participation from the family unit to the paramountcy.
Indigenous Relational Patterns and Social Networks

The proposed framework has established that within the indigenous setting, there are many authorities including traditional leaders, sub-divisional chiefs, clan and other local development leaders, family heads as well as other social networks. These indigenous relations are everyday realities that exist within the indigenous communities and serve as the intermediaries, connections, between the indigenous people the traditional authorities and local government development agencies. Utilising the indigenous relational and other social networking paths, information and other relevant community resources to channel their view, positions and aspirations from the community level to the tribal/indigenous government. One community development leader reflected on the indigenous social networks and the gathering and delivery of information in an interview:

Community social networks and other relational patterns within the indigenous societies are great platforms and channels for information gathering and delivery between and among indigenous authorities, community development leaders and the people. The transfer of information works well utilising the communal pattern and networks from the individual to family heads, clan heads, divisional chiefs, through to the traditional council within the indigenous communities. Moreover, there is gradual shift from the indigenous town-crier and gongon beating to contemporary public address systems and information centres and this is also complementing the indigenous information generation, reporting and feedback networks.6

The relational path tends to connect the various indigenous community members and other social community groupings, reporting and evaluating every decision making by the leadership in each stage. At the micro-level, indigenous people participate in the decision making through the relational and reporting channels. The relational evaluation approach is deeply drawn into indigenous politics. The framework illustrated the power dynamics between each of the indigenous relation which further implicates the evaluation knowledge acquisition between and among the indigenous stakeholders. The power relations are consistent with Mapitsa and Ngwato (2020) study conducted in Africa where they observed power disparities between the various stakeholders in the relational evaluation activities.

The indigenous hierarchical structures and the tribal government represents adherence to cultural principles and power. The principles underpinning the evaluation activities are rooted in traditional relations and cultural philosophies. They provide a better insight into the natures and forms of the indigenous evaluations ideals and share light on the potential power undercurrents posed by the dominant stakeholders within the indigenous society. The various level of relation portals some level of power differentials between the tribal government and the indigenous people in determining the evaluation activities. The power relations in the synthesised framework tend to set the evaluation agendas, it further influences the initial decision making, the pointers to measure, the methods to be used, theory and practices.

Indigenous Information Gathering, Dissemination and Feedback

The study also revealed that there are various forms of information gathering and distribution that greatly help in indigenous decision making and reporting. These include talking circles, community gathering, traditional durbars, family grouping, local social networks that arguments the gathering of information. These are indigenous relational channels within which the traditional societies ensure that there are community accountability, transparency and better reporting as illustrated in the figure below between the various community stakeholders and divisional leaders. This is consistent with a study conducted by the Boadu et al. (2020) in Ghana where they observed that accountability
and transparency are rooted in indigenous community development due to indigenous leaders’ allegiance to the living and the ancestral divinities.

It was revealed that within the indigenous communities there is several feedback patterns and loops which are within the six levels of the indigenous relational information gathering and feedback patterns; indigenous people, indigenous community groupings, clan and community development leaders, sub-divisional and councils and traditional leaders as illustrated in Figure 1 below. Through the utility of some indigenous knowledge systems, values and relational patterns, community aspirations, indigenous development decision makings are channelled to the various indigenous leaders for further deliberations and actions.

The study observed that there are two weeks of indigenous feedback and reporting systems (other reporting, assessment and feedbacks) within the six levels of reporting as depicted in the figure below and elaborated in this section. Moreover, as well as the forty-day feedback and reporting by the paramountcy. From the family level through the various bridges, either bottom-up or top-down reporting and feedback systems (see Figure 1). The relational reporting and evaluation are further augmented by the fortnight and forty days feedbacks reporting from the six interrelated phases of indigenous decision making and evaluation. A traditional leader pointed out that:

Within the indigenous setting, there are representative structures, varying levels of reporting, consensus building, and assessment of community development programmes. These are discreetly layout, however, customarily they serve as a guided for indigenous information gathering platforms, reporting, feedbacks and evaluation. Also, the use of indigenous information structures and instruments such as the “gongon beater” talking dream, town crier, word of mouth, community durbar (local gathering) clan or tribe representation and other local ways serves as a great avenue for information gathering, dissemination, and feedback to ensure effective community reporting and assessment.7

Despite the varying forms of information gathering, reporting, dissemination and evaluation within and among the five interconnected stages, there is also the annual indigenous reporting and feedback loop as demonstrated in the framework with a yellow broken line. This normally occurs during an annual festival such as the “Odwira” for the indigenous people of Akuapim in the Eastern Region of Ghana. The indigenous authorities report and give feedback to their people regarding any development initiative within the traditional and local government area. The indigenous people also have the opportunity to interrogate and evaluate.

**Indigenous Assumption of Consensus Building and Examination of Information**

The framework is underpinned and deeply rooted in consensus building, co-ownership, cooperation and collaborations through indigenous relational paths and social networks as illustrated in the framework. This is consistent with a study conducted by Chilisa et al. (2016) where they observed relational evaluation patterns in indigenous communities. Information gathering, analysis, and selection of key pointers to measure are agreed upon in the indigenous setting through consensus building. The six levels within the indigenous context as depicted in the framework have various intrinsic harmony that enhances knowledge acquisition and dissemination as pointed out in Boadu et al. (2020) study in Ghana. Consensus building is key in the indigenous principle for indigenous selection of indicators and how to measure analysis. From the family level, clan, sub-chiefs, traditional council and the paramountcy.

