



How The Feminist Sweden Respond to COVID-19: Feminist Foreign Policy Analysis on Sweden's Development Aid to Uganda

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ABSTRACT

As an initiator of Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP), Sweden has become an example of a country's political transformation to Feminism. Sweden has repeatedly emphasized their identity as a feminist country through FFP in five focuses: development, defense, aid, trade and diplomacy. Their eccentric identity is then challenged by the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic, causing people to ask how "Feminist" foreign policy would transform and adapt to the pandemic using their gender perspective. This article discusses Sweden's effort through FFP, specifically in providing development aid to one of their main assistance targets, Uganda, in the midst of COVID-19. The data is collected by qualitative research through library research and literature study. The primary source is the Swedish government official sites, reports, and speeches. Other than describing states' roles, this analysis also includes the roles of some United Nations (UN) agencies as the leading distributor of Sweden's development aid to Uganda. Therefore, reports from UN agencies were also gathered as secondary sources. This study uses empirical feminism theory and examines the change Sweden brought in their FFP by providing a priority list of Sweden's development aid to Uganda from 2018 to 2021. The list was collected to analyze the relevance of Sweden's FFP-making process with feminist values, especially in responding to an unprecedented crisis.

Keywords: Feminist Foreign Policy, Sweden, Humanitarian Assistance, Uganda, COVID-19.

1 INTRODUCTION

In 2014, Sweden adopted and initiated Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP), a political framework aimed to further translate Feminism theory to more tangible guidelines for states to form their foreign policy. Aligned with its root, FFP seeks to replace the traditional approach of foreign policy thinking brought by IR main theories, which dwells on military force, violence, masculinity, and domination by proposing to rethink the concept of security using an intersectionality approach. The target of FFP is to break the vicious circle of "patriarchy, colonization, heteronormativity, capitalism, racism, imperialism, and militarism" to dignify the experiences and opportunities of women and marginalized communities[1]. The long-term goal of this framework is to confront and replace the violent global systems of power using the lens of Feminism. This adoption of FFP was followed by other states, such as England in 2016, Canada in 2017, Germany in 2018, and Mexico and United States in 2020. France, Luxembourg, Scotland, Hawaii, and Spain have also pledged to adopt FFP.

In the Swedish Handbook, it is explained that Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy has five focuses, which are aid, trade, defense, development, and diplomacy[2]. The Foreign Service—Swedish governmental body under The Ministry for Foreign Affairs who is responsible for Sweden's relations with other countries—arranged these five focuses to implement the Swedish FFP principle, Three Rs. The Three Rs principle came from their commitment to "strengthen all women's and girls' Rights, backed with Resources and supporting increased female Representation." [3]. This shows that the Swedish Foreign Service promotes women's and marginalized communities' rights and freedom from violence and discrimination, which will be done by allocating resources needed to promote gender justice and support women's participation in decision-making processes.

Sweden has put out 84 percent of its overseas development assistance (ODA) for gender equality as a principal or significant objective. Between 2015-2016, the Swedish government also increased its support to women's rights organizations by 35 percent[4]. Stockholm has made its agency that exclusively takes

measures on global development and strives to reduce world poverty called the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) to become more inclusive and carry out a feminist perspective on its work. Therefore, Sida is being placed as part of the Swedish Government's Gender Mainstreaming in Government Agencies [5].

As reported by The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated gender inequality worldwide, where gender inequality issues have increased in number and severity[6]. Uganda, one of the biggest donee of SIDA, has experienced a much worse gender inequality rate due to COVID-19. Women are more likely to experience gender-based discrimination, violence in the workplace environment, sexual coercion, and gender stigma that affect women's productivity and performance[7]. The report assessing the relation between GBV and COVID-19 pandemic in Uganda has shown that there are nine direct and indirect paths linking the two factors [8].

As one of the biggest foreign aid donors to Uganda, Sweden, through their FFP, has several development aid programs, whether distributed through NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) or UN (United Nations) agencies. Seeing that Uganda is one of the African countries struggling with gender equality, this article will specifically focus on Uganda's social condition, especially when the COVID-19 pandemic hit. Using Uganda's case, this article tries to answer the question of the effectiveness of Sweden's FFP amid uncertainty about the pandemic. Will Feminism bring much difference in foreign aid? What changes did Sweden bring into their development aid to handle the pandemic in a feminist way? This research hopes to reveal the transformation Sweden has to make in their foreign aid program in responding to an unprecedented crisis through Feminist Foreign Policy.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In 2018, Aggestam wrote a journal article titled "Theorising Feminist Foreign Policy"[9] which confronts the problem of implementing ethical foreign policy, good international citizenship, and sound statehood that is still gender-blind. The authors offer an analytical framework that corrects all of this by prioritizing the presence of gender inequality and discrimination that hinders a country's ethical ambitions to create international justice. Since the topic of FFP is still relatively "fresh" in the IR research area, this journal provides validity for my research that analyzes FFP. Specifically, they explain this framework by providing a critical evaluation of FFP's ability to capture local experiences by taking into account the voices of women and other intersectional subjects in making FFPs that are supposed to be ethical.

