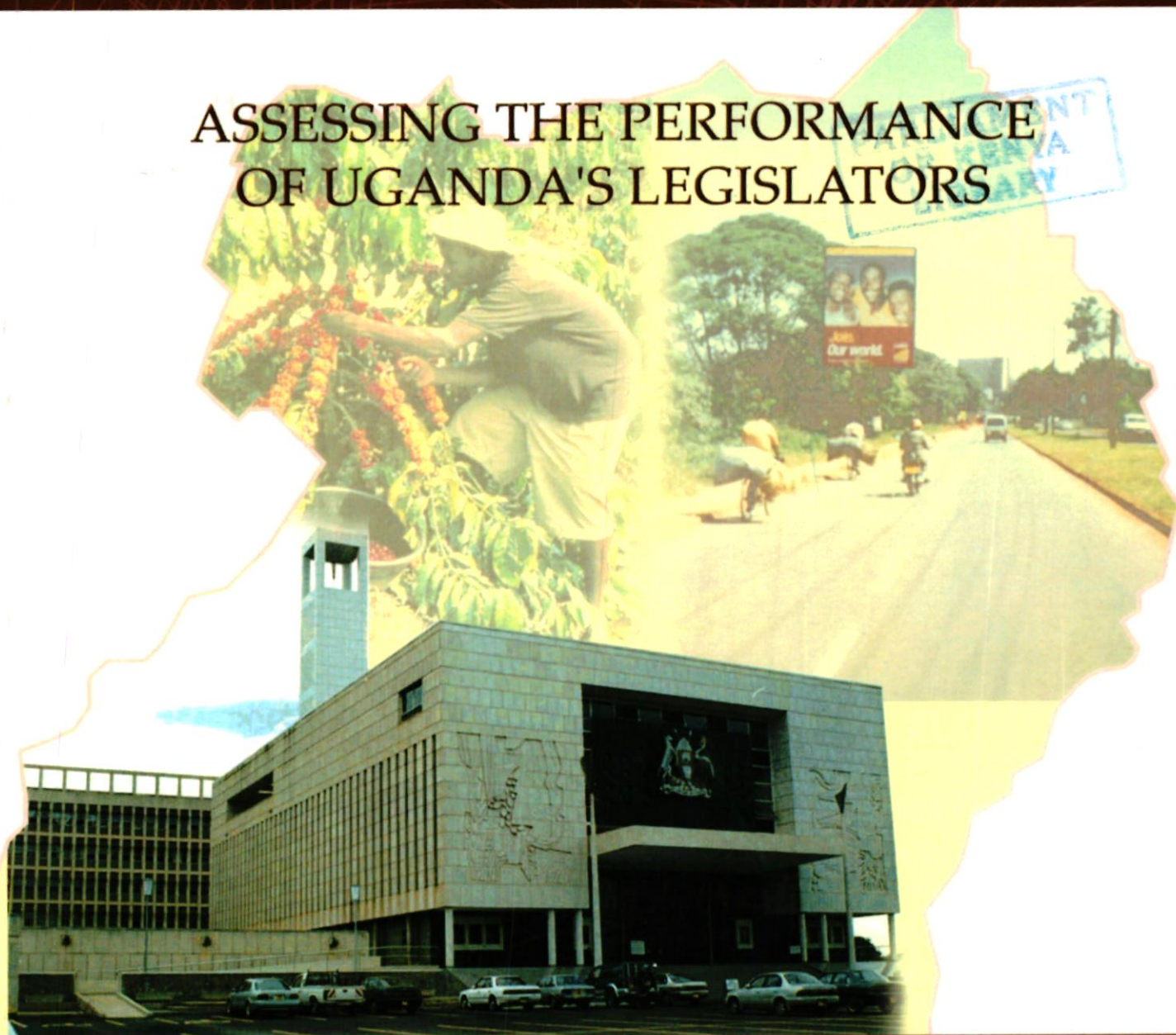
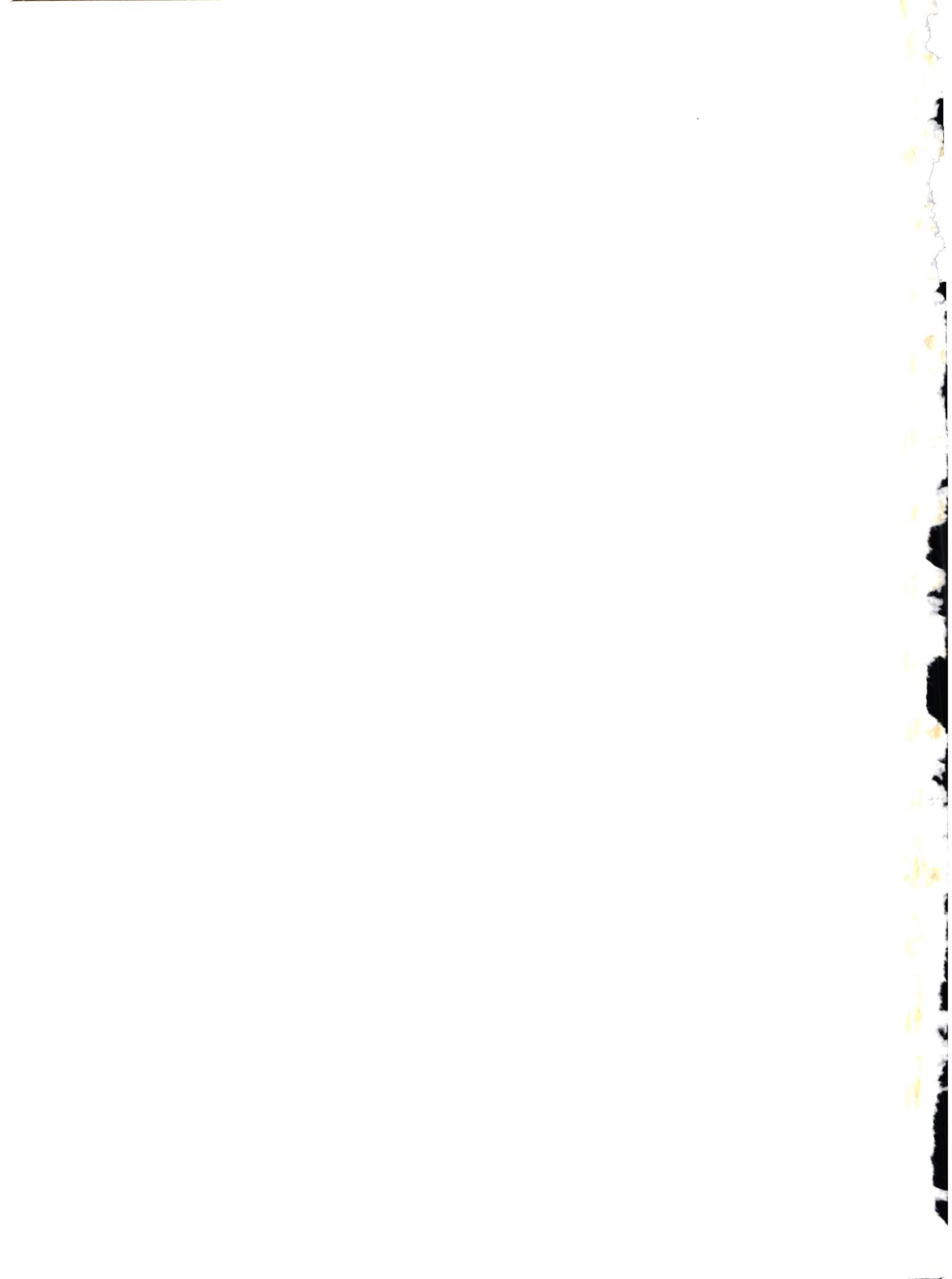


PARLIAMETARY SCORECARD 2009-2010

ASSESSING THE PERFORMANCE OF UGANDA'S LEGISLATORS



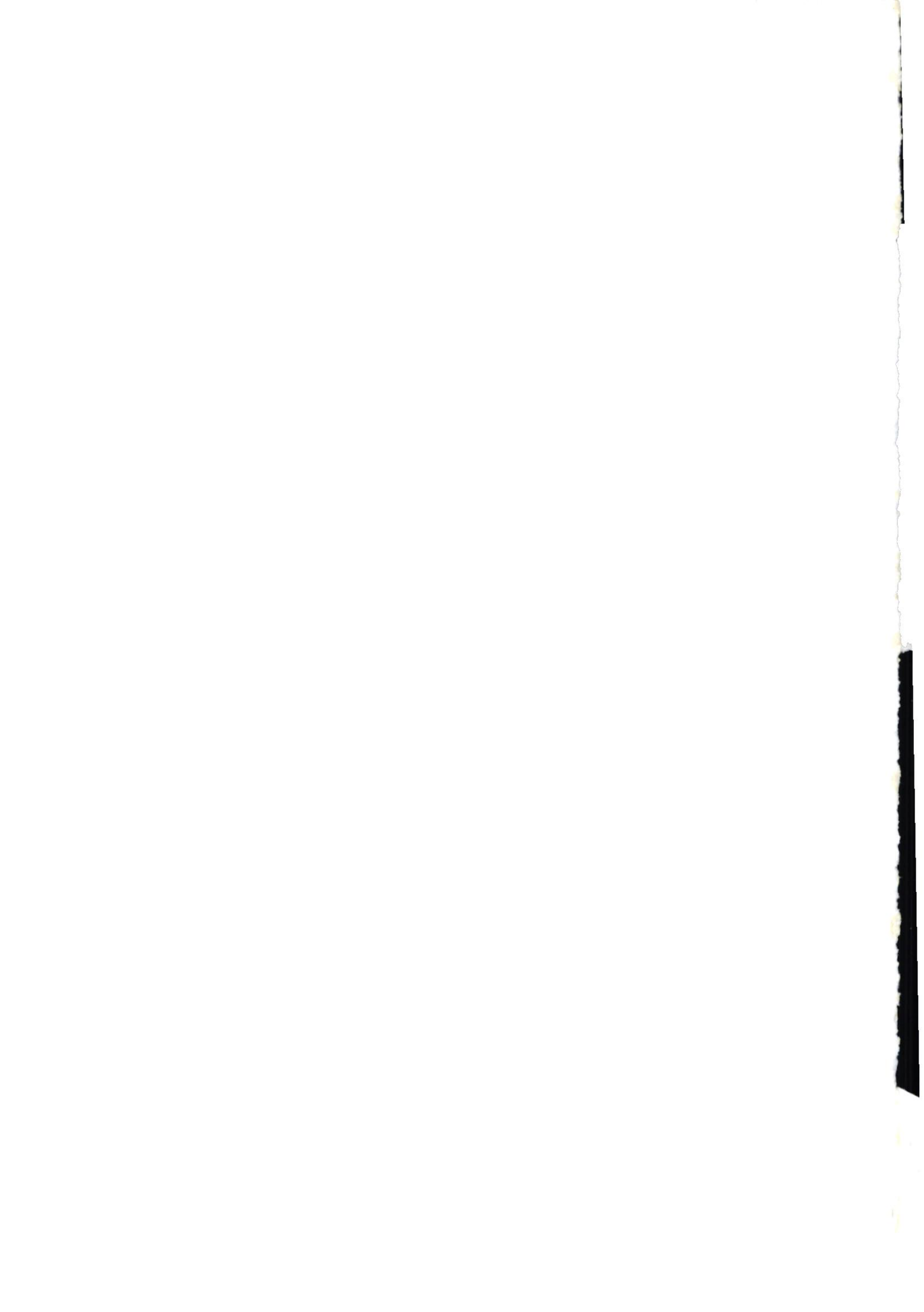
A Publication of Africa Leadership Institute (AFI)



PARLIAMETARY SCORECARD 2009 – 2010

ASSESSING THE PERFORMANCE OF
UGANDA'S LEGISLATORS





Parliamentary Scorecard 2009 – 2010: Assessing the Performance of Uganda's Legislators
A publication of the Africa Leadership Institute with technical support from Projset Uganda, Stanford University and Columbia University. Funding provided by the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Uganda and Deepening Democracy Program.

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Design and Printing by Some Graphics Ltd.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

AFLI is indebted to those who have assisted us in developing, refining, and strengthening the Parliamentary Performance Scorecard.

Over the course of the past year, we have benefited enormously from consultations with Parliament. Our discussions with the senior leadership of each political party and the Parliamentary Commission have greatly influenced the direction of this year's Scorecard, resulting in substantive changes and significant improvements. AFLI would also like to thank all of the Members of Parliament who took time out of their busy schedules to attend our consultative workshops in April 2008 and May 2009, assisting us in our efforts to make the methodology and information in the third incarnation of the Scorecard even richer than in previous versions. A number of MPs also shared their comments with us in private forums; we have made every effort to respond to the issues they raised.

The Scorecard for the 8th Parliament would not have been possible without the ongoing and substantial financial support of Deepening Democracy Programme (DDP) and the Royal Netherlands Embassy. AFLI wishes to thank Ambassador Jeroen Verheul of the Embassy of the Royal Kingdom of Netherlands and His Excellency Martin Shearman the British High Commissioner in particular for their vocal support of the Scorecard and for speaking at the launch of the First and Second Scorecards respectively. We would also like to thank Joyce Ngaiza and the rest of the staff at the Royal Netherlands Embassy for their help in making the Scorecard a success.

We are grateful also to those who have supported this project from its beginnings as a pilot project during the final year of the 7th Parliament. The United States Department of State's Human Rights and Democracy Fund provided timely funding to get the Scorecard off the ground.

Several offices and agencies of the Government of Uganda (GoU) have provided invaluable assistance in our data collection efforts. We are grateful to the Office of the Speaker of Parliament, the Office of the Clerk to Parliament and the staff of the Parliamentary Service for providing data on plenary and committee meetings. We also thank the members of the Parliamentary Commission for their valuable time and insightful comments during our consultations. We are grateful to the many Members of Parliament who responded to our survey request.

In addition to the institutional support of the aforementioned bodies, we appreciate the tireless efforts of the many people and organizations who worked with AFLI to make this year's Scorecard a

success. We are grateful to Nicole de Torrente, Simon Osborn, Frank Nyakana, Lilian Niyubawhe and the contributing governments of the Deepening Democracy Program comprising of Denmark, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and United Kingdom for their financial support and substantial efforts to ensure that the Scorecard is seen through to its conclusion, and we look forward to a long relationship with them. AFLI is also indebted to the National Democratic Institute for its invaluable assistance in the first constituency workshops. Director/Principal Consultant M.J. Robert Kintu and Fred Mubiru of Projset Consultants provided critical advice on the design and implementation of the Scorecard, and the research assistants seconded by Projset – Byamah Hillary, Gwoke Joachim, Kasirye Julius, Musunga Douglas, and Sebowa Solomon – contributed not only hours of often tedious computer work, but also their critical insight into the Ugandan political process.

We would also like to thank the people from AFLI who have made this project possible. The members of the Executive Board of AFLI were, in their various capacities, crucial in shaping the trajectory of the project. AFLI's former Executive Director, David Pulkol; current Executive Director Tobias Onweng; Margaret Esaete Jehopio Accountant; Programme Officer, Patrick Muhumuza and Administrative Assistant Daisy Arutun who provided much needed guidance and support. We also thank the Workshop Team Leaders Teopista Kizza and Werikhe Gerald Wanzala and their assistants Wanzala Martin, Babirye Joline, and Ntegyereize Gad for their tireless effort and constant movement around the country to get the Scorecard into the voters' hands. We greatly appreciate the strategic counsel and technical support provided by the senior external advisers to the project, Professor Macartan Humphreys of Columbia University and Professor Jeremy Weinstein of Stanford University. Nathan Falck and Jeffrey Love of Stanford University, Jessica Harris of Yale University, and Adam Harris of New York University served as Project Coordinators and we thank them for their superb and tireless work on behalf of the project. Thank you to Jeffrey Krutz of Michigan State University for preparing the maps of parliamentary constituencies from data made available by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics.

In addition, we thank Hon. Kyanjo Hussein and Hon. Sempala N. Nabilah for their cooperation in and support of our pilot constituency dissemination workshop. We owe a debt of gratitude to the approximately 400 people who helped to make the pilot constituency workshop a success by attending and actively participating in it. Special thanks to Makindye West LC-III Chairman Kalungi Kirumira M. and Vice Chairman Siraje K. Lubwama, workshop moderator Pastor Kagolola Ibrahim, and all of the participants in the workshop panel for helping to organize the workshop and keep it running smoothly.

The Scorecard report would not be as polished and complete without the useful comments of our peer reviewers: Robert Kintu Principal Consultant of Projset, Nicolas de Torrente of DDP, Gwada Ogot

of CCEDU, Peter Busiku of Parliament, Juma Okuku of Makerere University, and Kaweesa Robinson of Parliament.

We are grateful also to the many media houses and radio and television talk shows which reported on and facilitated the public debate about the contents and merits of the previous three Scorecards. Their hard work ensured that the vital information contained in the Scorecard reached voters around the country. We hope that they will continue to empower voters in their civic engagement with Parliament.

Finally, we would like to extend a thank you to the people of Uganda, whose comments and feedback have allowed us to continue to improve our methodology, and for whom this project is ultimately designed. We only hope that you find some use in its pages.

ABBREVIATIONS

AFLI – Africa Leadership Institute
Avg – Average
BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation
BB – Backbencher
Comm. – Committee
Constit. – Constituency
Cnty. – County
CDF – Constituency Development Fund
DDP – Deepening Democracy Program
DP – Democratic Party
DPM – Deputy Prime Minister
EC – Electoral Commission
EU – European Union
FB – Frontbencher
FDC – Forum for Democratic Change
GoU – Government of Uganda
HRC – Human Rights Commission
ICT – Information and Communication Technology
INDEP – Independent Party
JEEMA – Justice Education Economy Morality (Justice Forum)
KCC – Kampala City Council
LC – Local Council
LC-V – District Council
MP – Member of Parliament
NRM – National Resistance Movement
OPM – Office of the Prime Minister
Opp. – Opposition
PRO – Public Relations Office
PWD – People with Disabilities
Rep – Representative
UPC – Ugandan People’s Congress
UPDF – Ugandan People’s Defence Force

FOREWORD

To measure the performance of MPs, one must first be clear about the roles of an MP. In Uganda the roles the public expects their representatives to play are often at variance with the roles they are legally mandated to play.

One goal of the Scorecard is to help align voters' expectations of their MPs with the law's expectations of MPs. Voters who understand what their MPs should be doing are better able to gauge how well their MPs are performing. The Scorecard seeks to empower voters by both helping them to understand what their MPs should be doing and giving them the tools they need to assess whether or not their MPs are doing these things.

Many Ugandans expect MPs to single-handedly develop their constituencies, attend fund raisings and funerals, and pay school fees for their children. However, MPs cannot, and are not legally expected, to single-handedly transform their constituencies. They are expected to act as representatives of their constituents, ensuring that their voices are heard and their needs are met.

By law, MPs must take on four different roles; they must participate in legislative activities, surveillance activities, constituency activities, and party activities. By participating in the legislative process, MPs give their constituents an indirect role in shaping important policies which affect their lives. Article 79 of the Constitution of Uganda empowers Parliament to make laws on any matter for peace, order, development and good governance of Uganda. MPs are also supposed to act as effective watchdogs over the cabinet and bureaucracy so that neither abuses its responsibilities to Ugandans generally. Parliament is empowered in this endeavour by Article 164.

In addition to acting as legislators and watchdogs, MPs play secondary roles in their constituencies and in their parties. To represent their constituents effectively, MPs must find out which issues are most important to their constituents and what stances their constituents would like them to take on these issues. They must spend their Constituency Development Fund wisely and in ways that benefit the constituency as a whole, rather than specific individuals. MPs must attend district-level meetings and ensure that the needs of their constituents are being met. Finally, MPs must devote a great deal of time to providing assistance to individual constituents.

MPs of all parties have a role to play in fostering and protecting Ugandan democracy. The contribution of Opposition Members to the legislative and policy process is especially critical. Opposition Members' input, while critical, often results in substantive improvements. The participation of Government Members of Parliament in surveillance activities can highlight areas in which government performance genuinely is satisfactory or in which it has fallen short.

Finally, MPs are expected to play a number of concomitant roles, including: calling press conferences to express their people's views and interests, lobbying Ministers and bureaucrats on behalf of their constituents, and taking part in local events and official functions in their constituencies.

It is the goal of the Scorecard Project to provide voters with comprehensive and accurate information about the performance of their MPs so that they may better monitor them and ensure that their elected representatives fulfil their responsibilities as MPs. Beyond describing the performance of individual MPs, the Parliamentary Performance Scorecard assesses the performance of Parliament in general. Specifically, the report describes patterns of performance by party, ascension, gender group, and region in an effort to help voters understand how the institution itself is functioning and how their MP compares with others in the country.

The Parliamentary Scorecard is an innovative project that we hope will help to strengthen democracy in Uganda. It does not aim to find fault with MPs or Parliament, but instead to help Parliament serve its citizens better. This report covers the third session of the 8th Parliament of Uganda. The Scorecard will be produced annually, culminating in a consolidated report at the end of five years.

On behalf of the AFLI Board, I invite you to read this report, and it is my sincere hope that you find it useful in driving continued democratic reforms in Uganda.

Thank you,



Hon. Elly Karuhanga
Chairman Board of Directors
Africa Leadership Institute

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Democracies are premised on the idea that citizens can hold their leaders accountable for their actions by voting for or against them in regular elections. However, in order for this ideal to be realized, citizens must possess a minimum amount of information about their leaders' performance.

The Parliamentary Scorecard Project seeks to provide Ugandans with this critical information, thereby empowering them to monitor their elected representatives and to make informed choices at election time. The Parliamentary Performance Scorecards for the First, Second, and Third Sessions of the Eighth Parliament, released on 13 December 2007, 28 May 2009, and 28 July 2010 respectively, met with broad acceptance among MPs, civil society, the press, and the public. The Scorecards provided voters with valuable information, won widespread coverage in the press, and fostered a national dialogue about the roles and performance of MPs. Crucially, the Scorecards also captured the attention of Parliament.

At the request of a number of Members of Parliament, in April 2008 and May 2009 AFLI held workshops with MPs and members of civil society and the press to discuss possible reforms to the Scorecard. Following the workshops, AFLI revamped the Scorecard methodology to include reforms suggested by members of Parliament, civil society, academia and, the media among others. Those suggested reforms were implemented in each iteration of the Scorecard including the 2009 - 2010 Scorecard. This year's Scorecard is the culmination of months of dialogue, consultation, and revision.

The 2009- 2010 Scorecard is only a partial scorecard because it only assesses MPs on their Plenary and Committee Performance as well as the peer assessment measures. Due to the rapidly approaching elections, AFLI has so far only been able to gather and analyze data in these areas. However, Constituency data is currently being collected and entered and will be made available to voters soon. Unlike past scorecards, this scorecard does not include any new measures or data, but it still retains the methodology of the past scorecards. While there are no new measures, we do note three important aspects of the new scorecard:

- **Official Leave.** We recognize that many MPs have official responsibilities that take them outside of Kampala on occasion and which may cause them to miss plenary and committee sessions for legitimate reasons. For this reason, we requested from Parliament a list of official leaves granted to each MP to include in this year's Scorecard, and we received it. This is the second scorecard for which we have official leave data from Parliament.

- **Committee Transcripts.** Time constraints for both AFLI and Parliament has led to fluctuation in the amount of committee transcripts we have been able to include in each scorecard. There is unfortunately still no reliable and accessible system for the regular collection and filing of this important information. This scorecard contains a lower number of committee transcripts than previous scorecards. In the 2006 - 2007 Scorecard, we were only able to obtain 25% of the committee transcripts from Parliament. For the 2007 – 2008 Scorecard we collected about 36% of the committee transcripts and were thus able to provide a more complete Scorecard for more MPs. In 2008 – 2009 Scorecard we were only able to collect transcripts for about 27% of committee meetings. And finally, for 2009 – 2010, we obtained committee transcripts for only about 17% of committee meetings¹. Keeping in mind that some meetings are closed and others take place outside parliament, and for those meetings (and some meetings in parliament) we were unable to obtain transcripts. The lack of a systematic gathering of information in this area hampers the extent to which fully reliable measures are available for all MPs. Although committee transcript collection rate was low, we were able to obtain attendance records for about 75% of committee meetings this session. The high volume of attendance data relative to transcript data is illustrative of the benefit of a formal parliamentary documentation system. For this reason, AFLI once again emphasizes the need for Parliament to implement an official committee hansard.
- **Peer Assessment.** AFLI asks MPs to assess their fellow MPs through a Peer Assessment survey. However, when this survey was distributed to MPs, many were engaged in campaign activities and thus comparatively few MPs returned the completed survey. In total 38 MPs returned the survey, with each survey asking for information on 20 MPs. This yields up to 570 individual peer assessments, or an average of about 2 per MP. This is lower than in the past and makes this data more variable. In the past AFLI has used a policy of calculating Peer Assessment based on a minimum of three independent assessments for each MP, however with the lower returns this year this rule would prevent us from sharing much of what we learned with voters. Instead this year we elected to report peer assessments if there were at least two separate assessments for a given MP. Using this assessment provides scores on approximately 170 MPs. We note that while every score is based on at least two separate assessments by MPs the precision of these scores is weaker than in previous years.

