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LEGON CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMACY (LECIAD)**



**FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS DURING PANDEMICS:  
THE CASE OF GHANA'S RESPONSE TO COVID-19**

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## Declaration

I, Samuel Yaw Otu Ofori, do hereby declare that apart from references to the works of other authors, which have been duly acknowledged, this dissertation is the result of my own research work conducted under the supervision of Dr. Innocent Badasu. It has not been presented either in part or whole to any institution for the award of a degree anywhere.



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## **Dedication**

*To God for his Grace and Mercies for bringing me this far.*

*Also, to my family for their support.*



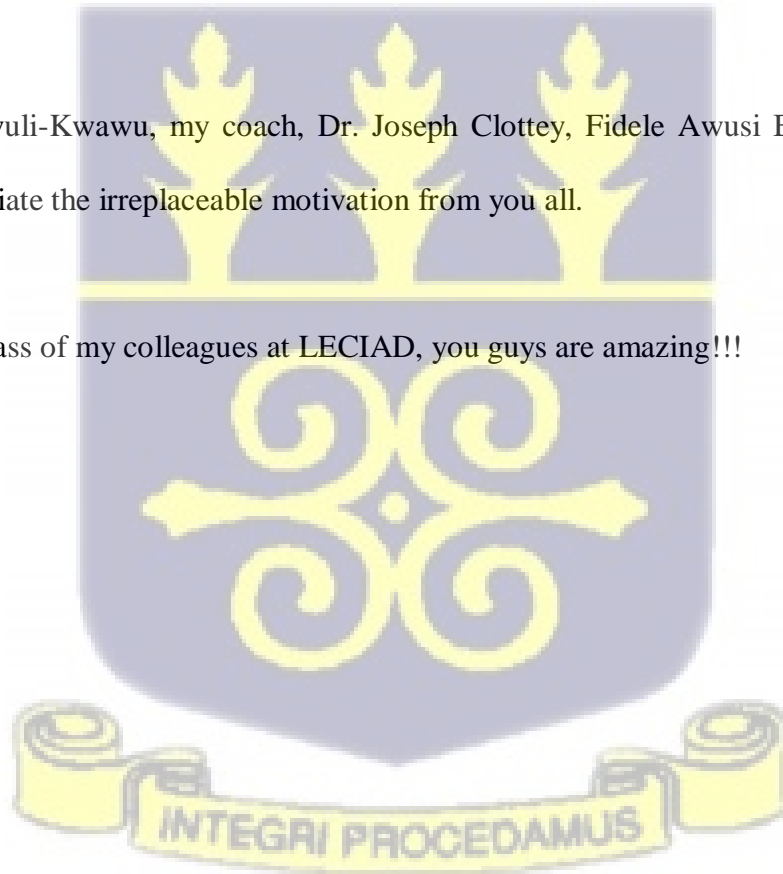
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### List of Abbreviations

ACHPR	-	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
AfCHPR	-	African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights
AU	-	African Union
AUABC	-	AU Advisory Board on Corruption
AUCIL	-	AU Commission on International Law
CDC	-	Center for Disease Control and Prevention
ECOSOCC	-	Economic, Social & Cultural Council
EPI-WIN	-	Information Network for Epidemics
EU	-	European Union
IGOs	-	International Governmental Organizations
PHEIC	-	Public Health Emergency of International Concern
PRC	-	Permanent Representatives Committee
RECs	-	Regional Economic Communities
STCs	-	Specialized Technical Committees
UN	-	United Nations
WHO	-	World Health Organization
WTO	-	World Trade Organizations



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## Abstract

This study aimed to examine Ghana's handling of the pandemic and its impact on the nation's foreign policy. Many studies on COVID-19 in Ghana focused on the pandemic's effects on Ghana and the country's international and domestic responses to the pandemic. This study, however, examined Ghana's foreign policy choices and actions taken during the epidemic to ensure the safety of its inhabitants and support the worldwide pandemic response, as well as investigate the pandemic's effects on the country's sovereignty. The theory of rational choice and the notion of national interest were both used as the analytical framework for the study's aim to answer the central research questions. The study employed both primary and secondary data sources to gather information in answering the central research questions. One of the study's key findings was that Ghana's borders were closed, which decreased the rate of viral infection and community spread. This action limited the virus's spread and served to safeguard the nation's population. The COVID-19 pandemic, however, also made clear that Ghana's emergency health response system had serious flaws. The government was forced to move quickly in response to the crisis since the nation's healthcare system was not prepared to handle it. Although the study's findings showed that some state responses to foreign policy, like closing land, sea, and air borders, along with some diplomatic ones, like vaccine diplomacy, were excellent at protecting the populace, some unfavourable effects on the identity and reputation of the country were also observed. The study's findings showed that although Ghana's responses to the epidemic had many positive effects, they had also restricted several crucial aspects of the country's foreign policy, such as the idea of good neighbourliness. The borders' restriction hampered the free flow of people and products over them, which had a detrimental effect on trade and business between Ghana and its neighbours. Considering these findings, the study suggests making a financial investment in Ghana's healthcare infrastructure to prepare it for potential catastrophes. The country will be better prepared to address upcoming health crises attributable to this investment in its emergency response infrastructure. A well-coordinated and integrated approach to managing health emergencies is crucial for the nation's foreign policy goals and national interests, according to the study's recommendations.



## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background of Study

The world has found itself in another struggle seven decades after the last major world war in modern times. It is not a fight against nations, religions, or individuals this time. It is a fight against one of the most infectious illnesses ever known to man.

Covid-19 is a new strain of the SARS virus that continues to confound medical professionals across the world. With no apparent cure in sight, Covid-19 continues to pose a major danger to human existence. According to statistics on World Health Organization's official website, the number of Covid-19 infections globally is expected to reach 517.6 million by the middle of May 2022, with 6.2 million fatalities. There have been 11.8 million cases in Africa alone (World Health Organization, 2022).

In 2019, the first human cases of Covid-19 were discovered in the Chinese province of Wuhan. However, research and reports imply that the SARS-COV-2 virus, also known as Covid-19, was circulating outside of China and in European cities before the Wuhan epidemic, although the virus was largely non-latent. The outbreak in Wuhan was made feasible by significant changes in the ecology, which reduced biodiversity and facilitated interaction between people and animal reservoirs, such as bats. The sudden increase in cases within Chinese regions alarmed governments and experts throughout the world, but the swift shift from epidemic to pandemic was unanticipated.

Right after the outbreak, the Chinese authorities-imposed curfews, and restricted persons' movements within areas where the outbreak was widespread. Most advanced economies returned their citizens from China, fueling cross-border migration of the virus. Countries such as the United States have resorted to blaming tactics by accusing China of causing the pandemic, with Trump, the American president, referring to the Covid-19 as the 'Chinese virus' rather than assisting China in containing it. Even in the distribution and manufacture of vaccines, each country pursued its interests.

The United Nations concluded that if the battle against Covid-19 was based on countries rather than a global strategy, it would fail. Indeed, the UN's concern about the worldwide scourge of the virus was demonstrated when it devised a three-point response strategy to target and defeat the pandemic (Sachs, Karim, Aknin, Allen, Brosbob, Barron & Bartels 2020).

A large-scale, coordinated, and comprehensive health response is the first strategy. As part of its reaction to contain the virus, the UN specialized agency, the World Health Organization, supported efforts to speed progress toward a Covid-19 vaccine that will be available and inexpensive to everyone everywhere. Second, the UN launched a broad effort to address the pandemic's severe impact on socioeconomic and human livelihood. Finally, led to a recovery process that will construct a world economy that is more robust and sustainable. During the height of the pandemic, the UN Secretary-General called for an urgent worldwide ceasefire in all regions of the world so that global efforts could be focused on the true fight, which was to combat Covid-19 and limit its impact (United Nations, 2020).

The IMF and the World Bank provided emergency assistance funds to underdeveloped nations to help them survive and recover from the virus's ravages. Ghana got \$1 billion from the IMF's Covid relief fund, according to a press release from the Ministry of Finance (MOFEP, 2021).

When Covid-19 was designated an international public health emergency on January 30, 2020, the African Union responded swiftly and decisively, based on the ideals of Pan-Africanism and continental solidarity. The organization believes that an exclusive and restricted nationalist strategy to combat the infection will be ineffective. As a result, in February 2020, the 'Africa Joint Continental Strategy for COVID-19 Outbreak' was initiated to assist manage the spread of the disease and mortality rate, as well as minimize COVID-19's severe socio-economic impact on member states. The African Union and the African Center for Disease Control and Prevention (Africa CDC) sought to generate an initial US\$ 550 million for the Africa COVID-19 Response Fund, which would be used to maintain medical support and acquire medical supplies to supplement member states' efforts (ElAteek, Heikal, Rozanova & Flahault 2021).

By the mid of 2020, the rate of infections within the African continent had become petrifying. The Africa Development Bank (AfDB) Board of Directors approved a grant of US\$10 billion to nations to boost national government efforts to combat the pandemic. Ghana received US\$69 million as part of the grant. The fund's goal, according to Marie-Laure Akin-Olugbade, the Bank's Director-General for West Africa, is to assist control the pandemic while alleviating social and economic problems in the region associated with COVID-19 (Rosenthal, Breman, Djimde, John, Kanya, Leke, & Bausch 2020).

International organizations' efforts may not be restricted to global and continental areas. Within the West African sub-region, the fight against Covid-19 is coordinated by the West African

Health Organization (WAHO). A few days after WHO declared Covid-19 a public health emergency, WAHO called an emergency conference of health ministers from each of the ECOWAS member states to devise a strategy to combat the virus. On the 23rd of April 2020, an emergency session of the authority of heads of state and government was called by videoconference to reaffirm ECOWAS' resolve to combat the pandemic. The videoconference Summit, chaired by H.E. Mr Issoufou Mahamadou, President of the Republic of Niger, resolved that each member state will devote at least 15% of its yearly budget to improving health care systems. A post-COVID-19 economic recovery strategy was also discussed (Ahanhanzo, Johnson, Eboreime, Elssiaka, Traoré, Adohinzin, & Okolo 2021).

During the pandemic, the leaders of the state asserted that the COVID-19 pandemic is more than a health disaster. It's a crisis in terms of economics, humanitarian aid, security, and human rights. Individuals, families, and societal relationships have all been impacted. COVID-19 is particularly dangerous because, unlike other epidemics with a defined target population, Covid-19 does not discriminate against and infect based on race, gender, nation, or age range. The virus makes a country's workforce inactive and throws its economy into disarray.

## **1.2 Statement of Research Problem**

The world was caught off guard in 2019 when the dangerous COVID-19 sickness struck. Most governments made decisions that had an impact not just on their internal environment, but also on how they interacted with the rest of the globe. Foreign policies of a country direct a country's engagement with other countries, including its activities and connections. Since COVID-19 was designated a global public health emergency on January 30, 2020, approximately 6.2 million people have died and 517.6 million have caught the illness (WHO 2022).

The pandemic has sent most nations into recession, and per capita income has fallen to its lowest level since 1870. The GDP of rich economies shrank by more than 7%, while most poor nations' growth rates were in the negative (Bagchi, Chatterjee, Ghosh, & Dandapat, 2021). COVID-19's disastrous effects prompted lockdowns in various nations, including Australia, the United States, and the United Kingdom. Before high rates of infections were reported in the above countries, the Chinese province of Hubei was placed under strict lockdown, which was mainly successful in limiting the virus. However, it could not contain the spread of the virus in other countries.

The pandemic threw the democratic decision-making process into disarray. President Rodrigo Duterte of the Philippines signed an executive order mandating the execution of anybody who violated lockdown restrictions (Biana & Joachim 2020). Human rights have been violated in democratic countries such as Italy, the United Kingdom, and Mexico. Similarly, residents have accused the Sri Lankan police of abusing and extorting citizens under the guise of COVID-19.

Apart from imposing lockdown restrictions, the majority of nations have shut their borders to international travel. International airports were closed, as were inland access points (McBryde et al 2020; Emeto et al 2021, Mallapaty 2021, Opilowska 2021). In the United Kingdom, international travel restrictions were removed as recently as **March 18th of this year**. Some West African countries have reopened their land and marine borders after a two-year lockdown. In the fight against Covid-19, global immunization has become a significant concern. Covid-19, according to the WHO, can be contained if all nations properly vaccinate their populations. During the pandemic, however, vaccine availability was a big concern. Pope Francis had encouraged coronavirus vaccine manufacturers to make vaccinations available to all people, not only the wealthy and developed countries.