Thomson explains his argument about how a country's FFP can take the form or have a different focus from another country's FFP[10]. In this journal, the case used is a comparison between Swedish and Canadian FFP. The point of argument of this journal which is particularly useful to the author is the explanation of the focus, problem, and background of the Swedish FFP. In our case, our research focuses more on Sweden's foreign policy in the form of development aid granted to Uganda amid COVID-19.

A book chapter titled "Situating Canada's Feminist Foreign Policy Priorities in the Context of the COVID-19 Pandemic and a Rapidly Changing Global Context," written by Rebecca Tiessen in the book "Political Turmoil in Tumultuous World: Canada and International Affairs" argues that countries need to raise the issue of growing gender inequality to ensure foreign policy priorities are responsive and proactive in addressing systemic discrimination, such as issues of racism, sexism, ableism and how the health and economic crises born from the COVID-19 pandemic [11]. This journal and our research have several similarities, namely, the object of research are FFP, and the time setting is the COVID-19 pandemic. This journal helps validate the urgency of my research because both discuss the priorities of a Feminist country in forming its FFP during the COVID-19 pandemic. Apart from different countries, this journal does not discuss changes before and during the pandemic, which is the difference between the journal and our research.

Highly related and continuing from the journal article "Theorising Feminist Foreign Policy," Journal article "Feminist Foreign Policy 3.0: Advancing Ethics and Gender Equality in Global Politics" written by Karin Aggestam and Annika Bergman Rosamond in 2019 [12] analyze Sweden's FFP in the debate over gender-based politics and ethics at the global level. This paper uses the three Rs as a part of their analysis on Sweden's FFP and is helpful for our research because it helps the process of comparison and data validation or assessing the implementation of the Swedish FFP from theory to practice and how the process has evolved.

Mazurana and Maxwell in the World Peace Foundation and Feinstein International Center, Tufts University Report, entitled "Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy: Implications for Humanitarian Response" describe the efforts of the Swedish FFP (from the pillars of Rights, Representation, and Resources) in providing humanitarian assistance to other countries, where one of the country cases discussed is Uganda[13]. Each pillar describes the background, implementation indicators, and humanitarian focus used by Sweden in planning and implementing its FFP. This report is helpful for the authors to look at the Swedish FFP aid program before the COVID-19 pandemic, to later be used as a reference in comparison with the Swedish FFP humanitarian aid program in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. The use of the Uganda case

reference as one of the targets for providing humanitarian assistance in this report also assisted the author's analysis in seeing the different needs and backgrounds of gender issues in Uganda which are the considerations for determining the provision of assistance through the Swedish FFP.

3. METHODS

This research used the descriptive-qualitative method with a literature study as the primary source to compose the analysis. It focuses on information on development aid Sweden gave Uganda through FFP before and when the COVID-19 pandemic hit. The leading official site the authors used was the Swedish government website called OpenAID, which is a site that provides information on Swedish development and cooperation aid built on government data said to be transparently guaranteed. Through this site, the authors gathered foreign aid reports from Sweden to Uganda starting from 2018 to 2021. The data from OpenAID is cross-checked with reports and publications from the related aid distributor or partner, frequently from United Nations agencies. This article used Empirical Feminism to support the analysis. It is a form of Feminism that tries to reinterpret the concept and definition of power, which has only been understood by the male perspective and men's experience as the primary source of global phenomenon analysis, including foreign policy analysis. This theory is used to deduct later whether the different responses toward the COVID-19 pandemic in Sweden's FFP took accurately reflect Empirical Feminism.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Top Five Funds in 2018

A profound run down into Sweden's assistance data in 2018, it can be seen that their most substantial aid was recorded in the **UN Women Joint Programme on Gender Based Violence This program was a United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)** and United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) joint application to carry out the program that focuses on Gender-Based Violence in Uganda during the 5 years 2018-2023 [14]. Sida is working closely with UNFPA and UN Women to ensure the effective implementation of this programme. In 2018, Sida spent 6,098,684 USD on the program [15]. The results from this program are not apparent yet, since it is in the first year of implementation. However, this program has set a precise regulation on Uganda's response to GBV and passed a Bill that can safeguard women from violations. The program also reforms the gender assessment of Local Government with scores improving from 48% for

FY 2019/2020 to 58% [16]. The more significant change will be expected in the following years as the aid increases.

