

CROSSING TO THE MAINSTREAM



Information Challenges
and Possibilities for
Female Legislators in
the Ugandan Parliament

Ruth Ester L. Nalumaga

CROSSING TO THE MAINSTREAM

**INFORMATION CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES FOR
FEMALE LEGISLATORS IN THE UGANDAN PARLIAMENT**

RUTH E. L. NALUMAGA

HÖGSKOLAN I BORÅS and GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET

Valfrid 2009

Doktorsavhandling vid
Institutionen Biblioteks- och informationsvetenskap/Bibliotekshögskolan
Högskolan i Borås och Göteborgs universitet

Ruth Ester L. Nalumaga

Crossing to the Mainstream:
Information Challenges and Possibilities for Female Legislators
in the Ugandan Parliament

Omslagsteckning: William Serumaga

Omslag & design
Ruth Ester Nalumaga & Carina Waldén

Distribution
Publiceringsföreningen VALFRID, Institutionen Biblioteks- och
informationsvetenskap/Bibliotekshögskolan, Högskolan i Borås och
Göteborgs universitet

Copyright
Författaren och Publiceringsföreningen VALFRID

Tryck
Intellecta Infolog, 2009

Serie
Skrifter från VALFRID, nr 39
ISBN: 91-89416-20-1
ISSN: 1103-6990

Table of contents

Acknowledgements.....	1
Abstract.....	4
1 Introduction.....	6
1.1 Motivation and the general problem area	6
1.2 Goal.....	9
1.3 General research Questions.....	9
1.4 Relevance of the study.....	9
1.5 Study boundaries.....	10
1.6 Definition of terms.....	10
1.6.1 Information behavior	10
1.6.2 Information challenges.....	11
1.6.3 Legislator/Representative	11
2 Background.....	12
2.1 The case for Uganda	12
2.2 The Information Environment	14
2.2.1 Education and literacy.....	14
2.2.2 The reading culture	15
2.2.3 Status of the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) infrastructure	17
2.2.4 The Information environment of women in Uganda	18
2.3 The political environment: History of the Parliament and women representation.....	19
2.3.1 Constitutional changes and the Movement system of governance	21
2.4 The Organization of the Parliament of Uganda	28
2.4.1 Administration of Parliament.....	29
2.4.2 Composition of the 7th Parliament	31
2.4.3 Composition of the 8th Parliament	34
3 Literature review	37
3.1 Dominant approaches in Information behaviour research	37
Information studies on the Legislature	39
3.2.....	39
3.2.1 Gender studies in organizational settings	42
3.3 Studies of Legislative information behaviour in Africa	43
3.3.1 Legislative studies in Africa	43
4 Theoretical underpinnings for the study.....	46
4.1 Women’s marginalization in politics: possible explanations.....	46
4.1.1 Rationale for the inclusion of women.....	47
4.2 Insiders and outsiders.....	48
4.2.1 Outsider/insider perspective and women in the legislature	52
5 Methods	60
5.1 Interviews.....	61
5.1.1 Choice of MP respondents.....	62
5.1.2 Breaking ground.....	64

5.1.3	Self positioning and methodological literature	65
5.1.4	Development of the Interview instrument	67
5.1.5	The tracking of Mp respondents	73
5.1.6	Interviews with non Mp Respondents.....	76
5.2	Documentary sources.....	79
5.3	Media	80
5.4	Observations	81
5.4.1	Plenary observations	83
5.4.2	UWOPA sponsored workshops	84
5.4.3	Campaigns/Public Rallies	85
5.4.4	Committee meetings	85
5.5	Field Notes	86
5.6	Ethical considerations, handling anonymity	86
5.7	Challenges and reflections on the research process.....	89
5.7.1	The study environment	89
5.7.2	Interviewer gender and respondents' relationship	90
5.7.3	The informed interviewer	90
5.7.4	Family issues.....	92
5.7.5	Interviewer positioning	92
5.8	Analytical instrument.....	93
5.8.1	Primary categorization.....	93
5.8.2	Secondary analysis.....	98
6	Findings and analysis	99
6.1	Background – Insider/Outsiders and the larger political world.....	99
6.2	Portraits.....	105
6.2.1	The Insider (male).....	105
6.2.2	The political entrepreneur (male).....	112
6.2.3	The thriving cosmopolitan (female).....	114
6.2.4	The bridled.....	124
6.3	The Information infrastructure.....	125
6.3.1	Parliamentary level information structures/networks	126
6.3.2	Information behavior - National level.....	138
6.3.3	Information behavior - oral sources.....	145
6.3.4	Information behavior—The Library, Electronic information and Research services	147
6.3.5	Women legislators	151
6.3.6	Male Legislators.....	154
6.3.7	Information channels - media	157
6.4	Information structures at the constituency level – relationship with constituents	157
6.4.1	General constituency interactions.....	159
6.4.2	Information from constituency offices.....	166
6.4.3	The Affirmative Constituency/District seat	174
6.4.4	Possibilities for countering the district information challenges.....	190
6.5	Gender roles and information choices	198

