

GOVERNMENT'S PROMISES IN EDUCATION (2017 – 2024) A CIVIL SOCIETY TRACKER

December 2024

Introduction

In Ghana, it has become a generally accepted norm in the Fourth Republic for political parties contesting elections to present manifestos, outlining the policy priorities, programmes and projects they would undertake when voted for. These propositions, together with campaign platform promises, “State Of the Nation Addresses” as well as speeches by high-level government officials, are increasingly informing voters' choice¹, thus the seriousness with which voters view their implementation/fulfilment. Though not constitutionally binding, voters hold these promises as social contracts with governments; and research shows that decisions to maintain or change a government to a large extent are anchored on the extent to which it fulfilled these promises.²

A number of studies have confirmed the common perception that governments mostly do not/are unable to keep their promises to electorates³ for reasons ranging from lack of commitment, unavailability of funds especially when extravagant promises are made, to difficulty in transitioning promises into policies, and the ever recurrent challenge of poor policy implementation.⁴ In most cases, a government's claim to have fulfilled a promise sparks public debates with various stakeholders deferring in views.

¹Suiter, J. and Farrell, D., M. (2011). The Parties' Manifestos. In: Gallagher, M. and Marsh M., (eds) (2011). *How Ireland Voted 2011*. Palgrave Macmillan, London. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230354005_2

²Kennedy, J., Alcantara, C., A. and Armstrong, D. (2020). Do governments keep their promises? An analysis of speeches from the throne: *Governance*. 2020; 1- 18. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12548>

³Whiteley, P., Clarke, H., D. Sanders, D. and Stewart, M., (2016). 'Why Do Voters Lose Trust in Governments?' *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 18, 234-254.

⁴Horn, A. and Jensen, C. (2017), When and why politicians do not keep their welfare promises. *European Journal of Political Research*, 56: 381-400. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12173>

There is therefore the need to track governments' promises and match them with delivery (where delivery implies the output), laying emphasis on the quality of implementation, the level of implementation or progress, and the impact of the policy/programme/initiative. This helps promote good governance and accountability, while providing credible data for public engagement and debates as part of the election 2024 campaign.

Education Promises

Education is a driver of socio-economic transformation, affecting the quality of life of every Ghanaian citizen or household. It is therefore not surprising that, in both 2016 and 2020 electioneering campaigns, education issues took the centre stage. The New Patriotic Party (NPP), in the lead up to the 2016 and 2020 elections, presented two (2) manifestos to elicit votes from Ghanaians, based on which they secured the democratic mandate to govern for both terms, spanning 2016 to 2024. As the combined tenure of eight (8) years draws to a close, it is imperative to track manifesto and other promises of the NPP for accountability.

In line with the mission to promote an equitable, accountable and responsible education system that assures quality and equal opportunities by positively influencing education policy, Eduwatch seeks to measure progress in fulfilling Education Sector Promises of the NPP administration from 2017-2024, through this Education Promises Tracker.

The Promise Sample

A total of 243 promises were scoped over the period of 2017 to 2024 from the following sources:

1. The NPP Manifesto 2016
2. The NPP Manifesto 2020
3. State Of the Nation Address (2017-2023)
4. Budget Statements (2017-2023)
5. Government Press Briefings (2017-2023)

Out of the 243 promises scoped from the aforementioned sources, 100 were sampled for tracking based on their measurability.

Data collection for the Tracker commenced in 2022, and ended in June 2024. Promises were tracked through key informant interviews, field visits and review of education sector reports. Data gathered was validated in a stakeholder meeting in August 2024.

Promises rating and categorization

The 100 sampled promises were rated on a 5-point scale, 0-4 with the following categorization

Score	Rating	Interpretation
0	Not fulfilled	NO SIGNIFICANT action has taken place. <i>Minor or symbolic actions not considered enough.</i>
1	Pre-fulfilment	Significant pre-implementation actions ongoing, including planning and feasibility work.
2	Take-off	Significant implementation actions ongoing.
3	Advanced fulfilment	Significant achievement of outputs without full completion.
4	Fully fulfilled	Full achievement of expected output.

Scoring method

The promises were scored by three (3) independent raters and a team scoring from representatives of Education Sector Institutions including the Ministry of Education (MoE), Ghana Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) Service, Commission for (CTVET), Ghana Education Service (GES), Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, Teacher Unions and Teacher Trainees. The initial level of agreement among the three (3) independent raters and team scoring was 71 per cent. The items with discrepancies in scoring (constituting 29%) were resolved using an averaging code, increasing the level of agreement to 100 per cent.

