



**FIRST REPORT:
POST-ELECTIONS INTERVENTIONS IN
GHANA SINCE 2008**

JANUARY - JUNE 2010

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INTRODUCTION:

There have been five successful elections since the inception of Ghana's Fourth Republic in 1992. The December 2008 elections were a watershed moment in Ghana's political history. The stakes were high in the elections and Ghanaians as well as the international community keenly observed the electoral process with great concern. The exit of the sitting president, John Agyekum Kufour meant that all contesting political parties presented new candidates without any of them enjoying a clear incumbency advantage. This scenario meant that candidates had to intensify their campaign, and develop apposite campaign messages and strategies to boost their chances of winning the slot.

As characteristic of electoral competitions, the 2008 political campaign messages were loaded with promises and assurances, both verbal and written aimed to uplift the standard of living of the populace. It is assumed that the NDC party's campaign manifesto was preferred to all the other competing political parties, leading to the victory of the party in the elections. However, successive governments in Ghana and other underdeveloped countries have always treated campaign promises as mere strategies to secure votes. The question has constantly been raised as to the role of manifestoes in elections and democracy.

In trying to test the value of campaign manifestoes and promises in electoral victories and democracy, The African Elections Project (www.africanelections.org) in collaboration with the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), a policy research think tank, commissioned a project dubbed "Ghana's Post-Elections Interventions" seeking to monitor the fulfillment of campaign promises made during the 2008 electioneering campaign.

The project seeks to track government performance based on its manifesto and to issue monthly reports. The report period span from January 2010 to December 2010. In addition to the national tracking project, two assemblies, the Tarkwa-Nsuaem Municipal Assembly and the Accra Metropolitan Assembly were also monitored using the assemblies' 2010 plan of action.

The report is divided into four sections. Section one talk about the summary of the report. Sections two, three and four detail the findings on the national, the AMA, and the Tarkwa-Nsuaem monitoring respectively.

SUMMARY:

Findings from the field have established that government has made attempts for the achievement of its campaign promises made during the 2008 electioneering campaign. In this first project report (January – June, 2010), the findings show a minimal achievement on the campaign pledges by the government. The project targeted 10 main themes for the tracking and two sub-indicators were developed under each theme, giving a total of 20 measurable indicators. Out of the 20 indicators measured, steps have been taken on more than half of the indicators with some at the planning level while implementation have actually started on a few others. There have been some actions around 3 of the indicators even though not as direct as promised in the manifesto. 5 of the indicators are at the planning stage and are yet to be practically implemented, while practical implementation work has actually begun on 3 of them. The government is yet to take action on the remaining 9 indicators.

Indeed, the promise made by the NDC on security and safety and the National Youth In Agriculture programme have received some attention by the government during the reporting period. The NDC promised to build 50 pre-fabricated “Tent houses” and increase logistical support to the police service in its fight against crime. In fulfillment of these promises, the government has presented 120 vehicles to the service, signed agreement with Korea government for construction of housing units in Ghana, in which 40% have been earmarked for the police service. The police service on its own has purchased a 600 room apartment at Takoradi.

Four themes were picked under each of the 2 assemblies (Tarkwa-Nsuaem and AMA) being studied under the project based on their Plans of Action for 2010. The assemblies have both made strides though minimal in achieving their 2010 targeted plan of Action, in spite of the fact that year 2010 is half way ended.

NATIONAL TRACKING FINDINGS:

Agriculture:

The NDC promised in its manifesto to **“Train 1,200 youth in Agriculture and supply 7,000 youth with inputs to cultivate 5,600 acres of land”**. The project is yet to be implemented as promised in the manifesto. However, there is a “National Youth in Agriculture” programme (YIAP) established in 2009 under the ministry of agriculture. The ministry through its reforestation project has engaged a number of people in the Brong Ahafo region for the aforestation project. According to the statistics from the ministry, 47,000 youth have so far benefitted from the programme. Other farmers have also benefited from a different model under the YIAP known as “Block Farm” where youth who are interested in farming organize themselves in groups and seek assistance from the ministry, under the YIAP. The ministry then gives them farm inputs, advisory services and seedlings to cultivate, and they only pay back the cost of the inputs supplied them by the ministry after they have harvested the produce.

