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The Effects of Covid 19 on Workers and Its Implications on Socio-Economic Inequalities in Ghana



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Abstract

Purpose: The novel coronavirus has caused havoc to the various economies throughout the world with Ghana, not an exception. The purpose of this paper is to ascertain the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the various institutions and sectors in Ghana particularly the effects on Ghanaian workers and its implications on inequalities in Ghana be studied.

Methodology: The paper adopted a qualitative research approach and used discourse analysis of secondary data obtained from sources such as journal articles, online news articles, newspaper publication and other internet sources. The study is hinged on the institutional theory.

Findings: The findings indicated that the outbreak of the pandemic have brought negative consequences to the workers of the country. These consequences are loss of jobs, reduced income and source of livelihoods.

Unique Contribution to Theory, Policy and Practice: The policies implemented by the government of Ghana to curtail the spread of the virus have rather exacerbated the already troubling inequality situation in the country. There is also a widening gender inequality, income and poverty inequality, employment inequality, and inequality in the access to education between the vulnerable and less vulnerable in Ghanaian society.

Keywords: *COVID-19, Inequalities, Effects, Socio-economic, Implication, Ghana*

Introduction

Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID 19) is characterised as an illness caused by a new coronavirus currently known as severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-COV2), which was initially detected in Wuhan, Hubei Province in China, after an outbreak of respiratory illness cases. The COVID-19 disease was first reported to the World Health Organisation (WHO) on the 31st of December, 2019. After investigations into the disease, the WHO classified the COVID-19 outbreak as a worldwide health emergency on January 30, 2020 COVID-19 and declared it a global pandemic on the 11th of March, 2020 (Connimo, 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic has brought with it inexpressible hardship to the world by bringing the so-called more advanced countries to their knees. According to the WHO (2021) globally, as of 13th September 2021, there have been 224,372, 380 confirmed cases of COVID-19, 4, 625,006 confirmed deaths attributed to the COVID-19 pandemic. The COVID-19 dashboard also indicates the contribution of the confirmed cases by regions as follows: the Americas 85, 505, 509; Europe 67, 171, 262; South-East Asia 42, 155, 706; Eastern Mediterranean 15, 233, 148; Western Pacific 7, 492, 971; and Africa's share of the confirmed cases are 5, 813, 020. Even though the Scientific World has discovered several vaccines to combat the spread and deaths related to coronavirus the virus keeps mutating and changing its characteristics resulting in the discovering of several variants. Some of the variants discovered so far are the Delta (B.1.617), Alpa (B.1.17), Gamma (P), Beta (B.1.251). As a result of the mutilating nature of the COVID-19 virus, it seems that the end of the spread of this situation is not in sight at the moment.

Not only has COVID-19 pandemic resulted in the death of millions of people it has also resulted in lots of negative consequences. According to Khalilullah and Shahwali (2020), the COVID-19 pandemic has elicited deglobalisation by forcing several countries to close down their borders, close down which compelled educational institutions, tourism, investment, export and imports in those countries to receive the shocks that emanate from the border closure. According to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) 24.7 million jobs would be lost as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic downturn, resulting in a gross loss of income of between \$860 billion and 3.4 trillion to workers. In a study on the early impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the global and Turkish economy, Omer and Gunay (2020) concluded that employees, customers, supply lines and financial markets are all severely impacted by the virus, which will almost certainly result in a global economic recession.

Situation of COVID-19 in Ghana

The first evidence of the coronavirus disease was reported in Ghana on the 12th of March 2020. The discovery was publicised in a press release signed by the Minister of Health, Hon. Kwaku Agyeman-Manu (MP). Following the release the Minister cautioned Ghanaians to be mindful of their health and that of their families and to abide by preventive measures (Ernest, Joseph, & Koram, 2020). Since then the infection rate of the virus have been very alarming. According to

MyJoyOnline (2021) as of the 14th of September 2021, 21:20 GMT Ghana had 125, 874 confirmed coronavirus cases with 1,098 deaths and 117, 892 recoveries. The coronavirus pandemic has impacted negatively on every sector and institution in the country and has virtually brought the economy to its knees. In trying to slow down the infection rate, the government has implemented some policies, the impact of which is yet to be evaluated.