The majority of study on the covid-19 response has focused on the international response to the pandemic in Ghana (Kenu & Koram 2020; Ofori-Adjei, Lartey & Koram 2020; Antwi-Boasiako, Abbey, Ogbey, & Ofori, 2021). This study focuses on foreign policy decisions, and Ghanaian foreign policy measures made during the Covid-19 pandemic to guarantee the safety of its inhabitants and aid in the worldwide pandemic fight.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

1. To examine Ghana's foreign policy response during the pandemic.
2. To analyse the implications of the pandemic on Ghana's foreign policy, sovereignty, and development.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

1. What are the specific foreign policy responses made by the Ghanaian government to safeguard its citizens from Covid-19?
2. How did the COVID-19 pandemic affect Ghana's foreign policy decisions, sovereignty, and national development?

### **1.5 Conceptual framework**

The national interest concept and rational choice theory are regarded as the right conceptual framework in a study like this that investigates Ghana's foreign policy actions during a pandemic.

States are rational and self-seeking entities, according to the realist perspective of a state in international relations. As a result, it is acceptable to conclude that a country's policy decisions concerning others are guided by the principle of the utmost advantage to the state.

In general, scholarly attention to national interest in international relations officially dates back to Charles A. Beard's 1933 publication of 'The Ideal of National Interest,' even though the notion of national interest, according to the author, had existed as early as the seventeenth century (Beard, 1934). Rajan (1953) has written extensively on cases in which national interests were crucial in the United States and Europe. When President George Washington issued the Neutrality Proclamation in 1793, the United States had opted out of the Napoleonic Wars.

France aided the United States immensely during the American War of Independence, therefore it was expected that the United States would return the favour and come to France's aid. However, the argument has been made that the US did not participate in the conflict not because it was self-interested, but rather because of a comparative analysis of the potential benefits that involvement in the wars would bring to the US (would it be in the national interest of the US). Similarly, Britain had the potential to interfere in the killing of Bulgarian Christians in Turkey in the 1860s. The argument against such an act was that because Turkey was a close ally of Britain, interference in its domestic affairs may hurt Britain-Turkey ties and that such a gesture might not be in Britain's national interest.

Finally, the United States was neutral at the start of World War I. After passengers and merchant ships were attacked by German submarines in 1917, the US joined the war. This was a direct danger to the national interest of the United States if the US remained unconcerned. Following the war, US President Woodrow Wilson concluded that no one national interest could be harmonized over the world. Countries must align their national interests for the globe to be reasonably peaceful so that no single country pursues its interests at the expense of others.

National interest is depicted in two distinct aspects, according to (Nuechterlein, 1976). First, when events and activities within the international system threaten a state's political, economic, and ideological structures. The other dimension is when a country's private citizens, businesses, and multilateral enterprises operating in another country are adversely affected by global events and choices. Issues that directly impact the state or its residents in other jurisdictions are considered within the domain of national interest by the state.

National interest, according to Clinton (1986), is a guiding principle in diplomatic engagement that prioritizes the common good of the society in its interactions with other national entities. All operations carried out by a state, according to Clinton, are aimed at maintaining and growing the state's power.

Politics in the international system, according to realist thinkers like Morgenthau (1949), is about power struggle. Morgenthau argues that all actions performed by a government are aimed at furthering this goal, namely, obtaining and increasing power. According to the realist viewpoint, national interest consists exclusively of a country's short-term material goals which are gaining a power advantage over all others.

Morgenthau's (1949) idea of national interest based on power is criticized by scholars who believe that Morgenthau is erroneous in concluding that power is the only value that a state seeks to promote and safeguard. This assertiveness may have been appropriate during the period of conquest, but in modern diplomacy, governments seek collaboration and cooperation and not only dominance.

Beyond the question of power, dynamics is where the idealist school of thinking on national interest is rooted. According to idealist scholars, a country's national interest is consistent with the interests of other countries within the international system. This means that rather than selfishly seeking one's interests, governments work together to address crises that confront the human race and align to their interests.

Several critiques have been levelled at various activities carried out in the name of national interest. The definition of national interest has been called into question. Beard (1934) is puzzled as to what it means when some activities are stated to be done in the national interest. "What could be more appropriate than to ask: What is national interest?" said the author, "if citizens are to support the government that prosecutes it, soldiers are to die for it, and foreign policies are to conform to it." Who then does this benefit (Beard, 1934).

Another argument against the idea of national interest is who, when, and how the decision is made. Monarchs and dictators, according to Brands (1999), may set policies based on personal interests and misinterpret them as acts in the interest of the larger society. Leaders with psychopathic inclinations have led their country to war on numerous occasions throughout history. It can be said that in advanced democracies, weighing actions made by leaders on the scale of national interest is considerably simpler than in authoritarian nations. Brands believe that while democracies are not free of selfishness, democratic politics require leaders to justify their policies.

Policymakers are required to assess where their actions will result in the best desired outcome while making foreign policy decisions. There are several models in foreign policy decision-making that rational foreign policy.

Adam Smith, an economist, first proposed the rational choice theory to investigate the behaviour of rational customers. However, George C. Homans, Peter Blau, and James Coleman applied the concept in the fields of social science and international affairs, arguing that if human beings in trade strive to maximize profit while minimizing losses, then the state, which is a collection of people, will act similarly.

According to Nuechterlein (1976), the rational choice theory is based on the idea that nations and leaders of states within the international system act rationally in pursuit of their goals, that is, the national interest. Ghana, like every other country in the world, will posture its foreign policy strategy to promote and maintain national interests overseas. In certain cases, states implement policies that their leaders feel would improve society's well-being. An assessment of choice is not based on whether the action taken is cost-effective, wise, or moral. From the perspective of Nuechterlein (1976), the assessment of the choice is based on the available options, within a limited scope and time frame that would yield the most result about a country's national interest.

Covid-19 established a new policy environment that the rest of the world had never seen before. As a result, states have been forced to make judgments based on incomplete information. Decisions, however, have been made based on the information available, the limited options available, and the urgency of the situation. Rationality necessitates selecting the precise alternative that has the highest chance of obtaining the desired outcomes. States are assumed to be unitary players in the rational choice model, to maximize benefits and avoid losses while navigating an anarchic international system (Waltz, 1979).

Several criticisms against the concept of national interest and rational choice theory have been discussed extensively. (Alden & Aran, 2017) have opposed rational choice theory based on the gap between decision making and policy implementation. The authors argue that there are differences between the foreign policy decision choice and the implementation of the said decision due to the actors' understanding of the policies. The intentions of decisions made during a crisis may be very germane but in cases where the parameters of implementation within an environment can not be defined, it makes useless of the foreign policy decision.

Foreign policy analysts have argued that during foreign policy decision-making, information is selectively perceived and evaluated in terms of the decision maker's frame of reference. However, decisions may be made not based on the careful consideration of facts but may be due to pressure and influence emanating from social norms persons and interest groups, and biased perception of the decision-maker (Alden, 2017).

Again, it is very difficult to predict the behavioural patterns of people, countries, and the international system during situations such as pandemics. According to psychologists, humans tend to behave irrationally during crises (Allison & Halperin, 1972). Therefore, it is very likely for decisions taken to be less rational in pandemics and even in the unlikely event where decisions are rationally made, it may take time to yield the required results within an irrational environment.

Despite the objections levelled at the idea of national interest and rational choice, the concepts remain important in this research due to their capacity to adequately describe decisions countries make during situations where decision-making choices are unclear and impossible to

make. This study uses the concepts of national interest and rational choice decision-making in examining Ghana's foreign policy decisions during Covid-19.

## **1.6 Literature Review**

This component of the research focuses on a review of relevant literature in the field of foreign policy, as well as foreign policy decisions made during pandemics and Ghana's responses to Covid-19. This review is being carried out to identify the gap in the literature that this study intends to fill.

### ***1.6.1 Actors in Foreign Policy Decision Making***

The notion of foreign policy has grown increasingly important in international relations since the founding and acceptance of the state system in the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648.

Foreign policy, according to Gibson (2010; 2013), is a well-rounded comprehensive plan based on knowledge and experience for doing government business with the rest of the world. Foreign policy, according to (Frankel, 1968), comprises choices and activities that include, to some extent, relations between one state and another.

Relationships within the international system were formerly limited to state-to-state interactions. State players dominated international affairs and diplomacy, and state actions were heavily affected by national interests (Franck 1988; Handel 2016).

The international system has broadened in recent years. Foreign policies are influenced by more than just the government. International organizations, multilateral firms, and transnational corporations are examples of non-state players that have made major contributions to global politics (Holsti 2019). Supranational organizations such as the United

Nations and the European Union have been increasingly influential in dictating the policies of their member states (Keohane 2020).

Laura Neack (1995, 2018) agrees that the actors within the international system have widened, stating that other actors in the international system, such as international cause groups, businesses, religions, international extremist organizations, and the like, formulate guidelines and goals that direct their actions toward other international actors.

During a specific period, leaders make foreign policy decisions based on internal and external variables. Several aspects influence a country's foreign policy. Culture, political system, idiosyncrasies of leaders, economic progress, military incursions, and conflicts are only a few examples. Other crucial drivers, such as pandemics, inform states' and international agencies' actions promptly within the international spectrum (Roberts 2020).

### ***1.6.2 Managing Borders During Pandemics***

A pandemic is defined as "an epidemic that occurs worldwide, or across a very wide region, crosses international borders, and typically affects a significant number of people" (Doshi, 2011). However, this definition fails to consider instances where there is an increase in infection rates across borders which is due to the seasonal nature of the disease. Just as plants have their season of blooming, some infectious diseases also have their seasons therefore, such periods may not be said as a pandemic.

Pandemics caused by infectious diseases, such as Ebola, avian flu, and SARS, have wreaked devastation throughout human history. The phrase pandemic, according to (Ruxin, 2008), instilled anxiety among supranational organizations, nations, and individuals. Viruses have

wreaked havoc on the earth, putting human life in jeopardy. According to the author, underprivileged nations bear the brunt of pandemics.

To bolster this claim, India, one of the poorest countries at the time, was the most struck by the 1918 flu pandemic, which killed over 20 million people. Denmark, with its booming economy, was the least affected, and the disparity in mortality rates among countries can be attributed to per capita income. The present covid-19 pandemic, on the other hand, demonstrates differently. The most infected country is the United States, which is the most industrialized and economic hegemon with a GDP of 20.94 trillion USD according to the World Bank as of 2020. This demonstrates that in the fight against biological and infectious illnesses, the national status may not be as important as the collective effort of all countries.

In international relations, managing borders during public health emergencies is a key problem. During pandemics, cross-border health restrictions and measures were used to limit disease transmission across jurisdictions, reduce imported health risks, and promote access to health-related commodities and services, according to Lee, et al. (2021). This might be a liberal viewpoint on country-imposed border controls. Select advanced countries purposefully restricted their borders to some African countries during the peak of the pandemic. This was an obvious breach of international law. Although evidence revealed that infection rates in Africa were low compared to their European counterparts, most advanced countries saw themselves as superior and were openly discriminative of some African countries.

Alaran, et al., (2021) averred that during pandemics such as covid-19, vaccine distribution must not be allowed on a country's purchasing power which may create an imbalance between the rich and poor nations. Within the international system, there are no supranational organizations

that may compel vaccine manufacturers to distribute vaccines according to a certain order. Each nation seeks the interest of its citizens first and it will be impossible to force a fair share of vaccines especially when the producer of these vaccines is from the wealthy states.

### ***1.6.3 States, Covid-19 and National Interest***

Since the global outbreak of the Covid-19 virus, most nations have behaved differently both in favour of the national interest as well as in the interest of global consolidation. The author of "Turkey and the Corona Crisis: The Instrumentalization of the Pandemic for Domestic and Foreign Policy" (Aksoy, 2020) claims that Turkey used a humanitarian approach to coping with the pandemic. Over 55 nations received medical help from Turkey, including the United States, China, the United Kingdom, Spain, Italy, and numerous African countries.

Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Turkey's president, believes that displaying solidarity in times of crisis is a vital means of e It is also possible that this is not the case. On the international stage, public opinion and perceptions of Turkey have been overwhelmingly hostile. Once again, Turkey's economic condition has not been ideal. As a result, the Justice and Development Party's (AKP) President and leadership adopted a public diplomatic endeavour to improve the country's international image. According to Aksoy (2020), another noteworthy policy implemented by President Erdogan was the refusal of international aid. Even though Turkey's economy was in shambles, Erdogan refused to take an IMF loan. IMF funding, he believed, would imply oversight and assessment of domestic fiscal and monetary policy. The economy of Turkey was not at its lowest like the economies of African states therefore it could afford to rely on its domestic revenue and avoid the policy disciplines and restrictions that accompany monetary funds.