Tracking period

January 2017 to June 2024.

Table 1 presents the sampled promises, their level of implementation and accompanying scores.

Table 1: Tracking outcomes of sampled 100 Education Promises (2017-2024)

S/N	PROMISES	SOURCE	SCORE (0 - 4)	STATUS	SOURCE
1.	Create a Consultative Council of Researchers, the Association of Ghanaian Industries (AGI), Ghana Chamber of Commerce, Representatives of major Banks and Venture Capital Funds to source for funding to take research findings from the laboratory to the marketplace.	2016 NPP Manifesto	0	No such specific Consultative Council or Fund to commercialize research for industry in place, comprising AGI etc.	KII
2.	Establish a Manufacturing Plant at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST), for the production of prototypes of the inventions and creations of scientists and innovators in the country.	2016 NPP Manifesto	0	Government has not established a manufacturing plant for the production of prototypes of inventions and creations at KNUST.	KII
3	Reintegrate Physical Education (PE) and recreation into mainstream education.	2016 NPP Manifesto	2	A curriculum for PE has been developed. The time for PE lessons has been increased from 30 minutes to one hour. However, textbooks and other teaching and learning resources, sporting infrastructure and equipment are scarcely available in basic schools.	KII
4	Ensure that Kindergarten (KG) places are available for all four-year old children in the country.	2016 NPP Manifesto	2	By 2023, 836 Primary Schools did not have a KG. By 2021, the number of out-of-school KG aged children (4-5-year-olds) was 287,228.	GSS
5	Redefine basic education to include Senior High School (SHS), covering vocational, agricultural and technical schools, and make it available for free on a universal basis to all Ghanaians.	2016 NPP Manifesto	3	Basic Education is still KG to Junior High School (JHS). SHS is only free for qualifying Ghanaians.	KII
6.	Build an effective partnership with religious bodies, civic organizations and the private sector in the delivery of quality education. This partnership will also include the areas of management, supervision and training of teachers in their units.	2016 NPP Manifesto	2	Steps have been taken to realise this through MOUs between the MoE and religious bodies, other state institutions and the private sector. However, the thorny issue of the level of religious bodies' control over school management remains outstanding.	KII

7.	Teachers will be treated with respect and we shall ensure that teachers' salaries and allowances are paid regularly and on time. There will be a focus on the provision of incentives that will motivate teachers and reward their hard work in the classroom.	2016 NPP Manifesto	2	Salaries are paid within three (3) months on average, which is an improvement over the previous eight months (8) waiting period. However, only two (2) allowances, Teacher Retention Premium (which started in 2020) and Continuous Professional Development allowances (which started in 2018) are being paid. Others, as enshrined in the Teachers' Conditions of Service, including Rent, Uniform, Transport and Deprived Area allowance are still not being paid.	KII
8.	Collaborate with GNAT, NAGRAT, and other teaching associations to facilitate an affordable housing scheme for teachers.	2016 NPP Manifesto	0	After eight (8) years, Teacher Unions are not aware of any affordable housing scheme for teachers.	KII
9.	Ensure that teachers who upgrade their qualifications and skills are promoted promptly and that their salary increases take immediate effect.	2016 NPP Manifesto	0	There is still delay in promotion; sometimes up to about two (2) years. For instance, a teacher may be due for promotion in 2018 after four (4) years on a particular rank, but is called to sit for the NTC Exams in 2019 and the results of this exams is made available in 2020. Though the promotion takes effect from 2018, the new salary payment takes effect from 2020, meaning the salary difference for two (2) years has been lost. Also, certain categories of promotions (e.g. Deputy Director to Director 2) are tied to availability of vacancies, thus a teacher may rise to that rank and get stuck with no change in salary. Teachers have called for the creation of a basic salary for that rank, so that as and when there is a vacancy and the teacher occupies that portfolio, the allowances then take effect.	KII