The NDC again promise under its agricultural policy to **“Establish District Agricultural Advisory Services (DAAS) in all the 170 districts”**. However, government is yet to take action on this promise.

Education:

The total number of public basic schools in Ghana is 32,993, with 11,827 being kindergartens, 13,510 primary and 7,656 junior high schools. (GES figures 2008/2009). The school feeding programme covers 1,691 public schools with a total pupils population of 658,585. (Source: Ghana School Feeding Programme secretariat, Accra). The programme is being piloted in selected public primary schools, and it covers pupils in the kindergarten and primary levels within the selected schools. The number of schools under trees is estimated to be 3,427 across the country, according to the information ministry.

The NDC promised to **“Rope all public primary schools into the school feeding programme within 2 years in office”**. However, the government is yet to take action on this promise.

The NDC again promised to **“Replace all schools under trees with classroom blocks”**.

Our checks from the ministry of information revealed that government has targeted to replace 600 schools under trees with classroom blocks by the end of 2010, and works have started on 120 classroom blocks through the Get Fund (Ghana Education Trust Fund). According to the Upper East regional minister, the Upper East region alone has an estimated number of 180 under tree schools. (Source: GNA).

Health:

The National Health Insurance Scheme (NHIS) was introduced during the New Patriotic Party (NPP) administration as a new health policy to replace the “Cash and Carry” system which used to be the existing system of paying hospital bills. In the old payment policy, a sick person receives treatment only after paying the bills as charged by the hospital. The introduction of the health insurance scheme was expected to make health care accessible, affordable and convenient.

The NDC government in its 2008 campaign manifesto promised to **“Make the health insurance premium a one-stop payment”** The National Health Insurance Authority (NHIA) has done the actuarial budgeting and submitted to the government. Government is yet to issue policy statement on the document.

In addition, the NDC promised to **“Establish ambulance stations in all the 170 districts”** The government is yet to take action on this promise. According to the National Ambulance Services, they have only 24 ambulance stations located in accident prone areas and major hospitals in 24 out of the 170 districts, and those were established about 6 years ago. The secretariat hinted that it is expensive to establish resource and train personnel to Man an ambulance station and will therefore need time to recruit and train people and also source for funding for the project.

Energy:

The NDC identified challenges in the energy sector as “inadequate, expensive and unreliable supply of power” The energy challenges in the country have remained a high

priority for successive governments. It has also led to the dismissal of many energy ministers as well as deputy ministers. Consumers often complain of poor services delivered by energy service providers, including electricity providers and petroleum products suppliers. It was therefore not surprising that the NDC laid emphasis on improved energy provision in its 2008 manifesto.

The NDC promised to **“Increase electricity generation capacity to at least, 5000 megawatts”** our visit to the information ministry revealed that government plans to kick start the project when the West Africa Gas Project is ready. Meanwhile, there have been series of ongoing renovation and maintenance works by the sector agencies.

The NDC also promised to **“Extend electricity to all communities with a population of over 500”**. Our checks from the information ministry indicate that government has secured funding to tackle its promise of electricity extension, and that, data is being compiled to identify the total communities to be catered for under the project.

Employment:

In recognition of the rate of unemployment in the country, the NDC promised among other things to **“Train high school graduates as trainee’s trainers who will in turn train unemployed youth in ICT”**. Government has started implementing its promise of training unemployed youth in ICT. Statistics from the ministry of communication indicate that 22 trainee’s trainers have so far been trained under the data entry model. The programme has 3 models: Data Entry Model, Call Center Model, and Medical Transcription Model. The ministry is yet to start implementation on the other 2 models.

The party also promised to **“Open up avenues for unemployed people to assemble motorbikes, vehicles and agricultural implements”**.

The promise to open avenues for assembling vehicles, motorbikes and farm implements has not been tackled yet. However, the government has asked private individuals and companies to help in that direction.

Infrastructure:

Under infrastructure, the government promised to **“Complete 38 uncompleted houses across the country for the police service”** The project team was told at the ministry of water resources, works and housing that work has not started on any of the 38 uncompleted houses, and that the agreement to begin works on them is before parliament. The ministry of information added that, the government has signed contract with Korean government on “Affordable Housing Project” and that 40% of that project is earmarked for the police service. The police Public Affairs Directorate showed pictures of houses that have been purchased at Takoradi, Cape Coast, and other regions. According to the sources from the police headquarters, the government has released funds and work will soon begin on the 38 uncompleted police houses across the country.