The public health system in India is highly fragmented, and a huge portion of the population lacks access to high-quality health care. This means that if a severe epidemic occurs, such as in China, the government will be unable to contain it. As a result, India's best defence was to go on the offensive by taking an active part in defining global efforts to combat the virus.

According to (Taneja & Bali, 2021), India's external response to Covid-19 was based on two diplomatic goals: crafting a global policy response to the pandemic to avoid a major economic disaster with potential domestic consequences, and projecting India's image as a responsible regional and global power.

India has also rekindled certain international organizations, such as the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), which had previously appeared useless and irrelevant to India's national interests. India took a significant interest in leading the global battle against the pandemic and provided support to numerous governments within its region, aware of China's influence in their local neighbourhood and in most African countries that are members of NAM. The Indian Express (2020) explains India's strategic direction as follows: "If China is the 'factory of the world,' Prime Minister Modi pitches India as the 'pharmacy of the world.'"

India's over-involvement in shaping the global reaction to Covid-19 has left it vulnerable. According to (Kugelman, 2020), India's struggle to tackle the pandemic at home while also positioning itself as a leader in defining global reaction is a "Sisyphean" task. Due to the country's economic struggles, India failed to halt the virus's spread within its borders, and its diplomatic plan was mostly dissipated.

According to (Ofori-Adjei & Koram, 2014), Ghana played a major role in containing Ebola virus transmission by opting to be the centre for combat and distribution of medical staff across the region. This according to the authors was an act of direction and leadership for the continent. As much as it is worth noting the contribution of Ghana during the Ebola epidemic, the mode of transmission and the signs of infection were very visible than that of Covid. Again, Ghana had not recorded any cases therefore it had the space to help others. In instances where a helping state is struggling to contain its infections, how will such a nation lead the process of containing infections in other jurisdictions?

## **1.7 Methodology**

According to Cresswell (2017), a research design can be defined as the overarching method used by researchers to absorb the varied paths of a study clearly and logically. According to Cresswell et al. (2013), a qualitative approach is an interpretive, constructive, inductive, and appropriate method for conducting research that aims to understand and explore a subject, and hence is quite appropriate for the conduct of this study. Berg and Lune (2012) substantiated the research's choice of a qualitative approach by stating that the qualitative study entailed a scientific process of observation in gathering non-numerical data that aimed to address the questions of 'why' and 'how' a particular occurrence occurs rather than the frequency with which it occurs. The qualitative research approach was chosen for this study because it enables a focus on the interpretation of an occurrence in its naturalistic context, which provides a context in terms of the meanings individuals ascribe to these contexts, allowing for a more in-depth analysis of the subject at hand due to the more defined approach used to collect non-numerical data.

### **1.7.1 Design**

As such, the case study design was chosen to aid in the comprehension of a scenario or phenomenon. According to Simons (2009), a case study is an in-depth examination of the uniqueness and difficulties of a topic, policy, institution, program, or system from different perspectives. According to Yin (2003), a case study design should be considered the primary objective of the researcher when it is impossible to alter the patterns of behaviour of those involved in the study; when it is necessary to understand the rationale for the investigation and context; or when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are unclear, resulting in its use in this study.

### **1.7.2 Sources of Data**

To accomplish the aims and objectives of the study, this study drew on primary and secondary sources of data.

### **1.7.3 Primary Data**

Primary data will be drawn from the interviews conducted with respondents who had valuable information relevant to the study. The sampling strategy adopted in the research is purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a technique adopted by researchers who pick samples (respondents) based on the knowledge or expertise they bring to bear on the subject matter. The samples chosen for this research are Dr Ken Ahorsu (Senior Research Fellow, Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy), Dr Nene Lomotey Kuditchar (Senior Lecturer, University of Ghana).....

### **1.7.4 Secondary Data**

Data were drawn from secondary materials whose content matches the study problem and objectives. Secondary data is information that is available in secondary sources such as books,

journal articles, book chapters, online sources, and reports, among others. Secondary data are people's original works that exist in a finished or complete form.

#### ***1.7.5 Data Collection Instrument***

The main data collection instrument is Semi-structured interviews. The interview guide consists of ten carefully designed questions, drafted in consonance with the research objectives. The interviews (question guide) would be sent to respondents in time, to prepare them adequately for the interview.

#### ***1.7.6. Data Analysis Technique***

Before conducting qualitative research, data will be analysed using thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke (2018) define thematic analysis as the systematic recognition, organizing, and illumination of patterns of meaning throughout a data set. By focusing on meaning across a data collection, thematic analysis enables researchers to grasp communal or shared meanings and experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2018).

Secondary data analysis will begin with a search of the literature for information pertinent to the research questions, objectives, and topic. The acquired data will then be analysed for similarity to group it into themes for easy reporting. The analysed data will then be organized into themes that correspond to the research questions, topic, and objectives.

For the qualitative component, the maximum variation purposive sampling strategy was used to sample participants for the qualitative interviews. This approach enabled us to purposively select a wide range of participants who were deemed as information-rich-case to provide insights into the subject matter of foreign policy decisions during pandemics. The participants

sampled for the qualitative component included international experts as well as key individuals in the foreign policy space. The sample size for the qualitative component was determined by progress towards saturation reached (Saunders et al., 2018).

### ***1.7.7 Validity and Reliability of Research***

The validity of research is a measure of the study's adherence to the scope and objectives of the investigation (Yin, 2003). The interview techniques will be validated by the project supervisor. This will enable the collection and analysis of pertinent data for the study. The purpose of reliability is to ensure those study findings remain consistent throughout a time when the same data is employed (Yin, 2003). The interview questions will be developed to fulfil the research objectives and minimize research bias. The study's reliability is determined by the fact that similar or identical results can be obtained using the same approaches or techniques.

### ***1.7.8 Ethical Consideration***

It will be ensured that there is no conflict of interest between the researcher and the study during the conduct of the research. Additionally, it will be ensured that suitable research techniques are followed and that the research is free of bias. A letter of introduction will be obtained from the organization conducting the research. There will be no coercion used against those who refuse to cooperate with the inquiries. Additionally, a clear statement will be made to evince the fact that the research is being conducted for academic purposes and that any information submitted must be authentic.

## **1.8 Arrangement of Chapters**

Chapter One – Introduction

Chapter Two- The Covid-19 Pandemic and Global Response

Chapter Three – Ghana’s Foreign Policy Response During Covid-19

Chapter Four – Summary of Findings, Conclusion, and Recommendations



## CHAPTER TWO

### COVID-19, ITS EMERGENCE AND THE GLOBAL HAVOC

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the emergence of the pandemic, global responses and how some state and non-state actors responded to the pandemic and the framework of vaccine diplomacy.

#### 2.1 Global Response to Covid-19

The general premonition of the Global system to the outbreak of the Covid-19 disease during its initial and peak stages was panic which was caused by the high rates of deaths of people who contracted the Covid-19 disease. The intense panic and high rates of mortality owing to the Covid-19 disease outbreak called for immediate, yet calculated responses all over the world. The collective responses of the Global system were vital, impactful, and very distinctive. International responses to the Covid-19 disease can be said to be from three main sources which are: the citizens of countries, the governments of countries, and the International Organizations concerning the World Health Organization (WHO) which is a specialized agency of the United Nations (UN). For this paper, “responses to Covid-19” is clearly defined as any action or services performed to either curb, control, or prevent the spread of the Covid-19 disease as well as healthcare assistance given to people who contracted the disease to minimize their chances of death and increase their chances of survival.

Following the outbreak of the coronavirus disease, citizens all over the world responded in similar, but diverse ways. On less developed and developing continents such as Africa, due to the wavering nature of health care, the peak stage of the coronavirus disease posed severe

threats to the continent. The healthcare system of Africa is usually described as inadequate due to insufficient essential health facilities and equipment. To support the health care system in Africa, citizens of various African countries donated a considerable amount of items including cash, food items, personal protective equipment (PPE) in the form of nose masks, hand sanitisers, hand towels, hospital protective wear, just to mention a few (WASCI, et al., 2020). In addition to the donations being made, frontline health workers across the international system also revealed their true commitment and dedication to their countries when amidst all the danger and threats posed by the pandemic they still went to work and deliver services to people (Kinder, 2020).

A key response from governments in the global system following the outbreak of covid-19 was the formulation of new rules and policies. A policy refers to all the actions and decisions of the incumbent government. According to Dye (2007) “public policy is what government chooses to do or not do” (cited by Antwi-Boasiako, et al., 2021). To prevent the spread of covid-19, governments across the globe declared mandatory: lock-downs, wearing of face masks, social distancing, closure of borders, schools, and all other public places except for hospitals, quarantine of immigrants and infected (or suspected to be) persons, and testing of immigrants, among others in their countries (UNDRR, 2020). The lock-down was a situation where citizens were expected to stay indoors for a given period. The time frame of the lock-down differed among countries. Also, especially in less developed countries but also in developed countries (such as the United States of America and Australia), governments supported their citizens through the provision of food (MoF, 2020) and also eliminated household utility bills such as water bills and light bills for distinctive time frames (Nkrumah, et al., 2021).

COVID-19 Government Response Stringency Index suggests that governments formulated and implemented more strict policies at the early stages of the pandemic however, they have alleviated such measures as the rate of casualty decline (Antwi-Boasiako, et al., 2021). For instance, per the President's directives, the nose mask is no longer compulsory in Ghana at the time of writing (Arthur and Ankra, 2022). Also, countries have opened their borders to facilitate movement, trade, and tourism, among others. Moreover, social distancing is no longer practised and there are no restrictions on the number of people allowed to be present at a social gathering (Anadolu Agency, 2022).

The World Health Organization (WHO) as a specialized agency of the UN responded to COVID-19 in four broad ways which are: notification and monitoring, country preparedness and capacity building, promoting research and development, as well as combating the infodemic (Mullen, 2020).

On December 31, 2019, multiple pneumonia cases in Wuhan, China, with an unknown origin were initially reported to the WHO by the International Health Regulations (IHR) (Mullen, 2020). In addition, the WHO expressed its willingness to continue monitoring the situation (Mullen, 2020). In response to the increasing reports of the spread of the coronavirus disease and the growing number of cases, WHO Director-General Dr Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus called a meeting of the IHR Emergency Committee and, acting on their proposals, declared a "public health emergency of international concern" (PHEIC) (Mullen, 2020). While urging other nations to improve their readiness, the WHO continued to work with China to monitor and report on the situation (Mullen, 2020).

Also, to support the fragile health systems of most countries, the WHO offered technical training courses on the disease in 13 different languages to assist nations in preparing for and handling COVID-19 cases on their own (Mullen, 2020). Millions of masks, gowns, gloves and other pieces of personal protective equipment were delivered to 133 different countries by the WHO, along with 1.5 million diagnostic kits that were distributed to 126 different nations (Mullen, 2020). Moreover, the WHO established the Pandemic Supply Chain Network, which is public-private cooperation, in partnership with the World Economic Forum to address issues with the global supply chain and the lack of vital equipment (Mullen, 2020). The WHO again collaborated with the UN system and other partners, such as the Global Outbreak Alert and Response Network and Emergency Medical Teams, to support countries' response actions with technical knowledge and also created a Strategic Preparedness and Response Plan to help partners implement response plans (Mullen, 2020). To enhance countries' preparedness and capacity building, WHO set up the COVID-19 Solidarity Response Fund so that nations, organizations, and other people may contribute to help finance a global response to COVID-19 (Mullen, 2020).

To accelerate worldwide research that can assist to control the spread of the pandemic and to ensure that individuals affected are swiftly diagnosed and given appropriate treatment, the WHO held a meeting with top health authorities and funders on February 11-12, 2020, and from that meeting, they concluded on a “research roadmap” to guide the scope of ongoing research (Mullen, 2020). The WHO and its partners also started two trials: a “Solidarity Vaccine Trial” to quickly assess the efficacy and safety of the COVID-19 vaccine candidates, and a “Solidarity Clinical Trial” to promptly determine whether any of the vaccine candidates prove effective in curbing the disease or enhancing survival outcomes (Mullen, 2020).

Last but not least to address the misconceptions and misinformation associated with the coronavirus disease the WHO started a groundbreaking program to combat false information head-on. The WHO launched a platform called the Information Network for Epidemics (EPI-WIN) to exchange specialized information and public health recommendations in addition to holding frequent press conferences to provide updates (Mullen, 2020). WHO also utilized other social platforms such as Viber and WhatsApp to provide up-to-date information and clear all misconceptions.