The second most significant aid that the Swedish government has committed to is the **Democratic Governance Facility Phase II**. This program encapsulates the design of the second five-year phase and commences on January 1, 2018. It consists of a context analysis of democratic governance trends in Uganda, gender equality, and human rights analysis, including the social and political prospects for change, impact and outcome statements, and indicators for DGF II [17]. Sida has committed 11,700,012 USD for this program with an overall vision to improve Uganda, where citizens are empowered to engage in democratic governance. The state upholds citizens' rights. The result may not be as significant in the first year of this program. However, it is still setting good conditions and resources for gender-based perspectives in government [18].

Sweden's third primary development aid in Uganda is centered around the project of **"Climate Resilience Livelihood Opportunities for Women Economic Empowerment"** (CRWEE). It aims to advance the economic empowerment of rural women as a means of addressing gender inequalities, female subordination, and discrimination and household poverty especially in West Nile and Karamoja regions of Uganda. The Swedish government through Sida has set 9,174,491 USD, and in 2018 alone Sida has given 5,188,829 USD to FAO as partner and distributor of this program [19]. There has not been any significant change since its a new program. However, the program has helped to give accurate data for further improvement.

Sweden and UNICEF established a program that supports the **"Improving Maternal, Newborn and Child Health through Integrated Approaches"**. UNICEF submitted an application to Sida for the program mentioned above with an initial budget of SEK 35 million for 2017-2018 [20]. The proposed support to UNICEF aims to contribute to the reduction of maternal, neonatal and child mortality, as well as improved child health and development in the West Nile region, by strengthening the capacity of the health sector to provide quality maternal and child health care. The results of this program can be exemplified by an increase in four or more antenatal care (ANC) visits from 40% to 51% and 52% in 2017, 2018 and 2019 respectively, with seven out of eleven districts reporting a gain in number (Sida, 2022). In total, 69% of pregnant mothers were reported to have delivered in health facilities in the region in 2019, compared to 70% in 2018 [21].

The fifth program that the Swedish government approved the aid proposal is focused on the human rights situation in the conflict-affected areas of Northern and North-Eastern Uganda. **OHCHR Promotes and protects human rights** in Uganda and

partnered with Sida to be their donor party with an annual budget that they have set at USD 5,590,000. OHCHR has specific frameworks and pillars that have been used in Uganda to safe work their program. The thematic pillars that OHCHR is using; first, Mechanisms which means increasing the implementation of the international human rights mechanisms outcomes. This aims to increase the implementation of international human rights in Uganda. Second pillar is a development where OHCHR attempts to integrate human rights in sustainable development. The third pillar focuses on accountability which carries out a program to strengthen the rule of law and accountability for human rights violations, especially in vulnerable regions [22].

4.2 Top Five Funds in 2019

The UN Women Joint Programme on Gender-Based Violence in Uganda program is a continuation of the program in 2018. With the same aims and framework that both Sida and UNFPA had agreed on before. This continuation, however, brought new progress and results as the program became visible and the aids were distributed. Sida has made it clear that every program they supported needs to utilize a gender-based perspective. This program continues this implementation through its framework. In 2019, Sida committed USD 6,345,245, which increased by around 300,000 USD from the previous year [23]. The joint program operationalized Sexuality Education in 2019; this program will make sex education more accessible, decrease the false stigma in society, and increase the utilization of quality integrated GBV and SRHR services in the target districts [24].

Sweden's government supported a new program in 2019; this appraisal forms the basis decision to support the **World Bank's "Reproductive, Maternal and Child Health Services Improvement Project"** in Uganda. The "Uganda Reproductive, Maternal, and Child Health Services Improvement Project" was executed by the World Bank and distributed by the Ministry of Health (MoH), and co-funded by IDA and GFF Trust Fund [25]. The planned support objective is to improve the quality of care, Access, and utilization of essential health services within RMNCAH and scale up birth and death registration activities in targeted districts in Uganda [26]. The overall project objectives are to improve the utilization of essential health services focusing on reproductive, maternal, child, and adolescent health services in target districts and scale-up birth and death registration services. In 2019, Sida committed USD 5,287,704 for this program [27].