As a result of the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the various institutions and sectors on the global stage, and Ghana, in particular, it has become prudent that the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on Ghanaian workers and its implications on inequalities in Ghana be studied.

Methodology

This paper is intended to review the literature on the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on Ghanaian workers and its implications on inequalities in Ghana. The study employed a qualitative research approach and used discourse analysis of secondary data obtained from sources such as journal articles, online news articles, newspaper publication and other internet sources. The study was hinged on the institutional theory.

Theoretical framework

The institutional theory was adopted to guide the study. The theory was propounded by North in 1990. In Peters et al. (2000) an institution is defined as a formal or informal, societal, structural or political phenomenon that transcends the individual level, which is based on more or less common values, has a certain degree of stability and influences behavior. Institutional theory posits the processes through which the structures such as schemes, rules, norms, and routines are established as authoritative guidelines for social behavior (Ugwuibe et al., 2021).

The institutional theory argues that the COVID-19 pandemic has negatively impacted on the resilience of all institutions globally, as well as locally thereby resulting in unprecedented consequences on the global stage and Ghana in particular.

The Effects of COVID-19 on Workers in Ghana

The novel coronavirus pandemic has devastated all countries around the world including developed nations such United States of America, China, Russia, Germany, and the United Kingdom and developing countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Mali and Senegal. Most of their economies have been paralysed due to their effects on the various sectors. It has led to lost of human capital and untold hardship to their teeming population. It is on this background that this paper seeks to examine the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on Ghanaian workers and to achieve this, the working population of Ghana would be categorised into formal and informal sector workers and workers of the corporate sector.

Effects of COVID-19 pandemic on public sector workers in Ghana

The formal sector workers in Ghana would refer to the category of workers who are employed and paid by the Government of Ghana from the consolidated account. The literature

review on job losses in the formal sector or public sector revealed mixed evidence attributed to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in Ghana. According to Baah-Boateng (2021) in a survey on the employment effects of COVID-19 in Ghana noticed that formal employment or the public sector workers recorded no job loss because workers have better job security than workers in the other sector of the economy. In contrast to his assertion Seidu (2020) reports that about 500, 000 jobs were lost in the first six months of the outbreak of the virus in Ghana out of this figure about 100, 000 were formal or public sector works. What is certain in the literature is that the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic are minimal among formal sector workers in Ghana. However, Dalali, Yaa and Cedri (2020) report that most formal sector workers were rationalised resulting in extensive stress due to increased pressure and a reduction in the productivity of employees which made fewer workers to undertaking the same amount of work performed by the total workforce. The same survey indicated that about 50 per cent of formal sector workers had their promotions deferred in the year 2020 due to the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic, employees were, however, the concentration of employees was on maintaining their jobs and could therefore defer their promotions until the economy recovers from the shock of the COVID-19 pandemic Dalali, Yaa and Cedri (2020).

In a psycho-economic field survey, Yendork and James (2020) reported that Ghanaians workers are anxious about contracting coronavirus. They cited a JoyOnline (2021) report in which a religious leader donated a 100-bed capacity building to be used as an isolation centre which saw the neighbourhood protesting vehemently in fear of contracting the virus. The literature shows that the COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in depression, anxiety and stress among frontline workers especially among Doctors and Nurse, and other essential service providers (Ofori, Evans Kofi, & Amoah, 2021). The literature further indicated that during the lockdown period most formal sector workers experienced increase domestic pressure which translated to psychological problems and divorces (Baah-Boateng, 2021). From the literature above it can be concluded that the effects of the coronavirus are minimal among formal sector workers in Ghana.