The relational paths, as illustrated in the indigenous framework is driven by social networks from the start of the development decision making to implementation through the evaluation activities are greatly affected by the level of consensus building, collaboration and individual appreciation for the existing cultural values. Despite the hierarchical leadership structure within the indigenous societies,
the power differential between the individual and the indigenous authorities is of mutual respect which tends to enhance the indigenous participatory evaluation paradigms. The framework is also rooted in the indigenous oral tradition of information gathering and assessment of the information which is one of the pitfalls of indigenous evaluation activities and practices. The certainty of the information gathered in reports and assessment could easily be lost if not adequately documented. A point elaborated on by one interviewee:

The community has a team of people including members of the traditional leader’s council that assess community development project and report back to the paramountcy or chief and the council. The Chief later report that to the members in their communities either through a community gathering or through the sub-chief and divisional heads as messengers… the indigenous people also monitor these community projects and are able to express their pleasure or displeasure to the local development committees or bring it to the attention of the traditional leaders. But in all these, there is no documentation we do “people-to-people” development information gathering, evaluation and dissemination. So, nobody documents these reports and information.8

Many interviewed community development leaders argued that the continuous disregard for the integration of indigenous evaluative philosophies in contemporary evaluation is due in part to the poor documentation of indigenous knowledge and the utility of oral tradition.

**Synthesised Indigenously Driven Relational Evaluation, Reporting and Monitoring**

Utilising the identified indigenous components and factors as articulated (see Figure 1) and the levels of relational patterns that flow within the three indigenous communities, the synthesised framework was constructed. The framework is built on the indigenous governance structures, relational paradigms and other cultural realities that serve as the basis upon which indigenous societies design, implement and evaluate community development programmes. Moreover, the indigenously driven relational evaluation procedures as illustrated in Figure 1 is embedded in cultural philosophies and communal relational patterns from the individual level to the indigenous authorities. From the indigenous people (citizenry) to family heads, clan and other development leaders, sub-divisional leaders, indigenous council and eventually to the indigenous authorities. The study revealed that there are indigenous relational evaluation systems from the various indigenous relations and intersections that filters norms, values and other cultural realities from the bottom (individuals) to the top (indigenous authorities) within the traditional societies.

The framework exhibited that indigenous knowledge systems, value, norms, principles, relational patterns, community spirit, consensus building other cultural are incorporated into the indigenous relational paths, reporting and evaluation within and among the six indigenous pillars as identified in the framework. The initial relational structure, feedback, reporting and evaluation process were shared with some of the key informants from the three traditional areas, parts were altered, and others were incorporated. Thus, the synthesised framework was affirmed by these participants. It was observed evaluation approach is embedded in everyday realities within the indigenous communities. Moreover, the indigenous participatory evaluation framework further highlights key cultural philosophies and ideals that are fundamental in designing a culturally responsive evaluation model as shown in Figure 1.

The indigenously synthesised evaluation framework is deeply rooted in cultural truths within the indigenous context when socio-economic development programmes are designed, implemented and evaluated. Besides, the context prioritised the contribution of several indigenous stakeholders which grant them the power to influence community-based development programmes and evaluation
activities. Inclusivity is essential in the design of the community evaluation activities to ensure accountability, transparency and sustainability of the community-based development programmes. Socio-cultural demands are aligned to ensure inclusivity and enhanced local involvement in the relational evaluation activities. Communal responsibility is at the heart of the framework.
Collaborative structures and ubuntu values such as community gathering, local durbar/festival, self-organization tends to facilitate the gathering of key stakeholders to support the development and evaluation activities. The active participation of multiple stakeholders is vital. This ensures that there is collective accountability among the indigenous decision-makers, community development committees and the indigenous people. Indigenous pragmatic knowledge, historical pathways and other cultural relational realities are prominent in the evaluation framework. It emphasizes the building of indigenous evaluation capacity but also delimits some vulnerable groupings.

Communal development, social evaluation and programmes sustainability are pivotal aspects of the framework. It incorporates the natives within the community, from the individual (indigenous people) to the tribal authorities (paramountcy) to co-identify, co-produced and co-owned the development and evaluation activities and depicted in Figure 1. Nonetheless, the power differentials between the people and indigenous authorities and other socio-political factors at a time could hinder or enhance the development of decision-making evaluation activities. Moreover, the framework is anchored on contextual social realities that tend to consider both tangible and intangible factors that encourage the utility of varying indigenous evaluation instincts in community development programmes and assessment activities.