The NDC also promised to **“Construct drainage systems in the cities”**. Actual drainage constructions across the country are yet to begin. However, the Hydrological Services Department of the ministry in conjunction with the various cities, especially Accra, have embarked on a project to clear major drains to improve the channels and allow for free flow of water in anticipation of heavy rains this year.

Safety and Security:

The police service has a total police force of 22,610 as at May 2008, and plans to increase the number to 40,000 by 2010. The Service has 2,754 occupied premises (both residential and non residential). 2,442 (88.7%) are rented and 312 (11.3%) are owned by the service. The service has accommodation short fall of 4,111 residential units. (Source: Auditor General, 2008 Audit Report on Police Accommodation in Ghana).

It is in anticipation of the lack of police accommodation, and in recognition to the need to increase security in the country that the NDC promised to **“Build 50 pre-fabricated “Tent Houses” in heavy crime areas for the police service”** The government is yet to fulfill the promise of building 50 pre-fabricated “Tent Houses” but the service has managed through its own efforts and assistants from other donors to build some of the pre-fabricated “Tent Houses” across the country and they gave examples from Achimota,

Kwabenya, Tema, Bawku, Wa, etc. They said apart from the tent houses, some communities have voluntarily provided the service with complete police stations with bungalows for personnel. But they were quick to add that the police accommodation gap is still wide.

The NDC also promised to **“Provide the service with the needed logistics for the service to function effectively to reduce crime “drastically” in the country”**.

In fulfillment of this promise, the government at the beginning of the year presented 120 vehicles to the service, and other donors and individuals have also presented the service with logistics ranging from vehicles to motorbikes.

The service is focusing on in-service training since the beginning of the year and has therefore not done any more recruitment.

Gender:

The call from pro gender groups for gender parity informed the NDC’s manifesto promise to ensure that, **“at least, women will get 40% representation in government and public service”**.

Women constitute 51% of the total population in Ghana, and have 12.4% representation in government and public service. (Source: ministry of Women and Children Affairs, 2008 figures).

Available statistics indicate that government is yet to fulfill its campaign promise of ensuring 40% women representation in government and public service. The percentage of women in parliament is 8.7%, 5.3% as chief executives in district assemblies, and the percentage of women on public boards and administrative positions hovers around 23%. (UNDP Ghana Human Development Report, 2007 and Electoral Commission of Ghana, 2008)

The NDC further promised to **“Establish gender units in the entire 170 districts”**.

No action yet by the government on its promise to set up gender units in all the 170 districts across the country.

Corruption:

Ghana ranked 67 out of 180 countries with a score of 3.9 out of 10 in the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) in 2008. This ranking coupled with a high public perception of political corruption, and the tainted image of the police service on the missing cocaine at the police headquarters, the NDC promised in the run up to the 2008 elections to “**Enact into law the freedom of information bill**”, Despite the above realities, the freedom of information bill is still before parliament,

The party also promised to ‘**Revise the assets declaration law to make it more functional**’. Article 286 sub- section 1, clauses a, b, and c of the 1992 constitution stipulate that, all public office holders before taking office; at the end of every 4 years; and at the end of their term of office shall submit to the Auditor-General a written declaration of all property or assets owned by, or liabilities owed by, them whether directly or indirectly. Public officers have persistently and fragrantly disrespected the law. There was therefore the need to revamp the law to make it more functional. President Mills upon assumption of office, and in an attempt to deal with the issue instructed his officers to abide by the constitutional provision and declare their assets but most of them refused to comply. The assets declaration law still remains weak in the constitution without any revision as promised.

Decentralization:

Enshrined in the 1992 constitution, the decentralization policy was meant to send governance closer to the people and ensure citizens participation in governance.

From 110 districts in 2003, the number of MMDAs has increased to 170, and total number of Unit Committees stands at 15,386. Experts have concluded that the decentralization agenda is at best stagnant and the Unit Committees have virtually collapsed.