10.	Ensure proper decentralization of teachers' recruitment and other document processing activities and relieve teachers of the frustrating, bureaucratic processing of documents at the centre.	2016 NPP Manifesto	1	Document processing activities have been decentralized as teachers can now go online and fill recruitment forms and process at the district. However, recruitment has been centralized with teachers posted from the GES head office to the classroom. Teacher recruitment used to be done at the district level.	KII
11.	Aggressively promote Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) education across all levels of the education system.	2016 NPP Manifesto	2	STEM has been prioritised at the secondary level. Access to STEM facilities in basic schools still a major challenge.	KII
12.	Restore allowances to Arabic/ Islamic instructors and additionally support Arabic/Islamic instructors with training and other incentives to motivate them to provide good training to our children.	2016 NPP Manifesto	3	The allowances have been restored with arrears spanning over one (1) year.	KII
13.	Introduce Arabic as an optional language to be taught and examined at the JHS and SHS levels.	2016 NPP Manifesto	3	The decision to make Arabic examinable at WASSCE was taken and communicated in August 2016, by which time Arabic was already being taught in Islamic SHS across the country. Arabic is however, scheduled for introduction under the Common Core at BECE 2024.	KII
14.	Provide sporting facilities and revive sporting competitions among schools.	2016 NPP Manifesto	2	Sports is financed from the Capitation Grant at the basic level. The Grant is in arrears spanning two (2) academic years, with the allocation for sports static at 50 pesewas per student since 2017, affecting competitions. Sporting facilities have scarcely been provided. In SHS, there is inter-school competitions with PE Kits provided to students under free SHS. However, some SHSs have not had inter-schools sports competition since 2019.	KII
15.	Ensure that children with special needs are, whenever possible, integrated within regular schools.	2016 NPP Manifesto	4	Students with special needs were integrated into regular schools since the adoption of the inclusive education policy in 2015 and have continued to date.	KII

16.	Improve the facilities and curriculum for Information Communication Technology (ICT) education at all levels.	2016 NPP Manifesto	2	A computing curriculum has been introduced to commence from Basic 4 to Basic 9. However, only 15 per cent of primary and 13 per cent of JHS have ICT facilities. No significant investment has been made in basic education ICT facilities. However, at the secondary level, significant investment, including installation of Wi-Fi's and supply of tablets are being made, with tertiary Wi-Fi also provided.	KII CENDLOS GES
17.	In collaboration with the private sector, provide free Wi-Fi coverage for senior secondary and tertiary institutions nationwide dedicated to learning, administration and enhancing the capacity to do research.	2016 NPP Manifesto	3	By 2022, 663 out of 885 second cycle schools (75%) had Wi-Fi connectivity. In Eduwatch's 2023 "Rapid Analysis of the Free Wi-Fi Programme in Ghana's Second Cycle Schools", the Wi-Fi in 77.54 per cent of connected SHSs was not working.	GES
18.	Restore the Book and Research allowances for lecturers and establish a Research Fund to facilitate further research and innovation.	2016 NPP Manifesto	0	The Book and Research allowance for lecturers was not taken away in the first place so this promise was uncalled for. In July 2016, the government released GH¢37 million to the Controller and Accountant General's Department to pay the Book and Research allowance of lecturers for the 2016/2017 academic year. Also, no Research Fund has been established.	KII
19.	Abolish the payment of utility bills by students.	2016 NPP Manifesto	3	Government has abolished the payment of utilities by students as part of the Free SHS and at the tertiary level, amid regular delays in release of funds to pay for electricity bills, causing disconnections and lack of funds to procure pre-paid electricity in some schools.	KII

20.	Increase the amount of loans under the Student Loan Scheme and restructure to streamline its administration to enhance recovery of the loans.	2016 NPP Manifesto	3	The students loan range has increased from between GHC 1,000 to GHC 2,000 in 2016 to GHC 1,500 to GHC 3,000 by 2024, with inflation between 2018 and 2024 eroding the real value by about 200 per cent. The recovery rate has improved from an average of 40 per cent in 2016 to about 60 per cent by 2022.	KII Eduwatch
21.	Reactivate the original aim of linking Technical/Vocational institutions to Technical Universities to refocus on technical education, and position them to be at the forefront of the NPP's One District, One Factory programme.	2016 NPP Manifesto	2	About 60 per cent of Technical University students are still offering humanities than TVET. Transitioning from Technical/Vocational institutions to Technical Universities has improved with more Certificate and BTEch and MTech programmes linking.	KII
22.	Restore in full, teacher trainee allowances.	2016 NPP Manifesto	4	Teacher trainees' allowances have been restored in full with occasional arrears.	KII
23.	Increase the manpower resources and teaching facilities, including the use of ICT teaching aids of public tertiary institutions, to support student population increases from Free SHS graduates.	2020 NPP Manifesto	4	Public tertiary population has increased from 510,000 in 2020/21 to 635,744 in 2022/23. There has been enhancement in manpower resources from 29,000 in 2020 to 40,000 in 2024, with teaching facilities including the use of ICT teaching aids at the various tertiary institutions provided to facilitate the expansion in student numbers.	GTEC
24.	Put in place a comprehensive National Teacher Policy and implement a National Digital Literacy Project for teachers.	2020 NPP Manifesto	4	The National Teacher Policy has been developed. National Digital Literacy for teachers, including Continuous Professional Development of teachers in ICT has been undertaken.	NTC
25.	Train and employ more teachers for Early Childhood Education, Primary, French, STEM, TVET, Special Needs and other areas as needed.	2020 NPP Manifesto	4	144,780 teaching staff were employed between 2017 and 2023.	GES
26.	Reduce the number of out-of-school children in Ghana by providing a uniform identification and tracking of every student.	2020 NPP Manifesto	1	There are ongoing stakeholder engagements on it.	KII