¹ Readers should note that the amount of transcripts per committee varies greatly. See Appendix E for the number of transcripts and attendance logs obtained for each committee.

The accompanying report provides a thorough explanation of every measure on the Scorecard. It includes top ten tables for backbenchers and for ministers, shadow ministers, and committee chairpersons for most measures. The report also examines Parliament's overall performance and the performance of different subgroups within it. It compares Parliament's performance this year to its performance last year and provides the full set of scores for each MP, presented on individual Scorecards. In all our work constructing measures we have tried to be fully transparent in the ways that measures are constructed and to use measures that are as neutral as possible towards the different parties in parliament. We strongly encourage interested readers to examine the detailed explanations in order to understand the rationale behind them.

Some of the findings of the report include the following. Average plenary attendance was just 23% in 06/07, in 07/08 it climbed to 45%, and in 08/09 it further climbed to 52%, but in 09/10 average plenary attendance decreased to 48%. Average plenary participation continues to increase from 356 lines in 06/07 to 616 lines in 07/08, to 820 lines in 08/09, and finally jumped to 1437 in 09/10. Average debate influence increased from 2006 – 2009: 287 lines in 06/07, 927 in 07/08, 1915 in 08/09; however, it has decreased to 999 lines in 09/10. This suggests that MPs participate and engage one another in more systematic ways each year although the increase in lines spoken and fall in influence may suggest a decline in the quality of debate, a point which we encourage followers of parliament to examine. Female MPs have also improved in their performance from previous years in both Plenary and Committee performance. Also, PWD MPs have shown a marked improvement in both Plenary and Committee performance this year. And as with previous sessions, UPDF MPs continue to perform poorly across the board. Unfortunately, there has been a slight decrease in Committee Attendance from 44% in 2008 – 2009 to 38% in 2009 – 2010.

Assessing how MPs perform in Parliament through the Scorecard is only the first step. To fully develop the potential of the Scorecard as a mechanism for strengthening accountability in Uganda, AFLI has been committed to getting this information into the hands of voters. Because of language differences and the problems of illiteracy and a lack of access to television and radio in many rural constituencies, AFLI cannot rely on the publication of the Scorecard in Kampala alone. AFLI has been visiting voters directly in constituencies in an effort to deliver the information to those who ultimately cast the votes on election day.

Since March 2009, AFLI has been organizing civic education workshops in a sample of geographic constituencies. These workshops provide a forum in which representatives of AFLI can

present the results of the Scorecard in a way that the local population can understand. MPs are invited to attend the workshop held in their constituency in an effort to foster dialogue between constituents and MPs about the activities they undertake in Kampala.

Unfortunately, we cannot possibly visit every constituency in Uganda, so AFLI has identified a set of 147 constituencies in which we have been or will hold workshops. A list of these 147 constituencies is included at the end of the report. All constituents are encouraged to join us at the forum. To date, AFLI has completed workshops for 91 Constituency MPs and 31 District Women MPs. The AFLI Workshop teams have attempted 9 additional workshops; however, these workshops were disrupted for various reasons including the removal of MPs, the death of MPs, or local community and MP blockings. AFLI will conduct the remaining 14 workshops before the elections planned for February 2011. Although all MPs are invited to attend their constituency workshop, only 26 Constituency MPs attended but 42 sent representatives to their workshops, and only 14 District Women MPs attended and 12 sent representatives to their workshops.

In addition, in all areas in which AFLI holds workshops we will seek to provide constituents with updated information on the status of MP behaviour in the final weeks of January 2011 so that any improvements in behaviour can be fairly and duly communicated. This final dissemination provides voters in the selected constituencies with their MP's scores from Session I through Session IV (i.e. June 2006 – May 2010) on a single leaflet.

The founding principles of the Parliamentary Performance Scorecard are objectivity, transparency, and accuracy – values which we believe are embodied in this publication. But this is a living project that will grow and evolve over the remaining year of the Eighth Parliament and beyond. With this publication, we are setting an important precedent, an example that we hope civil society leaders in other countries, both in Africa and beyond, will find inspiring and useful.

REPORT ON THE PARLIAMENTARY PERFORMANCE SCORECARD

1 PURPOSE

Democracies are premised on the idea that citizens can hold their leaders accountable for their actions by voting for or against them in regular elections. However, in order for this ideal to be realized, citizens must possess a minimum amount of information about their leaders' performance. A well-informed public is a prerequisite to any functioning democracy.

Uganda has made great strides in creating a political and social environment conducive to democracy in recent years, but there is still much to be done. Although the Constitution of Uganda and the Uganda Information Act of 2006 ensure freedom of information and protect citizens' right to hold their government accountable, most Ugandans still find it difficult to follow the activities of government. With 80% of the population residing in rural areas and 30% of the population illiterate, Uganda faces unique challenges in maintaining an informed citizenry. In order to effectively hold their leaders accountable, all Ugandans – rural and urban, literate and illiterate – must know who their representatives are and how well they have performed. They must know what decisions have been made on their behalf and how their tax money was spent.

The Parliamentary Scorecard Project seeks to provide Ugandans with this critical information, thereby empowering them to monitor their elected representatives and to make informed choices at election time. The Scorecard is distinctive in that it offers objective, reliable, and transparent measures of how Members of Parliament perform in plenary sessions and parliamentary committees, as well as in their constituencies. By disseminating accurate, objective, and comprehensive information about the performance of each of Uganda's elected MPs, Africa Leadership Institute (ALI) hopes to help foster greater transparency and ultimately greater democratic accountability in Uganda.

Over the past six years, the Scorecard has developed and improved as we have refined the methodology, diversified the data collected, added information on constituency performance and other new measures, and eliminated extraneous measures.

The grades contained herein do not reflect a political agenda and no personal politics have swayed the scores assigned to individual MPs. Indeed, the scores are based on publicly available data

collected systematically over the course of the year and can be checked and replicated by any individual wishing to do so.

This year's Parliamentary Performance Scorecard focuses on two arenas in which MPs perform their duties as advocates for the interests of their constituents and the country: plenary sessions of Parliament, committee work, and activities in the constituency.

- **Plenary Sessions.** MPs are obligated to attend plenary sessions. These meetings provide members with an opportunity to present the views of their constituents, raise new issues, and debate the important challenges facing Uganda. For this reason, the Scorecard evaluates MPs on their attendance, participation, and debate influence in these plenary debates and provides information on the positions they take and the topics on which they focus.
- **Committee Activities.** Much of Parliament's work is conducted in committee sessions, where bills are reviewed and amended, budgetary decisions are made, and important oversight duties are performed. An approach that focuses only on what happens in plenary sessions alone runs the risk of not giving enough credit to MPs for the activities they undertake behind the scenes. To reflect this work, the Scorecard provides information on committee membership and reports data on the attendance and participation of MPs in committee meetings.

The Parliamentary Performance Scorecard is the most ambitious attempt yet to open government to public scrutiny and to help voters realize their right to information about their elected officials. But we firmly believe that MPs will also benefit from this effort as constituents come to better understand the work that takes place in Parliament. Whereas MPs previously struggled to gain appreciation for their activities in Kampala and the constraints they face in their work, the Scorecard will provide them with a tool to better communicate to their constituents what they do. They will also be able to use the data provided by the Scorecards to reflect on and improve their own performance in advance of the next general election.

2 THE ROAD TO THE 2009 – 2010 SCORECARD

The first Scorecard for the Eighth Parliament was released on 13 December 2007. The Scorecard met with broad acceptance among MPs, civil society, the press, and the public. It received a great deal of favourable media coverage by local and international newspapers and radio stations. Local newspapers were swamped with Letters to the Editor from citizens expressing their support for the Scorecard or

questioning their representatives' records in light of the grades they received. The Scorecard sparked a national debate over the value of special interest MPs, particularly UPDF representatives, the appropriate size of Parliament, the proper roles and responsibilities of an MP, and Parliament's place in Ugandan democracy. The 2006 – 2007 Scorecard was a great success. It provided voters with valuable information, won widespread coverage in the press, and fostered a national dialogue about the roles and performance of MPs. Crucially, the Scorecard also captured the attention of Parliament. Almost immediately following the publication of the first Scorecard, MPs began to take notice that their performance was, for the first time, being monitored and graded.

Nonetheless, the 2006 – 2007 Scorecard was still a work in progress. The publication of the Scorecard met with some valid criticisms and concerns on the part of MPs and others. In response to these critiques, AFLI embarked on a process of revamping and revising the Scorecard's methodology. As part of this process, in April 2008 AFLI held a consultative workshop with 75 MPs and numerous members of the press and civil society. The workshop participants were invited to air their concerns about the Scorecard and offer ideas for improving it. Following the workshop, AFLI continued to meet with MPs to hear their concerns and simultaneously began to implement some of the reforms suggested by MPs, academics, media, and civil society. All subsequent scorecards are a result of months of dialogue, consultation, innovation, and revision.

2.1 FEATURES OF THE 2009 – 2010 SCORECARD

The 2009 – 2010 Scorecard includes and builds upon the developments in the previous scorecards. This Scorecard has no new additions but is an effort to provide MPs with scores for the fourth session of parliament before elections take place and uses the same rigorous methodology as previous scorecards. While it only covers Plenary and Committee activities, this should be seen as an effort to provide as much accurate information as AFLI possibly could with limited time. Three important points concerning this Scorecard are the following:

- **Official Leave.** We recognize that many MPs have official responsibilities that take them outside of Kampala on occasion and which may cause them to miss plenary and committee sessions for legitimate reasons. For this reason, we requested from Parliament a list of official leaves granted to each MP to include in this year's Scorecard, and we received it. This is the second Scorecard for which we have official leave data from Parliament

- **Committee Transcripts.** Time constraints for both AFLI and Parliament has led to fluctuation in the amount of committee transcripts we have been able to include in each Scorecard. There is unfortunately still no reliable and accessible system for the regular collection and filing of this important information. This Scorecard contains a lower number of committee transcripts than previous scorecards. In the 2006 - 2007 Scorecard, we were only able to obtain 25% of the committee transcripts from Parliament. For the 2007 – 2008 Scorecard we collected about 36% of the committee transcripts and were thus able to provide a more complete Scorecard for more MPs. In 2008 – 2009 Scorecard we were only able to collect transcripts for about 27% of committee meetings. And finally, for 2009 – 2010, we obtained committee transcripts for only about 17% of committee meetings². The lack of a systematic gathering of information in this area hampers the extent to which fully reliable measures are available for all MPs. For this reason, AFLI once again emphasizes the need for Parliament to implement an official committee hansard. Although committee transcript collection rate was low, we were able to obtain attendance records for about 75% of committee meetings this session.
- **Peer Assessment.** AFLI asks MPs to assess their fellow MPs through a Peer Assessment Survey. However, when this survey was distributed to MPs, many were engaged in campaign activities and thus comparatively few MPs returned the completed survey. In total 38 MPs returned the survey, with each survey asking for information on 20 MPs. This yielded up to 570 individual peer assessments, or an average of about 2 per MP. This is lower than in the past and makes this data more variable. In the past AFLI has used a policy of calculating Peer Assessment based on a minimum of three independent assessments for each MP, however with the lower returns this year this rule would prevent us from sharing much of what we learned with voters. Instead this year we elected to report peer assessments if there were at least two separate assessments for a given MP. Using this assessment provides scores on approximately 170 MPs. We note that while every score is based on at least two separate assessments by MPs the precision of these scores is weaker than in previous years.

We have made tremendous progress in improving our data collection processes and refining our methodology over the six years of this Project, but there is still more that can be done. Parliament has recently begun discussing creating an official Committee Hansard to record committee meetings. AFLI whole-heartedly encourages this reform and offers its full support in implementing it. AFLI's push for greater transparency and democratic accountability in Uganda would also be greatly aided by the

² Readers should note that the amount of transcripts per committee varies greatly. See Appendix E for the number of transcripts and attendance logs obtained for each committee.

institution of comprehensive (and electronic) records of votes. At present there are no records of one of the most important actions taken by MPs – casting a vote in favor of positions he or she supports and against those he or she opposes. AFLI sees the timely introduction of electronic voting as the single best strategy for generating transparency about the positions MPs take, and we are committed to working with Parliament to raise funds for and implement this reform.

3 DISSEMINATING THE SCORECARD TO VOTERS THROUGH CONSTITUENCY WORKSHOPS

Assessing how MPs perform in Parliament through the Scorecard is only the first step. To fully develop the potential of the Scorecard as a mechanism for strengthening accountability in Uganda, AFLI is committed to getting this information into the hands of voters.

Because of language differences and the problems of illiteracy and a lack of access to television and radio in many rural constituencies, AFLI cannot rely on the publication of the Scorecard in Kampala alone. AFLI visits voters directly in constituencies in an effort to deliver the information to those who ultimately cast the votes on election day.

Since March 2009, AFLI has been organizing civic education workshops in a sample of geographic constituencies. These workshops provide a forum in which representatives of AFLI can present the results of the Scorecard in a way that the local population can understand. MPs are invited to attend the workshop held in their constituency in an effort to foster dialogue between constituents and MPs about the activities they undertake in Kampala. To date, AFLI has completed workshops for 91 Constituency MPs and 31 District Women MPs. AFLI expects to continue to hold several workshops a month until the next parliamentary election.

AFLI has now conducted workshops in all regions of the country for both Constituency and District Women MPs. Attendance at these workshops has ranged from 60 - 760 with an average attendance of 120 local participants. Many MPs have attended the workshops, defending their records and answering questions from the panel of local leaders and from members of the audience. The workshops have succeeded in drawing large crowds and sparking a spirited and informed political discussion and debate. These workshops represent a vivid example of democracy at its best. Appendices C and D present basic information concerning dates, total attendance, and MP attendance for each workshop.

Only 26 Constituency MPs attended but 42 sent representatives to their workshops, and only 14 District Women MPs attended and 12 sent representatives to their workshops.

While the vast majority of the workshops have been successful, we have faced various challenges to conducting these workshops. These workshops have been stopped by some MPs while in other instances the local community, local police, or local environment have prevented our teams from conducting the workshops. See Tables 1 and 2 below for more specifics concerning the stoppage of workshops.

Because we could not possibly visit every constituency in Uganda, AFLI identified the set of constituencies in which we would hold workshops through a fair and transparent process. First, we separated those MPs with a geographic constituency into three categories: those representing Government, those aligned with the Opposition, and those sitting in Parliament as Independents. Then, within each category, we ordered MPs from best to worst in terms of how they performed in plenary sessions. Finally, we selected every second MP from each of the three lists as an MP whose constituency we would visit.

Put simply, we selected the constituencies in which we would hold workshops through a fair lottery, ensuring that the number of workshops held in constituencies represented by Government, Opposition, and Independents is *reflective of their relative representation in Parliament*. In total, AFLI selected 147. Ninety-seven (97; 66%) are constituencies represented by the NRM, 29 (20%) are represented by an MP in the Opposition, and 21 (14%) are represented by an Independent MP. The constituencies are evenly spread around the country, with approximately a quarter each in the northern, central, eastern, and western regions. Ninety-six (96) constituencies are represented by men and 51 by women. The constituencies selected for civic education workshops are presented in Appendix F. Tables 1 and 2 list the MPs who have received or will receive a workshop. These tables also list the ones that were cancelled and why they were cancelled.

In addition, in all areas in which AFLI holds workshops we will seek to provide constituents with updated information on the status of MP behaviour in the final weeks of January 2011 so that any improvements in behaviour can be fairly and duly communicated. This final dissemination will provide voters in the selected constituencies with their MP's scores from Session I through Session IV (i.e. June 2006 – May 2010).

Table 1: Constituency MP Workshops

Name	District	Constituency	Completed?	Name	District	Constituency	Completed?
Aadroa Onzima Alex	Arua	Maracha County	Yes	Ebong David	Apac	Maruzi County	Yes
Ahabwe Godfrey Perezza	Kabale	Rubanda County East	Yes	Eweru Musa Francis	Amuria	Amuria County	Yes
Alintuma Nsambu John.C	Masaka	Bukoto County East	Yes	Ekanya Geoffrey	Tororo	Tororo County	Yes
Amariat Oboi Patrick	Kumi	Kumi County	Yes	Epetai Francis	Kumi	Ngora County	Yes
Angiro Gutomoi Charles	Lira	Erute County North	Yes	Gudozi Yahaya	Mbale	Bungokho County North	Planned
Apilinga Moses Tako	Moyo	West Moyo County	Yes	Kaahwa Erisa Ammoti	Masindi	Buruuli County	Yes
Arapkissa Yekko John	Kapchorwa	Kween County	Yes	Kabuusu Moses Wagaba	Kalangala	Kyamuswa County	Yes
Arimpa Kigyagi John	Mbarara	Mbarara Municipality	Yes	Kaddumukasa Ssozi Jerome	Mityana	Mityana County South	Yes
Arumadri John Drazu	Arua	Madi-Okollo County	Yes	Kaddunabbi Lubega Ibrahim.I	Mpigi	Butambala County	Yes
Asimwe Brian Chris	Bundibugyo	Ntoroko County	Yes	Kakoba Onyango	Mukono	Buikwe County North	Yes
Badda Fred	Kalangala	Bujumba County	Yes	Kakooza James	Lyantonde	Kabula County	Yes
Bagiire Aggrey Henry	Mayuge	Bunya County West	Yes	Kaliba Steven	Kabarole	Fort Portal Municipality	Yes
Baka Mugabi Stephen	Bugiri	Bukooli North	Yes	Kamanda Bataringaya Cos	Bundibugyo	Bwamba County	Yes
Bakaluba Mukasa Peter	Mukono	Mukono County North	Canceled ³	Kamba Saleh M.W.	Pallisa	Kibuku County	Yes
Bakeine Mabel L. K.	Kibaale	Bugangaizi County	Yes	Kasamba Mathias	Rakai	Kakuuto County	Yes
Banyenzaki Henry	Kabale	Rubanda County West	Yes	Katongoje Badhul	Kyenjojo	Kyaka County	Yes
Bazana Kabwegyere Tarsis	Bushenyi	Igara County West	Yes	Katuntu Abdu	Iganga	Bugweri County	Yes
Bucyanayandi Tress	Kisoro	Bufumbira County South	Yes	Kawuma Muhamed	Wakiso	Entebbe Municipality	Yes
Bukeni Gyabi Fred	Manafwa	Bubulo County West	Yes	Khiddu Makubuya Edward	Luwero	Katikamu County South	Yes
Busima Cosmas Mafabi W.	Sironko	Budadiri County East	Planned	Kibanzanga Christopher M.	Kasese	Busongora County South	Yes
Butime Rwakaikara Tom	Kyenjojo	Mwenge County North	Canceled ⁴	Kibirige Sebunya Israel	Wakiso	Kyadondo County North	Canceled ⁵
Buturo Nsaba James	Kisoro	Bufumbira County East	Yes	Kubeketerya James	Mayuge	Bunya County East	Planned
Bwerere Kasole Lwanga Edward	Mubende	Buwekula County	Yes	Kyanjo Hussein	Kampala	Makindye Division West	Yes
Byabagambi John	Ibanda	Ibanda County South	Yes	Kyeyago Jowali Kakwa	Mayuge	Bunya County South	Yes
Byamukama Nulu	Kamwenge	Kitagwenda County	Yes	Lokeris Peter Aimat	Nakapiripirit	Chekwi County	Planned
Byanagwa Samuel Rwamafa	Kabale	Rukiga County	Planned	Lokii Peter Abrahams	Kotido	Jie County	Planned
Dombo Lumala Emmanuel	Butaleja	Bunyole County	Yes	Lubyayi Iddi Kisiki	Masaka	Bukomansimbi County	Yes
D'Ujanga Giw Simon	Nebbi	Okoro County	Yes	Magulumaali Mugumya Erasmus	Rakai	Kooki County	Yes

³ Hon. Bakaluba was removed from office before we were able to conduct a workshop in his constituency.

⁴ The NRM primaries disrupted the planning of the workshop and we have been unable to return.

⁵ Hon Kibirige passed away before we were able to conduct a workshop in his constituency.

Name	District	Constituency	Completed?
Matte Joseph Sibalingana	Bundibugyo	Bughendera	Yes
Mbabazi Anama	Kanungu	Kinkiizi County West	Yes
Mugambe Kif'Omusa Joseph	Mukono	Nakifuma County	Yes
Mugenyi Rutamwebwa Mary	Kiruhura	Nyabushozi County	Yes
Muhwezi Katugugu Jim	Rukungiri	Rujumbura County	Yes
Mujuzi Prus	Rakai	Kyotera County	Yes
Mukisa Fred Douglas Mwanja	Bugiri	Bukooli County Central	Yes
Mulumba Meddie B.	Iganga	Luuka County	Planned
Museveni Janet Kataaha	Ntungamo	Ruhaama County	Yes
Musumba Isaac Isanga	Kamuli	Buzaaya County	Canceled ⁶
Muwulize Norman Ibrahim	Mukono	Buikwe County West	Yes
Mwebaza Sarah	Busia	Samia-Bugwe Cnty. North	Yes
Mwesige Adolf Kasajja	Kabarole	Bunyangabu County	Yes
Nampijja Lukyamuzy Susan	Kampala	Rubaga Division South	Planned
Nasasira John	Kiruhura	Kazo County	Yes
Nduhura Richard	Bushenyi	Igara County East	Yes
Ngabirano Charles	Mbarara	Rwampara County	Yes
Njuba Samuel Kalega	Wakiso	Kyadondo County East	Planned
Nyeko Ocula Michael	Amuru	Kilak County	Yes
Nyombi Nansubuga Sarah	Kayunga	Ntenjeru County North	Yes
Nyombi Thembo George William	Mubende	Kassanda County South	Yes
Obua Ogwal Benson	Lira	Moroto County	Yes
Odit John	Lira	Erute County South	Yes
Odonga Otto Jr.S	Pader	Aruu County	Yes
Oduman Albert Charles Okello	Bukedea	Bukedea County	Yes
Ogenya Latigo Morris.W	Pader	Agago County	Yes
Ogwang John	Apac	Kole County	Yes

Name	District	Constituency	Completed?
Ogwel Looete Sammy	Moroto	Moroto Municipality	Planned
Okecho William	Tororo	West Budama Cnty. North	Yes
Okello Okello John Livingstone	Kitgum	Chua County	Yes
Olega Ashraf Noah	Yumbe	Aringa County	Yes
Oleny Charles Ojok	Katakwi	Usuk County	Yes
Omolo Peter	Soroti	Soroti County	Yes
Onck Obaloker Hilary	Kitgum	Lamwo County	Yes
Opio Gabriel	Busia	Samia-Bugwe Cnty. South	Yes
Otiara Otaala Emmanuel	Tororo	West Budama Cnty. South	Yes
Otto Ishaa Amiza	Oyam	Oyam County South	Yes
Owor Amooti Otada	Masindi	Kibanda County	Yes
Oyet Simon	Amuru	Nwoya County	Yes
Ringe Chan David	Nebbi	Padyere County	Canceled ⁷
Rukulana Mwesigwa	Ntungamo	Rushenyi County	Yes
Rwamirama Kanyontore Bright	Isingiro	Isingiro County North	Yes
Sekyanzi Ndawula Ali	Luwero	Bamunanika County	Yes
Tashobya N. Stephen	Ntungamo	Kajara County	Yes
Tibamanya Urban P.K	Mbarara	Kushari County	Yes
Toolit Simon Akecha	Gulu	Omoro County	Yes
Tumwebaze Kagiigi Frank	Kamwenge	Kibale County	Yes
Wacha Ben	Oyam	Oyam County North	Yes
Wadri Kassiano Ezati	Arua	Terego County	Yes
Wakikona Wandendeya David	Bududa	Manjiya County	Planned
Wamakuyu Mudimi	Sironko	Bulambuli County	Planned
Wambuzi Gagawala Nelson	Kaliro	Bulamogi County	Planned
Yiga Anthony	Masaka	Kalungu County West	Yes

⁶ Hon. Musumba prevented us from holding a workshop in his constituency.

⁷ Hon. Ringe passed away before we could hold a workshop in his constituency.