Effects of COVID-19 on Informal Sector Workers

The COVID-19 pandemic has hit harder at the informer sector workers than any other class of workers in Ghana. Research conducted by Foundation For Security and Development in Africa (FOSDA) and reported by the Ghana News Agency (GNA) indicated that about 770,000 workers in Ghana have been negatively affected by the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic. The research further indicated that about 80 per cent of those affected by the pandemic were small and medium businesses (JoyOnline, 2021). In a similar report by Trade Union Congress (TUC), about 42,000 workers lost their jobs as a result of the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic, the report further indicated that 75 per cent of those who lost their jobs were informal sector workers comprising of small traders and wage labourers (Cited in Yendork & James, 2020). On the part of Baah-Boateng (2021), 10.5 million workers engaged in the private sector (informal workers) were exposed to job losses due to the outbreak of the COVID-pandemic

In an attempt to curb the spread of the COVID-19 virus the Government of Ghana on the 15th of March, 2020 placed a ban on all public gatherings including large markets. This adversely affected all sectors of the economy particularly the informal sector. The partial lockdown has also contributed to the near-collapse of most informal sector businesses (Asente & Mills, 2020). Not only did informal sector employees lose their businesses, but the workers also witnessed a decline in their incomes. According to Women in Informal Employment (WIEGO, 2021) informal workers (traders) in the markets in the epicentre of the lockdown (Accra, Kumasi, and Tema) reported that their incomes declined far below their pre-lockdown incomes (WIEGO, 2021). Research conducted by Asante and Helbrecht (2019) revealed that traders in some markets in Ghana especially the big markets in Accra and Kumasi traders experienced low patronage of their goods during the lockdown period, resulting in the loss of their capital, low saving and their inability to meet domestic expenditures, thus making them vulnerable to hash socio-psychological consequences (Asente & Mills, 2020).

From the above discussions on the effects of the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic on informal sector worker in Ghana indicates that the informal sector worker experienced the severest consequences of the pandemic.

Effects of COVID-19 on Corporate sector Workers

The corporate sector, in this case, will be referred to big business enterprises which are not owned by the State but contribute greatly to gross national income through the payment of corporate taxes to the state. Workers of these businesses were not spared by the consequences of the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic in Ghana. During the presentation of the mid-year budget in 2020 to the parliament of Ghana, the Finance Minister reported that the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic has caused some disorders in the corporate sector resulting in the decline in general business confidence. The Minister also revealed that about 1,531 works of the corporate sector were related to having lost their jobs between April and June 2020, this figure was obtained from only eight companies dealing in ceramics, timber, food and agro-processing companies, and manufacturing sub-sector (Baah-Boateng, 2021). Not only did the workers in the sector lost their jobs to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic some businessmen and women also lost their businesses to the outbreak of the pandemic and by extension their source of income and livelihoods.

Apart from the job losses experienced by workers of the corporate sector as a consequence of the lockdown that followed the outbreak of the COVID-19, they also witnessed a sharp decline in their incomes through wage cuts or pay cut during the lockdown period. According to a survey conducted by the Ministry of Employment and Labour Relation (MELR), out of a total number of 44,040 workers engaged in the corporate sector of the Ghanaian economy, 17,685 workers report a reduction in their wages, this reduction was attributed to the partial lockdown and the closure of the borders imposed by the government to curb the spread and importation of the COVID-19 virus into the country (Baah-Boateng, 2021). Just as the workers in the corporate sector were losing their

jobs or having their wages reduced, business owners were also losing their businesses as a result of the imposition of lockdown or the closure of the border as a measure to prevent further the spread of the COVID-19 virus. In reporting on the finding of their study on “the Impact of COVID-19 on Ghana’s Economy: Challenges and Prospect”, Aduhene and Osie-Assibey (2021) indicated that as of July 2020 about 400,000 business owner lost their businesses as a result of the lockdown and the closure all entry point to the country.

The literature presented above indicates that the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent measures such as the closure of the country borders and the lockdown to prevent further spread of the coronavirus have impacted negatively all categories of Ghanaian workers in all sectors of the economy. (Baah-Boateng, 2021). The COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in the loss of jobs to Ghanaian workers, wage cuts, delays in their promotions, loss of income and source of livelihoods as a consequence of the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic. The outbreak of the pandemic also resulted in anxiety, stress, and socio-psychology effects on Ghanaian workers.