27.	Establish a national Knowledge and Assessment Bank, a comprehensive digital library to allow all Ghanaian students/learners access to learning materials and also provide a repository of assessment tools for assessing learning by teachers and instructors.	2020 NPP Manifesto	4	Knowledge and Skills Bank has been established at gksb.gov.gh.	Observation
28.	Deepen the implementation and use of the iCampus portal which provides free access to educational content for the core subject areas to all SHS students.	2020 NPP Manifesto	2	iCampus platform is active and running with 141,559 active users as of 2023. Compared with the 1.4 million SHS students, this suggests that only 10 per cent of SHS students are accessing iCampus.	CENDLOS
29.	Provide a 24-Hour dedicated television channel for the delivery of lessons on the GBC Digital Terrestrial TV (DTT) platform and the National DTT platform as a Free-to-Air Broadcast.	2020 NPP Manifesto	4	Ghana Learning TV has been running since 2020 and operational with relevant learning content.	KII Observation
30.	Implement a robust state of the art Learning Management System (LMS) to enable teachers create supplementary content and deliver online instruction and assessment.	2020 NPP Manifesto	2	The LMS and Edmodo have been procured, but teachers are not creating supplementary content, instructing or assessing on it optimally.	KII Eduwatch
31.	Provide Made-in-Ghana digital devices (tablets for students and laptops for teachers) pre-installed with digital content for SHS students and teachers.	2020 NPP Manifesto	3	The first batch of about 450,000 tablets out of about 1.4 million have been procured and are being supplied to SHS students. SHS teachers have received laptops, with very few outstanding.	KII
32.	Complete the implementation of the five-year Strategic Plan on TVET and establish a National Skills Development Fund.	2020 NPP Manifesto	4	The TVET Strategic Plan has been implemented, with the Ghana Skills Development Fund fully established and functional with \$60 million from the World Bank. The fund has awarded over GHC 100 million grants.	KII
33.	Through the Zongo Development Fund, in collaboration with the Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETFund), build 16 model SHSs in Zongo communities across the 16 regions of the country.	2020 NPP Manifesto	0	Feasibility study for only 3 out of 16 sites conducted. No construction as of June 2024.	KII

34.	Expand infrastructure to increase access to professional legal education.	2020 NPP Manifesto	0	In May 2021, President Akufo-Addo cut sod for work to begin on the Law Village project on the campus of the University of Ghana. Eduwatch visited the site and there is no work going on.	Observation
35.	Implement the existing Inclusive Education Policy, by establishing, revamping or equipping regional special education assessment centres to facilitate early and accessible assessment for children who may have special education needs.	2020 NPP Manifesto	3	The National Assessment Centre is still an uncompleted building, with project stalled. Existing facilities in some regions have been converted into regional assessment centres.	KII Observation
36.	Reform the basic school curricula with emphasis on literacy, numeracy and creative skills.	2017 SONA	4	A Standards Based Curriculum with emphasizes literacy, numeracy and creative skills has been developed and being implemented since 2019.	Observation Eduwatch
37.	Begin implementation of the Free SHS with the 2017/2018 entrants into the public SHS.	2017 SONA	4	Free SHS has been implemented with enrolment increasing from about 800,000 in 2017 to 1.4 million by 2023.	GES MoE
38.	Construct 962 facilities – dormitories, dining halls, assembly halls and classroom blocks, together with the provision of mono desks and beds in SHSs across the country.	2020 SONA	2	The MoE received funds from GETFund to construct structures in selected SHSs across the country. A total of 990 structures were under construction as of February 2024, with 634 completed.	MoE, KII.
39.	Increase the Tertiary enrolment ratio from the current 18.8 per cent to 40 per cent by 2030, focusing on STEM-related fields with emphasis on engineering.	2021 SONA	1	The Tertiary Gross Enrolment Ratio target of 25 per cent in the Education Strategic Plan was missed by 2021, with an attainment of 18.8 per cent. There was a marginal increase to 19.2 per cent in 2022/23 against a target of 40 per cent by 2030. At the current pace, Ghana will likely miss this target by 2040.	GTEC
40.	Establish an Open University.	2021 SONA	1	Cabinet approval secured for the establishment of Open University, Ghana.	GTEC
41.	Remove the guarantor requirement on students' loans through the Student Loan Trust Fund programme.	2021 SONA	4	Guarantor requirement to access Student Loans removed and replaced with Ghana Card.	SLTF