Table 2: District Woman MP Workshops

Name	District	Constituency	Completed?
Acen Rhoda	Amuria	Amuria County	Yes
Aciro Concy	Amuru	Nwoya County	Yes
Akiror Agnes Egonyu	Amuru	Kilak County	Yes
	Kumi	Ngora County	Yes
Akoi Rose Okulth	Kumi	Kumi County	Yes
	Bukedea	Bukedea County	Yes
Alisemera Babiha Jane	Bundibugyo	Bwamba County	Yes
	Bundibugyo	Bughendera County	Yes
	Bundibugyo	Ntoroko County	Yes
Aol Betty Ocan	Gulu	Omoro County	Yes
Atim Ogwal Cecilia	Dokolo	Women	Yes
Auru Anne	Moyo	West Moyo County	Yes
Baba Diri Margaret	Koboko	Women	Yes
Bako Christine Abia	Arua	Maracha County	Yes
	Arua	Terego County	Yes
	Arua	Madi-Okollo County	Yes
Bangirana Kawoya Anifa	Sembabule	Women	Canceled ⁸
Barumba Beatrice Rusaniya	Kiruhura	Kazo County	Yes
	Kiruhura	Nyabushozi County	Yes
Boona Emma	Mbarara	Rwampara	Yes
	Mbarara	Mbarara Municipality	Yes
	Mbarara	Kashari County	Yes
Busingye Karoro Okurut Mary	Bushenyi	Igara County West	Yes
	Bushenyi	Igara County East	Yes
Ekwau Ibi Florence	Kaberamaido	Women	Canceled ¹⁰
Hashaka Kabahweza Florence	Kamwenge	Kibale County	Yes
	Kamwenge	Kitagwenda County	Yes
Kayagi Sarah Netalisire	Manafwa	Bubulo County West	Yes
Kibojiana Margaret N.	Ibanda	Ibanda County South	Yes
Kisira Margaret Mbeiza	Kaliro	Bulamogi County	Planned

Name	District	Constituency	Completed?
Kyatuheire Jacqueline	Kanungu	Kinkiizi County West	Yes
Mugerwa Sauda K. N.	Masaka	Bukomansimbi County	Yes
	Masaka	Kalungu County West	Yes
	Masaka	Bukoto County East	Yes
Mutagamba Maria Lubega Emily	Rakai	Kooki County	Yes
	Rakai	Kyotera County	Yes
	Rakai	Kakuto County	Yes
Najjuma Faridah Kasasa	Mubende	Buwekula County	Yes
	Mubende	Kassanda County	Yes
Nakwang Christine Tubbo	Kaabong	Women	Planned
Namara Grace	Lyantonde	Kabula County	Yes
Namayanja Rose Nsereko	Nakaseke	Women	Yes
Namirembe Bitamazire Geraldine	Mpigi	Butambala County	Yes
Namoe Stella	Moroto	Moroto Municipality	Planned
Namuyangu Byakatonda Janat	Pallisa	Kibuku County	Yes
Nankabirwa Ssentamu Ruth	Kiboga	Women	Yes
Nayiga Florence Ssekabira	Kayunga	Ntenjeru County North	Yes
Nyumetta Lutaya Kavuma Ruth	Kalangala	Bujumba County	Yes
	Kalangala	Kyamiswa County	Yes
Oburu Grace	Tororo	Tororo County	Yes
	Tororo	West Budama Cnty. South	Yes
	Tororo	West Budama Cnty. North	Yes
Okori-Moe Janet Grace Akech	Abim	Women	Canceled ⁹
Seninde Nansubuga Rosemary	Wakiso	Entebbe Municipality	Yes
	Wakiso	Kyadondo County East	
	Wakiso	Kyadondo County North	Canceled ¹¹
Ssinabulya Sylvia Namabidde	Mityana	Mityana County South	Yes
Tubwita Bagaya Grace Bukenya	Nakasongola	Women	Yes
Wangwa Rutangye Nagudi Erinah	Mbale	Bungokho County North	Planned

⁸ Sembabule is a relatively violent area where political fighting prevented us from conducting a workshop for Hon. Bangirana.

⁹ The police stopped our workshop in Abim County.

¹⁰ The Resident District Commissioner prevented our workshop from taking place.

¹¹ Because Hon. Kibirige passed away we will not conduct a workshop in Kyadondo County North.

4 DATA SOURCES

Through this Scorecard, AFLI seeks to help citizens make sense of Parliament's activities. To do so, we build upon important steps that Parliament has already taken to make its activities transparent. Much of the information on which the Scorecard is based, such as the debates in plenary sessions, are recorded and transcribed into a collection of documents called the "Hansard." The Hansard has been carefully maintained by Parliament and has been made available publicly on Parliament's website. However, while the Hansard provides an excellent record of MP activity, it is difficult for most voters to access (one needs a computer) and understand (it is lengthy and available only in English). The Scorecard seeks to make this publicly available data comprehensible and accessible to the average Ugandan voter.

The Scorecard also draws on information that Parliament regularly collects, such as plenary and committee attendance registries, committee membership lists, and transcripts of committee meetings which are public information but which are not easily accessible to constituents. Additionally, the Scorecard relies on Parliament's *Gazette*, found in the library of Parliament, which contains a printed log of all committee reports. Some of these data are incomplete, leading to gaps in some of the measures. We are confident, however, that the quality of the data is improving over time and that gaps will be filled in future Scorecards. Already, we have begun to fill some of those holes, especially in committee transcript collection, but we call on Parliament to continue to improve its data collection processes.

The Scorecard also includes survey data provided by the MPs themselves, evaluating how their fellow MPs perform. This data is of course only available when MPs choose to make it so and this year many did not. The Scorecard also reports MPs' answers to survey questions about their constituency activities – in particular, whether they maintain an office and local staff – where that information could be confirmed by an independent audit conducted by AFLI. MPs whose self-reported data were not confirmed by our audit are listed in Appendices B and C. The list of official leaves as reported in the Scorecard was obtained from the Speaker and the list of MPs who accounted for their CDF spending was provided by the Clerk to Parliament.

5 MEASURES

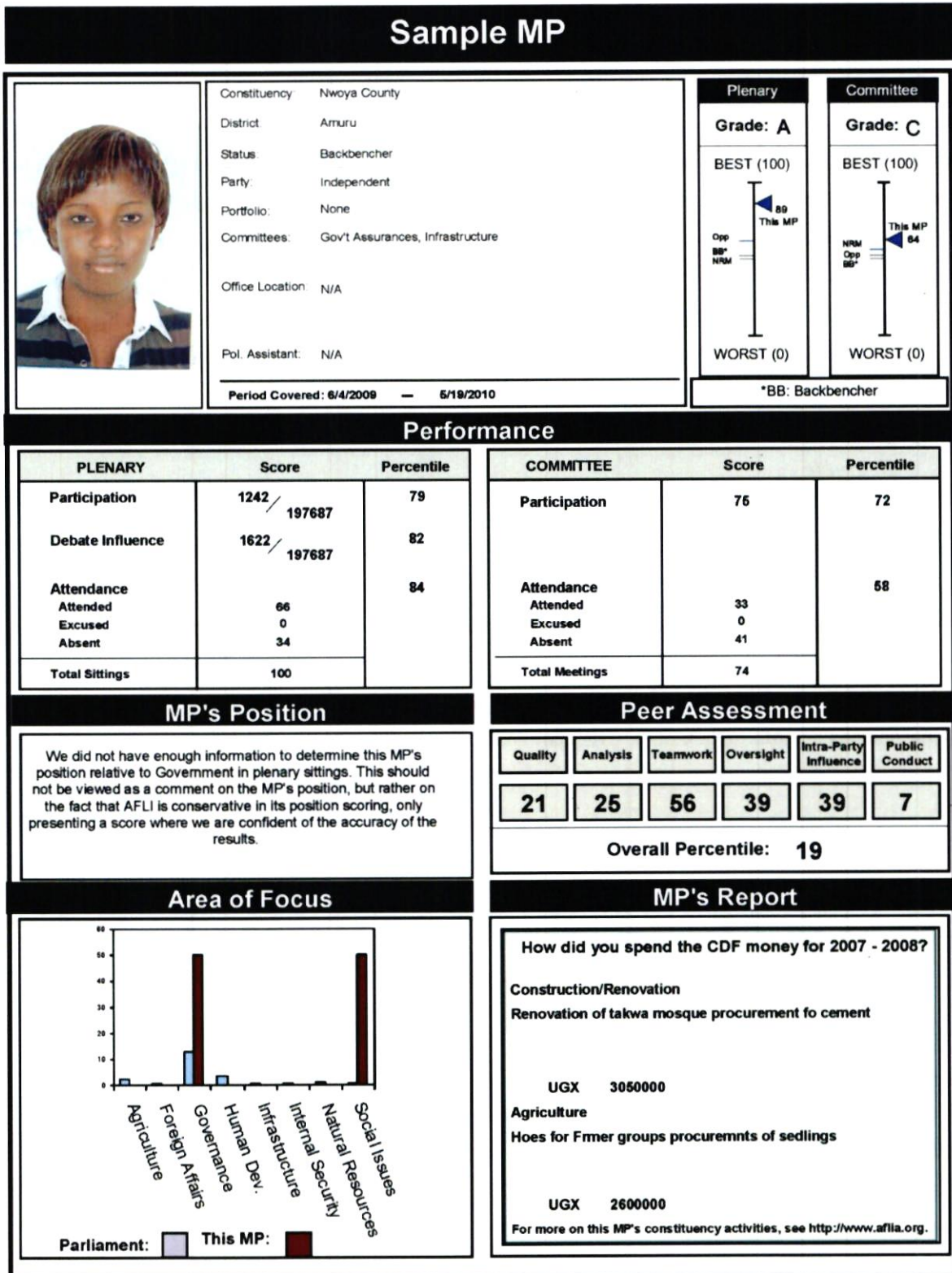
The data presented in the Parliamentary Performance Scorecard can be divided into two broad categories: *performance* data, which we use as the basis for an MP's overall grade and relative standing, and *positional* data, which records the issues on which MPs focus and the positions they take.

Performance data include MPs' attendance in plenary, committee, and LC-V meetings, their participation in plenary and committee meetings, the influence they demonstrate in driving the business of Parliament forward in plenary session, their accessibility to their constituents, the service they have performed in their constituencies, whether or not they maintain a local office and a local assistant, whether or not they have accounted for their CDF spending, and a peer assessment of their overall performance by other MPs. Positional data report the focus of each MP in terms of the topic of items he or she contributes to in plenary debate, the positions an MP takes on business initiated by the Government and the Opposition sides, and the ways in which an MP reports having spent his/her Constituency Development Fund. We do not generate grades based on the positions MPs take since although everyone favours better performance, people justifiably have different views on what positions MPs should take and which issues they should emphasize.

A. MP Profile

The profile provides background information on the MP. Constituency and district are reported, along with the MP's status (Prime Minister, Vice President, Minister, Shadow Cabinet Member, Committee Chairperson or Backbencher), party affiliation (if any), and portfolio, which refers to the responsibilities the MP holds, where applicable, as a member of the cabinet or shadow cabinet. In addition, the profile lists the committees on which an MP serves, the location of the MP's local office (if he/she has one), and the name and contact information of the MP's political assistant (if he/she has one).

Figure 1: Sample Scorecard



This MP scored the following in the Second Session of Parliament (2008-2009): A n Plenary, C in Committee, F n Constituency.

B. Overall Grades for Performance

The performance section summarises the grades the MP received for plenary, and committee.¹² Each summary reports the ranking of the average of the percentile scores achieved on the individual measures in each category.¹³ The average score provides an easy way to combine the scores on the different sub-components. In essence, each component carries equal weight. Because this is not the only way to combine the sub-components, we encourage readers to examine each part of the aggregate score when they assess the performance of their MP.

The percentile scores should be interpreted as follows. If an MP has a score of 70 for plenary, this means that the average of his rankings on each of the three component measures (attendance, participation, debate influence) was better than that of 70% of MPs. Overall, the MP on the sample Scorecard did well in some areas and not so well in other areas, receiving marks of A for plenary and C for committee. The system used to convert scores into letter grades is simple: the top sixth of MPs receive an A, the next sixth receive a B and so on. The lowest sixth receive an F. Grades of C and D are average (in the middle of the distribution), while E grades are below average. The 10 ministers, shadow ministers, and committee chairpersons who performed best in plenary sittings are listed in Table 3 and the top 10 backbenchers are listed in Table 4. The 10 ministers, shadow ministers, and committee chairpersons who performed best in committee meetings are listed in Table 5 and the top 10 backbenchers are listed in Table 6.

¹² The overall performance box for ex-officio members – the only part of the ex-officio Scorecard that differs substantially from the sample – contains a list of the 9 ex-officio members, ranked according to plenary performance. Each ex-officio MP's name is highlighted on his own Scorecard, and the rank is displayed above the list.

¹³ Readers should note that the *ranking* of the average percentile scores is not the same as the average percentile score.

Table 3: Top 10 Ministers, Shadow Ministers, and Committee Chairpersons in Plenary¹⁴

Member	Party	Status	Plenary Percentile
Byandala Abraham James	NRM	Committee Chairperson	100
Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyceri	NRM	Committee Chairperson	99
Ruhindi Freddie	NRM	Minister of State	98
Tashobya N. Stephen	NRM	Committee Chairperson	98
Menhya Gerald Simon	NRM	Committee Chairperson	97
Atubo Omara Daniel	Independent	Minister	96
Akol Rose Okullu	NRM	Committee Chairperson	95
Lukwago Erias	DP	Shadow Cabinet	95
Okumu Ronald Reagan	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	93
Amongi Beatrice Lagada	NRM	Committee Chairperson	92
Kasaija Matia	NRM	Minister of State	92
Masiko Komuhangi Winifred	NRM	Committee Chairperson	92

Table 4: Top 10 Backbenchers in Plenary¹⁵

Member	Party	Status	Plenary Percentile
Oleny Charles Ojok	Independent	Backbencher	99
Alaso Alice Asianut	FDC	Backbencher	99
Kasule Robert Sebunya	NRM	Backbencher	98
Kasaija Stephen Kagwera	NRM	Backbencher	98
Serunjogi Lastus Katende	NRM	Backbencher	97
Obua Ogwal Benson	UPC	Backbencher	97
Wangwa Rutangye Nagudi Erinah	NRM	Backbencher	96
Bikwasizehi K. Deusdedit	NRM	Backbencher	96
Wadri Kassiano Ezati	FDC	Backbencher	95
Busingye Karooro Okurut Mary	NRM	Backbencher	94
Kaahwa Erisa Ammoti	NRM	Backbencher	94
Mbagadhi Frederick Nkayi	NRM	Backbencher	94

¹⁴ Twelve MPs are listed in this table due to a three-way tie for tenth place.

¹⁵ Twelve MPs are listed in this table due to a three-way tie for tenth place.

Table 5: Top 10 Ministers, Shadow Ministers, and Committee Chairpersons in Committee

Member	Party	Status	Committee Percentile
Kasamba Mathias	NRM	Committee Chairperson	100
Nandala Mafabi Nathan	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	99
Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri	NRM	Committee Chairperson	97
Tindamanyire Kabondo Gaudioso	NRM	Committee Chairperson	97
Okumu Ronald Reagan	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	95
Akol Rose Okullu	NRM	Committee Chairperson	95
Yiga Anthony	NRM	Committee Chairperson	94
Lule Mawiya	NRM	Committee Chairperson	94
Arumadri John Drazu	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	92
Byandala Abraham James	NRM	Committee Chairperson	92

Table 6: Top 10 Backbenchers in Committee

Member	Party	Status	Committee Percentile
Kazibwe Musisi Tom	NRM	Backbencher	99
Kamba Saleh M.W.	NRM	Backbencher	98
Oduman Albert Charles Okello	FDC	Backbencher	98
Oleny Charles Ojok	Independent	Backbencher	97
Mutuluza Peter Claver Barnabas	NRM	Backbencher	96
Banyenzaki Henry	NRM	Backbencher	96
Bakunda Alex Byarugaba	NRM	Backbencher	94
Tinkasiimire Barnabas Ateenyi	NRM	Backbencher	93
Butime Rwakaikara Tom	NRM	Backbencher	93
Ekemu Charles Willy	FDC	Backbencher	92

There are a number of issues to bear in mind when interpreting the results. First, the scores for plenary and committee performance capture two distinct ways of engaging in parliamentary activities. We do not make a claim here about which of the two is most important, nor do we create an average score across these measures.

Second, in order to help the reader understand how his or her MP compares to other MPs, we provide the average score for members of the Opposition and the NRM. One should be cautious in comparing the average scores of the NRM to the average scores of the Opposition. The reason is that these differences can reflect two very different things. On the one hand, they may reflect real differences in effort and performance across parties. On the other hand, they may reflect the different advantages parties have in Parliament which permit them to perform better or worse on average on the measures used in the Scorecard. For example, it is possible that government parties in general have more opportunities to introduce major legislation and thereby generate more debate, so better performance by the party in government could reflect this advantage rather than a difference in effort.

Similarly, one should think critically when comparing the scores of members with different status in Parliament. For example, while some Ministers surely do make more of an effort to perform well in Parliament than other members, these Ministers may also have certain advantages, such as the right or the obligation to present Government bills on the floor, that allow them to wield more influence than backbenchers in plenary sessions. The Scorecard reports the average score for MPs of the same status (ie. Minister/Shadow Minister/Committee Chair or Backbencher) to facilitate an assessment of how well a given MP has performed. The Top 10 tables are also divided into Ministers, Shadow Ministers, and Committee Chairpersons in one group and Backbenchers the other so that readers can more easily compare MPs of like status.

Finally, it should be noted that in approximately one fifth of cases, MPs do not have an overall grade for their work in committee meetings because we do not assign grades to Ministers since they cannot be members of committees.

C. Disaggregated Performance Scores

Plenary Performance

The overall plenary score is based on three measures: Attendance, Participation and Debate Influence.

Attendance. The attendance measure records the percent of plenary sessions at which an MP was present during the period 4 June 2009 – 19 May 2010. There are two distinct sources for this measure. First if an MP signed the attendance book for a given session he or she is recorded as being present. Second an MP is recorded as present if they were recorded as contributing to a session even if they failed to sign the log book. Readers should recognise that it is possible that some MPs were present but were not given credit for it. This only occurs if the MP did not sign the attendance book and, in addition, did not contribute to the discussion on that day. Conversely, as some followers of Parliament have noted, it is possible that in some cases, MPs signed the log book and did not stay for the duration of the session, or that MPs had a peer sign the log book for them. Unfortunately, it is difficult to know when such cases arise, so there may be a small number of MPs who received credit for sessions they did not actually sit through. Interested journalists or other followers of Parliament might examine such possibilities by visiting Parliament while it is in session and compare who is actually there against the evidence in the attendance book.

We recognise that some MPs may be absent from Parliament on official business, for example attending the East African Parliament. For this reason we credit MPs for sessions missed during official leaves and beneath each MP's attendance record, we record the number of absences which were officially excused. Readers should be aware, however, that an absence can be officially excused even if the MP is absent for personal rather than official reasons.

There were a total of 100¹⁶ sittings this year, and according to official records, the MP described in the sample scorecard attended 66 of these and was officially excused for 0 meetings. Her attendance rate is therefore 66/100, or 66%.

After we calculate these scores for every individual we convert them into a percentile. This allows voters to compare each MP's attendance to that of the rest of Parliament. The percentile score indicates that the MP described in the sample scorecard had a better attendance rate than 84% of MPs (but poorer than that of 16%).

¹⁶ AFLI was able to gather attendance data for 100 sessions, and we have hansards for 106 sessions.

The top 10 ministers, shadow ministers, and committee chairpersons in terms of plenary attendance are listed in Table 7 and the top 10 backbenchers are listed in Table 8. As can be seen in these tables, these higher performing MPs predominantly come from the NRM party. However, among backbenchers, an Independent and an Opposition MP rank first and second respectively

Table 7: Top 10 Ministers, Shadow Ministers, and Committee Chairpersons in Plenary Attendance

Member	Party	Status	Attendance %
Migereko Daudi	NRM	Chief Whip	84
Byandala Abraham James	NRM	Committee Chairperson	80
Atim Anywar O. Beatrice	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	78
Akol Rose Okullu	NRM	Committee Chairperson	78
Tashobya N. Stephen	NRM	Committee Chairperson	71
Aggrey Awori	N/A	Minister	70
Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri	NRM	Committee Chairperson	70
Bangirana Kawoya Anifa	NRM	Committee Chairperson	69
Masiko Komuhangi Winifred	NRM	Committee Chairperson	69
Ruhindi Freddie	NRM	Minister of State	68

Table 8: Top 10 Backbenchers in Plenary Attendance

Member	Party	Status	Attendance %
Opange Louis	Independent	Backbencher	87
Wamanga Wamai Jack	FDC	Backbencher	82
Byanyima Nathan	NRM	Backbencher	82
Mugambe KifOmusana Joseph	NRM	Backbencher	80
Okello Okello John Livingstone	UPC	Backbencher	80
Mutuluzza Peter Claver Barnabas	NRM	Backbencher	79
Kubeketerya James	NRM	Backbencher	79
Baba Diri Margaret	NRM	Backbencher	78
Banyenzaki Henry	NRM	Backbencher	77
Kiryapawo Loi Kageni	NRM	Backbencher	77

Participation. We measure participation in plenary sessions by counting the total number of lines spoken by an MP. All types of contributions are counted, and all contributions are given equal weight (thus we do not weight points of order or questions any less than ministerial statements). All MPs

who signed a committee report that is presented on the floor of Parliament are credited with participation credit for the presentation of the report even if they were not the actual presenter. Our approach to measuring participation is simple and transparent. We recognise that with this measure there is a risk, however, that MPs might be rewarded for talking too much! For this reason, voters should be sure to examine the more qualitative measures which provide information about *what* their MPs talk about as well as the evaluation made by peers regarding the quality of contributions.

In the example provided, the MP contributed 1242 lines of the total 197,687 lines spoken during the session. In fact this is a fairly average level of participation: the average contribution among all MPs is 1437 lines, which means that 1242 is only slightly lower than the average. This MP's percentile scores is 79, meaning that only 21% of MPs participated at a higher rate than the Sample MP.

The top 10 ministers, shadow ministers, and committee chairpersons in terms of plenary participation are listed in Table 9 and the top 10 backbenchers are listed in Table 10. As shown in the tables, although the NRM dominates, four Opposition MPs and two Independent MP make the top ten tables for Plenary Participation.

Table 9: Top 10 Ministers, Shadow Ministers, and Committee Chairpersons in Plenary Participation

Member	Party	Status	Participation
Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri	NRM	Committee Chairperson	24979
Menhya Gerald Simon	NRM	Committee Chairperson	20134
Nandala Mafabi Nathan	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	5080
Okumu Ronald Reagan	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	4137
Byandala Abraham James	NRM	Committee Chairperson	3926
Lukwago Erias	DP	Shadow Cabinet	3619
Yiga Anthony	NRM	Committee Chairperson	3445
Tashobya N. Stephen	NRM	Committee Chairperson	3004
Wonekha Oliver	NRM	Committee Chairperson	2883
Ruhindi Freddie	NRM	Minister of State	2521

Table 10: Top 10 Backbenchers in Plenary Participation

Member	Party	Status	Participation
Wangwa Rutangye Nagudi Erinah	NRM	Backbencher	20926
Oleny Charles Ojok	Independent	Backbencher	20720
Ojok B'Leo	Independent	Backbencher	20337
Wopuwa George William	NRM	Backbencher	20219
Kasule Robert Sebunya	NRM	Backbencher	20186
Mbagadhi Frederick Nkayi	NRM	Backbencher	19961
Tuunde Mary Marion Nalubega	NRM	Backbencher	19704
Obua Ogwai Benson	UPC	Backbencher	19581
Bikwasizehi K. Deusedit	NRM	Backbencher	19485
Kaddunabbi Lubega Ibrahim.I	NRM	Backbencher	18973

Debate Influence. As we noted, the measures of attendance and participation are simple and transparent. However, they say little about the quality of an MP's participation. Assessing the quality of an intervention is difficult and is likely subject to dispute. We have adopted an approach that uses information about how other MPs react to a given intervention in order to estimate the importance of what each MP says. Unimportant or non-contentious issues are unlikely to produce significant reactions; more fundamental contributions around difficult issues are more likely to generate sustained discussion by other MPs. Put simply in generating this measure we are assuming that Parliament is likely to spend more time on important issues than on unimportant ones. An MP's debate influence is thus a measure of the extent to which he or she directs the Parliament to issues of importance.

The debate influence measure is constructed as follows. We say that an MP has *influenced* a part of the debate whenever other MPs are responding to statements made by or items raised by that MP. In some cases, MPs may speak but their interventions do not generate any interest or responses from other MPs. In other cases, an MP's interventions may be so influential that they set the course of the subsequent debate. The debate influence measure reports the share of the debate that an MP has influenced in this way. MPs are also given debate influence credit when a committee report that is presented on the floor solicits a response from other MPs. As with plenary participation, any MP who signed the committee report is treated as if he/she presented it him/herself and is awarded debate influence credit as such.

As an example, consider a case in which an MP raises a point of order regarding parliamentary proceedings and two other MPs respond, speaking three lines each, after which the first MP responds to the comments in four lines. In this case, the six lines of response by other MPs are counted towards this MP's debate influence score; these constitute parts of the debate that the MP has influenced. We do not,

however, include the MP's own (direct or indirect) responses to the issues he raised. In this way, this measure allows us to capture the impact each MP has on debate in Parliament, while not rewarding them for speaking at great length on their own initiatives.

While this measure is likely to capture important aspects of influence, two caveats should be noted. The first is that it is possible that an MP makes an intervention that has a profound impact on the direction a discussion takes but does not provoke substantial direct reaction by other MPs. Such influential contributions will be underrepresented by this measure. Second, it is possible that many MPs are prepared to push a debate in a given direction; these MPs may then nominate one person to take the specified action. In such cases, this measure only attributes credit to the initiator and not to the group of MPs as a whole.

The top 10 ministers, shadow ministers, and committee chairpersons in terms of plenary debate influence are listed in Table 11 and the top 10 backbenchers are listed in Table 12. The top performer among ministers, shadow ministers, and committee chairpersons, Bbumba Syda Namirembe, outperforms all other MPs by a large margin. Hon. Bbumba's influence is 33 times higher than average MP's influence. Also, the top performer among backbenchers, Lubyayi Iddi Kisiki, outperformed eight of the ten top ministers, shadow ministers, and committee chairpersons. It is also interesting to note that this year no opposition MPs feature in the top ten debate influence tables: only NRM and Independents make these two top ten tables.