Government Responses to COVID-19 Pandemic

The first reported cases of the coronavirus disease occurred on the 12th of March, 2020 through the Kotoka International Airport and this sent shivers through the spines of Ghanaians. To curtail further importation and spread of the novel coronavirus the government of Ghana did not hesitate in restrictions on travelling in and out of the country by ordering the closure of all entry points to the country thus land water and air. Since then the number of infections of the virus kept rising to frightening height compelling the government to further implement additional policies in response to the spread of coronavirus. For purpose of this paper, the government policies in response to the COVID-19 pandemic in Ghana would be categorised into the following headings: social policies, fiscal policies, and medical policies.

Social Policies

To prevent further importation of the virus into the country, the government of Ghana on the 15th of March, 2020, imposed a travel ban by closing all entry points to the country -air, land, and water (Antwi-Boasiako et al., 2021). As a way of relaxing the ban on travelling to the only international airport in Ghana, the Kotoka international airport and the seaport in Tema were open to international flights on the 1st September, 2020, but not without testing passengers for the COVID-19 virus. However, the land borders are yet to be opened to travellers from neighbouring West African countries. Another policy implemented by the government aimed at preventing the spread of the coronavirus among citizens was the ban placed on all mass gatherings including conferences and workshops, religious activities, funerals, and weddings in the country, there is also the mandatory wearing of face masks in all public gathering (Antwi-Boasiako *et al.*, 2021).

A partial lockdown of some major cities such as Accra, Tema, Kumasi where the infection rates were alarming was also implemented. Other policies implemented to curb the spread of the COVID-19 virus were social distancing, compulsory hand washing. Even though these policies to

some extent seems to be successful in controlling the spread of coronavirus the literature reviewed indicates that policies like the partial lockdown and border closures resulted in some unpleasant consequences to the Ghanaians economy and Ghanaian workers in particular.

The government upon realising that the partial lockdown was affecting the most vulnerable and the poor in society harder than expected designed and implemented the one hot meal a day through the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection. The ministry was charged to provide the vulnerable and poor in society especially in towns such as Accra, Kumasi and Tema one hot meal a day (Antwi-Boasiako *et al.*, 2021). This policy was very timely because signs that greeted the distribution of the food in the epicentres of the lockdown was very disturbing as people were seen on television set struggling and even fighting over the food.

The President of Ghana announces in one of the situational addresses of COVID-19 the implementation of a policy that saw a reduction of electricity tariff by half and complete absorption of the water tariffs for three months from April to June, 2020. The intend of this policy was to reduce the burden of high utility tariffs resulting from the partial lockdown imposed by the state. The government further renewed the policy by extending it for another three when the time was due for Ghanaians to resume the payment of the tariffs (Antwi-Boasiako *et al.*, 2021).

Fiscal Policies

The intent of the fiscal policies implemented by the government was to prevent Ghanaian businesses from collapsing. In February 2020, the President in an address to the nation on the state of COVID-19 publicised that he has directed the Finance Minister to make provisions to make available US\$100 million for the preparation of the COVID-19 response plan. This saw the establishment of the COVID-19 National Trust Fund (CNTF) after the passage of Act 2020 (Act 1013) in April 2020 (Antwi-Boasiako *et al.*, 2021). The COVID-19 trust fund was to be managed by an autonomous Board of Trustees which was to be overseen by the former Chief Justice Sophia Akuffo. The Trust was changed to raise funds to combat difficulties brought to Ghana as a result of the outbreak of the COVID-19 and by the 30th of June 2020, the CNTF had raised GH¢ 53, 911, 249.87 from personalities, religious organisations, Corporate institutions, employees of organisations, Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs), Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), and Associations in Ghana. Out of the amount released GH¢ 32, 820, 564. 97 had been disbursed to the appropriate institutions (Antwi-Boasiako *et al.*, 2021). To ensure the efficient disbursement of the funds released by (CNTF) the government set up the Coronavirus Alleviation Programme (CAP) which was to be managed by the National Board of Small Scale Industry (NBSSI), and the Coronavirus Programme Business Support Scheme (CAPBuss) was to ensure the Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises were also covered.

Medical Policies.