Democratic Governance Facility II, 2018 - 2022 in 2019, is also the continuation of last year's program with the same focus and target that attempted to be achieved the year before. Moreover, with 2019 aid Sweden through Sida, has given USD 5,287,704, which

has not been a significant change from the year before [28]. Moreover, the result that can be seen is educational programs to increase people's awareness about democracy and good governance. However, the program has longer goals to strengthen democratic processes in Uganda and increase human rights protection and gender equality [29].

The following program is a continuing program that started in 2015 and is still supported by the Swedish government. Sida's commitment yearly to **Bilateral Research Cooperation Uganda 2015-2022** is not high. However, seeing that this is a research program, it would be more suited for Sida in 2019, who committed USD 1,831,267 and worked closely with five universities in Uganda [30]. It is an ongoing program for support to strengthen research capacity and institution building within the framework for Sweden's bilateral research cooperation with Uganda. The five-year program, from 2015-2020, aims to intensify the production and use of scientific knowledge of international research, which shall contribute to Uganda's development. The program consists of 17 projects; the majority of projects Swedish universities collaborate with Makerere University and four Ugandan regional partner universities [31].

The last project that Sida supported in 2019 was **SRHR Umbrella Grant in Uganda** focused on supporting NGOs and community-based organizations (CBOs) to deliver quality services rather than trying to make changes to the regulations and constitution. It is a natural action that is mainly organized by NGOs and CBOs in order to give fast and reliable support for children, girls and young women, people living with HIV, marginalized groups, including men who have sex with men, sex workers, truckers and fisher-folks and LGBT people [32]. Communities whose SRHR needs are not met are highly vulnerable to HIV. A considerable part of our work is to integrate HIV and SRHR services so that people can access them together at the same time.

4.3 Top Five Funds in 2020

In 2020, which is when the COVID-19 pandemic started in the world, Sweden's FFP development aid fund priority changed. The priority fund was allocated to the **"COVID-19 WFP - UNICEF Joint Programme on Social Protection in Uganda 2019 - 2024"**. Originally, this program was not explicitly made to handle the COVID-19 pandemic, but rather to achieve social protection by improving economic inclusion of households and maternal and child health and nutrition to children and mothers in West Nile. The total amount of funds they committed is USD 26,174,135 [33]. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, Sweden decided to reprogram the funds to address COVID-19, where they reallocated USD 4.2 million as an "emergency cash transfer" targeted to pregnant and

lactating women (PLW), also children under two years old (U2) They began transferring 2,714,529 USD worth of funds from July to December 2020 The funds reached 62,261 beneficiaries for six refugee hosting districts, where 42% were PLW, and 58% were U2, with 59% of them identified as refugees and 41% were nationals [34] This fund was distributed by the World Food Programme (WFP) [35].

The second priority fund was allocated to **World Bank Reproductive, Maternal and Child Health Services 2017 - 2022** program, which is a project made by the World Bank whose objectives are to improve health care services focusing on the reproductive, maternal child, and adolescent health (RMCAH) in the selected districts and implementing national registration of birth and death [36] This aid is an implementation of Sweden's RMNCAH Sharpened Plan 2016-2020, who have the same objectives with this program The responsible actors are SIDA, and the implementer was the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) The third priority fund allocation for 2020 was still the same with 2019, which was to **Democratic Governance Facility II 2018 - 2022** The two main differences we found in both years is the increased fund from 5,287,704 USD to 5,429,058 USD [37].

Like the priority, the fourth priority fund was also allocated to a reprogrammed program called the **COVID-19 UNICEF maternal & newborn health West Nile 2017 - 2021**. This reprogramming creates two additional outputs and a cost extension. The first one is improved health sector capacity in preparing for and responding to the COVID-19 pandemic by enhancing and improving the capacity of the Ministry of Health and District Task Forces to coordinate, plan, implement, monitor, and report on COVID-19 activities [38] The second is ensuring the sustainability of the health sector capacity to distribute and deliver health services Lastly, this reprogramming also comes in the form of cost extension of USD 100,700 for Sida's Africa Department and Africa's embassies to implement their new initiatives and addition of SEK 42 million on June 30, 2020, to address UNICEF's need for additional resources [39].