42.	Expedite the development of Competency-Based Training curricula on the National TVET Qualification Framework for 100 trades/professions from level one (National Proficiency 1) to level five (Higher National Diploma).	2021 SONA	3	Currently 78 trade areas are at different levels of development with 192 packages.	CTVET
43.	Train some 25,000 beneficiaries of the Ghana Jobs and Skills Project and provide entrepreneurial support to about 50,000 individuals by 2026.	2021 SONA	4	10,618 beneficiaries being trained 29,287 attended basic training across 261 districts 9,804 attended intermediate training 5,294 attended advance training 508 PWDs have had basic training 185 PWDs have had advance training 388 PWDs have had intermediate training Over 30,000 entrepreneurs supported by January 2024.	CTVET
44.	Introduce new measures to curb examination leakages and malpractices.	2021 SONA	3	The National Bureau of Investigations have taken over questions printing security, significantly eliminating leakages. Serialization has also been introduced to reduce the incidence of exam room cheating, but there is increased exam centre collusion between invigilators and candidate, increasing malpractice rate at WAS-SCE from 0.8 per cent in 2018 to 10 per cent in 2023.	Secondary data, KII
45.	Remove 5,400 schools under trees by 2025	GES/Valco Trust Fund Press Conference	1	Less than 100 schools built so far.	KII
46.	Government is in the process of securing financing for the construction of five (5) STEM universities in five (5) new Regions (Western North, Savannah, North East, Ahafo and Oti regions).	2022 SONA	0	Financing has not been secured for project to commence.	KII

47.	Construct University of Engineering at envisioned Bunso campus of University of Environment and Sustainable Development.	2022 SONA	2	Project was 18.4 per cent complete by March 2024.	MoE
48.	The Creative Arts SHS, in Kwadaso, whose construction is currently 70 per cent complete, will serve as a beacon for many young and talented people, seeking a fulfilling career in this field.	2022 SONA	2	Work was 60 per cent complete in March 2024.	MoE
49.	Establish four (4) new universities in Mampong in Ashanti Region, Akrodie in Bono Region, Bunso in Eastern Region and Kintampo in Bono East Region and expand the facilities in existing ones.	2023 Minister of Education	2	AAMUSTED-Ashanti Mampong, formerly College of Technology Education of the University of Education Winneba, has been converted and operationalized. Bunso is 18.4 per cent complete. Kintampo and Akrodie construction yet to begin.	MoE, KII
50.	Implement measures to ensure Continuous Professional Development (CPD), improve the professional standing of teachers through registration and licensing under the Pre-Tertiary Teacher Professional Development and Management (PTPDM) Scheme.	2018 Budget	4	Teacher CPD, licensing and PT-PDM scheme are being implemented.	KII
51.	Develop a National Teacher Standard, KG Teacher's In-Service Training framework, and an Inclusive Education INSET Manual for implementation.	2018 Budget	4	A draft Compliance Guidelines for the National Teachers' Standards developed and 24 Compliance Officers trained.	GES
52.	In 2018, the National Inspectorate Board will inspect at least five per cent of public schools and establish the quality of leadership, teaching and learning outcomes, and school and community relationships to come out with a composite report to inform policy decision making in the education sector.	2018 Budget	4	The 5 per cent target was exceeded; 9.09 per cent schools were inspected.	NaSIA, KII
53.	In 2018, the draft Pre-Tertiary Education Bill will undergo additional stakeholders' consultation under the auspices of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Education.	2018 Budget	4	Bill has been passed into law - Pre-Tertiary Education Act, 2020 (Act 1049).	Primary data