The responses of the WHO to the outbreak of the COVID-19 disease proved efficient. Despite this, there have been concerns about mismanagement by the WHO. Donald Trump, the President of the USA was very much dissatisfied with the WHO regulations as he felt they were “disastrous”. According to Donald Trump the WHO objected USA’s travel restrictions on China, however, the USA implemented the travel restrictions anyway and that turned out to be the right choice following the increasing number of COVID-19 cases that the USA was recording per day (Kopecki and Lovelace, 2020).

## **2.1 Actions of International Governmental Organizations (IGOs) during the Crisis**

International Governmental Organizations (IGOs) also known as International Organizations (IOs) are institutions or organizations that have an international presence and mandate and make collective decisions on behalf of their member countries (Asare, 2018, p.115). OPIA (2022) describe IGOs as institutions established and bound by the signing of treaties among two or more countries, to carry out functions selflessly in pursuit of their common interest. According to OPIA (2022), IGOs established on treaties are better off than those formed by mere oral declarations because the former is bound by international law and could therefore initiate and conclude mandatory agreements between member or non-member states. The

United Nations (UN), African Union (AU), European Union (EU), and World Trade Organizations (WTO), among others, are examples of IGOs.

International Institutions in the global system exist to perform a wide array of functions which could be broadly categorized into four. They are political, social, economic, and security functions (OPIA, 2022). Politically, international institutions are mandated to formulate and implement laws and norms, as well as enhance human rights protection through the provision of treaties and legal documents including the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the 1982 Law of Sea (Ertuk, 2015). Economically, IGOs are required to improve the level of trade and economic relations among member states by promoting initiatives such as: removing trade barriers such as unnecessary custom tariffs (Ertuk, 2015). Security-wise, IGOs are responsible for promoting peace and reducing the occurrences of violent actions or confrontations by creating norms to establish “disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation, independence and the use of other means other than force in international relations (Ertuk, 2015). IGOs also have the social responsibility of either working within themselves, among other states, or with other specialized agencies to enhance education, reduce the global impacts of pandemics and endemics, and enhance food security across the globe, just to mention a few. IGOs played critical and essential roles following the outbreak of the coronavirus disease. This section seeks to focus on how the European Union (EU) and the African Union (AU) addressed the COVID-19 pandemic by highlighting their responses.

To begin with, the occurrence of World War II (WWII) was detrimental to global peace, security, and the economy (McBride, 2022). This heightened the need for European countries to come together and interact peacefully to prevent the iteration of similar wars and conflicts. To enable this, the modern EU was established in 1992 with the Maastricht Treaty however, in

2007 the EU specified its present-day structure and powers with the Lisbon Treaty which is also referred to as the Reform Treaty (McBride, 2022).

### **2.1.1 *The European Union (EU)***

The EU is made up of twenty-seven member states which include: Austria, Germany, Spain, and Sweden (McBride, 2022), and seven major institutions which can be grouped into the executive, the legislature, the judiciary, and the financial (McBride, 2022). The executive arm of the EU consists of two main EU institutions which are the European Council and the European Commission (McBride, 2022). The European Council is made up of all the twenty-seven national leaders of the EU who have the power to elect a president from amongst themselves for a tenure of two and half years (McBride, 2022). According to the EU official website, the European Council is responsible for the formulation of the EU's foreign and security policy as well as the nomination and appointment of members to take up various distinguished positions within the EU. The European Commission is made up of twenty-seven commissioners who are nominated by the European Council and confirmed by the European parliament (McBride, 2022). The European Commission is also tasked with the responsibility of managing the day-to-day administration of the EU by performing tasks such as the enactment of new laws, implementation of policies and the EU law, preparation of yearly budgets to be approved by the European Parliament and the European Council, as well as acting as the representative body of the EU (EU 2022).

The legislature also consists of the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union (Council of Ministers) (McBride, 2022). The European parliament has 705 members directly elected by the citizens of the European Union and it has the responsibility of supervising the European Commission and therefore has the mandate to either accept or decline the proposed

laws and policies of the European Commission (McBride, 2022). The Council of the European Union comprises twenty-seven national ministers from all the EU member states who are categorized under the various sectors of the economy (McBride, 2022). The Council of Ministers likewise the European parliament, has the mandate to approve laws and policies formulated by the European Commission (McBride, 2022).

Furthermore, the judiciary of the EU is made up of the Court of Justice of the European Union and the European Court of Auditors (McBride, 2022). The Court of Justice of the European Union is responsible for the interpretation of EU law, and the settlement of disputes among the EU member countries. The Court of Justice of the European Union comprises the European Court of Justice and the General Court. The European Court of Auditors is made up of twenty-seven members who are appointed by the Council of Ministers. It analyses and scrutinizes the EU budget to prevent the embezzlement of funds. When the European Court of Justice identifies any form of misrepresentation of funds, it reports directly to the European Parliament, the European Commission, and the national governments (McBride, 2022).

Finally, the financial sector of the EU is made up of one institution known as the European Central Bank. The European Central Bank is headed by a President and a Vice President who are appointed by the European Council and assisted by the governors of national central banks from all EU countries (EU 2022). The main function of the European Central Bank is to prevent the fluctuation of prices by managing the Euro (EU 2022).

From the EU Global Response to COVID-19 document, the EU shares the view that the coronavirus disease is not a respecter of persons, and as such, until the last person is cured of the disease, the international system is not safe for everyone (EU 2022). The EU has therefore

adopted several economic and social initiatives to reduce the global impact of COVID-19 in the region.

In terms of economic assistance, the EU has supported the national budgets of countries to enable them to provide quality and efficient healthcare services for their citizens (EU 2022). For instance, the EU supported its neighbourhood East with a support package of around €2.5 billion to Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, the Republic of Moldova, and Ukraine. Not only that, but the EU also supported its neighbourhood South with €1.3 billion to revive their economy.

Moreover, the EU through the “EU4Business initiative” which is funded by the European Investment Bank (EIB), also supported Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs) and the self-employed in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine by increasing their access to credits to revitalize their businesses considering the economic damages caused by the pandemic (EU4Business, 2022). To support governments and reduce the socio-economic impacts of the pandemic in Sub-Saharan Africa (as part of the Africa-Europe Alliance), the EU’s Eastern neighbourhood (as part of the EU’s Eastern partnership), and the EU’s Southern Neighbourhood, the EU adopted the European Fund for Sustainable Development (EFSD) as a tool to help such regions attract higher investment, especially from the private sector. Also, EU cooperation programs have been adjusted to properly support partner nations' budgets to help them deal with the social and fiscal repercussions of the pandemic (EU 2022). Governments and businesses can therefore address the effects of the pandemic on investment, employment, and innovation with the aid of regional economic programs.

The EU also addressed the social issues regarding the pandemic in diverse ways. For instance, the EU partnered with the World Health Organization (WHO) to embark on an initiative dubbed the “Solidarity for health initiative” which was fully funded with a sum of €35.2 million by the European Union for a period of two years in six countries (EU neighbourhood East) namely: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, the Republic of Moldova, and Ukraine (EU official website). This initiative sought to address the health challenges caused as a result of the pandemic by strengthening the health systems in these regions through the provision of Personal Protective Equipment in the form of nose masks, examination gloves, goggles, and isolation gowns as well as medical equipment such as oxygen concentrators, patient monitors, pulse oximeters, and ventilators (EU 2022). The initiative also accelerated the number of COVID-19 tests that could be done per day in these regions as well as enhanced contact tracking and reporting (EU 2022).

The EU also provided COVID-19 vaccines and their storage equipment to reduce the contraction of the virus as well as create awareness about the vaccine in the EU’s neighbourhood east. In its neighbourhood south too, the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa-North Africa Window authorized a regional emergency response facility for COVID-19 to protect migrants, strengthen local communities, and respond to COVID-19 in North Africa as part of the EU’s worldwide response to the coronavirus pandemic. The EU also distributed COVID-19 vaccines to its Southern neighbourhood countries as well as Jordan and Lebanon through the COVAX facility which is supported by the EU (EU 2022). The EU also supported Turkey following the outbreak of the pandemic in terms of providing Turkey with COVID-19 testing materials and access to the EU Solidarity Fund which enabled Turkey to get access to major health assistance from the EU (EU official website). Turkey also received a support package of €83 million from the EU to solve COVID-19-related issues among its refugees. The

EU also launched its “EU Digital COVID certificate” on 1<sup>st</sup> July 2021 to coordinate safe travel in the EU as part of its responses (European Commission, 2022).

### ***2.1.2 The Africa Union***

The Organization of Africa Unity (OAU) was established on 25<sup>th</sup> May 1963 after signing the OAU charter in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, with 32 Heads of independent African states as its members. In July 2002, following a shift in its focus from fighting for the independence of African states to the integration of African states, the OAU was re-launched as the African Union (AU). The AU currently has 55 members.

The organs of the AU can be broadly categorized into two main groups which are the decision-making organs and the judicial organs (AU 2022). The decision-making organs include the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the Executive Council, the Permanent Representatives Committee (PRC), Specialized Technical Committees (STCs), the Peace and Security Council, the African Union Commission, the Pan-African Parliament, and the Economic, Social & Cultural Council (ECOSOCC). The judicial organs of the AU also consist of the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR), African Court on Human and Peoples’ Rights (AfCHPR), AU Commission on International Law (AUCIL), AU Advisory Board on Corruption (AUABC) and the African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. The AU has authorized these legal organs to handle legal issues in place of the African Union. There are however two other organs that do not fall under any of the categories and they are the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and the African Peer Review Mechanism.

To address COVID-19, the AU has taken major effective steps as part of its responses. Early in January 2020, the Africa Center for Disease Control and Prevention (Africa CDC), which is the AU technical institution in charge of continental health security, began keeping track of reports of pneumonia arriving from Wuhan. On January 27, 2020, the Africa CDC launched its Emergency Operations Center for COVID-19 after at least four Asian nations reported cases. In addition to existing press briefings and weekly briefs, weekly online cooperative meetings with African CDC Regional Collaborating Centers, Ministries of Health, and National Public-Health Institutions were then organized to ensure a prompt flow of information about the fast-rising outbreak (Loembé, 2020).

The Africa Joint Continental Strategy for COVID-19 was adopted following an urgent meeting of African health ministers on February 22, 2020 (Loembé, 2020). The Bureau of the Assembly of AU Heads of State and Government supported the plan, promoting African leadership and responsibility for their pandemic outbreak response. Moreover, further collaborations were formed with health agencies in sub-regional economic blocs (Loembé, 2020).

Also, the Partnership to Accelerate COVID-19 Testing (PACT) initiative was developed by the AU's CDC to trace, test, and monitor the pandemic as it spread across the continent (Alden and Dunst, 2022). This initiative sought to test at least 10 million Africans within a period of six months. The African CDC also worked to ensure the acquisition of Personal Protective equipment and other medical devices, donations from international bodies, the rollout of health workers, and accessible and efficient technological devices to undertake useful research on the coronavirus disease (Alden and Dunst, 2022).

Considering the wavering nature of the healthcare systems in Africa, the African Union on behalf of the African continent appealed to the international system for support in terms of cash flow. Moussa Faki Mahamat, the chairperson of the AU, urged the international community to go beyond "good intentions" and provide significant aid to Africa, saying that between "\$100 and 150 billion" would be required to combat the pandemic and mitigate the economic effects it would have (Alden and Dunst, 2022).

## 2.2 Vaccine Diplomacy

The Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) defines a vaccine as a "preparation" used to boost the immune system's defences against illness which are mostly given by needle injection, although some can also be taken by mouth or sprayed into the nose (CDC, 2021). Vaccines are made from either the microscopic particles of the disease-causing organism or its blueprints and other components such as preservatives, stabilizers, surfactants, residuals, diluents, or adjuvants to maintain the vaccine's effectiveness and safety (WHO, 2022).

The life-threatening nature of the coronavirus disease called for immediate yet effective vaccines to ensure the safety of all people across the globe. Considering the level of urgency at which the COVID-19 vaccines were needed in the global system, they were unable to follow the usual timeline at which all other vaccines produced in the past for other various diseases followed (WHO, 2022). According to Solis-Moneira (2021), the production of the COVID-19 vaccines took less than a year. The WHO believes this expedited process was a result of the heightened political and financial commitment of the WHO and its partners to the development of a vaccine (WHO, 2021).