Table 11: Top 10 Ministers, Shadow Ministers, and Committee Chairpersons in Debate Influence

Member	Party	Status	Debate Influence
Bbumba Syda Namirembe	NRM	Minister	33079
Byandala Abraham James	NRM	Committee Chairperson	14303
Jachan-Omach Mandir Fred	NRM	Minister of State	8059
Atubo Omara Daniel	Independent	Minister	7785
Nankabirwa Ssentamu Ruth	NRM	Minister of State	5726
Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri	NRM	Committee Chairperson	5467
Khiddu Makubuya Edward	NRM	Minister	5403
Wonekha Oliver	NRM	Committee Chairperson	5328
Menhya Gerald Simon	NRM	Committee Chairperson	4677
Yiga Anthony	NRM	Committee Chairperson	3961

Table 12: Top 10 Backbenchers in Debate Influence

Member	Party	Status	Debate Influence
Lubyayi Iddi Kisiki	Independent	Backbencher	11329
Serunjogi Lastus Katende	NRM	Backbencher	7731
Najjemba Rosemary Muyinda	NRM	Backbencher	7710
Kasaija Stephen Kagwera	NRM	Backbencher	4567
Ojok B'Leo	Independent	Backbencher	4501
Bucyanayandi Tress	Independent	Backbencher	4356
Kibojana Margaret N.	NRM	Backbencher	4340
Wopuwa George William	NRM	Backbencher	4093
Bintu Abwooli Lukumu Jalia	NRM	Backbencher	3865
Wangwa Rutangye Nagudi Erinah	NRM	Backbencher	3419

Committee Performance.

The overall committee score is based on two measures: Attendance and Participation.

Attendance. The disaggregated scores for committee work follow a similar logic to that for the plenary. However, the attendance measure for committees is slightly more complicated to construct because different MPs are members of different committees and so had more or less opportunity to attend. The method we use is the following. For each MP, we examined all of the committee meetings for which we have attendance sheets and matching transcripts and for which, based on committee membership data provided by the Clerk to Parliament, the MP ought to have been present.¹⁷ For these meetings, a member is recorded as being present if he or she is recorded on the attendance sheets or if he or she spoke at the meeting. The MP's score is then given simply by the share of these meetings at which the MP is recorded as being present.

As with attendance in plenary sessions, there is again a chance that some MPs will be recorded as being absent at some meetings even though they were present. But this will arise only if the official mechanism for recording attendance (in this case the attendance sheet) is incomplete or missing and the MP in question was silent throughout the meeting. It is also possible that some MPs will be recorded as being present even if they did not attend the meeting (if for instance, friends signed them in) or if they did

¹⁷ While we use lists of committee members for the third session provided to us by the Clerk to Parliament, it is possible that there are inaccuracies in these lists or that MPs changed committee membership during the term. Such errors would be unfortunate, but we have done our best to use the most reliable information collected and provided to us by the Clerk. Despite this effort, we do not have committee membership lists for the Police and Land Committees, therefore we have no attendance data for those committees and membership in those committees will not appear on the scorecard itself.

not stay throughout the meeting. As before, the Scorecard reports the relative performance of each MP (the percentile) as compared with the performance of all other MPs.

Table 13 lists the top ten ministers, shadow ministers, and committee chairpersons in terms of committee attendance and Table 14 lists the top ten backbenchers. During this session of parliament, much like second session, the backbenchers tend to outperform the ministers, shadow ministers, and committee chairpersons in committee attendance. NRM MPs dominate once again; however, Independents are performing quite well in committee attendance and come in at number one and five among backbenchers.

Table 13: Top 10 Ministers, Shadow Ministers, and Committee Chairpersons in Committee Attendance

Member	Party	Status	Attendance %
Kasamba Mathias	NRM	Committee Chairperson	100
Masiko Komuhangi Winifred	NRM	Committee Chairperson	100
Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri	NRM	Committee Chairperson	86
Yiga Anthony	NRM	Committee Chairperson	79
Bangirana Kawoya Anifa	NRM	Committee Chairperson	79
Akol Rose Okullu	NRM	Committee Chairperson	78
Ngabirano Charles	NRM	Committee Chairperson	75
Okumu Ronald Reagan	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	71
Byandala Abraham James	NRM	Committee Chairperson	70
Tindamanyire Kabondo Gaudioso	NRM	Committee Chairperson	68

Table 14: Top 10 Backbenchers in Committee Attendance

Member	Party	Status	Attendance %
Kiyonga Francis Adamson	Independent	Backbencher	100
Mukose Moses Mutabaali	NRM	Backbencher	100
Mujuzi Pius	NRM	Backbencher	100
Mugambe KifOmusana Joseph	NRM	Backbencher	100
Arapkissa Yekko John	Independent	Backbencher	100
Akello Judith Franca	FDC	Backbencher	96
Kiryapawo Loi Kageni	NRM	Backbencher	93
Okori-Moe Janet Grace Akech	NRM	Backbencher	85
Kitatta Aboud	NRM	Backbencher	84
Auru Anne	Independent	Backbencher	83

Participation. Participation in committee sessions is measured in a very simple way and one that is similar to that used in the plenary. The measure reports the number of lines each MP speaks in the committee meetings for which we have a transcript.¹⁸ For bi-elected MPs, this number is multiplied by the reciprocal of the share of plenary sessions for which the MP was in office so that bi-elected MPs are not punished for holding office for less time than other MPs. Committee participation scores are calculated without regard to committee membership. Thus, a backbencher who is not on any committees but chooses to participate in some committee meetings will get credit for his/her participation. By contrast, a backbencher who is not on any committees and chooses not to participate in any committee meetings will get a 0 for participation. However, ministers, who cannot, by the Rules of Parliament, be on a committee, receive N/As for committee participation.

There is no debate influence measure for MPs' performance in committee meetings. This is because no parliamentary business is officially initiated in committees, and the debate in committee meetings is intended to be more informal.

Table 15 lists the top ten ministers, shadow ministers, and committee chairpersons in terms of committee participation and Table 16 lists the top ten backbenchers. The score reported is the lines spoken by the given MP in all committee meetings at which he or she spoke. Readers will note that Opposition MPs take the top two rankings among both Frontbenchers and Backbenchers.

Table 15: Top 10 Ministers, Shadow Ministers, and Committee Chairpersons in Committee Participation

Member	Party	Status	Participation
Nandala Mafabi Nathan	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	4960
Okumu Ronald Reagan	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	2092
Tashobya N. Stephen	NRM	Committee Chairperson	973
Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri	NRM	Committee Chairperson	762
Seninde Nansubuga Rosemary	NRM	Committee Chairperson	734
Kasamba Mathias	NRM	Committee Chairperson	665
Katuntu Abdu	FDC	Committee Chairperson	327
Tindamanyire Kabondo Gaudioso	NRM	Committee Chairperson	312
Rwakimari Beatrice	NRM	Committee Chairperson	300
Lukwago Erias	DP	Shadow Cabinet	261

¹⁸ Because we have an incomplete set of transcripts for committee meetings in Parliament, there might be concern that this measure unfairly penalizes MPs who sit on committees for which we have few transcripts. We explored an alternative measure of committee participation which adjusted MPs' scores to account for the extent of missing transcripts on their committees. The correlation between this alternative measure and our final measure is 0.87. As these measures are so similar, we elected to proceed with the simpler measure.

Table 16: Top 10 Backbenchers in Committee Participation

Member	Party	Status	Participation
Sebuliba Mutumba Richard	DP	Backbencher	1119
Oduman Albert Charles Okello	FDC	Backbencher	633
Kamba Saleh M.W.	NRM	Backbencher	616
Kazibwe Musisi Tom	NRM	Backbencher	571
Ssekikubo Theodore	NRM	Backbencher	566
Okupa Elijah	FDC	Backbencher	520
Oleny Charles Ojok	Independent	Backbencher	395
Bahati David	NRM	Backbencher	348
Birekeraawo Nsubuga Mathius	DP	Backbencher	317
Ekemu Charles Willy	FDC	Backbencher	302

Returning to our Sample Scorecard and Sample MP, we see that she had a relatively decent attendance record. Her attendance rate of 45% places her above 58% of other MPs. This MP's participation rate is fairly high. Her participation score of 75 puts her in the 72nd percentile which means she out-performed 72 percent of MPs in committee participation.

Constituency Performance

In Sessions II and III of the 8th Parliament, AFLI calculated a score for MPs' work in their constituency. The overall constituency score was based on seven measures: LC-V Attendance, CDF Accounting, Local Office, Local Assistant, Accessibility, Constituency Service 1, and Constituency Service 2. However, in this Scorecard, because of time constraints and the desire to release this scorecard before the Parliamentary elections planned for February 2011, AFLI was not able to gather the needed data for a constituency measure for this Session IV Scorecard. However, this information is currently being gathered and will be made available in the near future.

Non-Graded Measures

Peer Assessment. The peer assessment comprises one score for each of six different categories of an MP's performance: quality, analysis, teamwork, oversight, intra-party influence, and public conduct, as well as an overall percentile. We asked each MP to rate 20 other randomly selected MPs on each of these measures.

The *quality* measure captures the quality and relevance of MPs' contributions in plenary sessions and committee meetings. An MP who receives a high quality score is seen by his/her peers to routinely make valuable contributions to the debate.

The *analysis* measure captures how active an MP is in scrutinising legislation. An MP who scores high on analysis is viewed by other MPs to be a leader in the legislative process.

The *teamwork* category measures an MP's success in building support among other MPs for legislative activities. An MP who receives a high teamwork score is perceived by other MPs to be an effective coalition-builder and lobbyist for important initiatives in Parliament.

The *oversight* score measures an MP's effectiveness in providing oversight of the activities of the executive. An MP who scores high on the oversight measure is seen by his/her peers to actively scrutinize bills, programmes, and budgets, participate in field visits, and effectively obtain information about the activities of the executive.

The *intra-party influence* score measures the extent to which an MP plays an influential role in the party caucus. For this measure, MPs grade only other MPs who are members of the same political party. An MP who performs well on intra-party influence is perceived by other MPs as an active participant in caucus meetings and an influential member of the party.

Finally, the *public conduct* measure captures whether or not an MP conducts him/herself in a manner befitting an MP. An MP who receives a high score for public conduct is seen by other MPs to act as a public face for Parliament and to exert significant effort to strengthen Parliament as an institution and to improve its reputation.

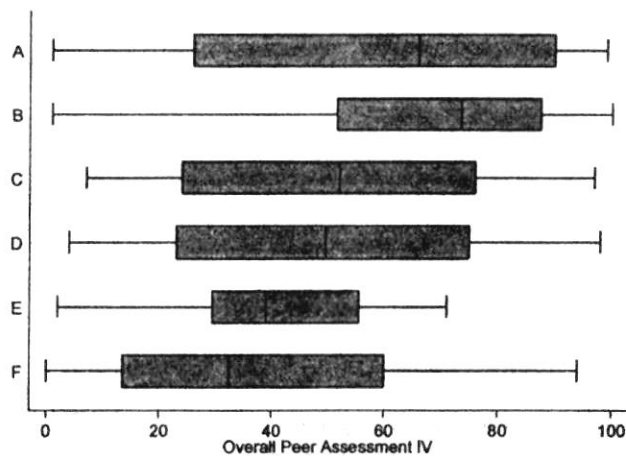
To construct the MPs' peer assessment score, we averaged the scores each MP received from all other MPs who rated them. Importantly, we adjusted each measure for party bias by using information only on the extent to which a Government (or Opposition) MP was scored more or less highly than another Government (or Opposition) MP. We then assigned a percentile rank to each MP for each category and an overall percentile rank, based on their adjusted average scores.¹⁹ Thus, an MP with a quality score of 70 received a better average quality score than 70% of MPs.

¹⁹ We adjusted every MP's score to correct for party bias. See Appendix A for a detailed account of the methodology used to construct this score.

Although peer assessment scores are reported on most MPs' Scorecard, we do not have sufficient data on every MP to record scores because not every MP filled out a survey. Readers should not interpret missing peer assessment scores as an indication of poor performance on the part of the MP, but simply as a lack of data. Also, note that the peer assessment measure is the only performance measure which does not contribute to any of the MP's overall grades.

Because so few MPs returned surveys this year, our methodology for calculating Peer Assessment scores was slightly altered. Readers may be wary about the accuracy of this year's Peer Assessment Scores because of this change: the scores are based on a minimum of 2 evaluations from other MPs whereas in previous years the Peer Assessment was based on a minimum of 3 evaluations from other MPs. However, the graph below shows that although the Peer Assessment and Overall Plenary Grade are calculated independent of each other, there is a correlation between them: those who received higher plenary scores from the scorecard were also more highly rated by their fellow MPs even when the minimum threshold for receiving a peer assessment score is evaluations from two MPs.

Correlations: Plenary Grades and Peer Assessment



This figure shows the distribution of Overall Peer Assessment (percentile) scores across the six Plenary Grades (A through F). Each distribution is represented by a box of different widths. The width of each box shows where 50% of the Peer Assessment scores for a given Plenary Grade are concentrated. If a box begins at the 25th percentile for example and ends at the 60th percentile, this means that 50% of a party's members scored between 25 and 60. The line in the middle of each box denotes the median performance. If the line is at the 60th percentile for example that means that half the party scored 60 or greater while half scored no more than 60.

Returning to the MP in our sample scorecard, we see that she scored low in each of the peer assessment measures as well as the overall peer assessment. The scores she was given by her peers place her in the 21st percentile for quality, 25th percentile for analysis, 56th percentile for teamwork, 39th percentile for oversight and Intra-Party Influence, and 7th percentile for public conduct. The relatively low scores this MP earned in the individual peer assessment measure place her in the 19th percentile for her overall peer assessment, which means that she only received higher scores than 19% of Parliament.

D. Positional Scores

The next set of measures reported in the Scorecard capture aspects of the MP's position. While political party affiliation is often an important indicator of an MP's political views, it is limited in that it does not reveal differences among members of the same party. For voters to be able to make informed decisions at election time, it is important that they have access to more detailed information about the positions MPs actually take in Parliament.

Political Position. The first measure of position – political position – provides an estimate of how frequently an MP sides with the Government or with the Opposition. For each statement made by an MP in plenary sessions, we generate a score ranging from purely pro-Government behaviour (1) to wholly pro-Opposition behaviour (5). A score of 3 was used to represent neutral positions. The Scorecard reports the average of all positions taken by an MP in plenary sessions (for all MPs who took at least two positions during the year). A score close to 1 suggests that an MP typically took pro-Government positions, while a score close to 5 indicates that the MP typically took anti-Government positions. A score closer to the middle means either that the individual was typically neutral or that the person varied from item to item on how pro- or anti-Government the positions he or she took were.

Ideally, to measure position we would take advantage of recorded votes on bills. However, the absence of an electronic voting system (or any mechanism at all for recording votes consistently) in the Ugandan Parliament makes this impossible.

Instead to measure position, we graded all new items introduced in Parliament as Government or Opposition-sponsored (or neutral).²⁰ Each time an MP spoke about one of these items, we recorded how

²⁰ Items were coded as Pro-Government if they were introduced by a Minister, a Minister of State, or the Chief Whip of the NRM. Items were coded as pro-Opposition if they were introduced by the Leader of the Opposition or a Shadow Cabinet Member.

strongly the statement supported a Government position (or opposed an Opposition position). For example, if the Foreign Affairs Minister proposes a resolution on the security situation in Sudan, those MPs who take a stance supporting that resolution are given a pro-Government score, because the item was initiated by a member of the Government cabinet. If an MP makes a statement objecting to the resolution, he receives an Opposition score for that item. If a response is ambiguous or takes no real stance on the item, it is graded as neutral.

Two steps were taken to help ensure the reliability of this measure. First, for each item we asked two distinct individuals to make independent evaluations of the positions taken in each speech. If these two coders disagreed we asked a third person, a referee, to make a final determination. Second, we asked the coders to record how certain they were about their assessments. In all cases, data were used only when the coders were able to make clear and confident determinations. It is possible, therefore, that some MPs took positions in favour of or against a motion but with insufficient clarity for the position to be registered in their score. Similarly, it is possible that many MPs took positions on items, but did not do so in statements on the floor of Parliament; in such cases, of course, their position on these issues is not captured in our score. Readers should not, however, take missing position scores as an indication of poor performance. When our coders are unsure how to score an MP's position for a particular item, no score is given, so a missing score is nothing more than an indication that our system for grading positions is imperfect. It is, however, the best system possible until Parliament chooses to begin officially recording MPs' votes.

It is important to note that the ability of the Government to effectively set the agenda in Parliament has a major impact on the average position scores of all MPs. In fact, it is not the case that the average score is neutral. The reason for this is simple and relates to the way the measure is constructed. Many resolutions and other items of business introduced by Government are uncontroversial in their most basic form (even if some Opposition MPs, and even some NRM MPs, may object to the details of their implementation). Opposition MPs may therefore be scored as supporting a Government position simply because the issue at hand is not a divisive one. As a result, almost all MPs appear to fall on the pro-Government side of the political continuum. Readers should use the average position scores for NRM and Opposition MPs as the appropriate benchmark by which to judge where each MP falls on the political spectrum, rather than the extremes suggested by the Government-Opposition continuum.

Returning now to the example Scorecard, this MP does not have position because AFLI was unable to determine her position relative to Government. This occurs mostly when MPs engage little in debate or debate on issues that are not easily classifiable as having a pro or anti government position.

Areas of Focus. The business of Parliament is varied and cuts across a variety of topics. Different MPs choose to engage different issues, with some concentrating their energies on issues of governance, for example, while others focus on social issues. The topics section of the Scorecard reports the share of an MP's contributions that focus on each of eight important sectors: the economy and trade, internal security, foreign affairs, social issues, governance, infrastructure, environment and natural resources, and human development.

The economy and trade category encompasses all issues related to agriculture, foreign and domestic trade, information communication technology, Uganda's economic performance, and foreign investors. Internal security includes all matters related to the LRA peace process, crime, and police. Foreign affairs covers any contribution relating to African and East African affairs, foreign relations, relations with non-government donors such as the World Bank, and military actions abroad. Social issues include anything about moral corruption, gender relations, ethnic or religious issues. A contribution is coded as relating to governance if it is pertains to either national or local government. This topic covers constitutional issues and anything about the national budget, government corruption, or political parties. Infrastructure includes contributions about electricity, roads, transportation, or the construction of hotels, hospitals, schools, or other public buildings. A contribution is reported as relating to the environment and natural resources if it pertains to water quality, deforestation, global warming, or land use. Finally, human development encompasses all issues related to health and healthcare, labour, persons with disabilities, education, or internally displaced persons (IDPs) or IDP camps.

The graph on each MP's Scorecard includes two pieces of information. The (darker) red bars provide information on the individual MP, while the (lighter) grey bars represent information about how much time Parliament as a whole spends on the different issues.

The sample graph for the sample MP shows that she focused almost exclusively on two issues: Governance and Social Issues. In many cases MPs do not engage sufficiently in debate for us to be able to determine their areas of interest with great confidence.

MP's Report. In the surveys we distributed to every Member of Parliament, we asked the MPs to report how they spent their CDF money for 2008 – 2009. All MPs were invited to provide this information, regardless of whether they officially accounted for their CDF spending. The responses of all MPs who returned a survey are printed in the Scorecard. We were not able to provide this information for MPs who did not return a survey. Also, we asked for a very specific report of spending and in many cases we were unable to report everything an MP reported on the scorecard.²¹ Readers should bear in mind that this is the only measure on the Scorecard which we were not able to verify. We include the information but leave it to voters to make their own judgment about how to interpret it. Also, because we asked for more detailed information concerning their CDF spending we were unable to include all aspects of all MPs reports, so more information on how MPs spent their CDF can be found on our website: www.aflia.org.

6 THE PERFORMANCE OF PARLIAMENT

The percentile scores that we provide for each MP should help voters understand how each MP behaves in relation to all other MPs. For further appreciation of the meaning of these scores, however, it is helpful to have more information about how Parliament as a whole - and different groups within it - performed.

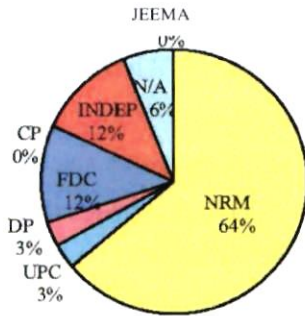
A. *Performance of Sub-Sections of Parliament*

In this section we compare the performance of Members of Parliament of different parties, ascensions, genders, and regions.

Party. When one examines the data thoroughly, a number of important findings emerge. The first of these has to do with party membership. The beginning of the Eighth Parliament was an auspicious milestone for Uganda's crucial new experiment – a return to multiparty politics in the national legislature.

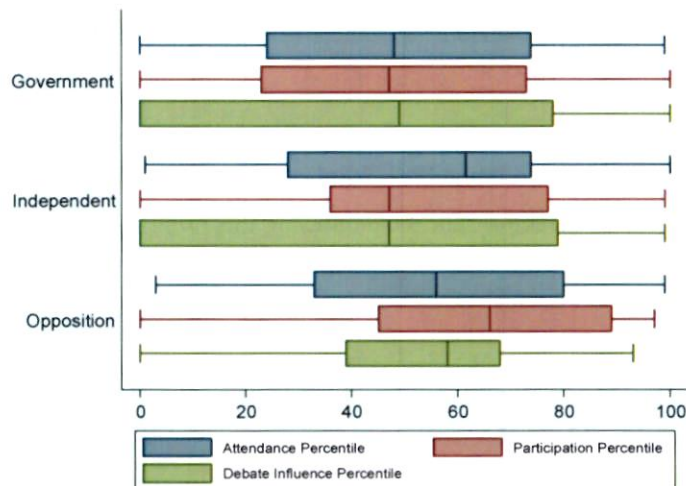
²¹Our survey presented MPs with sectors in which they could have spent their CDF money. To select which sectors we reported on the scorecard, we selected the two sectors in which an MP spent the most money and reported those sectors. In the cases where an MP did not provide monetary amounts, we selected the two in which the MP provided the most information.

Figure 2: Party Membership



Under the individual merit system in place since the NRM took power in 1986, Ugandan MPs operated without the support of the constraints of formal party organizations. But parties now support candidates for elections and frame the debate in national issues, providing MPs with a like-minded caucus where they can seek support on issues important to their constituents and collectively set the parliamentary agenda. It is natural then that Ugandan voters will look to see how different parties perform on the Scorecard. Figure 2 shows the share of seats each party controls and Figure 3 shows the distribution of scores across the three disaggregated components of the plenary scores. These are broken down by party affiliation for NRM members, members of the Opposition, and Independents.

Figure 3: Distribution of Plenary Performance Across Parties



This figure shows the distribution of (percentile) scores across three groupings of parties for the three plenary performance measures. Each distribution is represented by a box of different widths. The width of each box shows where 50% of the scores of a given party are concentrated. If a box begins at the 25th percentile for example and ends at the 60th percentile, this means that 50% of a party's members scored between 25 and 60. The line in the middle of each box denotes the median performance. If the line is at the 60th percentile for example that means that half the party scored 60 or greater while half scored no more than 60.

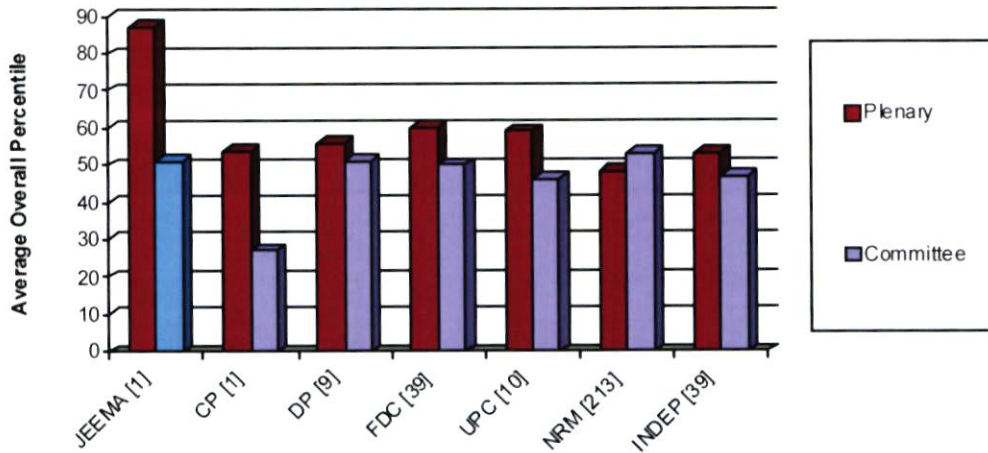
As evident in Figure 3, Independents perform better on average than both Government and Opposition MPs in Plenary Attendance. The Opposition, on average, out-performs both Government and Independent MPs by a substantial margin in Plenary Participation while Government and Independent MPs perform nearly equally. Opposition MPs once again outperform Government and Opposition MPs, on average, in terms of debate influence. From last year, Parliament has seen an increase in the performance of its Opposition MPs, while Government MPs has maintained its performance and Independents have worsened slightly. However, as the graph shows, much of the variation takes place *within* parties, not *across* parties. Many NRM members score better than Opposition and Independent members and vice versa. *The implication: party membership is a relatively poor predictor of performance. How well an individual does depends on his or her performance, and his or her place within a party, and not simply to which party he or she belongs.*

Besides these major party blocks there are many other reference groups against which voters might wish to compare the performance of their representatives. For example, does a particular MP do well or poorly compared to other candidates from his region, or compared to other male candidates? Some MPs represent geographical constituencies while others speak for special interests; how does a particular MP compare to other candidates representing different types of constituencies?