In order to resuscitate the agenda and make it more functional, the NDC promised to **“Re-demarcate the electoral areas and pay remunerations to assembly members”**.

The policy for re-demarcation of electoral areas is before cabinet for consideration, but no action has so far been taken on the promise to pay remunerations to assembly members.

SNAPSHOT OF THE STATUS OF THE THEMES

Theme/indicators	MONTHS						
	January-June	July	August	September	October	November	December
Agriculture: (1)train 1200 youth, provide 7000 with inputs & cultivate 5600 hectors of maize; (2)establish DAAS	(1)Has started with block farming; (2)yet to be implemented						
Education: (1)extend SFP to all public primary schools; (2)replace all under tree schools with classroom blocks (there are a total of 3,427 under trees schools)	(1)yet to be implemented; (2)started through the Get Fund with 120 schools & want to complete 600 by Dec. 2010						
Health: (1)make NHIS one-stop payment; (2)establish ambulance stations in all districts	(1)NHIA has presented actuarial report to government; (2)yet to be implemented						
Energy: (1)increase electricity generation by 5000 Megawatts;	(1) Yet to be implemented; (2) have secured funding for it and currently taken data on the total communities						

Theme/indicators	MONTHS						
	January-June	July	August	September	October	November	December
(2)extend electricity to communities over 500 population	to be supplied.						
Employment: (1)train trainees trainers in ICT; (2)open up avenues for assembling equipment	(1)22 trainees trainers have been trained & the project infrastructure is being prepared; (2) no action on the equipment assemblage yet, but private entrepreneurs have been asked to take it up						
Infrastructure: (1)complete 38 police buildings; (2)construct drainage in the cities	(1)government has signed contract with Korea & that includes the police buildings; (2)no action on the new drainage construction yet						
Security & Safety: (1)build 50 tent houses; (2)drastic reduction of crime	(1)No action from the government yet (the service has build some themselves); (2)crime rate has reduced						
Gender: (1)40% of women in government & public service; (2)establish gender	(1)target yet to be achieved; (2)not yet implemented						

Theme/indicators	MONTHS						
	January-June	July	August	September	October	November	December
units in all the districts							
Corruption: (1)enact into law freedom of information bill; (2)revise assets declaration law	(1)Law before parliament; (2) law at cabinet						
Decentralization: (1)re-demarcate districts and sub-districts structures; (2)pay remuneration to assembly members	(1)not yet implemented; (2)not yet implemented						

THE ACCRA METROPOLITAN ASSEMBLY (AMA) TRACKING FINDINGS:

Three themes were selected from a list of development priorities projected to be achieved by the AMA in 2010. They are Waste and Sanitation, Education and Health.

Waste and Sanitation:

In its efforts to elevate the AMA into the status of a millennium city, the assembly has fashioned out a new waste management system to replace the “Central Container” and the “House to House” systems which did not attract any fee from the public. The new system, the “Polluter Pay Principle” (PPP), according to the AMA will generate income and will make waste management self regulatory, efficient and effective. In addition to the PPP policy, the AMA also promised to acquire a refuse dump site for energy generation; procure 3 new trucks to assist in waste collection and management; and construct 147 public toilets across the metropolis.

It is instructive to note that, the AMA has made conscious effort in its effort to improve waste management and sanitation in the city, as embodied in its target in the 2010 action plan. The PPP was rolled out in June 2010, and the 3 new trucks have been acquired. The assembly has also acquired a refuse dump at Teshie-Nungua for the proposed energy generation project. However, no action has been taken on the plan to construct 147 public toilets across the Metropolis.

Education:

The AMA has a total number of 322 public basic schools with total enrolment of 169,038 (2008/2009 academic year). Out of this, 157 comprising 81 lower primary schools, 21 upper primary schools and 55 Junior High Schools (JHS) were practising the “Shift System”

The challenges of the AMA on education were categorized as inadequate classroom blocks, encroachment of school lands, theft and destruction of school properties, poverty, etc.