54.	In 2018, government will absorb 100 per cent BECE registration fees for registered candidates from only public JHSs.	2018 Budget	4	Promise fulfilled, but as of 24th June 2024, government owed WAEC for BECE and WASSCE about GHC 340 million, dating as far back as 2022.	WAEC
55.	In 2018, the Complementary Basic Education Programme will be expanded to 14 more districts to benefit an estimated 40,000 out-of-school children.	2018 Budget	3	The Complementary Education Agency (CEA) in collaboration with GES has been able to reach 33,223 out-of-school children in Ashanti, Bono East, Savannah, Northern, Northeast and Upper West Regions from 2017 to 2023.	CEA
56.	In 2018, the Ministry will provide 25.2 million pieces of assorted exercise books to public basic school pupils.	2018 Budget	0	Review of various reports and evidence in schools indicates this was not done.	KIIs MoE/GES Reports
57.	The MoE will equip approximately 38,715 public basic schools with STEM equipment and train over 38,000 teachers.	2018 Budget	2	STEM equipment have been supplied to selected public basic schools with their teachers trained. However about 85 per cent of public basic school do not have functioning computer laboratories.	KII
58.	Government commenced work on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of 126 dilapidated school structures across the country.	2018 Budget	2	In 2017, MoE allocated GH¢14 million for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of 40 collapsing structures in basic schools in 24 Districts/ Municipalities/ Metropolis across the country. Work commenced at most of the sites, but has currently slowed down due to delays in payment of contractors for work done, and some due to the increase in prices of building materials over the years. 32 out of 40 structures have been completed.	MoE KII
59.	In 2018, Government will initiate the upgrading of 42 public SHSs into model schools as well as the construction of 180 Canteen Blocks in existing Day SHSs.	2018 Budget	4	An initial 50 SHSs had their facilities upgraded/constructed and additional financing was secured from IDA to upgrade 75 more SHSs which have all been completed.	MoE
60.	In 2018, the Ministry will continue with the provision of functional literacy and numeracy education for adults. Training will be given to a total of 112,500 learners in English and Local Language.	2018 Budget	4	419,858 people reached with functional literacy programmes to acquire reading, writing and numeracy skills.	CEA KII

61.	Create partnership for excellence for SHS both domestically and internationally.	Minister's Press Briefing 2022	3	<p>Affiliation between high performing SHSs and new schools in place.</p> <p>There is a draft Partnership Guidelines between High Schools in Ghana and other countries developed.</p> <p>There is an ongoing discussion with High Performing Schools in UK and Dubai (GEM Schools) on partnership agreement initiated.</p>	KII
62.	Provide textbooks and other Teaching and Learning Materials (TLMs) to all Public Special Schools across the country.	2018 Budget	2	Inadequate TLMs have been supplied in special schools.	KII
63.	In 2018, the Ministry will continue with the Teacher Training Reforms leading to the upgrade of the Colleges of Education into campuses of existing Public Universities to make them degree awarding institutions.	2018 Budget	4	Colleges of Education have been upgraded into degree awarding institutions with the first batch completing in 2022.	KII
64.	SHS students to receive calculators and mathematical instruments for WASSCE.	Parliament Budget 2020	4	Only about 400,000 out of 800,000 instruments were supplied. Contract was terminated due to performance deficits.	Secondary data
65.	Amendment will be made to the Technical Universities Act, to complete the conversion of Tamale and Cape Coast Polytechnics to Universities.	2018 Budget	4	Amendment done and Polytechnics converted into Technical Universities.	Secondary data
66.	In 2019, the Ministry will install iBox education portals in 106 schools in addition to the existing 125 schools.	2019 Budget	4	240 iBoxes installed in SHSs.	CENDLOS Data
67.	Two new TVET centres in foundry and machining will be constructed.	2019 Budget	4	Two foundry sites at KNUST and CSIR (G/A) have been completed and in use.	CTVET

68.	Upgrade 10 Technical Universities /Polytechnics and 13 Technical Institutes with modern equipment, and also train selected lecturers of these institutions.	2019 Budget	3	By March 2024, the overall status of progress of work, including equipment supply was 95 per cent.	MoE
69.	Merge Ghana Institute of Languages, National Film and Television Institute, and Ghana Institute of Journalism into National Institute of Communication and Media Arts.	2019 Budget	4	The University of Media, Arts, and Communications (Uni-MAC) has been established, and is located at Dworwulu, Accra.	Secondary data
70.	Develop an electronic pay slip for the Ghana School Feeding Programme (GSFP).	2020 Budget	3	Digital invoicing and payment system under the GSFP has progressed very significantly.	KII
71.	Pilot the National Cocoa Drinks project in public primary schools and KGs to benefit 1 million pupils.	2020 Budget	0	No information on a Cocoa Drinks project was piloted in public primary schools.	KII
72.	Establish 32 new state-of-the-art TVET institutions across the country to address the infrastructure deficit to expand access and increase enrolment, as well as improve on capacity to run programmes that will equip learners with skills that meets the needs of industry.	2020 Budget	1	By February 2023, government had started the construction of phase one, comprising an initial nine (9) TVET centres with projects at 35 per cent completion by March 2024.	MoE
73.	Review and update the School Feeding Operations Manual.	2020 Budget	4	A consultant was engaged in 2020 to review the Operations Manual. The document was validated in 2021 and subsequently adopted.	Secondary source
74.	In 2020, the Ministry of Education will work with the Ministries of Gender and Social Protection and Health to implement the ECE Policy nationwide.	2020 Budget	2	ECE Policy is being implemented with high levels of teacher deficits in KGs, over 50 per cent infrastructure deficits and limited capacity of KG teachers to teach using play-based pedagogy. Teacher deficits are as high as 80 per cent in KGs in Central Gonja.	KII MoE
75.	Complete set-up of Common Admissions Platform (CAPS), test-run and deploy for use in tertiary institutions.	2020 Budget	0	CAPS is not in use.	KII