The ability to make such contextual comparison can let voters make fairer judgments than those that can be made based on overall scores alone. Further, an examination of the systematic differences between groups can help voters appreciate some of the structural features that make it easier for some representatives to score better than others. Table 17 provides the information needed to allow voters to make these judgments. The table provides information on behaviour of MPs across all of the disaggregated measures with breakdown by party, ascension, status, gender, and region.

Figure 4 illustrates the differences among parties in plenary and committee performance with the number of MPs in each party listed after the party's name.

Figure 4: Performance by Party

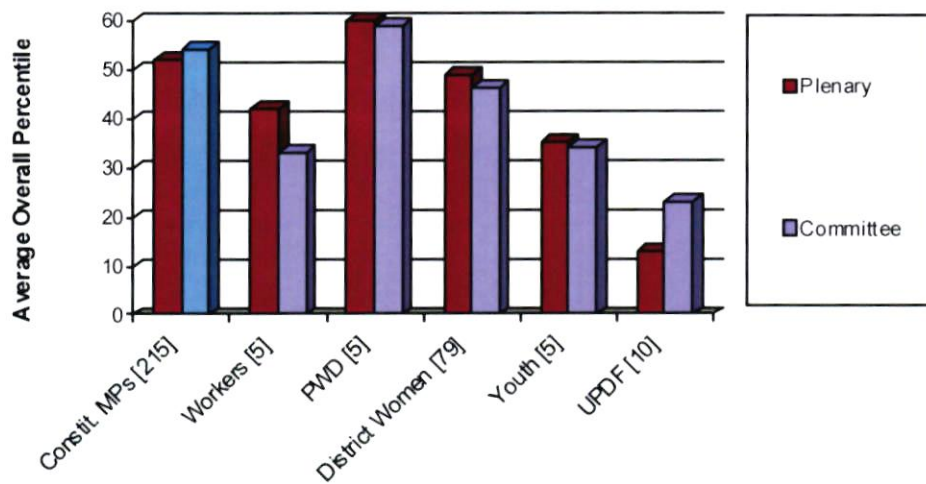


The party breakdown (shown in aggregate in Figure 4) reveals mixed results. Opposition members on average do better than NRM in plenary performance. However, Opposition and NRM MPs tend to perform equally well in Committee.

Ascension. As was the case in the first and second sessions of Parliament, when performance is broken down by ascension, it becomes clear that there are real differences in the performance of constituency MPs and other MPs. The data, presented in Figure 5²², suggest that constituency MPs outperform other MPs on average overall performance for plenary and committee. However, a difference from the previous years is that PWD MPs outperform all other MPs, including Constituency MPs, in Plenary and Committee performance. Also keeping with the trend over the past two years, the lowest scorers, by a substantial margin, were once again representatives of the UPDF. Again, the interpretation of these patterns should be a subject for national debate. We do not make claims here about whether these patterns reflect differences in the quality of individual MPs or more structural features of parliamentary participation.

²² Because this graph includes by-elected MPs, we weighted the averages by the amount of time each MP was in office.

Figure 5: Performance by Ascension



At the same time, parties put constraints on their members in Parliament. Some have argued that it is in the caucus where the most honest debate occurs, where MPs may freely speak their minds, and where important decisions on party positions are made. The initiatives brought to the caucus by party members can then be reassigned to more senior or more “appropriate” MPs to be raised on the floor of Parliament. Critics suggest, however, that the net effect is to prevent backbenchers from voicing their thoughts and receiving credit for their initiatives in Parliament.

The data from this year’s Scorecard suggest that parliamentary business may not be as dominated by a small number of MPs, often the leadership of the various parties, as in previous years. As Table 17 shows, Ruling Party and Opposition leaders (terms that encompass the Prime Minister, ministers, ministers of state, shadow ministers, the party whip, and the Leader of the Opposition) both score highly on average. However, in a change from last year, Backbenchers participation is higher than Government Leaders, on average. This is quite surprising given that many backbenchers may not have the same opportunities as leaders in parliament. However, the Opposition Leadership, as in previous years, has a much higher average participation rate than the other two groups. Another change from previous years is that Government leaders have the highest average debate influence rate.

Table 17: Correlates of Performance²³

	Avg. Plenary Attendance (%)	Avg. Plenary Participation (of 165,709)	Avg. Debate Influence (of 165,709)	Avg. Plenary Percentile	Avg. Comm. Attendance (%)	Avg. Comm. Participation	Avg. Comm. Percentile	Avg. Peer Assessment Percentile
ALL MPs [330]²⁴	48	1437	999	50	38	106	50	50
BY PARTY								
NRM [213]	49	1476	1142	48	43	83	53	51
UPC [10]	53	2801	590	59	33	47	46	47
JEEMA [1]	63	1980	529	87	8	160	51	N/A
FDC [39]	51	1417	706	60	29	282	50	58
DP [1]	58	958	533	56	25	216	51	51
CP [1]	45	595	1067	54	48	0	27	15
Independent [39]	51	1673	1241	53	40	49	47	46
N/A [23]	22	241	107	13	15	24	23	N/A
BY ASCENSION								
Constituency								
MP [215]	50	1727	1140	52	41	139	54	55
Ex-officio [16]	30	335	459	N/A	N/A	17	N/A	N/A
PWD [5]	54	594	951	60	41	87	59	66
UPDF [10]	17	236	9	13	15	24	23	28
District Women								
Rep [79]	49	956	964	49	36	57	46	44
Workers [5]	48	4116	406	42	22	17	33	10
Youth [5]	48	329	159	35	29	22	34	32

²³ The Speaker and Deputy Speaker are not included in this table because we do not produce Scorecards for them. The reasons are spelled out in Section 8.

²⁴ Although there were never 330 MPs serving at one time, because some MPs left office early and other entered late, during the course of the session, 335 different MPs held office. In the above table we weight the averages of by-elected MPs by the amount of time they spent in office.

	Avg. Plenary Attendance (%)	Avg. Plenary Participation (of 165,709)	Avg. Debate Influence (of 165,709)	Avg. Plenary Percentile	Avg. Comm. Attendance (%)	Avg. Comm. Participation	Avg. Comm. Percentile	Avg. Peer Assessment Percentile
BY STATUS								
Government Leadership [84]	45	1282	1673	47	59	176	74	53
Opposition Leadership [22]	51	1755	753	68	26	424	49	70
Backbencher [213]	50	1529	779	49	37	68	48	47
BY GENDER								
(All MPs)								
Women [102]	48	1042	1257	49	37	51	45	45
Men [231]	48	1649	909	50	38	136	52	52
By GENDER								
(Constituency MPs only)								
Women [16]	45	464	2931	44	39	17	35	51
Men [197]	51	1849	1004	53	41	151	55	56
BY REGION								
West	48	1325	899	50	41	103	58	51
North	49	1460	932	53	37	84	48	54
East	53	2068	752	53	43	162	53	49
Central	49	1207	1809	51	35	108	48	54

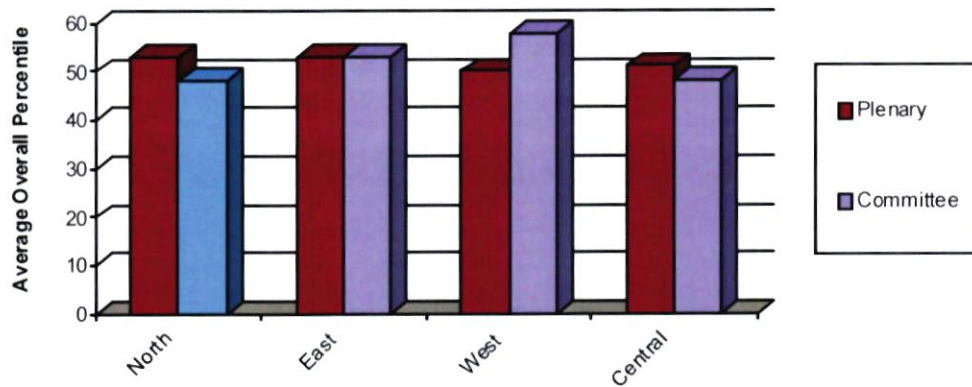
Thus, although party membership and seniority do matter, the results also suggest that there is considerable space for members to excel based on their own energy. Table 4 reports the scores for the top ten backbenchers with respect to overall plenary performance. All are in the top 6 percent overall and two of them are in the top 1 percent. Backbenchers clearly can excel and this is true both for MPs from the NRM, the Opposition, and Independents.

Gender. The Ugandan political system recognises the important role that women have to play in politics. We report scores for 79 district woman's representatives, as well as a further 16 constituency MPs and 7 who represent other special interests who are also women. During the first session, men performed marginally better than women on average, but when only constituency MPs were examined, women performed as well or better than their male counterparts. Then in second session, women perform worse than men on nearly every measure. Moreover, narrowing the scope to constituency MPs generally tends to widen rather than lessen the gap between men and women. In third session, men continued to outperform women. And finally in fourth session, men outperformed women in all measures except debate influence where women outperform men to a substantial degree. In addition, this year, men and women tie on average plenary attendance. Again we emphasize that these are simple average trends in the data and may reflect structural biases against women in parliament. We also emphasize that some women score extremely highly on all measures. The differences between men and women are only statistically significant for committee, but not for plenary.

Region. A final question of interest is to know whether different regions are receiving better representation. Is it the case, for example, that parliamentary business is dominated by individuals from one particular region or that members representing some other region are underperforming? As Figure 5 shows, the evidence from this year's Scorecard suggests that some regions are indeed performing better than other regions.

On average, MPs from the North and East perform best in Plenary, followed by MPs from the Central with West MPs shortly below them. MPs from the West perform better than all others in Committee. Compared to last year, there is more difference between the regions especially for MPs from the West who improved greatly in average committee performance. However, this differences are slight and not statistically significant.

Figure 6: Performance by Region



B. How Does MP Performance in 2009 – 2010 Compare to Performance in the first three years of the 8th Parliament?

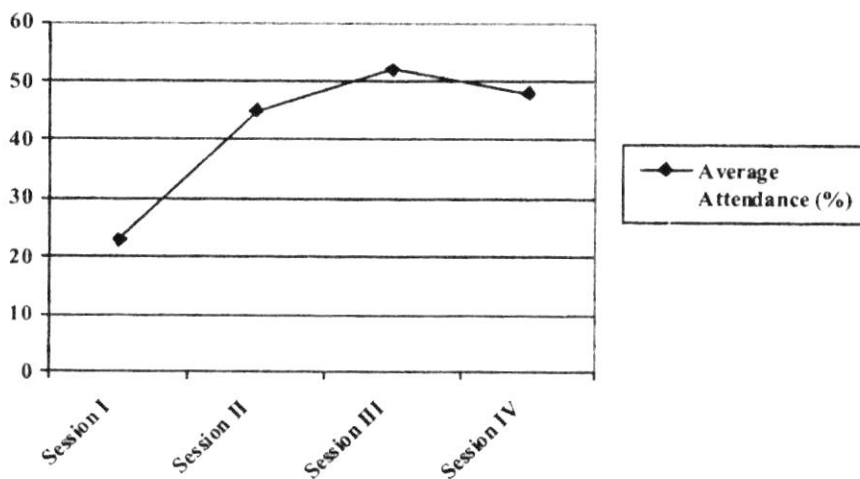
One goal of the Scorecard is to encourage MPs to perform better by highlighting areas in which they are performing poorly. It is therefore important to examine not just how MPs perform year by year, but also how they perform over time.

Plenary Performance. A major finding of previous Scorecards which was emphasized by the media was that most Members of Parliament attended plenary sittings infrequently or not at all. It is notable that the best performers in attendance continue to attend more and more with each coming year. While the top ten performers in 2006 – 2007 attended between 45% and 57% of the plenary sittings and the top performers in 2007 – 2008 attended between 68% and 85% of the sittings, in 2008 – 2009 the top performers attended between 73% and 88% (with 6 MPs attending 85% or more). Attendance was basically maintained in 2009 – 2010 with the top performers ranging from 77% to 87% attendance.

Attendance in the whole of Parliament consistently increased from year to year until 2009 – 2010 when it began to decrease again. While average plenary attendance was just 23% in 2006 - 2007, in 2007 - 2008 it climbed to 45%, and in 2008 – 2009 it further climbed to 52%. However, in 2009 – 2010 average plenary attendance fell below half to 48%. Fifteen MPs did not attend a single plenary session in 2006 - 2007, decreasing to four in 2007 – 2008, then increasing to five in 2008 – 2009, and reaching an all time low in 2009 – 2010 with only two members of parliament attending no plenary sittings. Moreover, while only four MPs attended over half of the plenary sittings in 2006 - 2007, 136 MPs attended over half of the sittings in 2007 – 2008, in 2008 – 2009 that number rose to 160 MPs, and 2009 – 2010 represents a high of 170 MPs attending over half of the plenary sittings. So while the average rate

of attendance has dropped from last year, there are some reasons to be optimistic about plenary attendance in the fourth session of this parliament.

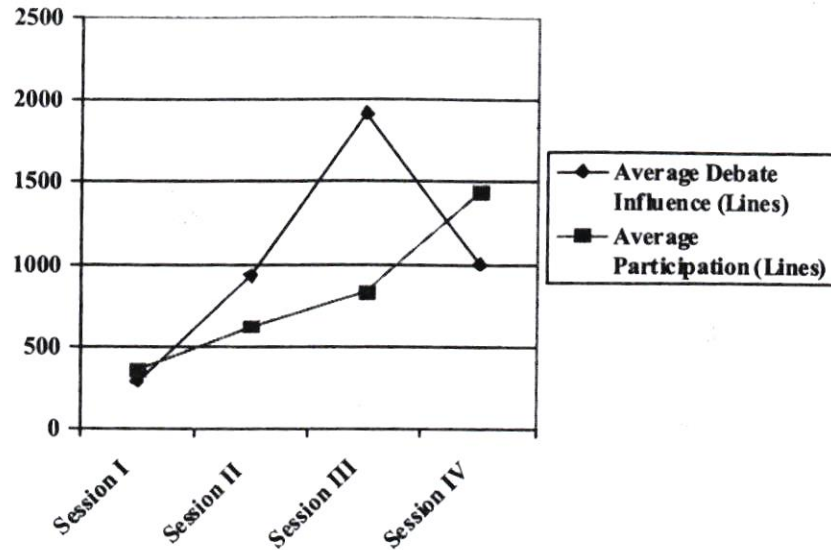
Figure 7: Average Plenary Attendance Over Time



On average, participation dropped from First Session to Second Session (partially due to fewer sittings in Second Session) and then increase from Second to Third Session. And average participation has increased substantially from 820 lines in Third Session to 1437 in Fourth Session. This could be partially due to the increase in sittings from 96 to 106 in Fourth Session²⁵. While 88% of MPs spoke at least one line in 2006 – 2007, only 84% of MPs spoke at least one line in 2007 – 2008, 95% spoke at least one line in 2008 – 2009, and 94% spoke at least one line in 2009 – 2010. This is a marked increase in participation. This means that only 19 MPs did not speak at all in plenary sittings this year.

²⁵ The number of sittings here is 106 and not 100 because AFLI received hansards for 106 sittings of Parliament, and the hansards are used to calculated participation. The previous paragraph stated that there were 100 sittings in the fourth session and this is because AFLI only has attendance data for 100 sittings.

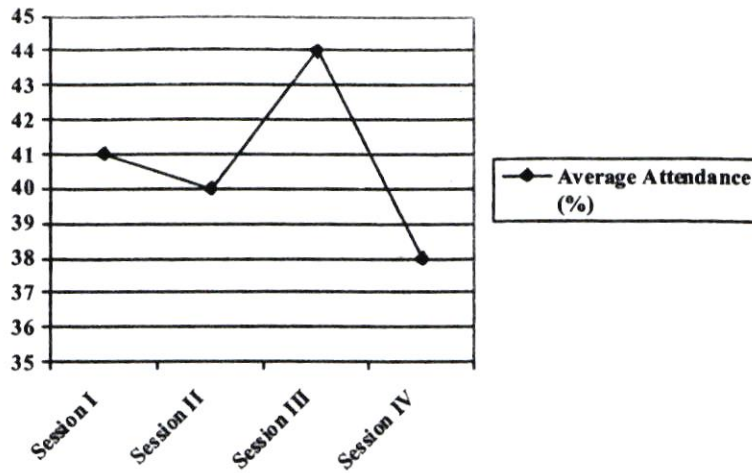
Figure 8: Average Plenary Participation and Debate Influence Over Time



Average debate influence has decrease for the first time from its high of nearly 2000 lines in 2008 – 2009 to about 1000 lines this year. However, the top debate influence scores continue to increase significantly each year. The top performer in First and Second Session, Jachan-Omach Mandir Fred, scores two times higher in debate influence between those two sessions. For the Third Session, the top performer was Suruma Ezra who more than doubled Jachan-Omach Mandir Fred’s score from Second Session. And for this session, Bbumba Syda Namirembe as the top performer in debate influence of 33079 lines is the highest since the inception of the Parliamentary Scorecard. In fact across all sessions, the top five performers each year in debate influence are outperformed by the top performers the following year. This suggests that MPs are engaging one another’s comments more systematically in parliamentary debate.

Committee Performance. Committee attendance has reached an all time low of 38% this year (the next lowest was during the Second Session of parliament at 40%). Average participation in 2007 – 2008 was 213, in 2008 - 2009 it is slightly lower at 202 lines, and it has slumped even lower this year to 106 lines. However average committee percentile remains constant at 50% across both years.

Figure 9: Average Committee Attendance Over Time



Scores Through the Years. Now with four scorecards out on this parliament we have the possibility to examine the consistency of patterns over time. Are scores in one year highly correlated with scores in another year? A high correlation suggests a few things, first that the scores reflect fairly slow moving features of political life of MPs, that is that behavior does not change radically from year to year. Second, it provides reassurance of the validity of the scores: that they are not simply picking up oddities but larger trends. Table 18 reports these correlations. A correlation between scores can be understood as the amount to which they vary together. The reader will note that correlations above 70% are considered to be quite high.

Table 18: Correlations of Scores from 2010 (Session IV) with Sessions II and III

Score in:	Correlation with 2009 (Session III)	Correlation with 2008 (Session II)
Overall Plenary	63%	56%
Plenary Participation	56%	52%
Plenary Attendance	74%	61%
Plenary Initiative	35%	30%
Overall Committee	59%	53%

Understanding correlations: For example, the correlation of 74% between plenary attendance scores in Session IV and Session III means that about half the variance of this year's attendance score can be accounted for by patterns from last years.

C. *Parliament's Productivity*

Although the Scorecard does not distinguish between different types of plenary participation, it is important to recognize that plenary participation takes many forms. Members of Parliament may participate through asking questions, making statements, presenting papers, introducing bills, presenting committee reports, proposing bills or amendments, or by making a procedural motion or a point of order.

Questions. Any Member of Parliament may ask a question of any minister, committee chairperson, or commission member during the allotted time during most sittings of Parliament. MPs may utilize questions to obtain information regarding a Bill, motion, Parliamentary procedures, or relevant public affairs. Although MPs are able to ask up to three questions for oral reply during a given session, only 23 MPs asked just 38 questions during the 106 sittings of Parliament this session. This represents an increase in questions from last session's figures of 18 questions from 23 MPs. Table 19 lists the MPs who asked more than one question during this session.

Table 19: MPs Who Asked More Than One Question

Member	Party	Status	Number of Questions
Lukwago Erias	DP	Shadow Cabinet	5
Alaso Alice Asianut	FDC	Backbencher	4
Rwakimari Beatrice	NRM	Committee Chairperson	3
Ekwau Ibi Florence	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	3
Okupa Elijah	FDC	Backbencher	2
Okello Okello John Livingstone	UPC	Backbencher	2
Obua Denis Hamson	NRM	Backbencher	2
Ekanya Geoffrey	FDC	Backbencher	2

Statements. Statements may be made by any Member of Parliament. Ministers may make statements for the purpose of explaining a Government policy or action. Members may make statements regarding any issue of urgent public importance or any matter of importance to their constituency. During the last session, 106 MPs made 241 statements. This represents a decrease over the previous session in both the number of MPs who made statements (121 last session) and the total number of statements made (267 last session). Unsurprisingly, the Leader of the Opposition and the Chief Whip made more statements than most, but half of the MPs who made five or more statements were backbenchers. Table 20 below lists the eight MPs who made five or more statements.

Table 20: MPs Who Made Five or More Statements

Member	Party	Status	Number of Statements
Migereko Daudi	NRM	Chief Whip	8
Alaso Alice Asianut	FDC	Backbencher	8
Ekanya Geoffrey	FDC	Backbencher	7
Okupa Elijah	FDC	Backbencher	6
Ogenga Latigo Morris.W	FDC	Leader of the Opposition	6
Wadri Kassiano Ezati	FDC	Backbencher	6
Ssekikubo Theodore	NRM	Backbencher	5
Bazana Kabwegyere Tarsis	NRM	Minister	5
Mbaguta Sezi	N/A	Minister of State	5
Atim Anywar O. Beatrice	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	5
Kiyonga Chrispus Walter Bazarrabusa	NRM	Minister	5

Committee Reports. There are 25 different standing and sessional parliamentary committees which are charged with initiating and discussing Bills, evaluating the activities of Government, conducting research, and reporting to Parliament on their activities. Committee reports may be presented to Parliament by the chairperson or by any member of the committee, but in practice they are nearly always presented by the chairperson or occasionally the deputy chairperson.

Ninty committee reports were presented this session. This represents a substantial increase in overall committee productivity from the 2008 – 2009 session, during which committees presented 57 reports. The committee reports which were presented during the third session are listed in Table 21.