The development of the COVID-19 vaccine took place in five interconnected stages according to the European Medicines Agency (Cavaleri, n.d.). The first stage is known as the “Pharmaceutical quality studies”. At this point, research was conducted on the following topics: “the components of the vaccine and their purity; the biological activity of the vaccine; data on each step of manufacturing; data on the controls used to ensure that each batch of vaccine is regularly of high quality; and the storage conditions for the vaccine” (Cavaleri, n.d.). Janssen is one of the renowned researchers of the COVID-19 vaccine who was able to conduct studies on a potential COVID-19 vaccine within a period of three months (Levine, 2020).

The second stage is known as “laboratory studies”. This refers to all the studies conducted in the laboratory before testing the vaccines on humans. The numerous immune reactions induced by the vaccine were recognized during the laboratory testing, as were any prospective long-term health risks (particularly concerns with fertility and pregnancies) connected to the vaccine, as well as in some cases, how the vaccine affected the body organs (Cavaleri, n.d.).

The third stage of the COVID-19 vaccine development was the “clinical studies” stage to determine the efficacy and safety of the potential vaccine (Cavaleri, n.d.). Three study phases namely: early investigations (Phase I), bigger exploratory studies (Phase II), and efficacy and safety studies (Phase III), were used to conduct clinical studies on people to ascertain three key factors: the vaccine's safety, effectiveness, and immunogenicity (immune responses) (Cavaleri, n.d.). Twenty to one hundred healthy volunteers were utilized in Phase I studies to test the prospective vaccine to gauge its safety, the anticipated immune responses, and the recommended number of doses. Phase II was more extensive because it involved hundreds of volunteers and assessed the vaccine's most likely negative effects. Phase III was the most thorough since it involved many volunteers who were used to assess the vaccine's ability to prevent illnesses as well as its less frequent side effects (Cavaleri, n.d.).

The fourth stage of the COVID-19 vaccine development was the stage at which the COVID-19 vaccines were compared with other vaccines. The COVID-19 vaccinations were approved during this stage using the same standards as are used to approve all vaccines in the EU. The standards include schedules, resources, an expert task group, ongoing communication, and production capability.

The final stage of the COVID-19 vaccine development was for the European Medicines Agency (EMA) to evaluate COVID-19 vaccines and approve them. There were two different types of vaccines that were produced: mRNA vaccines and viral vectors. Genetic instructions (mRNA) for mounting immune defences against coronavirus are included in mRNA vaccinations (Cavaleri, n.d.). Two different mRNA COVID-19 vaccines were produced, and they were the Pfizer-BioNTech (BNT162b2) and the Moderna (mRNA-1273). Also, two different types of viral vectors COVID-19 vaccines were produced and they were the AstraZeneca/Oxford (ChAdOx1-SARS-CoV-2) and the Janssen (Ad26.COV2) (Cavaleri, n.d.). Upon evaluation, the EMA concluded that all the vaccines produced were safe, efficient, and quality and had the potential of mitigating the COVID-19 disease however, the use of face masks, hand hygiene, and physical distance were not to be discarded (Cavaleri, n.d.). Following this feedback, the administration of the COVID-19 vaccine to the general public in the international system began in December 2020 in the United Kingdom (BBC News, 2020).

The (COVID-19 Vaccines Global Access Facility) COVAX is a worldwide initiative that aims to provide quick and fair access to COVID-19 vaccines for all nations, regardless of their level of resources (WHO, 2021). In collaboration with vaccine producers from developed and developing countries, the UNICEF, the World Bank, and others, COVAX which is the vaccines pillar of the Access to COVID-19 Tools (ACT) Accelerator, is co-championed by CEPI

(Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations), Gavi, and WHO (WHO, 2021). The COVAX is the only global project that collaborates with COVID-19 vaccine producers, governments, and other organizations to guarantee that COVID-19 vaccinations are accessible to all nations, irrespective of their incomes. To be able to provide participating economies with doses of safe and effective vaccines which were enough to protect healthcare and other frontline workers as well as some high-risk individuals, beginning in 2021, COVAX agreements were put in place to access slightly more than two billion doses of several promising vaccine candidates. Unless a participant had chosen a lower number of doses, the goal was to safeguard at least 20% of each participating population by the end of the year.

By the end of 2021, the 92 economies that are eligible for the Gavi COVAX Advanced Market Commitment (AMC) were anticipated to have access to at least 1.3 billion of these doses (WHO, 2021). The research and development portfolio for the COVAX vaccine is being led by CEPI while Gavi is in charge of COVAX's procurement and delivery, overseeing the development of the COVAX Facility and COVAX AMC, and collaborating with Alliance partners UNICEF and WHO as well as governments on country preparedness and distribution (WHO, 2021). Along with other things, the WHO works with UNICEF to assist nations as they get ready to receive and distribute vaccines (WHO, 2021).

By the end of 15th of January 2022, COVAX had reached its first milestone, having distributed 1 billion doses of vaccine to 144 nations and territories, with 86 lower-income nations taking part in the COVAX AMC receiving 85% of the doses (UNICEF, 2022).

### 2.3 The General Behaviour of States during the Pandemic

The general behaviour of states during the pandemic can be described as how countries (thus, people) in the international system carried themselves amidst the pandemic. During the time of the pandemic, people all over the world have been said to have undergone behavioural change (Wang, et al., 2021). According to Wang et al. (2021), although the citizens of a country knew the self-protective measures their government had put in place to curb COVID-19, they did not just practice those measures outright. Instead, the public's behaviour developed in three phases: Phase I was a “wait-and-see phase”; Phase II was a “surge”; and Phase III was a “slow-release phase” (Wang et al., 2021).

The first phase which was the “wait-and-see-phase” involved early occurrences like the first case being reported and the accelerating alarms that followed made people attach great importance to the outbreak. However, it was not possible to instantly elicit self-protective behaviour (Wang, et al., 2021). Significant alterations in societal behaviour occurred during Phase II also known as the “surge” period. These modifications were brought about by things like the updating of epidemic alerts (declaration of a state of emergency) and the adoption of mobility limitations (regional blockades). This period heightened an epidemic concern and self-protection (Wang, et al., 2021). The final stage of public behavioural development was the “slow-release phase”. According to Wang et al., (2021), this was the period when a “new balance was established in both consciousness and behaviour” (p.5). At this point, the epidemic's tremendous alterations were showing a slow trajectory. The epidemic awareness and self-protection indices were raised as a result of recent developments, such as the publication of precise guidance for epidemic prevention, the renewal of policies, and vaccinations while the mobility trends index remained declined.

## 2.4 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter discussed four broad themes which are: the global response to covid-19, actions of IGOs during the Pandemic, vaccine diplomacy, and the general behaviour of states during the pandemic. With regards to the global response to covid-19, it was concluded that this occurred along three distinctive spheres thus, the global citizenry, heads of states, and heads of government as well as the international organizations with the global citizenry being the recipients of all foreign or domestic policies made.

With regard to vaccine diplomacy also, the producers, and suppliers of the COVID-19 vaccines were mentioned as well as the types, and steps that led to the manufacturing of the vaccine were critically examined. It was revealed that although the COVID-19 vaccines did not necessarily follow the usual time frame for the manufacturing of a vaccine, they followed all the crucial steps involved in producing any other vaccine to ensure their safety and efficacy. In this section also, the COVAX agreement was discussed as the international framework that is aimed at supplying all countries with the COVID-19 vaccines.

Finally, the general behaviour of states was discussed and from this, the three levels of behaviours which are the “wait-and-see” level, the “surge” level, and the “slow-release” level were discussed. It was noted that citizens move across these phases in times of a pandemic or a state of emergency as a form of behavioural change and adaptation, moving from the unwillingness to practice precautionary measures put in place by their governments during the early stages of the COVID-19 period, to a time of full obedience to the practice of the safety precautionary measures and finally to a steady decline on the level of obedience to the safety precautionary measures as the focus now shifts to the introduction of new guidelines to prevent the pandemic.

## CHAPTER THREE

### ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF STUDY FINDINGS

#### 3.0 Introduction

This chapter includes an analysis and discussion of empirical findings together with primary data collected on the study's goals. The chapter subsequently presents an analysis of the study's findings on the impact of national interests on foreign policy, the specific foreign policy responses implemented by the Ghanaian government to safeguard its citizens from COVID-19 as well as the impact of the pandemic on the nation's foreign policy decisions, national development as well as state sovereignty. Given the study objectives and aims, the analyses and debates have been organized into themes representing the study objectives.

#### 3.1 The impact and/or influence of National Interest on Ghana's Foreign Policy in times of COVID-19

Foreign policy has been defined differently by various scholars. On the one hand, Frankel refers to foreign policy as the broad set of measures, ideas, and guiding principles that leaders employ in international relations to achieve both long- and short-term aims (Frankel, 1978). Foreign policy, as described by Ekemam (2015), is the sum of a country's actions, principles, choices, stances, and postures toward other countries and groups of countries on the international stage, all with the end goal of protecting and advancing the country's own national interests. The connection between domestic priorities and international relations has been discussed at length by several academics.

Scholars and academics of international affairs have long debated the concept and meaning of national interest. This is largely due to the different measures used to enhance national interests by those responsible for the country's foreign policy. Neuchterlein (1977) provided a

straightforward definition of national interest as a sovereign state's perceived aspirations and wants in relation to other sovereign states in the external environment. According to the work of Dolan and Rosati (2006), "national interest" may be seen as the ideal goals upon which a country's domestic and foreign policies are maintained.

A state's foreign policy is the public manifestation of its national interests and internal needs (Vande, 2021). Ghana, like every other state in today's interconnected world, relies on constant communication and cooperation with other nations to achieve her objectives. State interests, or what the government wants and aims to achieve, should center on things like keeping the peace and making sure everyone has enough to eat. The connection between national interest and foreign policy is strongly influenced by domestic culture, with a particular focus on social groups and social attitudes inside states.

Several countries have taken divergent approaches since the worldwide breakout of the COVID-19 pandemic, each seeking to further its own national interests while still bringing attention to the cause of global consolidation. As such this study in its attempt to investigate the foreign policy decisions of Ghana during the COVID-19 pandemic sought out to investigate how the nation's national interest shaped its foreign policy responses during the COVID-19 pandemic. In interviews with the various respondents, the following information was gathered from respondents. According to an interview with an international relations expert from the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy, hereafter referred to as Respondent 1, it was revealed that the nation's national interests played a key role in the dictating the foreign policy direction which the nation took during the COVID-19 pandemic. The respondent further iterated that the core national interest of any nation is mainly categorized into two parts, that is

the protection of territorial integrity and the protection of its citizens and these two core national interests shape and direct the nation's foreign policy decisions. To quote the respondent,

*“Uhm, yes, I strongly believe Ghana's national interest played an important role in Ghana's Foreign policy decisions. In fact, the core national interest of every state is mainly two things, that is to protect the territorial integrity and then to protect its populace. So, every decision that a country makes in terms of foreign policy dwells on protecting its territorial integrity and its citizens.”*

Respondent 1

Sharing a similar view, the second respondent also an international relations expert also iterated that the understanding of a nation's foreign policy is largely borne out of the nation's interests which of course gives an indication of how the country should move in its relations with its regional and international community. As such, in cases where nations are in a state of emergency such as the COVID-19 pandemic, national interests largely determine the foreign policy direction that nations take. To quote the exact words of the respondent,

*“The understanding of foreign policy is borne out of whatever is happening within the country, which is the national interests, which of course gives an indication of how the country should move in its relations with the world and the international community, so if the country is in the state of emergency, thus it citizens are under attack from a virus and has little to no information about. Then certainly, it (national interests) will trigger a lot of decisions”*

2

The respondent further added that the key national interests that shaped the nation's foreign policy decisions in times of the COVID-19 pandemic were mainly guided by Articles 35 and 40 of the nation's constitution. To quote the respondent,

*“the extent to which our national interest shaped our foreign policy decisions had to do with the health and safety of the citizens and some of these things find the essence in certain articles such as Articles 35 to 40 of our national constitution, which explains what national interests are and we have the health and safety of the nation as one of the national interests of Ghana and certainly shaping how the country was interacting with its partners, bilateral and multilateral organizations, especially the WHO, AU and some other partners”*

Respondent 2

The third respondent sharing similar assertions as the above respondents also concluded that Article 35(2) dictates the nation's interests and that this article influences the nation's foreign policy decisions. To quote the respondent,

*“It is important to note that Ghana’s national interests have been defined under Article 35(2) of the 1992 constitution. The article dictates that the state shall protect and safeguard the independence, unity and territorial integrity of Ghana and shall seek the well-being of all its citizens. As leaders of the nation are subject to the 1992 constitution, their policy actions and decisions are largely influenced by these national interests”* Respondent 3

As indicated earlier by the two respondents (Respondent 2 and Respondent 3), the 1992 constitution of Ghana specifically Articles 35 and 40 identifies the nation's national interests as well as sets its legal and constitutional framework for the conduct of the country's foreign policy. This assertion was equally pointed out by Botchway and Hlovor (2022) who argued that the constitution provides precedence on the state's national interests and that the nation's foreign policy is largely guided and influenced by the national interests identified by the national constitution. The authors argued that these provisions by the constitution set the parameters as well as take precedence in any foreign policy objectives or decisions undertaken by any government in power.