The assembly planned to construct more than 2000 classroom blocks equipped with toilets and other facilities in the various areas of the Metropolis to end the current shift system by September 2010. It is also the vision of the assembly to reduce

encroachment on school lands and theft cases in the schools. To this end, the AMA planned to repair and reconstruct fence walls and install security lights at the Ayalolo Cluster of schools, Cable and Wireless school, and the Ayigbe Town schools. In addition, the assembly promised to provide free exercise books, text books, furniture and school uniforms to needy but brilliant basic school pupils within the Metropolis. Most importantly, the AMA planned to increase enrolment at the basic level of education in the Metropolis.

It was established through our monitoring that only 1 classroom block (for Cable and Wireless JHS) out of the planned 2000 was provided during the reporting period. There were also no increases in the enrolment figures in spite of the fact that the AMA distributed 293,810 exercise books to primary 4 – 6 pupils, and 668,259 to JHS students. The statistics indicate that each child at the primary 4-6 level received 6 exercise books while those at the JHS level were given 12 each. However, the assembly is yet to implement its plan to provide free text books, free uniforms and furniture to “brilliant but needy” students. On its promise to avert encroachment and security problems in schools in the Metropolis, the AMA has constructed fence wall around the Cable and Wireless school, but yet to fix a gate. Security lights poles have been erected at the Ayalolo cluster of schools which is yet to be fixed with electricity. The assembly has also awarded contract for fencing the Ayalolo School.

Health:

The AMA has 823 health facilities comprising 6 polyclinics, 3 hospitals, 10 smaller health centers, 4 quasi-government health centers and 800 private hospitals/clinics/health centers. There are 5 polyclinics in 5 sub-metros within the AMA. The La polyclinic has been upgraded to a general hospital. This leaves 5 sub-metros without polyclinics. There is only one specialized hospital (the Princess Marie Louis Children’s Hospital) within the AMA.

The metropolitan health director gave the prevalent diseases troubling the metropolis as Malaria, Acute Respiratory Infections (ARI), Hypertension and Skin diseases. Even though the AMA seem to have a lot of health facilities based on the statistics given above, the annual population growth in the metropolis of around 3.5% require a

correspondent increase in public services, including health provision for efficient and effective disease control and reduction.

In its 2010 annual plan of action, the AMA projected to expand and modernize existing health facilities; construct a polyclinic in each sub metro; establish specialized hospitals; and drastically reduce the disease burden in the metropolis.

Our statistics show that only the ground floor room 3M of the Maternal, Mobility and Mortality Unit of the La General Hospital was renovated within the reporting period. The AMA has not started work on any of the new polyclinics it targeted to build in each of the Sub-Metros. Likewise, the assembly is yet to implement its plan of action to establish specialized hospitals in the Metropolis. Nonetheless, there has been some reduction in the disease prevalent rate in the Metropolis. Malaria prevalent rate in the Metropolis dropped from 44.3% in 2009 to 34.2% in the first quarter of 2010. Likewise, other ARIs as well as Hypertension cases have also reduced to 10.1% and 6.2% in 2010 from 10.3% and 6.6% respectively in 2009.

SNAPSHOT OF THE STATUS OF THE THEMES

Theme/indicators	MONTHS						
	January-June	July	August	September	October	November	December
Waste & Sanitation: (1)introduce fee-based solid waste collection system (2)acquire refuse dump site for energy generation (3)procure 3 trucks for waste collection (4)construct 147 public toilets	(1)project started in June 2010 (2) project site has been acquired (3) all the 3 trucks procured (4)not yet implemented						
Education: (1)construct more than 2000 classroom blocks (2)increase enrolment (3)construct fence wall around Ayalolo school(4)construct fence wall around Cable & Wireless school (5)provide security lights at Cable & Wireless school (6) provide security lights at Ayalolo school (7)provide free text books (8)provide free exercise books (9)provide free school uniforms to needy students (10)provide free furniture to students	(1)only 1 classroom block constructed (2)no achievement (3)contract awarded (4)fence wall constructed but left with gate (5)not yet implemented (6) light poles erected but yet to fix electricity (7)not yet implemented (8)962,069 free exercise books have been provided (9)not yet implemented (10)not yet implemented						