Table 21: Committee Reports Presented in Parliament

Committee	Subject	Presenter
Agriculture	On the Ministerial Policy Statement for the Financial Year 09/10	Serunjogi Lastus Katende
Agriculture	On the Famine Situation in the Teso Sub-Region	Serunjogi Lastus Katende
Agriculture	Assessment of the Fisheries Development Project (ADB loan)	Wonekha Oliver
Budget	On the Supplementary Appropriation Bill, 2009	Akol Rose Okullu
Budget	On the Supplementary Schedule No.1 for Fiscal Year 09/10	Akol Rose Okullu
Budget	On the Appropriation Bill, 2009	Akol Rose Okullu
Budget	On the Supplementary Expenditure, Schedule No.2 for Fiscal year 09/10	Akol Rose Okullu
Budget	On the Supplementary Expenditure Schedule No.2 for the Financial Year 08/09	Akol Rose Okullu

Budget	On on Supplementary Schedule No.2	Akol Rose Okullu
Commissions	On the Performance of NFA from 2004 to 2007	Okumu Ronald Reagan Sebuliba Mutumba Richard
Commissions	On the Performance of the Amnesty Commission from 2002 to 2008	
Commissions	On the Performance of the National Drug Authority and the Auditor-General's Report	Okumu Ronald Reagan
Commissions	On the Performance of Uganda Property Holdings & Amber House	Okumu Ronald Reagan
Defence	Ministerial Policy Statement for Financial Year 09/10	Abura Pirir Samuel Bangirana Kawoya Anifa
Equal Opportunities	On Ethnic Minority Groups in Uganda	
Finance	Addendum on the Petition by Sitting Tenants of Buganda Road Flats	Oleny Charles Ojok
Finance	On the Petition by Sitting Tenants of Buganda Road Flats	Oleny Charles Ojok Tindamanyire Kabondo Gaudioso
Finance	On The Stamps (Amendment) Bill, 2009	Tindamanyire Kabondo Gaudioso
Finance	On the Excise Tariff (Amendment) Bill, 2009	Tindamanyire Kabondo Gaudioso
Finance	On the Income Tax (Amendment) Bill, 2009	Tindamanyire Kabondo Gaudioso
Finance	On the Value Added Tax (Amendment) Bill	Tindamanyire Kabondo Gaudioso
Finance	On the Finance Bill, 2009	Tindamanyire Kabondo Gaudioso
Foreign Affairs	Ministerial Policy Statement for Financial Year 09/10	Tindamanyire Kabondo Gaudioso
Foreign Affairs	Ministerial Policy Statement for Financial Year 09/10	Lule Mawiya
Gender	On the Situation of the Children in Northern Uganda	Amongi Beatrice Lagada
Gender	On the Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Bill, 2009	Bako Christine Abia
Gender	On Ministerial Policy and Budget Estimates for the Financial year 2009/10	Kabanda Sabano Pherry
Gender	On the National Youth Council (Amendment) Bill, 2008	Amongi Beatrice Lagada
Gender	On the Violence Against Women Bill	Amongi Beatrice Lagada
Gender	On the National Women's Council (Amendment) Bill, 2008	Amongi Beatrice Lagada
Government Assurances	On Selected Government Assurances	Kiiza Winifred
Legal and Parliamentary Affairs	On the Trademarks Bill, 2008.	Tashobya N. Stephen
Legal and Parliamentary Affairs	On the Contracts Bill, 2008	Tashobya N. Stephen
Legal and Parliamentary Affairs	On the Parliamentary Elections (Amendment) Bill, 2009	Tashobya N. Stephen
Legal and Parliamentary Affairs	On the Ministerial Policy Statement for Financial Year 2009/2010	Tashobya N. Stephen
Legal and Parliamentary Affairs	On the International Criminal Court Bill, 2006	Tashobya N. Stephen
Legal and Parliamentary Affairs	On the Domestic Violence Bill, 2009	Tashobya N. Stephen
Legal and Parliamentary Affairs	On the Political Parties and Organisations (Amendment) Bill, 2009	Tashobya N. Stephen
Legal and Parliamentary Affairs	On the Electoral Commission (Amendment) Bill, 2009	Tashobya N. Stephen

Local Government Accounts	On the Auditor General's Report for the Financial Year 01/02	Malinga Johnson
Local Government Accounts	On the Auditor General's Report for the Financial Year 02/03	Malinga Johnson
Local Government Accounts	On the Report of the Auditor General on the Public Accounts of District Local Governments for the Financial Year 03/04.	Malinga Johnson
Local Government Accounts	On the Report of the Auditor General on the Public Accounts of District Local Governments for the Financial Year 04/05.	Malinga Johnson
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow \$10 million from the IDA for Avian and Human Influenza Preparedness and Response Project	Wangwa Rutangye Nagudi Erinah
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow UA 38 million (US \$57,760 and US \$10 million) from the BADEA.	Wangwa Rutangye Nagudi Erinah
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow an Additional Financing of SDR 3.1 million from the IDA of World Bank Group for Mineral Resources Project	Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri
National Economy	On Budget Performance of the Economy for the Fiscal Year 08/09	Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow Units of Accounts 80 million from the ADB Group for Road Sector Support Project 3	Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow a Loan of Kuwait Dinnars 3 million	Kasule Robert Sebunya Wangwa Rutangye Nagudi Erinah
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow UA 7.59 million from ADB	
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow UA 35 million from the ADB Group for the Kampala Sanitation Programme Project Phase I	Kasule Robert Sebunya
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow SDR 17.6 million (US \$27 million) from the IDA	Mbagadhi Frederick Nkayi
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow \$100m from EXIM Bank of China for Acquisition of Road Equipment, Sanitary & Firefighting Equipment	Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow US\$150 million from the IDA of the World Bank Group for Financing UPPET	Wangwa Rutangye Nagudi Erinah
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow UA 10.21 million from the ADB	Wangwa Rutangye Nagudi Erinah
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow Japanese Yen 3,395,000,000 from JICA	Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow Japanese YEN 5,406,000,000 JICA	Oleny Charles Ojok
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow from IDB for development of Technical Colleges	Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow US \$12.7 million & another 22.95 million from the Saudi Fund for Development	Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri
National Economy	On Government to Guarantee up to US \$567,000 as Supplementary Financing	Oleny Charles Ojok
National Economy	On the Budget and Ministerial Policy statements	Yiga Anthony
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow 52.51 million UA from ADB for Construction of Mbarara-Nkenda and Tororo-Lira Transmission Lines Project	Mbagadhi Frederick Nkayi
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow SDR 69,900,000 from the IDA for Financing the Second NUSAF Project	Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri
National Economy	On Government Request to Borrow US\$ 4.5 million from the Arab Bank for Economic Development	Bahati David

National Economy	On the Performance of the Economy of the First Quarter of the Fiscal Year 09/10	Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri
Natural resources	On the Ministerial Policy Statement for Financial Year 09/10	Masiko Komuhangi Winifred
Natural resources	On the Petitions on The Forest Reserves of Te Ilwa, Kazooba and Kooki	Masiko Komuhangi Winifred
Physical Infrastructure	On the Land (Amendment) Bill, 2007.	Byandala Abraham James
Physical Infrastructure	On the Minority Report on the Land (Amendment) Bill 2007	Byandala Abraham James
Physical Infrastructure	On the Physical Planning Bill, 2008	Byandala Abraham James
Physical Infrastructure	On the Ministerial Policy Statement for Financial Year 09/10	Byandala Abraham James
Presidential Affairs	On the Whistle Blower's Protection Bill, 2008	Oburu Grace
Presidential Affairs	On the Emoluments of the President, Vice-President and Prime Minister Bill, 2009	Menhya Gerald Simon
Presidential Affairs	On the Ministerial Policy Statement and Budget Estimates for the Fiscal Year 09/10	Menhya Gerald Simon
Public Accounts	On the Report of the Auditor-General on the Public Accounts of the Republic of Uganda for the Year Ended 30/6/03	Nandala Mafabi Nathan
Public Accounts	On CHOGM	Nandala Mafabi Nathan
Public Accounts	On the Report of the Auditor-General on the Public Accounts of the Republic of Uganda for the Year Ended 30/6/05	Amuge Rebecca Otengo
Public Service	On the Motion of Resolution for Creation of New Municipalities	Boona Emma
Public Service	On the Creation of New districts	Yiga Anthony
Public Service	On the Motion of Resolution to Create Rukungiri Municipality	Yiga Anthony
Public Service	On the Policy Statements & Budgetary Provisions for Fiscal year 09/10	Yiga Anthony
Public Service	On on the Illegal sale of Plots at the Old Taxi Park	Yiga Anthony
Public Service	On the Alteration of Boundaries of Districts and Creation of New Districts	Boona Emma
Select Committee to Authorise Govt to Borrow Money	To Harmonise Issues Raised by the House Regarding Requisitioning for Additional Funding of US\$ 5 million	Dombo Lumala Emmanuel
Social Services	Petition of the <i>Bannakazadde</i> Women's Group on the State of the Sickle Cell Unit of Mulago Hospital	Seninde Nansubuga Rosemary
Social Services	On the Ministerial Policy Statement for Financial Year 09/10	Seninde Nansubuga Rosemary
Social Services	On the Pharmacy Profession and Pharmacy Practice Bill, 2006.	Seninde Nansubuga Rosemary
Tourism, Trade and Industry	On the Ministerial Policy Statement and Budget Estimates for the Financial Year 09/10	Lubyayi John-Bosco Sseguya
Tourism, Trade and Industry	On Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAS)	Lubyayi Iddi Kisiki
Tourism, Trade and Industry	On the Petition from the Traders of Kampala on Trade Licence Fees	Lubyayi John-Bosco Sseguya

Average committee attendance in this session was 38% but there was variance among committees, with average individual committee attendance ranging from 63% (Natural Resources) to 15% (Rules). While average attendance has decreased from last year (44%), the highest committee attendance this year (63%) is lower than last year (61%), and the lowest attendance rate this year (15%) is lower than last year (19%). Table 22 shows the top 10 committees with the highest attendance.

Table 22: Top Ten Committees in Attendance²⁶

Committee	Average Attendance %
Natural Resources	63
Defence	55
Presidential Affairs	54
Social Services	50
Finance	49
Agriculture	47
Public Accounts	43
ICT	41
Public Service	38
Legal & Parliamentary	34

Bills. Although every MP has the right to initiate a bill, most bills are brought by ministers of state because it is extremely difficult for members to garner sufficient support to initiate a bill independent of Government. In this session, 33 bills were initiated by 16 different NRM MPs. Three of these bills were private member's bills presented by Hon. Bahati, Hon. Baryomunsi, and Hon. Ruhindi. This is an increase in total bills from the 2008 – 2009 Session when 19 bills were brought to the floor by 11 NRM MPs. The bills and their presenters are listed in Table 23 below.

Table 23: Bills Initiated During The 2009 - 2010 Session

Bill Title	Presenter
The Companies Bill 2009	Atubo Omara Daniel
The Anti-Homosexuality Bill, 2009	Bahati David
The Prohibition of Female Genital Mutilation Bill, 2009	Baryomunsi Chris
The Anti-Money Laundering Bill, 2009	Bbumba Syda Namirembe
The Appropriation Bill, 2009	Bbumba Syda Namirembe
The Finance Bill, 2009	Jachan-Omach Mandir Fred
The Excise Tariff (Amendment) Bill, 2009	Jachan-Omach Mandir Fred

²⁶ Readers should note that AFLI does not have attendance data for the Appointments, Government Assurances, HIV/AIDS, Business, Infrastructure, Trade, or Police Probe committees for this session.

The Value Added Tax (Amendment) Bill, 2009	Jachan-Omach Mandir Fred
The Income Tax (Amendment) Bill, 2009	Jachan-Omach Mandir Fred
The Stamps (Amendment) Bill, 2009	Jachan-Omach Mandir Fred
The Supplementary Appropriation Bill, 2009	Jachan-Omach Mandir Fred
The Insurance (Amendment) Bill, 2010	Kajara Aston Peterson
The Uganda Retirement Benefits Authority Bill, 2010	Kamuntu Ephraim
The Trademarks Bill, 2008	Khiddu Makubuya Edward
The Presidential Elections (Amendment) Bill, 2009	Khiddu Makubuya Edward
The Electoral Commission (Amendment) Bill, 2009	Khiddu Makubuya Edward
The Chattels Securities Bill, 2009	Khiddu Makubuya Edward
The Marriage and Divorce Bill, 2009	Khiddu Makubuya Edward
The Parliamentary Pensions Bill	Mbaguta Sezi
The Emoluments of the President, Vice-President and Prime Minister Bill, 2009	Mbaguta Sezi
The Parliamentary Pensions (Amendment) Bill, 2010	Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri
The Parliament Pensions (Amendment) Bill, 2010,	Mukitale Biraahwa Stephen Adyeeri
The Regional Governments Bill, 2009	Mwesige Adolf Kasaija
The Local Governments (Amendment) Bill, 2009	Mwesige Adolf Kasaija
The Kampala City Bill, 2009	Mwesige Adolf Kasaija
The Plant Protection and Health Bill, 2010	Mwesigye Ruhindi Hope
The Women's Council (Amendment) Bill, 2008	Nakadama Isanga Lukia
The National Youth Council (Amendment) Bill, 2008	Nakadama Isanga Lukia
The Industrial Property Bill, 2009	Ruhindi Freddie
The Domestic Violence Bill, 2009	Ruhindi Freddie
The Insolvency Bill, 2009	Ruhindi Freddie
The HIV and AIDS Prevention and Control Bill	Rwakimari Beatrice
The Plant Variety Protection Bill, 2010	Rwamirama Kanyontore Bright

Amendments. Any MP may present an amendment to the House for consideration and debate. Amendments to bills, which may add to or alter the content of the original bill, are presented after the second reading of the bill before the House. In this session, 25 different MPs presented 161 amendments. This is a decrease over last year in which 25 different MPs presented 285 amendments.

Points of Order. Any Member of Parliament may raise a point of order if they feel that for some reason the current proceedings are not in line with the Rule of Procedure of the House. A point of order is most often raised when an MP objects to a comment made by another MP and suggests that he or she is out of order for giving false information or making unsupported accusations. However, merely having a point of order brought against one does not necessarily indicate wrongdoing. It is up to the Speaker to decide whether or not the MP violated the Rules of Procedure and either adopt or reject the point of order.

In this session, 66 different MPs brought 156 points of order against 83 MPs. Of those, 36 were adopted, 46 were rejected and the remaining 74 are pending. There were fewer points of order raised by fewer MPs against the same amount of MPs this session compared to last session, when 79 MPs raised 164 points of order against 83 MPs. Table 24 lists the MPs who raised more than four points of order while Table 25 lists the MPs who had more than four points of order brought against them.

Table 24: MPs Who Raised More Than Four Points of Order

Member	Party	Status	Num. of Pnts. Of Order
Atim Anywar O. Beatrice	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	9
Bazana Kabwegyere Tarsis	NRM	Minister	9
Kubeketerya James	NRM	Backbencher	9
Nankabirwa Ssentamu Ruth	NRM	Minister of State	8
Kyanjo Hussein	JEEMA	Shadow Cabinet	8
Lukwago Erias	DP	Shadow Cabinet	7
Kabakumba Labwoni Masiko Princess	NRM	Minister	6
Otafiire Kahinda	NRM	Minister	5
Okumu Ronald Reagan	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	5

Table 25: MPs Who Had More Than Four Points of Order Brought Against Them

Member	Party	Status	Num. of Pnts. Of Order Against
Nandala Mafabi Nathan	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	8
Wadri Kassiano Ezati	FDC	Backbencher	6
Otafiire Kahinda	NRM	Minister	5
Amuriat Oboi Patrick	FDC	Shadow Cabinet	5
Byandala Abraham James	NRM	Committee Chairperson	5

Petitions. Any MP may present a petition to Parliament to request action on a particular issue on behalf of a group of citizens. However, in the 2009 - 2010 session, only 8 MPs presented petitions, and each one only presented one petition. This is extremely , especially when compared to the figures from 2007 – 2008 when 17 MPs filed 22 petitions, and 2008 – 2009 when 10 MPs filed 10 petitions. Table 26 below lists the MPs who presented a petition.

Table 26: MPs Who Presented Petitions

Member	Party	Status	Petitions
Banyenzaki Henry	NRM	Backbencher	1
Baryomunsi Chris	NRM	Backbencher	1
Bayigga Lulume Micheal	DP	Backbencher	1
Fungaroo Kaps Hassan	FDC	Backbencher	1
Lukwago Erias	DP	Shadow Cabinet	1
Nokrach Wilson William	NRM	Backbencher	1
Okecho William	Independent	Backbencher	1
Oleny Charles Ojok	Independent	Backbencher	1

Presentation of Papers. When a bill, resolution, committee report, the budget, or any other item brought before the house requires additional background or supplementary information not contained within the item itself, an MP—most often a minister or state minister—may present papers to the House. In this session, 23 different MPs presented 47 papers. These figures are similar to those from the last session when 43 MPs presented 57 papers.

Procedural Motions. Any Member of Parliament may make a procedural motion to help keep the debate on topic, running smoothly, and in accordance with the Rules of Procedure. However, in practice, procedural motions are generally not made by backbenchers. This year, 29 MPs made 120 procedural motions. This represents a small change from last year when 39 MPs made 112 procedural motions.

7 A NOTE ON THE SPEAKER, DEPUTY SPEAKER, AND EX OFFICIO MPS

While we have used these measures to assign grades to nearly all MPs, the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker have special responsibilities that prevent them from carrying out the duties normally required of MPs. In fact, the Rules of Parliament specifically prohibit the presiding officer from taking part in any parliamentary debate or voting on Bills before the House. Thus, it would be inaccurate to measure the performance of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker on the same scale as that of all other MPs and would likely under represent the performance of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker.

However, while the Rules of Parliament may in many cases prevent the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker's from participating fully in the business of Parliament in a manner that would be reflected in this Scorecard, both of these Members are integral to the functioning of Uganda's legislature. Indeed, no session of Parliament may proceed until the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker, or the Deputy Speaker is

present. Further, the presiding officer is charged with the responsibility of preserving order and decorum in the House, and he or she holds the final authority concerning questions of order and practice. Thus, while AFLI has decided not to include any measures of the performance of the Speaker or the Deputy Speaker in this Scorecard, this should be seen not as a criticism of their performance, but rather as a reflection of their unique official roles in Parliament.

In addition, *ex officio* MPs – selected most often to fill Ministerial positions – have unique rights and responsibilities that allow them, in some cases, to perform in ways that other MPs cannot, for example by presenting official government business. For this reason, while we have graded the 9 unelected MPs on the same measures as the rest of Parliament, we do not include them in the percentile calculations, but instead rank them only against the other *ex officio* members.

8 LIMITATIONS OF OUR DATA

AFLI is committed to producing an objective, transparent, and nonpartisan evaluation of parliamentary performance. At the same time, the Scorecard cannot capture every relevant aspect of MP performance. Readers should keep a few caveats in mind when assessing the data reported here.

First, because AFLI strives to remain an objective observer of Parliament's activities, none of the measures in the Scorecard assess the relevance or quality of contributions made by MPs. Participation and debate influence scores are based only on the quantity of contributions made by those representatives and on the length of the debate following those contributions. Peer assessment scores are based strictly on the evaluations provided by other MPs of a given MP's performance. Failing to maintain impartiality would make it impossible to produce a purely objective evaluation. Similarly, our measures do not reward or penalise the particular positions MPs take on any issues. While we have coded contributions as "Government" or "Opposition", we do not assign a grade for these positions or claim that either perspective is superior.

Second, there are areas in which the data available to us are incomplete, making it difficult to produce a comprehensive Scorecard. Not all of the MPs returned the survey we distributed to them (only 38 returned the survey this year). Although we were able to collect a large number of committee attendance logs, we were unable to obtain attendance logs for seven committees. In addition, some of Parliament's work is not captured in official records. Votes in plenary sessions are not recorded, the archives of committee reports with signatures are incomplete, and there is no official committee Hansard.

In all of these areas, improved records would help us make our measures more precise. It is important to emphasize that our ability to collect complete and accurate data depends on Parliament's willingness to assist us in this endeavour.

In addition, some work is well documented but is conducted behind closed doors, and thus the public cannot access the records. We cannot know, for example, which MP first raised an issue in a party caucus meeting. Because parties caucus in secret, we are unable to include participation and debate influence at these conferences in the Scorecard. This points to one of the limitations of transparency – not all activity can be fully transparent and available to voters. In such instances in which voters cannot observe the activities of their representatives, they need to use other criteria – such as the extent to which ultimate policy outcomes reflect the voter's goals – to determine the effectiveness of their representation.

Some of the information we collected is impossible to verify. Although we report the MPs' responses about how they spent their CDF money, we are unable to know with any certainty how truthful these responses were. It is also difficult to verify attendance as it is possible that some MPs sign in and then leave or ask a friend to sign them in.

Finally, we recognise that each MP's situation is different, which may make any attempt to compare the performance of all MPs imperfect. The constitutional requirements of certain MPs, such as the Speaker or Deputy Speaker, make them inherently incomparable to other MPs and prevent them from participating in the daily debate and fulfilling other duties that all MPs normally perform. The unique circumstances of individual MPs are infinitely varied and may affect their score in any number of ways. For example, each MP has a different relationship with his or her local councilors and other leaders, meaning that some MPs attend many LC-V meetings, while other choose to boycott the meetings in protest – or may simply not be invited. Still other MPs may take advantage of worthy opportunities to travel or otherwise work on behalf of the constituencies at the cost of committee or plenary sessions – for example, some MPs have been invited to represent Parliament at the Juba peace talks or at meetings of the East African Parliament. In each of these cases, we have attempted to collect data that would allow us to take these differences into account. In some cases, though this is simply not possible, as data are not available.

One anomaly we have taken pains to account for in the Scorecard relates to MPs who were elected through by-elections and those who were ousted or died during the term. It is not accurate or fair to compare MPs who have taken office during the Eighth Parliament or left office before the end of the

session to MP's who have had a full term in office. Thus, MPs elected and ousted in by-elections and MPs who have died are scored against the full set of MPs, but only for the period in which the MP has been in office. For example, if an MP has served since April 2010 (i.e. for the last two months of the fourth year of the Eighth Parliament) his or her percentile scores will be based on a comparison of his or her performance to all other MPs based on that two month period alone.

In recognising that there are limitations inherent in any attempt to assess MPs according to consistent criteria, we emphasise again that the Scorecard is a tool to start a discussion about the best way to recognise the work of MPs and inform voters. We encourage voters, members of the media, and government officials alike to query their representatives on the scores laid out here. It is possible that some aspects of an MP's performance are not captured fully by our measures, and thus that some MPs have received lower scores than are warranted. Of course, it is also possible that some MPs have received scores higher than their overall performances merit. The Scorecard should not be taken in isolation, nor interpreted as encouragement to vote for or against any particular Members of Parliament. It should simply be taken for what it is – accurate and objective information on many of the activities that MPs perform on behalf of their constituents, and indeed of all Ugandans.

9 LOOKING AHEAD

The methodology, measures, and layout of the 2009 – 2010 Scorecard represent the culmination of four years of consultation and revision and will serve as the model for all future iterations of the Scorecard. The information contained in the Scorecard will be updated, published, and distributed around the country annually until at least the 2011 election and hopefully beyond.

Throughout the next few weeks leading up to the elections, we will organise and hold the remaining workshops. The workshops bring together local leaders, community members, and MPs, allowing constituents to view and understand the Scorecards and to question their MPs on the data contained in them. In addition we also plan to disseminate a cumulative scorecard in the final weeks of January with the goal of allowing voters to see the improvement of their MP over the course of the 8th Parliament.

10 CONCLUSION

Every voter who casts a vote based primarily on the performance of his/her representative contributes to the strengthening of democracy in Uganda. Unfortunately, many voters lack the requisite information to vote on this basis. The Scorecard seeks to empower Ugandans to make informed decisions about who is best fit to represent their constituency in Parliament by providing accurate and objective information about every MP's past performance. We are dedicated to producing the most complete and rigorous Scorecard possible every year, and we believe this year's reforms to the Scorecard and Scorecard methodology will enable us to do that. However, the Scorecard is only useful if the information reaches voters, so we hope you will join us when the Scorecard forum comes to your constituency. With your help, we can make Ugandan democracy stronger.

Appendix A: Technical Notes

The purpose of this appendix is to describe the exact methodology used to calculate every statistic or indicator developed as part of the Parliamentary Performance Scorecard.

1 Datasets

All of the measures provided in the scorecard are derived from one of three datasets: the *plenary activities dataset (PAD)*, the *committee activities dataset (ComAD)*, and the *constituency activities dataset (ConAD)*. We describe each in turn.

1.1 The Plenary Activities Dataset (PAD)

The PAD contains data from three sources: official attendance logs, the record of official leave, and the plenary Hansard.

1.1.1 Attendance Log Data

The attendance logs are the official records of whether an individual MP is present in Parliament. An individual is recorded as being present in Parliament for a given day if his or her presence is recorded in the official log *or* if he or she has made an intervention of the floor of Parliament that has been recorded in the official Hansard.

1.1.2 Official Leave Data²⁵

The list of official leave, maintained by the Speaker's office, is the official record of whether an MP was excused from attendance in the House for a particular time period. An individual is recorded as being excused if the Speaker responded to the MP's request for permission to be absent; this permission is recorded in a letter from the Speaker to the MP. The PAD records the number of plenary sittings for which the MP was excused.

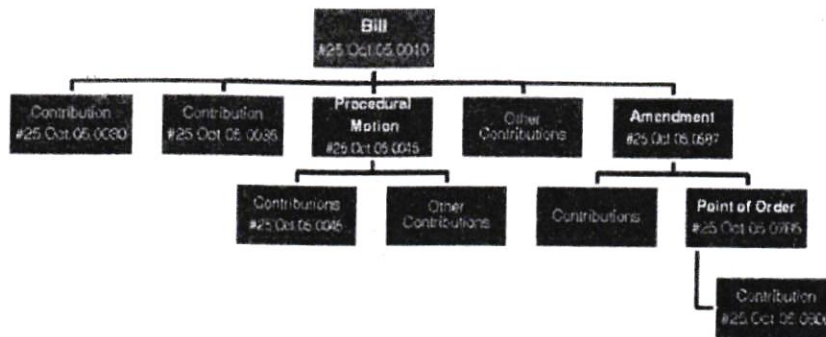
1.1.3 Plenary Hansard Data

Much of the information in the PAD is derived from coding of the official parliamentary Hansard by a team of enumerators. Every line of the parliamentary Hansard is read and entered into the PAD. The database records information about everything said on the floor of Parliament during plenary sittings. The process for coding the Hansard is as follows.

- a. **Items:** When an MP makes an intervention (proposes a bill, raises a point of order, etc.) this item is given a code and is recorded in the PAD. The name of the MP that makes the intervention is recorded along with a unique ID number for the item, and, where relevant, the ID number of the item it is referring to. In addition, we record the topic of the item (see paragraph 0). In all cases in which the item under debate is something that MPs vote upon, the *position* taken by the MP is recorded (see paragraph 0).
- b. **Line Number References.** Importantly, for every intervention by an MP and for every item in the PAD we record the first and last lines in the Hansard to which the item corresponds. As a result it is possible to refer back to the original transcripts of Parliament to check every piece of data in the PAD.
- c. **Structure of the Database:** The PAD preserves information on the relation of each intervention to other interventions to which it refers, directly or indirectly. This is done by recording for each item the item (if any) to which it refers. As an illustration in the following chart, each node represents one MP's contribution in the Hansard, and one corresponding entry in the database. From this example it can be seen that items are

²⁵ Although we were unable to obtain this data this year, we include it in the methodology because it will be included in the Scorecard should Parliament provide it in the future.

recorded in a tree: for example, contribution #25.Oct.05.0800 itself refers to a point of order (contribution #25.Oct.05.0785) which in turn refers to an amendment (#25.Oct.05.0587) and a bill (item #25.Oct.05.0010).