76.	Enforce section 18 of the Disability Act that provides for free education for Persons With Disability (PWDs).	2016 Manifesto	0	Since basic education is already free for every child, and there was a distinct promise to make secondary education universally free, it is assumed this promise targets access to tertiary education by PWDs. No step has been taken to make tertiary education free for PWDs.	Observation
77.	Complete the construction and furnishing of GES Training School at Saltpond.	2022 Budget	4	Completed and commissioned by the Vice President on November 1, 2020.	KII, Media Report.
78.	Intensify the “Back To School campaign” in all districts across the country to ensure that no child is left behind when schools reopen for the 2021/2022 academic year.	2022 Budget	4	Back To School campaign was successfully implemented by GES, Development Partners and CSOs.	GES
79.	The Ghana Library Authority (GhLA) will construct two (2) new libraries and renovate five (5) existing ones in 2022. In addition, mobile library van outreaches will be undertaken in 100 basic schools across the country.	2022 Budget	4	In all, 77 libraries have been added to the stock of libraries since 2017, with about 10 built by local and national government and state agencies. The rest were built by politicians, philanthropists, NGOs and private sector companies. Mobile library vans are operational.	GhLA
80.	The Ghana Book Development Council will provide book booths with 40,000 reading books to 70 basic schools across the country as part of efforts to promote reading and writing among school children.	2022 Budget	2	So, far 12 booths with 6,000 books have been provided. The MoE plans to procure additional 18 booths. 10,747 pupils in 23 basic schools were reached.	MoE
81.	Conduct the maiden edition of the National Standardised Test (NST) in December 2021 for all Primary Four pupils in public basic schools to assess their proficiency in literacy and numeracy.	2022 Budget	4	NST conducted for Primary Two and primary Four pupils.	KII NaCCA

82.	In 2022, the Ministry will expand the Free SHS Programme to cover all first-year students in public TVET Institutes as provided for under the Pre-Tertiary Education Act (Act 1049).	2022 Budget	4	Free SHS programme expanded to cover Secondary level TVET students from about 139 non-GES TVET schools now under the Ghana TVET Service.	MoE KII
83.	In 2022, the Complementary Education Agency Act, 2020 (Act 1055) will be operationalised to enhance Complementary Basic Education (CBE).	2022 Budget	3	Complementary Education Agency Act, 2020 (Act 1055) has been operationalised; Complementary Education Agency established with funding to implement CBE.	CEA
84.	In 2023, the Ghana School Feeding Programme grant will be increased to reflect the current cost of living.	2023 Budget	1	The feeding grant per child has been increased from GHC 1 in 2018 to GH1.50 cedis by 2024. The 50 per cent increase, against a cumulative inflation of about 200 per cent between 2018 and 2024 is not consistent with the cost of living.	KII
85.	Strengthen domestic production through the School Feeding Programme by sourcing locally produced food from the National Buffer Stock Company.	2023 Budget	0	Since 2019, the National Food Buffer Stock Company has not supplied foodstuff to the Ghana School Feeding Programme.	KII Buffer Stock

86.	Continue to strengthen monitoring to address teething challenges in the implementation of the Capitation Grant policy which include; timely release of the Grant, misuse of funds, transparency and poor book keeping and value of grant amount.	2023 Budget	1	Capitation Grant is still in two-academic year arrears with delayed releases till date. In 2023, only 46 per cent of the allocated Grant amount of GHC 41 million was spent due to poor releases. Transparency and accountability efforts ongoing in selected schools under USAID-SAGES project and GALOP.	KII GES
87.	Implement GALOP in 10,000 low performing basic schools.	2020 Manifesto	4	<p>Implementation ongoing in 10,597 public basic schools across the country.</p> <p>70,000 teachers trained in Targeted Instruction for the delivery of Differentiated Learning in 2022 academic year.</p> <p>Learning Management System (Edmodo) developed to aid remote teaching and learning.</p> <p>13,000 Trained Teachers deployed to GALOP beneficiary schools.</p> <p>9,000 laptops distributed to head teachers in GALOP beneficiary schools.</p> <p>Learning Grant of GHS 25,755,000 disbursed to all 10,579 beneficiary schools to supplement their Capitation Grant.</p>	MoE