Theme/indicators	MONTHS						
	January-June	July	August	September	October	November	December
Health: (1)expand & modernize existing health facilities (2)construct a polyclinic in each Sub-Metro (3)establish specialized hospitals (4) reduce the disease burden	(1) only 1 ward of La General Hospital out of the 23 public health facilities has been renovated (2)not yet implemented (3)not yet implemented(4) some reduction of diseases were experienced within the reporting period						

THE TARKWA-NSUAEM MUNICIPAL ASSEMBLY TRACKING FINDINGS:

Economic and Gainful Employment, Health and Education were the three major themes selected for the project from the Tarkwa-Nsuaem Municipal Assembly. The Tarkwa-Nsuaem Municipal Assembly is one of the new municipalities. Agriculture is the major economic activity in the area, but it also boasts of registered mining companies alongside unregistered small scale holding mining activities, popularly known as “Galamsay”. As a newly created assembly, Tarkwa-Nsuaem lacks many basic infrastructure and social amenities that befits the status of a municipality. The assembly has therefore reserved a chunk of its budgetary allocations for infrastructural development and provision of social amenities.

Economic and Gainful Employment:

The assembly has 8 different markets within the municipality. It has 1 Business Advisory Center (BAC) at Tarkwa which provides business advisory services to residents in the municipality.

In its 2010 Plan of Action, the assembly planned to construct an additional Business Advisory Centre (BAC) at Nkwanta to offer business opportunity advice to residents, and encourage them to enter into private businesses. It also targeted a construction of 1 market at Dompim; and 3 additional markets at Esuaso.

Our monitoring revealed that the Dompim market project has been started and it is at the foundation level, but the officers will not comment on the other 3 markets planned to be established at Esuaso. (CDD staff will visit the community and update the records in the second report).

No action yet has been taken on the proposed BAC office to establish at Nkwanta.

Health:

Tarkwa-Nsuaem Municipal Assembly has 91 communities. The assembly has a total of 25 health facilities, comprising both government and private hospitals and clinics. Government health facilities within the assembly include 1 hospital, 5 health centers, 2 community clinics and 3 CHPS compounds. There are 3 private hospitals, 9 private health centers and 2 maternity homes.

In its plan to improve health service delivery and extend health provision to rural communities, the assembly proposed in its 2010 Action Plan to construct a new district hospital at Dompim; construct 2 community based clinics; and construct 2 living quarters for health personnel at Dompim.

(No data from the field officer to assess planned activities)

Education:

There are 30,385 basic school pupils within the Tarkwa-Nsuaem Municipal Assembly, with a teacher population of 796, comprising 500 trained and 296 untrained teachers. 166 out of the 500 trained teachers were sponsored by the assembly in their teacher training education between year 2000 and 2003. The assembly has 9 head teachers living quarters and 74 teachers' living quarters.

The statics above suggests that there are over 700 teachers within the assembly to cater for in terms of accommodation. This is so important because accommodation has been given as one of the major incentives to attract teachers to deprived communities.

The total classroom blocks in the Tarkwa-Nsuaem Municipal Assembly were given as 719. The statistics adds that over 728 pupils have their classes under trees.

It is in response to these problems that the assembly resolved in its 2010 Plan of Action to provide 4 number 4-unit teachers quarters; construct 3-unit classroom blocks; and sponsor 36 more teacher trainees.

It is instructive to note that, works have been started on the classroom blocks and as many as 24 classroom blocks have been started, with the aim of reducing the number of under tree schools in the municipality. However, no action has been taken on the plan to sponsor 36 more teacher trainees, and construct more teachers quarters.

SNAPSHOT OF THE STATUS OF THE THEMES

Theme/indicators	MONTHS						
	January-June	July	August	September	October	November	December
Economic and Gainful Employment: (1)establish BAC at Nkwanta (2)construct 1 market at Dompim (3)construct 3 markets at Esuaso	(1)not yet implemented (2)project at foundation level (3)no information from field officer						
Health: construct new district hospital at Dompim (2)construct 2 quarters for health personnel at Dompim (3)construct 2 community based clinics	(1)not yet implemented (2) no information from field officer (3)no information from field officer						
Education: (1) provide 4 number 4-unit teachers quarters (2) construct 3-unit classroom blocks (3) sponsor 36 more teacher trainees.	(1) construction has started on 24 classroom blocks (2)not yet implemented (3)not yet implemented						