It was discovered that the ideas indicated by the interviewees mirrored the attitudes and declarations of early researchers such as Dolan and Rosati (2006) and Vande (2021). According to Vande (2021), a nation's foreign policy is influenced by its national interests since international policies are the projection of a state's national interests and domestic demands. In the same line, Dolan and Rosati (2006) concurred with the authors that a country's foreign or regional policies are organized and maintained on the basis of its national interests.

The above assertions, both scholarly and respondent, highlight the assertions of Hans Morgenthau, who equated a state's national interests to the country's desire and ability to protect its territorial integrity and defense, as well as its cultural and political identity against the encroachment of other states. These were referred to as "essential factors" of national interest by Morgenthau (1949). To this end, it might be claimed that Ghana's national interests, that is, the safeguarding of its territorial integrity and its population, will always take precedence over whatever foreign policy decision or action that any administration in power takes.

### **3.2. Specific Foreign Policy Responses Made by The Ghanaian Government to Safeguard Its Citizens from Covid-19**

Ghana is a democratic constitutional republic with many political parties and a unicameral legislature. The structure of the nation's government is such that the Executive President is the primary source of public policy, which is then roughly translated to local and regional government levels whose leaders are appointed by the President for execution (Antwi-Bosiako et al. 2021).

Policy responses are multifaceted, scattered, and context-specific (Ward et al., 2016). According to Torjman (2005), policy responses are primarily motivated by a variety of environmental, health, social, and economic considerations. The author elaborated by noting the 2003 SARS outbreak in Canada, notably Toronto, which prompted the implementation of new measures and regulations that would not have been introduced in the absence of the health crisis. In their study, Hale et al. (2020) argued that the fast spread of the COVID-19 pandemic prompted a variety of government reactions, including travel restrictions, social welfare assistance, and stimulus packages, among others.

As nations verified their first cases of the COVID-19 virus, it was difficult to foresee the severity of the virus's impact on their respective economies. As the number of COVID-19 cases increased gradually in nations throughout the world, initial media attention concentrated on China as the source of the issue. As a result of the extensive coverage of the situation in China by international media outlets, media outlets from across the world began focusing on the predicament of their compatriots studying or working in China. However, as the Chinese government imposed a strict lockdown in Wuhan and surrounding areas in late January and demonstrated its ability to rapidly and effectively build new infrastructure to treat the affected victims, including the completion of a 1,000-bed hospital in ten days, governments around the world began to evaluate their own capacity to address the virus and its implications for their state. In order to protect their residents and nation from the fatal epidemic and its repercussions, a number of nations, including Ghana, began to implement a variety of protective measures. Several nations across the world have developed both domestic and international initiatives to tackle the COVID-19 epidemic. The coalition of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) leaders was convened with the intention of exchanging experiences and coordinating measures to mitigate the impact and repercussions of the pandemic on their respective states, which is a clear example of this phenomenon. In light of this, the purpose of this study was to explore Ghana's foreign policy actions to protect its nationals during the era of COVID-19. To achieve this objective, information was gathered from respondents using advancing interviews. According to the respondents polled, the state's primary foreign policies aimed at preserving the health and safety of its inhabitants revolve around two major issues. Inter-country Travel Restriction Responses and Diplomacy Responses were determined to be the two most important issues.

### 3.2.1 *Inter-country Travel Restriction Responses*

During the COVID-19 pandemic, various governments throughout the world established travel laws that served as travel restrictions in 2020, making this the most broad travel limitation in recorded history (UNWTO, 2020). Respondents were questioned to determine the different foreign policy actions or measures implemented by the state in an effort to protect its inhabitants from the terrible impacts of the epidemic.

In an interview with the first respondent, it was iterated that a key foreign policy response by the government to the impending danger of the COVID-19 pandemic was the closure of the nation's borders, namely, the land, air, and sea borders. This the respondent iterated was as a need to contain the current spread of the virus that existed within the state as well as prevent further spread amongst the local population. This foreign policy response according to the respondent was largely informed by the state's own national interest of ensuring its citizen's health and safety.

To quote the respondent's statements *"Okay so.... They closure of the land, the sea and the air spaces, in a bid to contain whatever virus that existed and also to prevent further spread amongst the local population can be considered a foreign policy decision undertaken by the state...."*. The respondent also added that mandatory testing at the ports which was controversial to the citizens was another foreign policy response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

To quote the respondent

*"Of course, then another one is mandatory testing at the ports which was controversial because of the amount of money involved. I think non-citizens paid 150 dollars with the citizens paying 50 dollars with a different amount for ECOWAS nationals as well and all these things were connected to ensuring that the health and livelihoods of the citizens were intact. This was another foreign policy implemented by the government in its relations with other states to protect its citizens during the COVID-19 pandemic."* Respondent 1

This assertion was justification was supported by Antwi-Bosiako et al. (2021) and Osei (2020).

The second respondent in a similar assertion also expressed that,

*“the major one (foreign policy decision) was the closure of lands, sea and then air borders. That was a major foreign policy decision that the country made. That is the only one and then the issue, after the vaccination, the issue of having to be tested twice or when you get to the KOTOKA International Airport, especially those travelling by air, they had to be tested at the airport or have a PCR. These are also foreign policy decisions that the country made. Even in the opening of the borders the country initially opened the Air border and subsequently opened the land borders. That was also an important foreign policy decision because why do you open the air for people who travel from far away from Europe, Asia and others and then close the land borders to those who are very close to you.”*

The above assertions by these two respondents were equally shared by the third respondent as well. As such, the findings and responses of the respondents interviewed clearly highlighted the overall closure of all territorial spaces of the country as well as the enactment of mandatory double testing at all points of entry during the COVID-19 pandemic period as amongst some key foreign policy responses implemented by the Government of Ghana to safeguard the health and safety of its citizens during the COVID-19 pandemic.

### **3.2.2 Diplomacy Responses**

Countries work in several ways, with bilateral collaboration being the easiest. A bilateral partnership is defined by the fact that two countries strike an agreement with each other, with both countries being neighbors in the majority of cases (Jit et al., 2021). However, there are also circumstances in which numerous nations collaborate to establish a consensual agreement; these types of agreements or collaborations are referred to as multilateral ties or accords. According to Ji et al. (2021), multilateral interactions are characterized primarily by three distinguishable traits. All parties participating in multilateral relations are initially considered equally and are not divided. Second, there is typically an expectation of diffuse reciprocity, and

third, there is some sort of dispute resolution to assure adherence to what has been widely accepted.

The expansion of multilateral agreements and diplomacy since the end of World War II is evidence of the perceived significance of these agreements and their value to both small countries that can gain a greater level of influence by working together and larger countries that frequently have disproportionate rule-setting power. Nonetheless, multilateral accords include the pooling of sovereignty, which may elicit or provoke criticism from some national governments. In a world increasingly regulated by international accords, however, the penalty of being outside the system may be substantial in terms of access to the global economy and advantages. However, the situation has gotten more difficult in recent years as a consequence of the rising impact of non-state players on the global economy, with these actors frequently possessing more influence and power than a number of nation-states.

The wake of the COVID-19 pandemic saw the leadership of Ghana largely capitalizing on its foreign policy to enter into some bilateral and multilateral agreements to better serve its citizens. In an interview with the third respondent, it was iterated that the Government of Ghana capitalized on its relations to evacuate Ghanaian citizens as well as provide some sort of aid to its citizens stranded during the early lockdown periods in China. To quote the respondent,

*“Yes, I don’t know if the movement of Ghanaian citizens abroad, the evacuation of citizens from China also was also another very important foreign policy decision and also the provision of aid to some Ghanaian citizens especially students who were stranded during the pandemic and that was ....so I think these are the major ones (foreign policy responses) that happened during the pandemic” Respondent 3*

Although the second respondent shared a similar assertion as the third respondent, he further iterated that

*“We also strengthened our relationships with other international and development organizations like GAVI (Global Alliance .....), COVID Alliance, and UNICEF ..... also, in terms of diplomacy, the leader of the country was at hand, and he was updating the citizens and also working together with partner International Organizations and the diaspora on the steps they were taking which brought timely information, awareness and access for people within and outside Ghana, so that the pandemic would be handled” Respondent 2*

Providing further pieces of evidence, the first respondent noted that the government of Ghana was a pronounced advocate for vaccine provision within the West African region, most particularly Ghana. To reiterate the comments of the respondent,

*“....the country was interacting with its partners, bilateral and multilateral organizations especially the WHO, AU and some other partners especially those who were providing the vaccines to us; we presented the case of vaccine inadequacy, we presented the case of vaccine politics for them to come to our aid. And all these things were shaped ...to protect and ensure that the citizens in the country were safe and given the appropriate solutions or healthcare or vaccinations or treatment.” Respondent 1*

From the above assertions, it was gathered that the key diplomatic measures enacted by the state to secure and enhance the safety and health of her citizens included the strengthening of diplomatic ties with other states as well as the creation of multilateral and bilateral ties with certain states and non-state actors. These actions by the respondents per the views of the respondents were essential and efficient in managing the spread and impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the country. In a comment by the third respondent that perfectly captures this, the respondent iterated that,

*“So, if you look at the success rate of our action towards the CoVID-19 pandemic, the foreign policy decisions we took were a major way of controlling the disease. Because the disease did not come through internal means it was brought from somewhere and then the government decided to close the borders and this helped in stopping the virus from coming into the country in higher quantities. We were able to contain the virus and deal with it. So, I think these policies were a major contributor to how successful we were in controlling the COVID-19 pandemic as compared to other countries where they took these decisions very late. So, I think it was a success and it really contributed to controlling the pandemic” Respondent 3*

In summary and from the respondent comments, the key foreign policy responses implemented by the Ghanaian state to protect and safeguard the health and safety of the Ghanaian populace during the COVID-19 pandemic include the implementation of inter-country travel restrictions which included the closure of borders, as well as mandatory double testing at all ports and some diplomatic responses which included increasing engagement in bilateral and multilateral relations with states and non-state actors as well as heightened engagements with non-state and state actors regarding vaccine diplomacy.

### **3.3 The Impact of The Covid-19 Pandemic on Foreign Policy Decisions, Sovereignty and National Development**

The coronaviruses are a category of viruses that cause illnesses ranging from the common cold to severe disorders such as severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS-CoV) and Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS-CoV). The latest Coronavirus (COVID-19) epidemic is a novel strain, the likes of which have never been seen in human history. The coronavirus epidemic will long be regarded as a historical challenge that resulted in a severe and abrupt change in the history of humans around the globe. In the 2020 United Nations Framework Report, the COVID-19 pandemic was identified as one of the world's most challenging and severe pandemics, which has led to a number of crises around the world, thereby reversing the developmental and progressive gains made by a number of countries around the world.