Also similar to the first and fourth priority allocation, the fifth fund was granted to **UN Women Uganda 2020 - 2023** program This is a support program for UN Women in Uganda as a part of the UN Women Country Program Sida as a donor, contributes mainly through project support, results-based management and evaluation This program includes four focus areas, which are women's leadership in governance, financial independence, rights to be free of all forms of violence, and opportunities to contribute to making sustainable peace [40] Overall, this program did not have any specific changes on COVID-19 mitigation. However, the focus of this aid was to help sustain UN Women's programs and assist Uganda in facing COVID-19

pandemic restrictions. Other than that, Sweden also funded the Uganda Police Force to deal with the rising violence cases by dedicating a free hotline for reporting GBV cases against women and girls [41].

4.4 Top Five Funds in 2021

Unlike in 2020, the priority fund given by Sweden to Uganda through development aid was not related to the COVID-19 program anymore. In 2021, the first fund priority seemed to revert to the **UNFPA - UN Women Joint Programme on Gender Based Violence in Uganda 2018 - 2023** program. This program disappeared from the top five list in 2020 but came back as the first one in 2021, where they granted USD 6,062,797[42]. Even if they did not make any payments in 2020, the programs to combat GBV were still ongoing. The program also moved to the education sector, where around 364 senior teachers, school nurses, doctors, and district local governments were given training on Menstrual Hygiene Management (MHM) to prepare sexuality education in 2021 [43].

The fifth priority fund in 2020 moved to the second priority fund in 2021. This year, the **UN Women Uganda 2020 - 2023** program is more focused on the political situation of Uganda. The most highlighted political event in 2021 is the Ugandan General Election, which was held on January 14. However, the focus areas of the programs were still the same as last year. In 2021, they made the payment twice, on March 28 for SEK 20 million and December 28 for SEK 30 million [44]. These payments completed their fund commitment.

The third priority fund in 2021 is the same as the second one in 2020, the **World Bank Reproductive, Maternal, and Child Health Services 2017 - 2021** Since there were many activities being hindered by the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, Sida, alongside the World Bank, focused on redeeming their expected objectives which were disturbed One of the most concerning cases is the increase in teenage pregnancies due to school closures Therefore in 2021, some of the funds were allocated to the education field, such as scholarships and mentorships By September 30, 2022 scholarship recipients had finished their studies in nursing, of which 100 were deployed to support care and health units managing people affected by COVID-19 [45] Even with the same amount of funds given in 2020 (SEK 50 million), a review of indicators on the Results Framework shows that there has been an improvement in performance in 2021, hence the rating on implementation progress was increased from 'moderately satisfactory' in 2020 to 'satisfactory' in 2021[46].

The fourth priority fund for 2021 was a program that has never been in the top five list from 2018 to 2020 The program is called the **IDLO - Access to Justice**

Programme - 2018 - 2023 IDLO (International Development Law Organization) is an intergovernmental organization that promotes the rule of law. In 2017, Sweden became a state member of IDLO. In 2018, IDLO proposed a program to Sida called the "Community Justice Programme in Uganda 2018-2023", a program aimed to "enhance access to justice for women and men living in poverty, especially in the rural areas of Uganda" [47]. This year, Sida endowed their first payment for USD 3,739,759 out of USD 17,548,099. The authors found that on March 16, 2020 the Ugandan Government signed the Host Country Agreement with IDLO [48]. It means the implementation of the program can be immediately started. Even so, Sida still granted USD 2,171,623 to IDLO in 2020. The following year in 2021, they continued their funding, paying USD 5,363,243 to IDLO [49]. The total paid amount is USD 11,274,625.

The fifth priority fund of 2021 is the **COVID-19 WFP - UNICEF Joint Programme on Social Protection in Uganda 2019 - 2024** program. Specifically, on December 9, 2021, the program launched a Nutrition-sensitive Cash transfer (NutriCash) in Arua District with the theme "Towards Zero Hunger!" [50]. This program offers a link between household transfer and the health system component to help vulnerable households to afford nutritious food and services. The cash transfer acts as a second round of emergency funds in response to the COVID-19 pandemic. This design was agreed upon and endorsed by the Development Response to Displacement Impacts (DRDIP) in September. Sida granted USD 2,914,806 on March 28 and USD 2,098,660 on September 28 [51].

Combining the data from the Top Five Fund from 2018-2021, Table 1 below shows the result of our research. As we can see, each program is given a color code. It is done to help readers visually see the changes in priority funds. Besides that, we can also see the recurrence of some programs in the priority list. Based on this, from the description of the fund and the table, every aid in Sweden's FFP given to Uganda was related to gender issues. Seen by their objectives and results of the aid, it is safe to say that Sweden's FFP through Sida does use a gender perspective in every development aid. Their allocation and objective of funds can further corroborate this.