Government after discovering the entry of the virus implemented some policies which were meant to motivate and protect the medical staff of the country. In announcing these policies to

Ghanaians, the Minister of Health, Hon. Agyemang-Manu mentioned that the government has made interventions in the health sector (Antwi-Boasiako *et al.*, 2021). For this paper, such interventions would be categorised into three, health systems interventions, health sector employees motivation intervention and medical inputs provision. For the health system interventions, the medical officers in charge of combatting coronavirus adopted the 3-T approach to combatting the spread of disease. The 3-T approach involves Tracing, Testing, and Treating. For instance, if a person is COVID-19 positive, all persons who came into contact with such a person would be traced and tested and if positive then they will be treated for the virus. The 3-T model is regarded as one of the most efficient methods of dealing with contagious diseases globally (Antwi-Boasiako *et al.*, 2021). The effectiveness and success of the 3-T model of combatting the spread of diseases like the coronavirus depend on the availability of isolation centres. In line with this intervention, the government established isolation centres in the big cities in the country, however, this was without agitation from the people of the neighbourhoods in which the centres were sited. This was in response to the fear of being infected with the virus (Antwi-Boasiako *et al.*, 2021).

The President in his address to the nation on the situation of COVID-19 on the 5th of April 2020 mentioned the provision of incentives to health workers especially frontline health workers in the form of tax reliefs, a daily allowance of GH¢ 150 to Contact tracers, and an additional allowance of 50 per cent of the basic salary of the frontline staff, this was however met with protestation over the definition of the frontline in the Ghana Health Service, after a long debate over the operationalisation of frontline workers the confusion was finally clear and the incentives were implemented (Antwi-Boasiako *et al.*, 2021).

The government upon the discovery of COVID-19 vaccines have made procure or received funding from international institutions like the World Bank to procure COVID-19 vaccines for Ghanaians. On the 10th Of June, 2020, the World Bank announced that it has approved additional funding of \$200,000 million to the COVID-19 Emergency Preparedness and Response Project to secure and organise COVAX competent COVID-19 vaccines for the vaccination of 13 million Ghana. The vaccination exercise was organised in two phases, the first phase has long been completed and the second phase is ongoing (Fosu, 2021).

The implementation of the government policy to combat the spread and effects of the COVID-19 pandemic faces some challenges from the citizens of the country. The nature of the informal sector is such that it is very difficult to obtain comprehensive data on the sector, without data it was difficult especially implementing the CAP programme face a problem of reaching up to the target population. Again the porous nature of the land and sea makes it very difficult to police as a result of this these there have been reports of some foreigners being arrested by the Ghana Police. Another challenge was political interference. The government have been accused of involving party sympathisers in the implementation of some of the policies, notably the CAP and the CAPBuSS programme and therefore reliefs were not given to the right people but rather

was given to party functionary and sympathisers. Most Ghanaians believe that COVID-19 is a myriad and therefore do not abide by the safety measures put in place to prevent the spread of the virus, they do not also want to take part in the vaccination programme that is taking place.

Implications of COVID-19 pandemic on socio-economic inequalities in Ghana

Inequality refers to the disparities that exist between different groups or categories of people in a society. Inequality refers to how just the distributive mechanism of the state is in making sure that the resources and assets are equally enjoyed by all citizens of the state. Inequality may exist in terms of gender disparities, income and poverty, education. Although inequality in its various forms has existed in Ghana since independence, the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic has worsened it in Ghana. According to Issahaku and Abu (2020), the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic increased inequality at the national level. They indicated that during the lockdown period inequality at the national level rise from a base of 42.1 per cent to 47.5 percentage points.

Gender inequality

The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic has worsened the existing gender inequality problem in Ghana. The literature reviewed indicates that by the first week of the lockdown imposed to combat the spread of the virus, women's engagements in work was hurt the most. The rate at which women were engaged dropped significantly by 23 percentage points to 36 per cent while the corresponding reduction in men's engagement to work was 13 per cent (Dzansi, Kim, Lagakos, & Telli, 2021). In terms of job security, the percentage of women working in the public or the formal sector where job security was guaranteed during the lockdown (Baah-Boateng, 2021) was minimal, a greater percentage of women were rather engaged in the informal sector as petty traders, head potters and cross border trading and as a result, women employment avenue lacked the needed job security as compared to men (WIEGO, 2021). The partial lockdown and border closure following the outbreak of coronavirus brought disturbance to economic activities in the country, especially within the informal sector of the economy, where businesses had to shut down and workers were forced to endure wage cuts or even loss of jobs. The loss of sources of income resulted in both financial and psychological burdens to breadwinners in most cases, men. This disturbance may translate to anxiety, stress, heightened tension and resulting in gender-based violence with women always being at the receiving end.