Conclusion

The indigenous relational patterns were the premise upon which the synthesised indigenously driven participatory monitoring, reporting and evaluation framework was designed as illustrated in Figure 1. The study observed that the indigenous evaluation ideals have intriguing philosophical underpinnings that are rooted in communal or relational patterns which are visible in the three indigenous societies. The study further established that in the indigenous context, there exist varying ideals such as community engagement, self-organisation, social networks, community spirit, cooperation, collectiveness, consensus building, co-ownership, ubuntu ideals and other indigenous governance structures that serve as a rousing factor for the design of an indigenously driven evaluation framework.

Moreover, there are patterns for information gathering, dissemination and feedback loops embedded in the indigenous evaluation model as illustrated in Figure 1. Despite the different level of indigenous participation due to the power dynamics and relational patterns, the indigenous stakeholders always have the expected outcomes of the evaluation at sight and are able to hold their leaders (implementers) accountable. The study further revealed that several indigenous principles and epistemologies within the indigenous communities ought to be met before a robust relational evaluation framework can be established to ensure accountability, transparency and sustainability of the community-based development programmes.

Moreover, the various assumptions of the synthesised relational evaluation framework may set the basis upon which indigenous or non-indigenous evaluators could design a replica by following the suppositions embedded in the framework as explained in Findings. Besides, the study shared light on the cultural setting within which the other components are positioned and the role of the indigenous stakeholders. Through an indigenously responsive evaluation approach, this study further augmented the design of an indigenously responsive evaluation framework.

The framework is likened to the indigenous administrative blueprint where the indigenous people through relational structures and social networks serve as the architect in charge of choosing the community development aspirations and how the community will be developed as imagined by the people. Once the development aspiration is co-construct, co-create, and co-present by the local people, others cultural ideas and philosophical concepts and principles as identified in sections 5 to 5.5 to establish ideas and approaches in the design, implementation and evaluation of community development programmes. Only after the community aspirations have been determined through indigenous knowledge systems, values and other cultural realities that both the indigenous and
none indigenous evaluators and development decision-makers can begin to design the community development programme and relational evaluation activities.

Some several concepts underpinnings are used in indigenously responsive evaluation that correlate to the framework. First, both indigenous and non-indigenous evaluators must create an enabling environment to gather development and evaluation information embedded in the indigenous people. This offers both the outsider and the indigenes an opportunity to assess the community aspirations, values and relational structure, as shown in Figure 1. Second, what constitutes development and evaluation activities differ, thus, the relational and social networks decision-making pathways must be follow-through to ensure collaboration.

Third, although there is no perfect feedback and reporting systems, the indigenous reporting and feedback loops rooted in relational patterns from the individual level (indigenous people) to the tribal authorities (paramountcy). There are several bridges within the six layers from the tribal authority to the individual and vice versa that serves as evaluation checkpoints that must be observed. Besides, the 14 or 40 days and annual reporting and feedback structure from the paramountcy and sub indigenous leaders can all provide a degree of pragmatic accountability and transparency as depicted in Figure 1.

Fourth, similarly, there are several stakeholders, the core of them are integrated into the five echelons within the indigenous society-the indigenous people, community heads, clan leaders, sub-traditional leaders and council. However, some stakeholders are crucial to the sustainability of the community development and evaluation activities as explained in Indigenous community-based stakeholders. The evaluation actions are perceived to be a communal activity.

Fifth, indigenizing evaluation is rooted in the acquisition of evaluation knowledge such that the indigenous people are actively involved in the design of what is evaluated, when it is evaluated, by whom, and with what methods, philosophies and practices. The indigenous community developers must select the type of values, approaches and concepts in structuring the evaluation activities. The following are some of the lists of common theories and philosophies that could enhance the synthesised indigenously driven evaluation framework.

- Indigenously responsive evaluation Relational evaluation theories
- Culturally responsive evaluation
- Tribal critical theory
- Community-Based Monitoring and evaluation
- Empowerment evaluation
- Participatory evaluation

These theories and many more that come from both indigenous and contemporary evaluation discipline as well as other pragmatic approaches are always being created and applied in the field of evaluation. There is a plethora of philosophical options within the field of evaluation that could espouse to complement the framework in Figure 1. The onus is on both indigenous and nonindigenous evaluators in the selection of appropriate theory to ensure that it is culturally situated. Whilst the current study may have observed several intriguing evaluative philosophies and impulses rooted in indigenous ideas within the case study areas, it might also be interesting for future research to focus on documenting factor and actors that could augment the relational evaluation readiness within and across several indigenous communities in Ghana and Africa at larger.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.
Funding
The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This work was supported by the South African Research Chairs Initiative of the Department of Science and Technology and National Research Foundation of South Africa (grant no. 98918). The authors would also like to acknowledge funding from the South African Medical Research Council and the Belgian Development Cooperation, through the Institute of Tropical Medicine Antwerp. Any opinion, finding and conclusion or recommendation expressed in this material is that of the authors.

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Notes
1. Interview with Traditional Leader from ATC area
2. Interview with Community Development Leader from AATA areas
3. Interview with Local Community Development member from OTC area
4. Interview with Traditional Leader from OTC area
5. Interview with Community Development Leader from ATC
6. Interview with Community Development Leader from ATC area
7. Interview with Traditional Leader from OTC area
8. Community development leader from the Akuapim Traditional Council (ATC)

References