Since 2015, the Swedish government has built a joint program with several Uganda universities and Think Tank groups to support and strengthen capacity building in Uganda through academics, one of which supports research development. This program is not the most extensive and advanced program the Swedish government has committed to advance the program. However, this program is substantially important because it is rare for Sida to give an amount of money without using a gender-based perspective in the program. Bilateral Research Cooperation Uganda, 2015-2022, is a byproduct of the Feminist government, yet this program does not include any gender-based framework inside. It is an anomaly because most of the top five programs that Sida support have at least one gender-based framework. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the Swedish government is ignoring their Feminist Foreign Policy. The output of this program is mainly research and journal articles talking about gender issues, especially in Uganda.

Based on our run down, we can also see that UNFPA - UN Women Joint Programme on Gender Based Violence in Uganda 2018 - 2023 is the main program Sweden continuously supported. This is in line with Sweden's commitment since 2007 to combat men's violence against women, oppression, and violence in relationships. It is also following Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy objectives to achieve "freedom from physical, psychological and sexual violence." However, during the year where COVID-19 outbreak happened in 2020, the program did not even get an "honorable mention" on the list the point where there was no fund allocated to fund the program. It was because priority was given to health concerns and social protection. In 2020, two programs funded by Sida made it into the top five list. It is reported that activities in the education, health and legal sectors were still active but have adapted to the COVID-19 restrictions. Besides that, in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic, every aid in the top five list has either allocated to committed support to mitigate the COVID-19 pandemic or reprogrammed their fund to mitigate the COVID-19 pandemic; either way, 2020 was the year we can see the adaptation of the objectives of the aid due to the pandemic. Even though the COVID-19 pandemic became a new 'background' for the aid, gender and women's experience never got out of the picture.

Table 1 Data Analysis

Priority	1	2	3	4	5
Year					

2018	UNFPA - UN Women Joint Programme on Gender-Based Violence in Uganda 2018 - 2023	Democratic Governance Facility II 2018 - 2022	Support to FAO - Climate Resilience Livelihood Opportunities for WEE	COVID-19 UNICEF maternal & newborn health West Nile 2017 - 2021	OHCHR, Promote and protect human rights in Uganda
2019	UNFPA - UN Women Joint Programme on Gender-Based Violence in Uganda 2018 - 2023	World Bank Reproductive, Maternal and Child Health Services 2017 - 2021	Democratic Governance Facility II 2018 - 2022	Bilateral research cooperation Uganda 2015 - 2022	Umbrella fund, RHR & HIV
2020	COVID-19 WFP - UNICEF Joint Programme on Social Protection in Uganda 2019 - 2024	World Bank Reproductive, Maternal and Child Health Services 2017 - 2021	Democratic Governance Facility II 2018 - 2022	COVID-19 UNICEF maternal & newborn health West Nile 2017 - 2021	UN Women Uganda 2020 - 2023
2021	UNFPA - UN Women Joint Programme on Gender-Based Violence in Uganda 2018 - 2023	UN Women Uganda 2020 - 2023	World Bank Reproductive, Maternal and Child Health Services 2017 - 2021	IDLO - Access to Justice Programme - 2018 - 2023	COVID-19 WFP - UNICEF Joint Programme on Social Protection in Uganda 2019 - 2024

Note sources from the authors.

5. CONCLUSION

By analyzing Sida's top five development aid priority funds to Uganda, we can see how the priority list from 2018 and 2019 (before the COVID-19 pandemic) changes in 2020 and 2021 (after the COVID-19 pandemic hits). This comparison is used to answer whether Sweden's FFP still uses gender perspective in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, and if so, how. For the first question, this paper argues that Sweden, through Sida still use their gender perspective and prioritize women's and girls' experiences in responding to COVID-19 in Uganda. It is seen every year that all programs in the top five list, which were granted by Sida, have the objective of achieving gender equality, be it in the health, politics, social, family care, and education sector. The adaptation process of responding to the pandemic did hinder many expected outcomes. However, in 2020, when the COVID-19 pandemic hit, Sida used two methods to keep the gender perspective as the foundation. First, most programs were

reprogrammed as emergency aid in response to the pandemic. Second, the programs that were not reprogrammed were added to some new objectives or adjustments to COVID-19 pandemic. By using these two methods, Sida was still able to focus on achieving its commitment as a Feminist country, both by prioritizing social protection during COVID-19 pandemic and inserting women's experiences as the primary consideration in giving development aid.

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