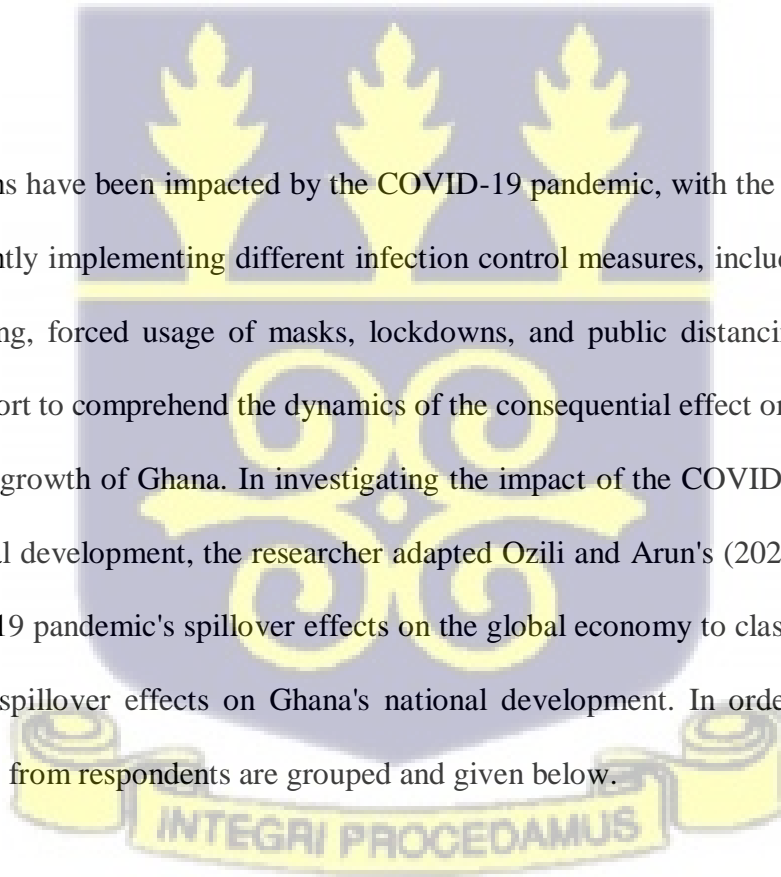
The purpose of this study was to analyze the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, with a particular focus on foreign policy, sovereignty, and national development. As such, the interviewees' responses were sorted into topics and given below.

#### **3.3.1 Impact of COVID-19 on Ghana's National Development**

In 2020, COVID-19 crippled the global economy, and we continue to experience the impacts in 2022. This epidemic has become a huge threat to the physical and mental health of humans,

as well as having substantial psychological repercussions on a global scale. According to the International Labour Organization report titled "International Labour Organization World Employment and Social Outlook trends 2020," as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, which led to the implementation of partial or complete lockdown, 81 percent of the global workforce, or 2.7 billion employees, were significantly affected (International Labour Organization, 2020). In essence, it was discovered that the crisis posed a danger to the achievement of a number of Sustainable Development Goals, particularly those relating to sustainable employment due to the loss of livelihood options and job losses. As a result, the pandemic is not just a health worry, but also a socioeconomic one that undermines the achievements and progress achieved in meeting the Sustainable Development Goals (Nicola et al., 2020; Pirouz et al., 2020).

Over 210 nations have been impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic, with the majority of these countries currently implementing different infection control measures, including quarantines, obligatory testing, forced usage of masks, lockdowns, and public distancing (Wang et al., 2021). In an effort to comprehend the dynamics of the consequential effect or spillover effects on the national growth of Ghana. In investigating the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on Ghana's national development, the researcher adapted Ozili and Arun's (2020) categorization of the COVID-19 pandemic's spillover effects on the global economy to classify the COVID-19 pandemic's spillover effects on Ghana's national development. In order to do this, the gathered replies from respondents are grouped and given below.



### **3.3.1.1 *Impact on the Education Sector***

It was duly expressed in research by Ter Abagen and Tyona (2020) that the pandemic had a significant impact on the higher education market, which is worth an estimated \$600 billion

annually. When the COVID-19 virus was designated a public health emergency in several nations across the world, the researchers said that stakeholders in the educational industry throughout the world saw and felt the ripple impact (Ter Abagen & Tyona, 2020). Additionally, at least 290.5 million students' educations were disrupted due to the COVID-19 pandemic, as reported in a report by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization titled "Half of the world's student population not attending school: UNESCO launches global coalition to accelerate deployment of remote learning solutions" (UNESCO, 2020). Respondents 1, 3, and 2 stressed the influence of the COVID-19 pandemic in limiting the educational sector, and thus the educational growth of the nation's human capital, in interviews conducted to assess the impact of the pandemic on Ghana's national development.

In iterating the comments of respondent 1, the respondent mentioned that

*"the institution of lockdowns greatly affected the growth and development of the nation's educational sector as the COVID-19 pandemic led to the closure of basic, secondary and tertiary educational institutions across the country. Although the COVID-19 pandemic led to the promotion and adoption of online technologies in facilitating the educational process, the presence of certain inequality gaps coupled with the inadequacy of infrastructural provisions such as internet connectivity and data costs within the country, further aggravated the degradation of the educational system during COVID. So yes, the COVID-19 pandemic negatively affected the development of the nation's educational sector which is critical to the development of the state"* Respondent 1

The third respondent sharing a similar assertion also commented that,

*"Yes, the COVID-19 pandemic has greatly affected the nation's educational system. Look at what happened because of the lockdown, basic schools were closed, and universities were closed.... Even considering the movement of the educational process to an online platform...let us look at those within the rural areas who do not have the facility to access the internet...you can imagine what this would do to their motivation to be educated...thus constraining the gains made in providing education for all"* Respondent 3

This assertion by the third respondent was clearly articulated in the findings of Owusu and Frimpong-Manso (2020) which indicated that the COVID-19 pandemic placed an undue amount of economic and social stress on poor families and as a result led to an increase in the

risk of child labour and streetism resulting in children missing out on the social and economic benefits that the school systems provide.

In the assertions of the second respondent, it was emphasized simply that,

*“the closure of universities, primary and secondary schools as a result of the imposition of a nationwide lockdown clearly shows the extent to which the COVID-19 pandemic affected the educational sector of Ghana...I am not going to lie though, the COVID-19 pandemic also saw the adoption and promotion of the use of internet technologies like Zoom, a practice which has been long overdue but unfortunately, the nation’s current infrastructure was unable to efficiently accommodate this and as such furthering the inequality gap that exists within the educational sector”* Respondent 2

Owusu-Fordjour et al. (2020) found that the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic had a detrimental effect on education in Ghana, and the responses from the respondents corroborated these findings. Adom (2020) reached a similar conclusion, arguing that a lack of technical expertise and high expenses of internet infrastructure were to blame for the sluggish adoption of online education in Ghana during the COVID-19 pandemic.

### **3.3.1.2. Impact on the Health Sector**

There is no denying the widespread devastation wreaked by the COVID-19 outbreak in several different nations. The World Health Organization announced in the wake of the pandemic that the effects seen in Wuhan and Italy at the time could be replicated in several other countries if precautions were not taken. As the COVID-19 pandemic continues to put healthcare systems to the test, it has had a significant impact on national and worldwide levels (Dzando et al., 2022). While impoverished nations continue to bear the brunt of the COVID-19 pandemic's effects, wealthy nations, despite their technical prowess and well-established infrastructure, confront similar challenges in halting the virus's spread and mitigating its effects. Considering the critical nature of health systems to national development, the study questioned respondents on the impact of the pandemic on the nation’s health systems. Responses from the respondents

interviewed revealed a negative impact of the pandemic on the nation's health systems. In an interview with the first respondent, the respondent revealed that,

*“Oh well, So, what COVID-19 has done is expose the frailties within the country's health infrastructure in the manner that it overwhelmed the system. It opened the cracks that we had and indicated how our inner inadequacies, the places we fell short in terms of expertise...the pandemic also revealed the many inequalities and inefficiencies that exist within the nation's health systems”*

All three respondents agreed on this point over the course of questioning. The studies by Dzando et al. (2022) on the status of healthcare in Ghana during the COVID-19 pandemic and Abor and Abor (2022) on the effects of the pandemic on health funding in Ghana provide credence to the respondents' point of view.

### **3.3.1.3. Impact on the Economy**

Social and economic repercussions on a global scale were also exposed as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic epidemic. Respondents were polled on the COVID-19 pandemic's effect on Ghana's economy so that researchers could have a better sense of the full scope of the pandemic's effects. According to the third respondent's comments, the slowdown in economic development was caused by the import-dependent character of the country's economy, which was exacerbated by the interruptions in supply chains and the enforcement of lockdowns. To quote the exact words of the respondent,

*“...Yes, So, there is no doubt that the pandemic has retarded our economic development, our structure as a country, our economic structure as a country is hugely import driven and COVID-19, stopped these things at a point in time and we could remember during the lockdown there was no economic activity and stuff like that, and this slowed down the productivity within the country to some point and we are still seeing the results of that. As a result of COVID, we have lost productive brains, people's businesses have collapsed and all that. So, it has posed a serious threat to not just Ghana but the world.”* Respondent 3

In sharing a similar view as the third respondent, the first respondent also echoed that

*“...to a large extent, production came to a halt with companies operating at half capacity. Many vendors were asked to stay home and market dry. Nothing was*

*happening and especially in an informal economy where lots of people make money outside of the formal realm. Certainly.....the economy came to its knees and it's for that reasons that the president advised the lifting of bans on movement and association so that COVID could be dealt with properly. So certainly, the economy was hurt and people with business lost” Respondent 1*

The first respondent also revealed the negative impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the nation’s tourism industry, a key industry under the Ghana Beyond Aid agenda within which the current government attempted to grow its economy. The respondent expressed that, the COVID-19 pandemic with its consequent disruptions such as the imposition of worldwide lockdowns limited the gains that was expected to be made with the Year of Return programs that the government had initiated as a key driver of economic growth through tourism. In quoting the respondent,

*“the COVID-19 pandemic also heavily constrained the gains that were supposed to have been accomplished by the state together with the ministry of tourism. Owing to the COVID-19 pandemic and its subsequent disruptions such as lockdowns and others, Ghana was unable to fully reap the benefits from the Ghana Beyond Aid and the Year of Return initiatives that the government had put in place to spur interest in Ghana’s tourism to grow the nation’s economy and goodwill” Respondent 1*

The disruption of the tourism sector because of COVID-19 was equally shared by the study conducted by Pramana et al. (2021) which investigated the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on tourism in Indonesia. Providing comment on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the nation’s economy, the second respondent briefly exclaimed that the impact of COVID-19 on the Ghanaian economy could be witnessed by the negative impact it had on multinational corporations as well as Small and Medium Scale Enterprises with some Small and Medium Scale Enterprises still not being able to recover. The respondent further iterated that the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic was not only felt within the nation’s microenvironment but in the macro environment as well. To quote the word iterated by the respondent on this assertion,

*“...certainly, COVID-19 impacted the Ghanaian economy negatively, multinational corporations operating within the nation were hurt and people*

*with businesses, mainly SMEs lost. And since then, even some of the businesses (SMEs) have still not recovered, some people lost jobs and many of them are still at home. So, the effect of COVID-19 was felt at both the micro and macro levels” Respondent 2*

Furthermore, the respondent also expressed how the economic activity in Ghana suffered owing to the nation’s heavy reliance on imports as well as human interaction in product or service productions such as restaurants, and hotels further aggravated the economic situation of Ghana. To quote the respondent,

*“Economic activity or performance in Ghana was greatly affected considering how reliant we are on imports, as well as our reliance on human interaction in product or service products such as restaurants, tourism, hotels among so many others....these over-reliance became a bane to the nation’s economic growth as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic and the necessary measures implemented to contain the virus and safeguard the health and safety of citizens within the state” Respondent 2*

This assertion was equally shared by the study conducted by several scholars such as Guerrieri et al. (2020), Eichenbaum et al. (2020), Baek et al. (2020) as well as Koren and Peto (2020).

In summary, a key economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic identified by respondents interviewed revealed a negative impact in the sense that the COVID-19 pandemic brought a halt to the nation’s productivity mainly aggravated because of the institution of lockdowns. This finding was realized to be synonymous to that conducted by Vitenu-Sackey and Barfi (2021) which revealed how the contraction of the COVID-19 disease as well as the stringent measures observed by many countries inversely affected poverty alleviation as well as economic growth within states. This assertion was also shared by Burger and Calitz who investigated the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on economic growth and South Africa’s fiscal policy.

### 3.4 Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Foreign Policy

Several local, national, international, and non-state actors throughout the world responded with drastic and critical measures to combat the unprecedented global health crisis brought on by the COVID-19 virus after the first confirmed case was recorded in the city of Wuhan (Nguyen et al., 2021; Wang & Su, 2020). While most research on the COVID-19 pandemic has focused on the effects it has had on national health and economies, this one also tried to assess how the epidemic has altered Ghana's diplomatic priorities. So, we asked them about how COVID-19 has altered their country's foreign policy.

Ghana's foreign policy is governed by Article 40 of the country's constitution from 1992, which outlines the core concepts of Ghana's foreign policy (MFARI, 2022). According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Regional Integration, the nation's foreign policy is guided by the Promotion and protection of Ghana's interests, the Establishment of a just and equitable international, economic, political, and social order, the Promotion of respect for international law and treaty obligations, the promotion of the peaceful resolution of international disputes, and the Adherence to the United Nations Charter (MFARI, 2022).