88.	Review and implement the Common Core Programme (CCP) Curriculum	Minister's Press Briefing 2022	3	Implementation of CCP ongoing but no textbooks after two (2) years. Teacher Resource Pack on CCP developed and made available to all 110,000 trained teachers.	Secondary data, KII
89.	Introduce Gifted and Talented (GATE) at SHS	Minister's Press Briefing 2022	1	Stakeholder consultations ongoing.	KII
90.	Introduce STEM Education and construct STEM High Schools.	Minister's Press Briefing 2022	4	STEM policy has been reviewed to guide implementation. STEM curricula for SHS developed and being tested. Ten Model STEM SHS completed. Nine (9) STEM JHS (21st Century Model Schools) under construction in Busunu, Sewua, NVTI Head Office, Kyebi, Takoradi, Bantama, Chamba, Juaben and Ejisu. 20 other STEM Centres are under construction.	MoE KII
91.	Establish a National Education Institute to run tailor-made courses in school leadership and management for practicing and potential teachers in order to improve learning outcomes	Minister's Press Briefing 2022	4	The Institute was launched by the Minister of Education in October 2023.	KII
92.	Construction of African Institute for Mathematical Science (AIMS) Ghana Campus/Accra Girls STEM School at Kpone Katamanso.	Minister of Education's Meet the Press Briefing in 2022	0	No information on any such project at Kpone Katamanso for AIMS Ghana.	KII AIMS
93.	Construction of Physical infrastructure for the University of Health and Allied Sciences, Hohoe campus.	Minister's Press Briefing 2022	4	By March 2024, 90 per cent complete.	MoE
94.	Construction of 45 300-bed capacity Student Hostel Blocks for all Colleges of Education (CoE).	Minister's Press Briefing 2022	1	Projects commenced in 2022 but stalled in all but eight (8) campuses, including Accra, John Bosco, Ola and Kibi CoE.	KII

95.	Introduce new secondary career pathways: Environmental Science, Aeronautics and Aerospace Engineering, Computer Science, Manufacturing, Biomedical Sciences, Agricultural Science, Global Studies and Creative Arts.	Minister's Press Briefing 2022	4	The Ministry in 2022 introduced Science pathway for SHS non-Science graduates. Two universities have been chosen to offer one-year pre-engineering programmes for SHS graduates who did not offer General Science, but wish to do STEM-related programmes at the tertiary level. As of January 2023, the first batch of pre-engineering students had graduated.	Secondary Data
96.	Commence the development of the SHS curriculum and train SHS teachers on the new curriculum.	2020 Budget	3	The development of the SHS curriculum is almost completed, with implementation expected to begin in the 2024/25 academic year. Training for teachers, has, however, not commenced.	Observation
97	4,400 basic schools will be equipped with Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) equipment in 2020.	2022 Budget	1	STEM equipment have been supplied to about 5 per cent of basic schools.	Validation Meeting
98	Increase resources and infrastructure for special needs education across the country.	2020 NPP Manifesto	-	There is no information on this in MoE's reports. RTI request also not responded to by the MoE.	
99	Three technical institutes will be upgraded to tertiary status.	2022 SONA	-	RTI request sent to CTNET not responded to. There is also no information on this in MoE's reports or CTNET's recently published 2023 Ghana Skills Report.	
100.	Retool Science Laboratories for SHS in Ghana.	Minister's Press Briefing 2022	2	Science laboratory tools have been supplied to some SHSs.	MoE

Results

Promise metric	Frequency (Number)	%
Fully fulfilled (4 points)	35	35%
Advanced stage of fulfilment (3 points)	15	15%
Take off stage (2 points)	22	22%
Pre-fulfilment stage (1 point)	12	12%
Not fulfilled (0 point)	14	14%
No measurement currently available (-)	2	2%

Note

1. % of initial level of agreement among the three (3) independent raters and the team scores = 71 per cent (70 promises)
2. % level of agreement among the three (3) independent raters and the team scores after resolution of discrepancies = 100 per cent.

GOVERNMENT'S PROMISES IN EDUCATION (2017 - 2024): A CIVIL SOCIETY TRACKER

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