Income and poverty inequality

The slowdown in economic activities following the lockdown and ban on travel resulted in massive poverty consequences to Ghanaians. This is because the partial lockdown resulted in the loss of jobs to the informal sector workers and small business owners who closed down their businesses. These people invariably lost their sources of income thus widening the income inequality and the number of poor people in the country. According to Issahaku and Abu (2020), the COVID-19 pandemic has brought an unprecedented increase in poverty increase from the base of 20.5 per cent to 34.0 per cent pushing over four million pre-COVID-19 pandemics non-poor

into poverty. The consequences of this movement are that it will widen the income gap between the rich and the poor in Ghanaian society. A survey by Amewu *et al.*, (2020), indicate the partial lockdown led to a decline in rural farm income by 20.6 per cent while a corresponding urban non-farm income decline by 26.8 per cent, even though the were declines both situation the decline in urban non-farm income made the urban population better off, thereby perpetuation already persistent income inequalities in Ghana.

Employment Inequalities

Even though there have been disparities in terms of job security between the formal or public sector and the informal or private sector long before the outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic, the pandemic has only come to exacerbate the disparities. The literature showed that a negligible number of formal sector workers had complained of job loss as a result of either the partial lockdown or the ban on public gatherings or the ban on travels, while 400,000 business owners lost their business by July 2020 (Aduhene & Osie-Assibey, 2021). It has also been reported by Baah-Boateng (2021) that about 1, 531 informal sector workers had lost their jobs as a result of the lockdown policy implemented by the government to curb the spread of the COVID-19 virus. The of the above is that the COVID-19 pandemic has worsened the inequalities between the formal sector and the informal sector. Since the formal sector employment opportunities are concentrated in the urban areas, it can be concluded the inequalities in terms of employment opportunities between and the rural and urban divides have been widened the outbreak of coronavirus disease.

Education inequality

The imposition of the partial lockdown and social distancing policies led to the closure of the schools in the country. The closedown of schools has increased the inequality between the poor and the rich and between the urban and the rural divides in terms of education. After the closure of schools, many schools resorted to innovative ways of teaching including online teaching. However, a survey conducted by UNICEF indicated that online teaching is not equitably accessed by the poor in society who are not able to acquire gargets such as television sets, mobile phones and other remote learning materials (Kamara, 2021). There have also been disparities between schools in urban areas and those in rural areas. Schools in the urban areas have all the facilities to support online teaching while the schools in the deprived schools in rural Ghana lack the facilities to support online teaching. In fact of the schools in rural Ghana lacked structures to sit in (Kamara, 2021). This has resulted in widening the inequality gap between the vulnerable and the deprived in Ghana as far as equity in access to education is a concern.

Conclusion

The outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic in Ghana has affected Ghanaian works in various forms and in an attempt to curb the spread of the virus among the citizenry and workers in particular the implemented policies such as the partial lockdown of the epicentres of the disease, borders closures, social distancing and provisions of incentives to the medical staff of the country.

This notwithstanding the outbreak of the pandemic have brought negative consequences to the workers of the country. These consequences are loss of jobs, reduced income and source of livelihoods.

The outbreak of the coronavirus pandemic and the policies implemented by the government of Ghana to curtail the spread of the virus have rather exacerbated the already troubling inequality situation in the country. The pandemic has contributed to widening gender inequality, income and poverty inequality, employment inequality, and inequality in the access to education between the vulnerable and less vulnerable in Ghanaian society.

The government of Ghana upon releasing the potential of the course havoc to the country adopted and implement preventive policies to counter the expected consequences. However, it seems that those interventions did not save the country. The extent to which the interventions were a successful call for further empirical investigations.

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