Over the years, there have been critical reappraisals of foreign policy, particularly in 1982 and in 2001 with a view to making Ghana's foreign policy more positive, more relevant to changes on the international climate and more proactive (MFARI, 2022). In interviews with two respondents, the key principles identified as guiding the nation's foreign policy include, Good Neighborliness, Non-Alignment, Adherence to International Policies), and Pan-Africanism. To quote one of the respondents, specifically respondent 1,

*“Ghana's foreign policy has four main pillars...and these are, good neighbourliness, Pan-Africanism, Adherence to International practices and ..... I've forgotten the remainder, yes, yes, Non-alignment. In terms of the foreign policy positions, these four pillars are the vital things that Ghana's*

*foreign policy rests on and directs the path that the nation takes in its foreign diplomacy or in its diplomatic relations” Respondent 1*

Of this foreign policy objective, findings of the study identified COVID-19 to have greatly impacted the nation’s principle of good neighbourliness and Pan-Africanism. In the interview conducted with the respondents, the respondents expressed that the key foreign policy objective largely impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic was the principle of Good Neighborliness. According to the respondents, Ghana as unable to keep up with its foreign policy of establishing good relations with its neighbours during the pandemic as it closed its borders as well as its discriminatory opening of its air borders to nations in faraway Europe, Asia and other states which do not share boundaries with it. This assertion was clearly and neatly captured in the assertion of the second respondent. In the words of the respondent

*“...Yes, so in total as I said initially Ghana had foreign policy pillars which we went by, however, in terms of Good Neighborliness, and Good Neighborliness meant that we had to be good friends to our neighbours..... we had to pull against those principles that we believed in to stop the movement of people into our country all because of the pandemic.... Even in the opening of the borders the country initially opened the Air border and subsequently opened the land borders. That was also an important foreign policy decision to pay attention to because why do you open the air for people who travel from far away from Europe, Asia and others and then close the land borders to those who are very close to you? In Africa, most of our movements are done by land and only a few people travel by air and that is another important foreign policy decision at the time.” Respondent 2*

The arguments presented by the respondents thus revealed how COVID-19 led to a disruption in the nation’s foreign policy of good neighbourliness and Pan-Africanism. The assertions of the respondents also highlighted the assertions of Dolan and Rosati (2006) and Vande (2021) as mentioned earlier on in the chapter.

### 3.5 Impact of COVID-19 on Ghana's Sovereignty

State sovereignty implies the concept that states are in complete and utter control of all the people and property within their territory (Abegunde, 2021). Sovereignty is an essential principle for any entity that considers itself an independent state. Similarly, Harrison and Boyd (2018) defined sovereignty as the right to have absolute and unlimited power, either legal or political, within the territory of a state. The preservation of sovereignty is as important as it is in today's globalized world. According to Maftei (2015), Sovereignty can be defined as the ability of a state to make laws for its citizens without any external influence or interference. According to the author, sovereignty both grants and restricts or limits powers, it gives countries complete control over their own territory whilst restricting the influence that countries have on each other (Maftei, 2015).

Preserving sovereignty iterates sustaining national statehood, nation, values, spirituality and language and above all national identity (Samievich, 2021). This is because developing countries now have to take measures not to sacrifice their national values in favour of the economy in today's highly competitive environment. Otherwise, there can be no doubt that they will be swallowed up by the civilisation of the developed world (Samievich, 2021).

According to Harrison and Boyd (2018), for a state to be identified as sovereign it must satisfy the features or characteristics of Sovereignty which according to the scholars are broadly categorized under Internal and External Sovereignty. According to scholars, external sovereignty is used to describe two elements. The first of these is the fact that for a state to be identified as a sovereign it should have legal equality in the international community, whether wealthy or poor, strong or weak. This feature according to scholars is clearly manifested in institutions such as the United Nations General Assembly where each state or nation has a vote (Harrison & Boyd, 2018). It was expressed by scholars that for a state to receive its full external

sovereignty, the state must be recognized as a fellow sovereign state by a substantial number of members of the international system, especially the most powerful states (Harrison & Boyd, 2018).

Internal sovereignty on the other hand encapsulates the elements of legal and practical sovereignty. Legal sovereignty as expressed by the authors encapsulates the right of the state to be the only law-making body for the population inhabiting a given territory. Practical sovereignty on the other hand encapsulates the ability of the state to ensure its laws are obeyed throughout its territory as well as the ability of the state to protect its borders and territories (Harrison & Boyd, 2018).

In interviews with respondents to ascertain the extent to which the COVID-19 pandemic has affected the nation's sovereignty, it was generally held that indeed, the COVID-19 pandemic had affected the sovereignty of the Ghanaian state in the sense that it lost control of its ability to exert control over its territorial borders and people. In quoting the response of the third respondent interviewed, it was iterated that,

*“Yes, So, COVID-19 had serious threats to the nation's sovereignty in terms of control and talking about sovereignty we are talking about a state's ability to exert control over its territorial border and its people, that is sovereignty. So, COVID-19 posed a threat to control, coz if we can, if a disease is able to travel from a different country to another country, then it means that we are not able to exert control over our borders and in fact by the time we even noticed that this thing had happened it had already spread to a lot of people. So, it meant that there is some lack of control in the system..... So, our sovereignty to some extent was undermined because we were not able to control our territories”*  
Respondent 3

Sharing a similar assertion as the first respondent, the second respondent further iterated that,

*“We can also talk about power because once COVID-19 hit us, Ghana was not having enough resources to deal with the pandemic, so we had to rely on foreign donors to help us, in terms of vaccination, in terms of testing, and PPEs all those other essentials. And these are things that we could not provide, our government did not have enough power to provide for us, so we had to rely on*

*foreign donors and foreign countries to give us these things and these things come with conditions. So, these countries give us vaccines on conditions and because we need the vaccines and people are dying, we had to adhere to what they say. So, I'll say that it also posed a challenge to the power of the government, the control or power of government in terms of resources and its independence as well as sovereignty” Respondent 3*

However, it might be hasty to conclude that the nation Ghana, lost its sovereignty as a nation in times of COVID-19. From the information provided by the second respondent, it was indicated that Ghana did not fully lose its sovereignty as it was able to execute and implement some executive instruments to contain and combat the COVID-19 pandemic and the nation’s territory as well. To quote the respondent,

*“Oh yes, to a very large extent, if we understand sovereignty as the totality of a country’s hold on its citizens in terms of territorial protection, in terms of having a population, in terms of having citizens who are very vocal in speaking against the ills of society and citizens who partner to promote the progress of the country. Then again, the leadership at the time were dealing with a virus and there was some information causing pandemonium these are all sovereignty issues coz if your population is threatened, if you are in a state of emergency, you must produce executive instruments within that period which will definitely in a way affect sovereignty. However, it will be a bit much to say the country lost its sovereignty and safe to say the country shared its sovereignty to advance the health and safety of its citizens as well as protect its territorial integrity” Respondent 2*

As such it can be well argued that the COVID-19 pandemic although to some extent threatened the sovereignty of the state, the nation did not lose its sovereignty as it still and currently satisfies the features of sovereignty.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 4.0 Introduction

This research attempted to investigate Ghana's foreign policy decisions and foreign policy measures during the COVID-19 pandemic to assess the implications of the pandemic on the nation's foreign policy, and sovereignty. This chapter will thus present a summary of the study's findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study. The study proceeds from the premise that the COVID-19 pandemic has a significant implication on Ghana's foreign policy decisions, the state's sovereignty as well as international development. Using a qualitative approach in pursuing the study goals, data was drawn from respondents. This final chapter is divided into three sections. The initial section will capture the research's key findings based on the overarching research question of how did national interest shape Ghana's foreign policy during the COVID-19 pandemic? What are the specific foreign policy responses made by the Ghanaian government to safeguard its citizens from COVID-19? How did the COVID-19 pandemic affect Ghana's foreign policy decisions, sovereignty, and national development? The second section juxtaposes the key findings with extant literature to draw a meaningful conclusion. The final section of the chapter will provide some useful recommendations that can be implemented by the essential stakeholders.

#### 4.1 Summary of Major Findings

One of the study's key findings was that Ghana's borders were closed, which decreased the rate of viral infection and community spread. This action limited the virus's ability to spread within Ghana and helped to safeguard the populace of the nation. The COVID-19 pandemic, however, also made clear that Ghana's emergency health response system had serious flaws. The

government was forced to act quickly in response to the crisis because the nation's healthcare system was not prepared to handle it.

The study also discovered that although Ghana's foreign policy responses to the pandemic had many positive outcomes, they also restricted several crucial aspects of the state's foreign policy, such as the idea of good neighborliness. For instance, the border closures made it difficult for people and commodities to freely cross them, which had a detrimental effect on trade and commerce between Ghana and its neighbors.

Ghana's response to the pandemic limited some of the nation's most vital foreign policy objectives. The study discovered that even though Ghana's foreign policy responses to the epidemic achieved many positive benefits, it inadvertently limited crucial foreign policy characteristics of the state, such as the nation's commitment to good neighbourliness. For instance, the closure of the borders restricted the free flow of products and people over the frontiers, which had a negative influence on trade and commerce between Ghana and its neighbouring countries.

Another finding made is that the pandemic disrupted worldwide trade and travel, resulting in a decline in the exchange of goods, services, and people between nations. This had a significant effect on Ghana's economy, which is primarily dependent on exports and tourism.

The pandemic has disrupted global trade and supply systems, reducing the flow of goods and services between countries. This has harmed Ghana's economy, which is heavily reliant on exports. This is one of the findings that emerged from the study.

## 4.2 Conclusion

Ghana's response to the CoVID-19 pandemic saw the nation being hailed as one of the best among its African counterparts, especially in its innovative testing approach and science-driven political leadership. Although several studies have focused on the international response to the pandemic in Ghana, very few studies have investigated the impact of Ghana's foreign policy measures during the pandemic to safeguard and protect its citizens as well as the implications of the pandemic on the nation's foreign policy, sovereignty, and development. The findings of the study revealed that although Ghana's foreign policy responses to the pandemic have yielded a lot of positive results, in a way, it constrained some important foreign policy attributes of the state such as the nation's principle of good neighbourliness.

## 4.3 Recommendations

- The pandemic is probably changing Ghana's foreign policy priorities, with a stronger emphasis on procuring medical supplies, vaccinations, and other resources to confront the pandemic. To be able to appropriately handle future situations of this sort, the Ghanaian government must retool its health institutions.
- There may have been less face-to-face diplomatic meetings as a result of the limits on international travel and gatherings, which may have restricted the ability of Ghanaian officials to engage in international diplomacy. In place of traditional face-to-face diplomacy, the government must now incorporate a digital framework into its diplomatic architecture. Digital tools like video conferencing, online meetings, and social media profiles and networks could greatly enhance Ghana's diplomatic prospects.

- Economic impact: The COVID-19 pandemic has significantly impacted the world economy, which can have an impact on Ghana's relations with other countries regarding commerce and investment. To combat the COVID-19 pandemic's downturn, Ghana needs step up its multilateral cooperation with other nations, which could result in stronger global alliances and connections.
- The epidemic has brought to light the significance of improved global coordination and collaboration in addressing issues like economic recovery. Ghana must work with its international friends to lessen the pandemic's economic effects.



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## APPENDIX

### INTERVIEW GUIDE

#### **HOW DID NATIONAL INTEREST SHAPE GHANA'S FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE COVID 19 PANDEMIC**

-Can you Identify some of Ghana's National Interests?

Ghana Beyond Aid Agenda?

What are the national interests of Ghana under the Akuffo Addo Administration?

- Do you believe national interests played a key role in shaping the nation's foreign policy decisions in times of COVID, explain.

- To what degree did these national interests shape the nation's foreign policy decisions?

#### **WHAT ARE THE SPECIFIC FOREIGN POLICY RESPONSES MADE BY THE GHANAIAN GOVERNMENT TO SAFEGUARD ITS CITIZENS FROM COVID-19?**

- what specific foreign policies were implemented by the government to protect its citizens during the pandemic?

- How did these individual foreign policy arrangements safeguard the citizens of Ghana?

- Do you believe these arrangements will be permanent or temporary? explain

- In summary, what are your views on these specific foreign policies and their influence in safeguarding citizens of the state?

#### **HOW DID THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC AFFECT FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS, SOVEREIGNTY AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT?**

- To what degree did the COVID-19 pandemic impact the nation's foreign policy decisions? Explain

- To what degree did the COVID-19 pandemic threaten the nation's sovereignty? Explain

- To what degree did the COVID-19 pandemic threaten the overall development of Ghana?