1.2 The Committee Activities Dataset (ComAD)

The Committee Activities Dataset contains data from three sources: official attendance logs, records of official leave, and committee transcripts. We have worked to improve our coverage of these records, and we have been successful: While in the first year we only had transcripts for 25% of committee meetings, this year we are able to report on about 40% of meetings.

1.2.1 Attendance Log Data

The attendance logs are the official records of whether an individual MP is present in committee meetings. An individual is recorded as being present in a given committee meeting if his or her presence is recorded in the official log or if he or she has made a contribution in the meeting.

1.2.2 Official Leave Data²⁶

The list of official leave, maintained by the Speaker's office, is the official record of whether an MP was excused from attendance in the House and committee meetings for a particular time period. An individual is recorded as being excused if the Speaker responded to the MP's request for permission to be absent; this permission is recorded in a letter from the Speaker to the MP. The ComAD records the number of committee meetings for which the MP was excused.

1.2.3 Committee Transcript Data

All of the information on participation in the ComAD is derived, again, from coding done by AFLI's enumerators. Every line of every committee transcript we have is read and entered into the ComAD. The process for coding transcripts is as follows.

- a. **Contributions:** When an MP speaks in a committee meeting of which he or she is a member, this item is given a code and is recorded in the ComAD. The name of the MP that makes the intervention is recorded along with a unique ID number for the item. Note that we go no further in the ComAD; we do not, for example, record position or the item to which a contribution in committee refers.
- b. **Line Number References.** As in the PAD, for every MP contribution in the ComAD we record the first and last lines in the transcript to which the item corresponds.

²⁶ Although we were unable to obtain this data this year, we include it in the methodology because it will be included in the Scorecard should Parliament provide it in the future.

- c. **Structure of the Database:** The ComAD is much simpler than the PAD. In fact, the database consists solely of a list of all contributions made by MPs during committee meetings.

1.3 The Constituency Activities Dataset (ConAD)

The Constituency Activities Dataset contains data from four sources: official LC-V attendance logs, a research exercise designed to measure an MP's accessibility, official CDF accounting records, and field research.

1.3.1 LC-V Attendance Log Data

The LC-V attendance logs are the official records of whether an individual MP is present at LC-V (district level) meetings. An individual is recorded as being present at the LC-V meeting for a given day if his or her presence is recorded in the official log.

1.3.2 Accessibility Data

We sent a field researcher to every constituency MP's and district woman representative's constituency in the country to collect data on the MPs' accessibility to their constituents. To measure the MPs' accessibility, the researchers asked five randomly selected participants to spend the day trying to obtain their MP's phone number. The data obtained through this research exercise comprise the accessibility data. We record data about every participant's political affiliation, gender, age, and education as well as whether or not the individual returned at the end of the exercise, and whether or not the individual returned with a correct phone number for the MP.

1.3.3 CDF Accounting Data

The Constituency Development Fund Accounting list, maintained by the Clerk to Parliament, records the names of all MPs who officially accounted for their CDF spending.

1.3.4 Field Research Data

We sent a survey to all MPs requesting information about whether or not they maintained a local office and a political assistant during the session, and if so, how we could locate each of these. Then, we sent a field researcher to every constituency to verify this information and to collect information about MPs who did not return surveys. The information our field researchers collected on the MPs' staff and offices comprises the field research data. The ConAD dataset includes data obtained from local party offices, local council offices, and the MP's office (where the MP maintains an office) about the location of every MP's office and contact information for every MP's assistant.

2 Indicators

2.1 Score and Percentiles

2.1.1 A Note on Rankings and Percentiles

Most indicators are calculated in a three-step process. First, a raw score for each MP is calculated, such as the total number of lines that an MP spoke in all Hansards. Second, each MP is ranked according to this raw score. Third, the rank is turned into a corresponding percentile. In all cases, each MP's rank is calculated as 1 + the number of MPs who have a higher raw score; thus, all MPs who tie in terms of raw score are given the same rank.

Example. If for some indicator two MPs' raw score is 10, one MP's score is 8, and three MPs' score is 7, their respective rankings would be 1, 1, 3, 4, 4, 4.

The percentile is calculated as

$$\text{Base Percentile} = 100 \times \frac{(\text{Total \# of MPs with Lower Raw Score})}{(\text{Total \# of MPs})}$$

Thus, a percentile score of 30 means that this MP did better than 30% of all MPs.

2.1.2 Averages of percentiles.

The overall scores (for plenary and committee performance) use information about the *averages* of individual percentile scores. The resulting scores differ from a simple average in two respects:

- First, the base percentiles are modified in order to ensure that the average percentile for a given score is exactly 50. Normally this is the case but it might not be if there are many ties; in such cases, the ties can result in a given score receiving a less than equal weight in the overall score. To prevent this from happening, we use modified percentile scores for each measure defined as follows:

$$\text{Modified Percentile} = 50 - 50 \times \frac{(\# \text{ of MPs with Lower Raw Score} - \# \text{ of MPs with Higher Raw Score})}{\text{Total \# of MPs}}$$

- Second, after the average of the modified percentiles is taken, the percentile rank of these averages is taken. This percentile of the average of the modified percentiles is then what is reported.

As a simple example, imagine that there are 10 MPs and they have scores on two issues as follows:

MP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Score on Item 1	1	1	1	2	2	3	4	5	10	10
Score on Item 2	10	9	1	1	4	4	3	6	8	10

In this case we can calculate the percentiles, the modified percentiles and the overall percentile scores as follows:

MP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Percentile on Item 1	0	0	0	30	30	50	60	70	80	80
Percentile on Item 2	80	70	0	0	30	30	20	50	60	80
Modified Percentile on Item 1	15	15	15	40	40	55	65	75	90	90
Modified Percentile on Item 2	90	75	10	10	40	40	25	55	65	90
Average Modified Percentile	52	45	13	25	40	48	45	65	77	90
Overall Percentile	60	30	0	10	20	50	30	70	80	90

As can be seen from the example, the overall percentile score differs in general from the average percentile. For example, MP 10 scored 80 on both issues reflecting the fact that he tied for first place on both. His average score would then be 80. However his overall percentile score is higher than this. He receives an overall score of 90 because, although he tied on both issue areas, he did better overall than both of the MPs with whom he tied. For other individuals, the overall percentile score is lower than their average; for example, MP 5 did better than 30% of the other candidates on both issues but only did better than 20% of people overall; this is because many of the people he did better than in some areas did much better than him in other areas.

For CDF, Office, and Staff percentiles, we use a slightly different version of this modified percentile formula. For these three measures, we do not calculate a regular percentile; we only calculate a modified percentile defined as follows:

For MPs whose Office/Staff/CDF score is Yes:

$$\text{Modified Percentile} = 50 + \frac{(\# \text{ of MPs who do not have offices (or staff or CDF)})}{\text{Total \# of MPs in the sample}}$$

For MPs whose Office/Staff/CDF score is No:

$$\text{Modified Percentile} = 50 - \frac{(\# \text{ of MPs who have offices (or staff or CDF)})}{\text{Total \# of MPs in the sample}}$$

It is important to note that the total number of MPs in the sample is different for Office/Staff and CDF. For office and staff, the sample is composed of only constituency MPs and district woman representatives. For CDF, the sample is composed of all MPs who received the CDF money for 2006 – 2007.

2.2 Plenary Indicators

We now describe each of the individual components of the plenary score.

2.2.1 Attendance

Attendance is reported as the share of the 80 plenary sittings which an MP attended as given in the data described in paragraph 1.1.1. A percentile score is then calculated according to the method described in paragraph 2.1.

2.2.2 Official Leave²⁷

Absences during official leaves are not counted against MPs. Instead, we credit MPs for having attended sittings of the House at which they were actually absent if these absences were excused by the Speaker. To do this, we add the number of absences during official leaves to the numerator in the attendance score. In addition, for each MP we report the number of absences during official leaves in the plenary attendance section of the Scorecard.

2.2.3 Participation

The raw score for participation is the total number of lines each MP speaks in the Hansards plus the number of lines spoken during the presentation of any committee reports that the MP signed, whether or not that presentation is made by the MP. The raw score is then reported as a share of the total lines spoken in Parliament (136,638). A percentile score is then calculated according to the method described in paragraph 2.1. We give credit to MPs for committee reports that they signed, because these reports are the responsibility of the entire committee that produced them and not simply of the individual that reads them. We alter the methodology slightly for MPs who left office before the end of the session or who were by-elected after the start of the session. For part-year MPs, the raw score is reported as share of the total lines spoken in Parliament while that MP was in office rather than as a share of the total lines spoken in Parliament throughout the session.

2.2.4 Debate Influence

Quantifying influence in Parliament requires a system for comparing the level of initiative shown by introducing different items, including bills, resolutions, petitions, amendments, and points of order. Rather than assigning an arbitrary "debate influence value" to every item, AFLI assumes that the length of the debate on an item is a reasonable, if imperfect, indication of its significance. Thus, each MP's raw debate influence score is given by the sum of the number of lines in the Hansard that are devoted to debating items he or she initiated or committee reports that he or she signed. Excluded from this sum are lines the MP contributes directly to his or her own item. This exclusion

²⁷ Although we were unable to obtain this data this year, we include it in the methodology because it will be included in the Scorecard should Parliament provide it in the future.

is made in order to avoid double counting (an individual's own interventions are already counted in his participation score) and to reduce the scope for manipulation (an individual cannot make interventions simply to increase his own debate influence score; rather, he must truly influence the debate). The raw debate influence score is then divided by the total number of lines spoken in Parliament during the session. A percentile score is calculated according to the method described in paragraph 2.1. As with participation, the methodology for calculating debate influence is altered slightly for part-year MPs. For part-year MPs, debate influence is calculated by dividing the raw debate influence score by the total number of lines spoken during the period the MP was in office.

2.3 Committee Indicators

Committee indicators are calculated using the ComAD as follows:

2.3.1 Attendance

The committee attendance measure is given by the percent of all committee meetings of which this MP is a member (according to records provided by Parliament) where the MP's signature appears in the log book or where an intervention by the MP is recorded in a transcript. The denominator for this percentage is given by the number of meetings of committees of which the given MP was a member for which we have either log books or transcripts for dates matching those in the log books.

2.3.2 Official Leave²⁸

If Parliament provides us with official leave data in the future, absences during official leaves will not be counted against MPs. Instead, we will credit MPs for having attended committee meetings at which they were actually absent if these absences were excused by the Speaker. To do this, we will add the number of absences during official leaves to the numerator in the attendance score. In addition, for each MP we will report the number of absences during official leaves in the committee attendance section of the Scorecard.

2.3.3 Participation

The raw score for committee participation is the number of lines that each MP speaks at committee meetings. No score is calculated for MPs who cannot be members of committees (notably government ministers) but participation scores are calculated for MPs who can but choose not to serve on committees. For by-elected MPs, the committee participation score is multiplied by the reciprocal of the fraction of plenary sittings during which the MP held office. Thus, an MP who was only in office for 10 (out of 80) sittings of Parliament will have his participation score multiplied by 8. Because we have an incomplete set of transcripts for committee meetings in Parliament, there might be concern that this measure unfairly penalizes MPs who sit on committees for which we have few transcripts. We explored an alternative measure of committee participation which adjusted MPs' scores to account for the extent of missing transcripts on their committees. The correlation between this alternative measure and our final measure is 0.87. As these measures are so similar, we elected to proceed with the simpler measure.

2.4 Constituency Indicators

Constituency indicators are calculated using the ConAD as follows:

2.4.1 LC-V Attendance

The LC-V attendance measure is given by the share of all district level meetings which an MP was officially recorded by the clerk to council as having attended. Since different districts hold different numbers of district level meetings,

²⁸ Although we were unable to obtain this data this year, we include it in the methodology because it will be included in the Scorecard should Parliament provide it in the future.

the denominator differs for every MP. Only meetings held during an MP's term are included in the denominator. A percentile score is calculated based on this score according to the method described in paragraph 2.1.

2.4.2 Accessibility

The accessibility score shows the share of participants in the research game described in paragraph 1.3.2 who were able to obtain a correct phone number for their MP. For most MPs, this score is recorded as some number over five because in most constituencies, five constituents participated in the exercise. For a few MPs, the denominator is four because the field researcher was unable to find five willing participants. In no case did fewer than four constituents participate in the game. Accessibility data is only available for constituency MPs and district woman representatives who were in office at the time of the exercise, as the exercise was not carried out for special interest MPs or MPs who were no longer in office at the end of the session. A percentile score is calculated based on the accessibility score according to the method described in paragraph 2.1.

2.4.3 CDF Accounting

The CDF accounting score is recorded as a simple "yes" or "no" depending on whether or not an MP's name appeared on the official CDF Accounting list obtained from the Clerk to Parliament. For MPs who did not receive CDF money in 2006 – 2007, we report "n/a" and exclude the CDF accounting component when we calculate their constituency grade. A percentile is calculated although it is not recorded on the scorecard, for all MPs who received CDF money in 2006 - 2007 based on whether or not they accounted for their spending.

2.4.4 Local Office

The local office score is recorded as "yes" or "non-verifiable" depending on whether or not our field researchers were able to verify that an MP maintained a local office during at least part of the session. A percentile is calculated – although it is not recorded on the Scorecard, for all constituency MPs and district woman representatives who were in office at the end of the session, according to the method described in paragraph 2.1. For special interest MPs who turned in surveys, the local office score is reported as "yes" or "non-verifiable." For special interest MPs who did not turn in surveys, the local office score is reported as "n/a." It is important to note though that we do not include any special interest MPs' scores in the percentile calculations. The local office data we report for special interest MPs is purely qualitative; it does not factor into any quantitative scores.

2.4.5 Political Assistant

Like the local office score, the political assistant score is recorded as "yes" or "non-verifiable" depending on whether or not our field researchers were able to verify that an MP maintained a political assistant during at least part of the session. A percentile is calculated – although it is not recorded on the Scorecard, for all constituency MPs and district woman representatives who were in office at the end of the session, according to the method described in paragraph 2.1. For special interest MPs who turned in surveys, the political assistant score is reported as "yes" or "non-verifiable." For special interest MPs who did not turn in surveys, the political assistant score is reported as "n/a." It is important to note though that we do not include any special interest MPs' scores in the percentile calculations. The political assistant data we report for special interest MPs is purely qualitative; it does not factor into any quantitative scores.

2.5 Non-Graded Factors

In addition to the above indicators, all of which are combined into the MP's grades for plenary and committee work, information from the plenary Hansards is used to measure some factors that are not included in the grade.

2.5.1 MP's Position

Position scores are generated through the following procedure.

1. During data entry, each MP's contribution to items that are voted upon (bills, amendments, etc.) is graded on a scale between 1 and 5, where 1 indicates that the MP strongly supports the item, 2 indicates weak support, 3 = neutral, 4 = weak opposition, and 5 = strong opposition. The enumerators also record their certainty about the position on a scale of 1 (totally uncertain) to 5 (completely certain).
2. Then, all new items for which we collected this position information are graded either "Government", "Opposition", or "neutral", according to the portfolio of the individual who introduced the item. If the individual is a cabinet member (minister or state minister), the NRM Chief Whip, or the Prime Minister, then the item is graded "Government". On the other hand, if the item is introduced by a member of the shadow cabinet or the Leader of the Opposition, it is graded as "Opposition". Finally, if the initiator is neither a member of the ruling party leadership nor of the shadow cabinet, the item is graded "neutral". In exceptional circumstances, such as clearly partisan items proposed by backbenchers, AFLI staff may assign a Government or Opposition position to an item that might otherwise, under the above rules, be graded "neutral".²⁹
3. The position information on all contributions to Opposition items is then inverted (5 becomes 1, 4 becomes 2, etc). Doing this ensures that a score of 1 means either "supportive of a Government position" or "opposed to an Opposition position".
4. We then discard information if (1) the items to which an intervention refers are themselves *neutral* or (2) if any of the three enumerators' certainty about his or her grading is below 4 on a scale from 1 to 5 or if the average of the first two enumerators' certainty is below 4.³⁰ This conservative approach is intended to ensure that only data for which we have great confidence is used for these measures.
5. Any item that does not refer to another item that was voted upon, but that is initiated by a frontbencher, is assigned a position score concomitant with the frontbencher's caucus. Opposition cabinet members will receive a position score of 5 for their own new items, and Government leaders will receive a score of 1 for their new items.
6. Finally, we average each MP's remaining positions to get their raw position score. We only report these scores in the final scorecard if we have two or more position data points for a given MP.

MPs are then graphed on a continuum between 1 and 5, where 1 = strong Government support and 5 = strong Opposition support. Rank and percentile are not used. However, average positions for Government, Opposition, and Independent MPs are marked on the graph for each member.

²⁹ For example, the resolution on 28 June 2006, thanking the President for his State of the Nation address, is clearly partisan in nature – a "Government" item – even though it was put forth by a backbencher.

³⁰ Each Hansard is graded by two different enumerators, then those separate databases are combined into the Master database, with another enumerator examining and reconciling any discrepancies between the two. For a position score to be counted on an individual item, the average of the first two enumerators' certainties must be 4 or higher, and the final certainty in the master database must also be 4 or higher. The position in the master database is used, and the positions entered by the first two enumerators are discarded.

2.5.2 Peer Assessment

Every MP was asked to rate 15 other MPs' performance from 1 to 5 (1 being the worst and 5 the best), in six different areas: quality, analysis, teamwork, oversight, intra-party influence, and public conduct. We received surveys from 113 MPs, giving us enough data to report peer assessment scores for almost 90% of MPs. Because not all MPs handed in surveys, however, we do not have sufficient data to report peer assessment scores for some MPs. We report "n/a" for any category for which an MP was graded by two or fewer other MPs.

We adjust every score for party bias by setting the average score every MP gives to the 15 MPs assigned to him to zero and by setting the variation to one. This re-centering process ensures that no MP can be a higher grader on average than other MPs and that no MP can score members of his own party higher on average than members of other parties. Once the scores are re-centered, we calculate percentiles for each MP based on the re-centered scores. We report both individual percentiles for each category and an overall percentile for all categories. To calculate the overall percentile, we first average the re-centered scores for each MP and then calculate percentiles based on the averaged re-centered scores.

2.5.3 Topics/Sectors

Each item in the PAD is associated with one or two of the following topics or sectors.

- The Economy
- Environment and Natural Resources
- Foreign Affairs
- Governance
- Human Development
- Infrastructure
- International Security
- Social Issues

In many cases, the assignment of items to categories was clear, but in some cases, judgements were unavoidable. For example, one could discuss unemployment as a social issue, emphasising education and social programs to help the unemployed, in which case it would fall under Human Development and Social Issues. One could also discuss unemployment from an economic perspective, and advocate expanding manufacturing to solve the problem, in which case it would fall under Agriculture, Industry, and Trade. To handle such situations, a single item may be classified as pertaining to up to two (but not more than two) categories.

In cases in which the item refers to another item, the topic or scope is typically inherited from that other item with exceptions made whenever in the course of a debate there is a substantial change in topic.

The total number of lines each MP contributed to items of each topic is then summed with lines being given half weight for a given topic in cases in which the lines refer to two topics. The share of lines spoken by a given MP on a given topic are then calculated and compared to that of the average MP.

2.5.4 MP's Report

In the survey we distributed to all MPs, we asked them how they spent their CDF money for 2006 – 2007. The MPs' responses are reported in the MP's Report section of the Scorecard.

Appendix B: Glossary of Terms

Session: One year of Parliament. There will be 5 sessions of the Eighth Parliament. The 2007 – 2008 session is the second session of the Eighth Parliament.

Plenary Sitting: A meeting of the whole house of Parliament. There were 80 plenary sittings in the second session.

Committee Meeting: A meeting of a small group of Parliament assigned to investigate matters related to a specific topic. There were 28 standing, sessional and select committees in the second session which met between 4 and 128 times.

Constituency MP: MPs elected to represent geographic constituencies. There were 221 constituency MPs during the second session.

District Woman Representative: MPs elected to represent the interests of the women in a district. There were 78 district woman representatives during the second session.

Special Interest MP: MPs elected to represent marginalized or minority groups. There are 4 groups of special interest MPs: Workers (represented by 5 MPs), Youth (represented by 5 MPs), People with Disabilities (represented by 5 MPs), and UPDF (represented by 10 MPs).

Hansard: The written record of what is said in each plenary sitting.

Backbencher: Any MP who does not hold a leadership position (such as minister, shadow minister, or committee chairperson). There were 224 backbenchers during the second session.

Frontbencher: Any MP who holds a leadership position such as minister, shadow minister, or committee chairperson.

Minister: A Government MP who is a leader in his/her party and has been granted special responsibilities in a particular area, such as Education. A minister's area of responsibility is listed in the Portfolio section of the MP Profile on every Scorecard.

Shadow Minister: An Opposition MP who is a leader in his/her party and has been granted special responsibilities in a particular area, such as Internal Affairs and Human Rights. A shadow minister's area of responsibility is listed in the Portfolio section of the MP Profile on every Scorecard.

Committee Chairperson: The leader of a committee. There is one committee chairperson and one deputy chairperson for every committee.

LC-V Meetings: District council meetings. Every district has a local council (LC-V), comprised of locally elected leaders who are supposed to serve the interests of the district. There were between 2 and 20 LC-V meetings held in every district during the second session.

By-Elected: Not all MPs serve a full term. Sometimes MPs leave office before the end of the session because they are sick or because they pass away. Other times MPs are removed from office because a court ruled that their academic papers were illegitimate or that there was an irregularity in the election. In such cases, a by-election is held to elect a new MP to serve the rest of the term. These MPs are called by-elected MPs.

Appendix C: Constituency MP Workshop Information

Name	Constituency	Date of Workshop	Did the MP Attend?	Did the MP Send A Representative?	Total Attendance
Aadroa Onzima Alex	Maracha County	06-Nov-10	No	No	72
Ahabwe Godfrey Perezza	Rubanda East	15-Jun-10	No	Yes	N/A
Alintuma Nsambu John.C	Bukoto East	01-Oct-10	No	No	96
Amuriat Oboi Patrick	Kumi County	24-Jun-10	No	Yes	120
Angiro Gutomoi Charles	Erute County North	22-Sep-10	Yes	N/A	83
Apilinga Moses Tako	West Moyo County	03-Nov-10	No	Yes	112
Arapkissa Yekko John	Kween County	08-Dec-10	Yes	N/A	85
Arimpa Kigyagi John	Mbarara Municipality	07-Oct-10	No	Yes	110
Arumadri John Drazu	Madi-Okollo County	18-Nov-10	Yes	N/A	105
Asiimwe Brian Chris	Ntoroko county	06-Jul-10	No	No	N/A
Badda Fred	Bujumba County	19-Nov-10	Yes	N/A	N/A
Baka Mugabi Stephen	Bukooli County North	20-Jul-10	Yes	N/A	108
Bakcine Mabel L. K.	Bugangaizi County	11-May-10	Yes	N/A	N/A
Banyenzaki Henry	Rubanda West	10-Jun-10	No	Yes	N/A
Bazana Kabwegyere Tarsis	Igara County West	08-Jun-10	No	Yes	N/A
Bucyanayandi Tress	Bufumbira County South	03-Nov-10	No	Yes	110
Bukeni Gyabi Fred	Bubulo County West	25-May-10	Yes	N/A	146
Buturo Nsaba James	Bufumbira County East	02-Nov-10	No	Yes	103
Bwerere Kasole Lwanga Edward	Buwekula County	30-Apr-10	No	N/A	96
Byabagambi John	Ibanda South	03-Aug-10	No	Yes	97
Byamukama Nulu	Kitagwenda County	04-Aug-10	No	Yes	210
Dombo Lumala Emmanuel	Bunyole County	07-Dec-10	Yes	N/A	96
D'Ujanga Giv Simon	Okoro County	19-Nov-10	No	Yes	112
Ebong David	Maruzi Apac	08-Jul-10	Yes	N/A	60
Ecweru Musa Francis	Amuria County	03-Dec-10	No	No	132
Ekanya Geoffrey	Tororo County	23-Jul-10	No	Yes	140

Name	Constituency	Date of Workshop	Did the MP Attend?	Did the MP Send A Representative?	Total Attendance
Epetait Francis	Ngora County	25-Jun-10	No	Yes	160
Kaahwa Erisa Ammoti	Buruli County	03-Dec-10	No	Yes	120
Kabuusu Moses Wagaba	Kyamuswa county	18-Nov-10	No	Yes	N/A
Kaddumukasa Ssozi Jerome	Mityana County South	21-Sep-10	No	Yes	99
Kaddunabbi Lubega Ibrahim.I	Butambala County	12-Nov-10	No	Yes	N/A
Kakoba Onyango	Buikwe County North	07-Dec-10	Yes	N/A	106
Kakooza James	Kabula County	09-Nov-10	No	Yes	N/A
Kaliba Steven	Fort Portal Municipality	19-May-10	No	No	N/A
Kamanda Bataringaya Cos	Bwamba County	30-Jun-10	Yes	N/A	N/A
Kamba Saleh M.W.	Kibuku County	27-May-10	Yes	N/A	160
Kasamba Mathias	Kakuuto County	29-Oct-10	Yes	N/A	125
Katongole Badhul	Kyaka County	24-Sep-10	No	No	96
Katuntu Abdu	Bugweri	05-May-10	No	Yes	239
Khiddu Makubuya Edward	Katikamu County South	02-Dec-10	No	No	80
Kibanzanga Christopher M.	Busongora County North	14-Jul-10	No	Yes	89
Kyeyago Jowali Kakwa	Bunya County South	14-May-10	No	Yes	104
Lubyayi Iddi Kisiki	Bukomansimbi County	29-Sep-10	No	Yes	117
Magulumaali Mugumya Erasmus	Kooki County	30-Oct-10	No	Yes	92
Matte Joseph Sibalingana	Bughendera	07-Jul-10	Yes	N/A	N/A

Name	Constituency	Date of Workshop	Did the MP Attend?	Did the MP Send A Representative?	Total Attendance
Mbabazi Amama	Kinkizi West	10-Nov-10	No	Yes	N/A
Mugambe KifOmusana Joseph	Nakifuma County	15-Apr-10	Yes	N/A	150
Mugyenzi Rutamwebwa Mary	Nyabushozi County	16-Jun-10	No	No	N/A
Muhwezi Katugugu Jim	Rujumbura County	11-Nov-10	No	Yes	N/A
Mujuzi Pius	Kyotera County	11-Nov-10	No	Yes	151
Mukisa Fred Douglas Mwanja	Bukooli County Central	19-May-10	Yes	N/A	107
Museveni Janet Kataaha	Ruhaama County	23-Oct-10	No	Yes	109
Muwulize Norman Ibrahim	Buikwe County West	01-Dec-10	No	No	127
Mwebaza Sarah	Samia-Bugwe Cnty. North	10-Dec-10	No	No	110
Mwesige Adolf Kasaija	Bunyangabu County	16-Jul-10	Yes	N/A	115
Nasasira John	Kazo County	17-Jun-10	No	No	N/A
Nduhuura Richard	Igara County East	13-Nov-10	No	Yes	110
Ngabirano Charles	Rwampara County	06-Oct-10	No	No	97
Nyeko Ocula Michael	Kilak County	21-Oct-10	No	Yes	95
Nyombi Nansubuga Sarah	Ntenjeru County North	21-Apr-10	No	Yes	127
Nyombi Thembo George William	Kasanda South	07-May-10	No	No	N/A
Obua Benson Ogwal	Moroto County	24-Sep-10	Yes	N/A	98
Odit John	Erute County South	23-Sep-10	Yes	N/A	95
Odonga Otto Jr.S	Aruu County	07-Oct-10	No	No	110

Name	Constituency	Date of Workshop	Did the MP Attend?	Did the MP Send A Representative?	Total Attendance
Oduman Albert Charles Okello	Bukedea County	23-Jun-10	No	No	100
Ogenga Latigo Morris.W	Agago County	06-Oct-10	No	Yes	118
Ogwang John	Kole County	10-Jun-10	No	No	180
Okecho William	West Budama Cnty. North	24-Jul-10	Yes	N/A	99
Okello Okello John Livingstone	Chua County	08-Oct-10	No	Yes	75
Olega Ashraf Noah	Aringa County	04-Nov-10	No	Yes	92
Omolo Peter	Soroti County	26-Jun-10	Yes	N/A	60
Onek Obaloker Hilary	Lamwo County	13-Oct-10	No	No	85
Opio Gabriel	Samia-Bugwe South	13-Dec-10	No	Yes	91
Otala Emmanuel	West Budama County South	22-Jul-10	No	Yes	110
Otto Ishaa Amiza	Oyam County South	11-Jun-10	Yes	N/A	102
Owor Amooti Otada	Kibanda County	04-May-10	Yes	N/A	N/A
Oyet Simon	Nwoya County	20-Oct-10	Yes	N/A	78
Rukutana Mwesigwa	Rushenyi County	22-Oct-10	No	Yes	99
Rwamirama Kanyontore Bright	Isingiro North	19-Nov-10	Yes	N/A	103
Sekyanzi Ndawula Ali	Bamunanika County	09-Apr-10	No	Yes	112
Tashobya N. Stephen	Kajara County	21-Oct-10	No	Yes	107
Tibamanya Urban P.K	Kashari County	08-Oct-10	No	No	93
Toolit Simon Akecha	Omoro County	22-Oct-10	Yes	N/A	102

Name	Constituency	Date of Workshop	Did the MP Attend?	Did the MP Send A Representative?	Total Attendance
Tumwebaze Kagiigi Frank	Kibale County	21-May-10	No	Yes	N/A
Wacha Ben	Oyam County North	07-Jul-10	No	Yes	120
Wadri Kassiano Ezati	Terego County	17-Nov-10	No	Yes	86
Yiga Anthony	Kalungu County West	30-Sep-10	No	Yes	127

Appendix D: District Woman MP Workshop Information

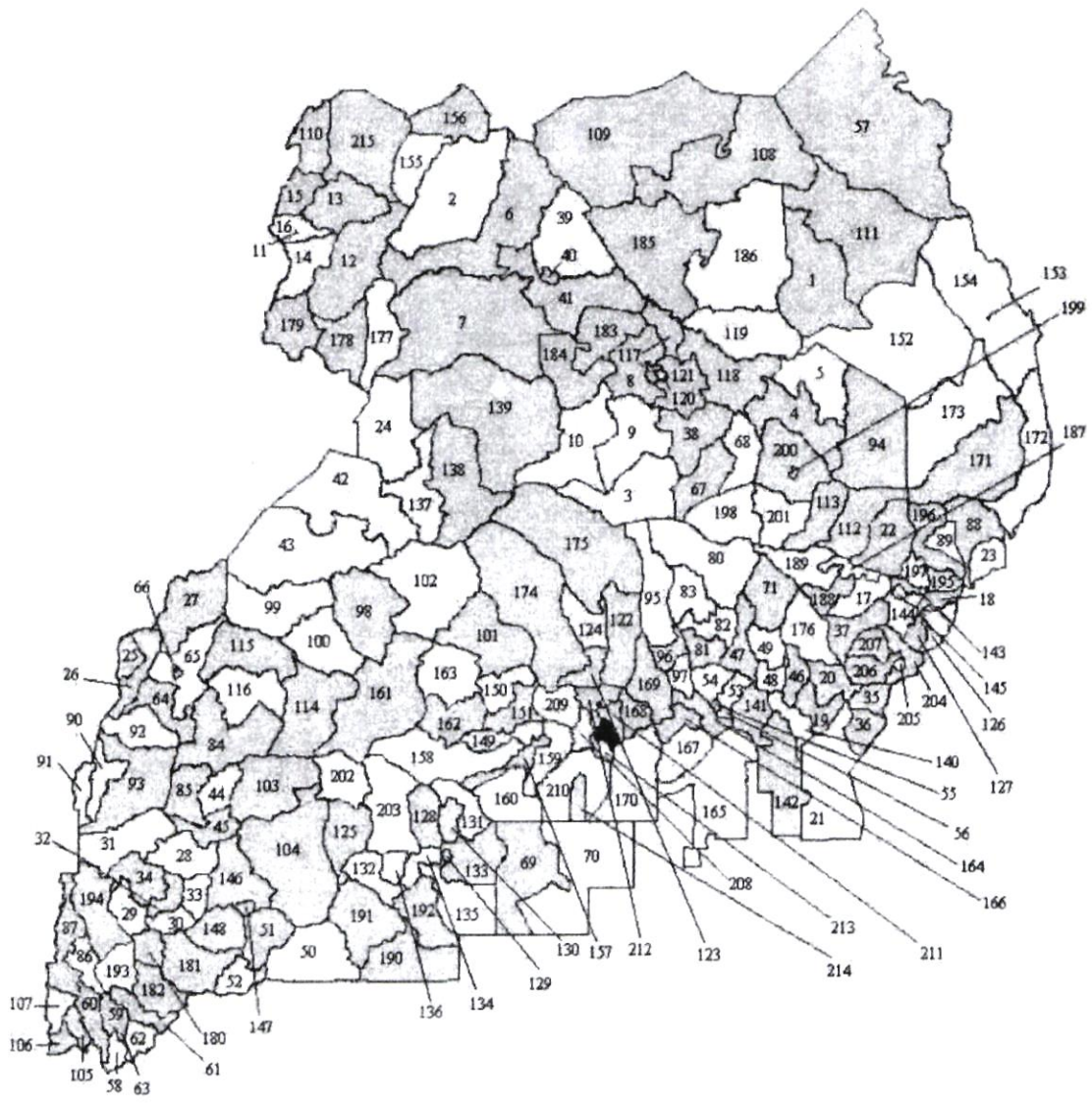
Name	District	Date of Workshop	Did the MP Attend?	Did the MP Send A Representative?	Total Attendance
Acen Rhoda	Amuria	03-Dec-10	No	Yes	132
Aciro Concy	Amuru	21-Oct-10	No	Yes	95
	Amuru	20-Oct-10	No	No	78
Akiror Agnes Egunyu	Kumi	24-Jun-10	No	No	120
	Kumi	25-Jun-10	No	No	160
Akol Rose Okullu	Bukedea	23-Jun-10	Yes	N/A	100
Alisemera Babiha Jane	Bundibugyo	07-Jul-10	No	No	N/A
	Bundibugyo	30-Jun-10	Yes	N/A	N/A
	Bundibugyo	06-Jul-10	No	No	N/A
Aol Betty Ocan	Gulu	22-Oct-10	No	Yes	102
Atim Ogwal Cecilia	Dokolo	09-Jul-10	No	Yes	760
Auru Anne	Moyo	03-Nov-10	Yes	N/A	112
Baba Diri Margaret	Koboko	05-Nov-10	No	Yes	102
Bako Christine					
Abia	Arua	18-Nov-10	No	No	105
	Arua	06-Nov-10	No	No	72
	Arua	17-Nov-10	No	No	86
Barumba Beatrice Rusaniya	Kiruhura	17-Jun-10	No	No	N/A
	Kiruhura	16-Jun-10	No	No	N/A
Boona Emma	Mbarara	08-Oct-10	Yes	N/A	93
	Mbarara	07-Oct-10	Yes	N/A	110
	Mbarara	06-Oct-10	Yes	N/A	97
Busingye Karooro Okurut Mary	Bushenyi	13-Nov-10	No	Yes	N/A
	Bushenyi	13-Nov-10	No	Yes	110
	Bushenyi	08-Jun-10	No	Yes	N/A
Hashaka Kabahweza					
Florence	Kamwenge	21-May-10	No	Yes	N/A
	Kamwenge	04-Aug-10	Yes	N/A	210
Kayagi Sarah					
Netalisire	Manafwa	25-May-10	No	No	146
Kibojjana Margaret N.	Ibanda	03-Aug-10	Yes	N/A	97
Kyatuheire Jacqueline	Kanungu	10-Nov-10	No	Yes	N/A
Mugerwa Sauda K. N.	Masaka	29-Sep-10	No	No	117
	Masaka	01-Oct-10	No	No	96
	Masaka	30-Sep-10	No	No	127
Mutagamba Maria Lubega Emily	Rakai	29-Oct-10	No	No	125

Name	District	Date of Workshop	Did the MP Attend?	Did the MP Send A Representative?	Total Attendance
Mutagamba Maria					
Lubega Emily	Rakai	30-Oct-10	No	No	92
	Rakai	11-Nov-10	No	No	151
Najjuma Faridah					
Kasasa	Mubende	30-Apr-10	No	No	96
	Mubende	07-May-10	No	No	N/A
Namara Grace	Lyantonde	09-Nov-10	No	Yes	N/A
Namayanja Rose					
Nscreko	Nakaseke	27-Apr-10	Yes	N/A	151
Namirembe					
Bitamazire					
Geraldine	Mpigi	12-Nov-10	No	Yes	N/A
Namuyangu					
Byakatonda Janat	Pallisa	27-May-10	No	No	160
Nankabirwa					
Ssentamu Ruth	Kiboga	20-Jul-10	No	Yes	N/A
Nayiga Florence					
Ssekabira	Kayunga	21-Apr-10	Yes	N/A	127
Nvumetta Lutaya					
Kavuma Ruth	Kalangala	19-Nov-10	No	No	N/A
	Kalangala	18-Nov-10	No	No	N/A
Oburu Grace	Tororo	23-Jul-10	Yes	N/A	140
	Tororo	24-Jul-10	Yes	N/A	99
	Tororo	22-Jul-10	Yes	N/A	110
Ssinabulya Sylvia					
Namabidde	Mityana	21-Sep-10	Yes	N/A	99
Tubwita Bagaya					
Grace Bukonya	Nakasongola	23-Nov-10	No	No	108

Appendix E: Committee Transcripts and Attendance Logs Obtained by Committee

Committee	Number of Transcripts	Number of Attendance Logs
Appointments	0	0
Rules	1	20
Public Accounts	26	47
Budget	5	26
National Economy	4	25
Equal Opportunities	1	10
Government Assurances	3	0
Commissions	14	46
Local Government	7	65
HIV/AIDS	3	0
Science & Tech	0	4
Business	0	0
ICT	4	44
Defense	10	1
Infrastructure	3	0
Gender	4	17
Finance	5	33
Social Services	11	54
Foreign Affairs	3	17
Presidential Affairs	3	15
Legal & Parliamentary	19	70
Public Service	3	51
Agriculture	0	29
Natural Resources	3	4
Trade	2	0
Police Probe	0	0
Land	0	22

Appendix F: Map of Constituencies and Key*



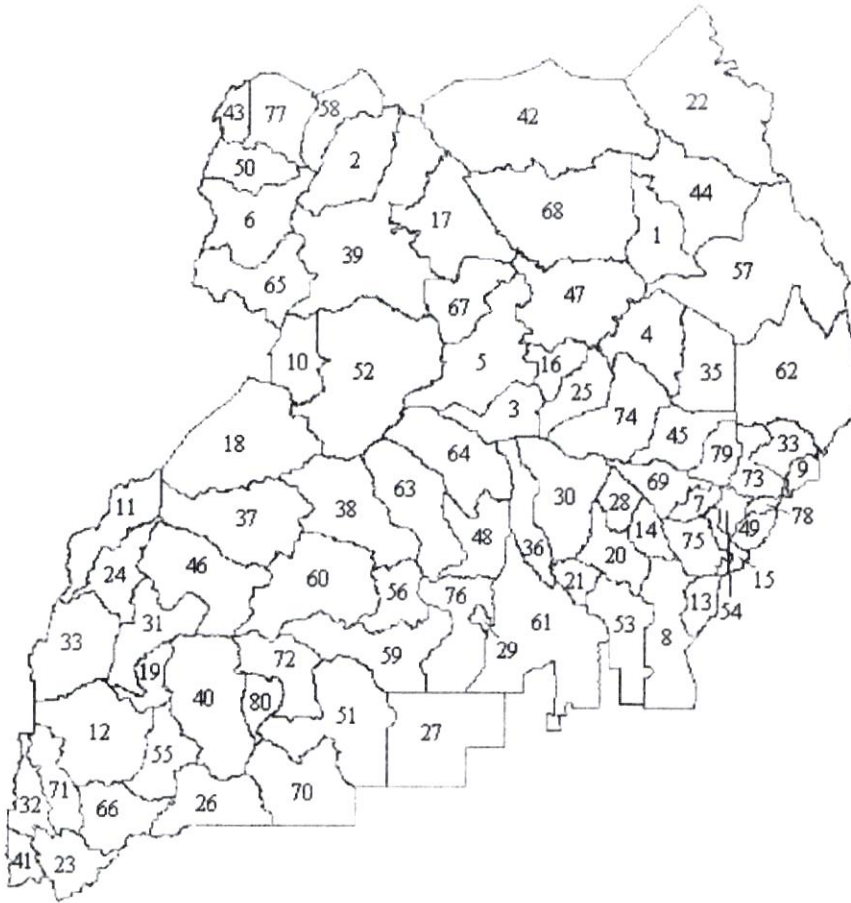
*Constituencies included in the workshops sample are shaded gray.

Constituency Name	District	Map ID	Constituency Name	District	Map ID
Labwor County	Abim	1	Ibanda County North	Ibanda	44
East Moyo County	Adjumani	2	Ibanda County South	Ibanda	45
Kioga County	Amolatar	3	Bugweri County	Iganga	46
Amuria County	Amuria	4	Luuka County	Iganga	47
Kapelebyong County	Amuria	5	Kigulu County South	Iganga	48
Kilak County	Amuru	6	Kigulu County North	Iganga	49
Nwoya County	Amuru	7	Bukanga County	Isingiro	50
Kole County	Apac	8	Isingiro North	Isingiro	51
Kwania County	Apac	9	Isingiro South	Isingiro	52
Maruzi County	Apac	10	Butembe County	Jinja	53
Arua Municipality	Arua	11	Kagoma County	Jinja	54
Madi-Okollo County	Arua	12	Jinja Mun. East	Jinja	55
Terego County	Arua	13	Jinja Mun. West	Jinja	56
Vurra County	Arua	14	Dodoth County	Kaabong	57
Maracha County	Arua	15	Ndorwa West	Kabale	58
Ayivu County	Arua	16	Rubanda East	Kabale	59
Budaka County	Budaka	17	Rubanda West	Kabale	60
Manjiya County	Bududa	18	Rukiga County	Kabale	61
Bukooli Central	Bugiri	19	Ndorwa County East	Kabale	62
Bukooli North	Bugiri	20	Kabale Municipality	Kabale	63
Bukooli South	Bugiri	21	Bunyangabu County	Kabarole	64
Bukedea County	Bukedea	22	Burahya County	Kabarole	65
Kongasis County	Bukwa	23	Fort Portal Mun.	Kabarole	66
Buliisa County	Bulisa	24	Kaberamaido County	Kaberamaido	67
Bwamba County	Bundibugyo	25	Kalaki County	Kaberamaido	68
Bughendera	Bundibugyo	26	Bujumba County	Kalangala	69
Ntoroko County	Bundibugyo	27	Kyamuswa County	Kalangala	70
Buhweju County	Bushenyi	28	Bulamogi County	Kaliro	71
Ruhinda County	Bushenyi	29	Central Division	Kampala	72
Sheema South	Bushenyi	30	Nakawa Division	Kampala	73
Bunyaruguru County	Bushenyi	31	Makindye West	Kampala	74
Igara County East	Bushenyi	32	Rubaga South	Kampala	75
Sheema North	Bushenyi	33	Rubaga North	Kampala	76
Igara County West	Bushenyi	34	Makindye East	Kampala	77
Samia-Bugwe North	Busia	35	Kawempe North	Kampala	78
Samia-BugweSouth	Busia	36	KawempeSouth	Kampala	79
Bunyole County	Butaleja	37	Budiope County	Kamuli	80
Dokolo County	Dokolo	38	Buzaaya County	Kamuli	81
Aswa County	Gulu	39	Bugabula South	Kamuli	82
Gulu Municipality	Gulu	40	Bugabula North	Kamuli	83
Omoro County	Gulu	41	Kibale County	Kanwenge	84
Bugahya County	Hoima	42	Kitagwenda County	Kanwenge	85
Buhaguzi County	Hoima	43	Kinkiizi County East	Kanungu	86

Constituency Name	District	Map ID	Constituency Name	District	Map ID
Kinkiizi County West	Kanungu	87	Kalungu West	Masaka	130
Kween County	Kapchorwa	88	Kalungu County East	Masaka	131
Tingey County	Kapchorwa	89	Bukoto County West	Masaka	132
Bukonjo East	Kasese	90	Bukoto County East	Masaka	133
Bukonjo West	Kasese	91	Bukoto County South	Masaka	134
Busongora North	Kasese	92	Bukoto Central	Masaka	135
Busongora South	Kasese	93	Bukoto Mid-West	Masaka	136
Usuk County	Katakwi	94	Bujenje County	Masindi	137
Bbaale County	Kayunga	95	Buruuli County	Masindi	138
Ntenjeru North	Kayunga	96	Kibanda County	Masindi	139
Ntenjeru South	Kayunga	97	Bunya County East	Mayuge	140
Bugangaizi County	Kibale	98	Bunya County West	Mayuge	141
Buyaga County	Kibaale	99	Bunya County South	Mayuge	142
Buyanja County	Kibaale	100	Bungokho North	Mbale	143
Kiboga County East	Kiboga	101	Bungokho South	Mbale	144
Kiboga County West	Kiboga	102	Mbale Municipality	Mbale	145
Kazo County	Kiruhura	103	Kashari County	Mbarara	146
Nyabushozi County	Kiruhura	104	Mbarara Mun.	Mbarara	147
Bufumbira East	Kisoro	105	Rwampara County	Mbarara	148
Bufumbira South	Kisoro	106	Busuju County	Mityana	149
Bufumbira North	Kisoro	107	Mityana North	Mityana	150
Chua County	Kitgum	108	Mityana South	Mityana	151
Lamwo County	Kitgum	109	Bokora County	Moroto	152
Koboko County	Koboko	110	Moroto Municipality	Moroto	153
Jie County	Kotido	111	Matheniko County	Moroto	154
Kumi County	Kumi	112	Obongi County	Moyo	155
Ngora County	Kumi	113	West Moyo County	Moyo	156
Kyaka County	Kyenjojo	114	Butambala County	Mpigi	157
Mwenge North	Kyenjojo	115	Gomba County	Mpigi	158
Mwenge South	Kyenjojo	116	Mawokota North	Mpigi	159
Erute County North	Lira	117	Mawokota South	Mpigi	160
Moroto County	Lira	118	Buwekula County	Mubende	161
Otuke County	Lira	119	Kassanda South	Mubende	162
Lira Municipality	Lira	120	Kassanda North	Mubende	163
Erute County South	Lira	121	Buikwe North	Mukono	164
Bamunanika County	Luwero	122	Buvuma County	Mukono	165
Katikamu South	Luwero	123	Buikwe West	Mukono	166
Katikamu North	Luwero	124	Buikwe South	Mukono	167
Kabula County	Lyantonde	125	Mukono North	Mukono	168
Bubulo County East	Manafwa	126	Nakifuma County	Mukono	169
Bubulo County West	Manafwa	127	Mukono South	Mukono	170
Bukomansimbi Cnty.	Masaka	128	Chekwi County	Nakapiripirit	171
Masaka Municipality	Masaka	129	Upe County	Nakapiripirit	172

Constituency Name	District	Map ID
Pian County	Nakapiripirit	173
Nakaseke County	Nakaseke	174
Buruli County	Nakasongola	175
Busiki County	Namutumba	176
Jonam County	Nebbi	177
Padyere County	Nebbi	178
Okoro County	Nebbi	179
Kajara County	Ntungamo	180
Ruhaama County	Ntungamo	181
Rushenyi County	Ntungamo	182
Oyam County North	Oyam	183
Oyam County South	Oyam	184
Aruu County	Pader	185
Agago County	Pader	186
Butebo County	Pallisa	187
Kibuku County	Pallisa	188
Pallisa County	Pallisa	189
Kakuuto County	Rakai	190
Kooki County	Rakai	191
Kyotera County	Rakai	192
Rubabo County	Rukungiri	193
Rujumbura County	Rukungiri	194
Budadiri County East	Sironko	195
Bulambuli County	Sironko	196
Budadiri West	Sironko	197
Kasilo County	Soroti	198
Soroti Municipality	Soroti	199
Soroti County	Soroti	200
Serere County	Soroti	201
Lwemiyaga County	Sembabule	202
Mawogola County	Sembabule	203
Tororo County	Tororo	204
Tororo Municipality	Tororo	205
West Budama County South	Tororo	206
West Budama County North	Tororo	207
Busiuro County East	Wakiso	208
Busiuro County North	Wakiso	209
Busiuro County South	Wakiso	210
Kyadondo County East	Wakiso	211
Kyadondo County North	Wakiso	212
Kyadondo County South	Wakiso	213
Entebbe Municipality	Wakiso	214
Aringa County	Yumbe	215

Appendix G: Map of Districts and Key



District	Map ID	District	Map ID
Abim	1	Kyenjojo	46
Adjumani	2	Lira	47
Amolatar	3	Luwero	48
Amuria	4	Manafwa	49
Apac	5	Maracha	50
Arua	6	Masaka	51
Budaka	7	Masindi	52
Bugiri	8	Mayuge	53
Bukwa	9	Mbale	54
Bulisa	10	Mbarara	55
Bundibugyo	11	Mityana	56
Bushenyi	12	Moroto	57
Busia	13	Moyo	58
Namutumba	14	Mpigi	59
Butaleja	15	Mubende	60
Dokolo	16	Mukono	61
Gulu	17	Nakapiripirit	62
Hoima	18	Nakaseke	63
Ibanda	19	Nakasongola	64
Iganga	20	Nebbi	65
Jinja	21	Ntungamo	66
Kaabong	22	Oyam	67
Kabale	23	Pader	68
Kabarole	24	Pallisa	69
Kaberamaido	25	Rakai	70
Isingiro	26	Rukungiri	71
Kalangala	27	Sembabule	72
Kaliro	28	Sironko	73
Kampala	29	Soroti	74
Kamuli	30	Tororo	75
Kamwenge	31	Wakiso	76
Kanungu	32	Yumbe	77
Kapchorwa	33	Bududa	78
Kasese	34	Bukedea	79
Katakwi	35	Lyantonde	80
Kayunga	36		
Kibale	37		
Kiboga	38		
Amuru	39		
Kiruhura	40		
Kisoro	41		
Kitgum	42		
Koboko	43		
Kotido	44		
Kumi	45		





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ISBN 997020701-6



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