6.5.1	Gender roles, masculine structures, informal networks and information implications.....	199
6.5.2	How do the Gender roles impact on the information behavior for women? 204	
6.5.3	Concluding remarks on gender roles and women legislators	210
6.5.4	Gender roles and the information behavior of male legislators.....	212
6.6	Communication events – opportunities	216
7	Changing the game: Uganda Women’s Parliamentary Association (UWOPA).....	218
7.1	The Uganda Women Parliamentary Association, (UWOPA).....	219
7.2	Background and organization	220
7.2.1	Institutionalization	222
7.2.2	Organizational structure.....	224
7.2.3	Self reported interactions within UWOPA	227
7.2.4	Training.....	228
7.3	Countering information challenges – improving access	231
7.3.1	Crèches.....	232
7.3.2	Transport facilitation.....	233
7.3.3	Women council seminars.....	233
7.3.4	Women and leadership positions	234
7.3.5	Documentation.....	237
7.3.6	Networking	237
7.3.7	Challenges in the women networking with specific focus on information acquisition	237
8	Information challenges and possibilities	241
8.1	National/Parliamentary level	242
8.1.1	Social positioning.....	244
8.2	Constituencies – organizational challenges	246
8.3	Gender constraints	247
8.4	Preconditions for change.....	248
8.4.1	The Affirmative dilemma	248
8.4.2	The long route - The Cosmopolitan.....	249
8.5	Insider network – collective action	250
8.5.1	UWOPA, theoretical and practical perspectives.....	250
8.6	Theoretical contributions to LIS and to legislative studies.....	253
9	Conclusion	255
9.1	Social context.....	255
9.2	Political context	258
9.3	Women legislators’ information challenges	259
9.4	Handling Information barriers	259
	Sammanfattning på svenska Från periferi till centrum: utmaningar och möjligheter ifråga om information för kvinnliga ledamöter av Ugandas parlament	262
	Sources and references.....	271
	Documentary Sources	271

Reports:	271
Unpublished sources:	273
Bills / Acts.....	273
Published literature	274
Appendices	288
1 Acronyms.....	288
2 Glossary	290
2.1 Parliamentary terminology.....	291
3 Notes. Polygamy	293
3.1 Women questionnaire; Section 6: Marriage and sexual activity – Appendix F/ pp. 407.....	293
3.2 Men questionnaire; Section 4: Marriage and sexual activity, Appendix F/ pp. 444 293	
3.3 Legal and social situations of polygamy in Uganda	294
4 Act extracts	295
4.1 The Local Council 1.....	295
4.2 The Executive committees (LC) (Judicial Powers) Act	296
4.3 Section 8 Objections to jurisdiction.....	296
4.4 Section 9 Powers of Court	296
5 Respondents’ Backgrounds, and Political experience	297
6 Mp’s detailed use of formal information sources	301
6.1 Women Mps.....	301
6.2 Male Mps	306
7 Conspectus of collected data	313
7.1 Interviews.....	313
7.2 Documents	313
7.3 Observations	313
7.4 Cross section of Mp respondents	314
7.5 Demographic characteristics	314
7.6 Research notes:	314
8 Permissions	315
8.1 Parliamentary permission.....	315
8.2 UWOPA AFFILIATION	316
8.3 Interview request.....	317
8.4 Additional consent	318
8.5 Interview Themes.....	319
8.5.1 Mp respondents.....	319
8.5.2 Non Mp respondents – Interview questions.....	321
Endnotes	324

Tables and Figures

Tables

Table 1 Numerical representations in the Ugandan Parliament.....	21
Table 2 Composition of the 7 th Parliament.....	33
Table 3 Composition of the 8 th Parliament.....	35
Table 4 Mp respondents.....	64
Table 5 Non Mp respondents.....	77
Table 6 Example of characteristics of formal and informal sources	95
Table 7 Networks.....	96
Table 8 Information sources	97
Table 9 Information behavior	97
Table 10 Parliamentary structures	126
Table 11 Information sources	136
Table 12 Information behaviour	138
Table 13 Demographic characteristics of respondents	300
Table 14 Formal structures of information – Female MPs.....	306
Table 15 Formal structures of information – Male MPs.....	311
Table 16 Interviews.....	313
Table 17 Documents	313
Table 18 Observations	314
Table 19 Cross section of Legislators interviewed.....	314

Figures

Figure 1 Local government structure.....	192
Figure 2 Women councils.....	193
Figure 3 Overview of women legislators’ information challenges.....	255
Figure 4 Social contexts of legislators’ information challenges.....	257
Figure 5 Political contexts of women legislators’ information challenges.....	258
Figure 6 Women legislators’ information challenges.....	259

At the end of every journey, there is a destination
Companion proverb to the lone traveler

Acknowledgements

The thesis journey has had its bumps, turns and sometimes very desolate moments, but I wish to express my deepest gratitude to the various people and institutions whose support has been a source of strength along the way. First, I am indebted to Mr Mugasha, the former Makerere University Librarian, who envisaged a librarian at par with the academic establishment of the university. I was inspired to face up to the challenge and I am very grateful for the Swedish Government, through Sida/SAREC for funding and sustaining this cause, to which I will be one of the first graduates. The support of Prof. Richard Wait, the coordinator of the project; Prof. Elly Katunguka, Graduate School for oversight roles; and the Staff development department, Makerere University, has been commendable.

The Swedish School of Library and Information Science at Göteborg University and the University college of Borås has provided an excellent opportunity and academic environment to nurture and develop my competence as a researcher. The various seminars with fellow Phd students and the collaboration with the Nordic, Baltic Research Schools (NORSLIS) have been uplifting forums for stimulating discussions as well as acclimatization into the academic and intellectual etiquette. I feel privileged to have been part of such a vibrant research community.

In the same way I am forever grateful for the extensive and enduring support of my supervisor, Lars Seldén, his trust in the project and in the empowerment of women, the field trips to Uganda, which always pulled off some extras with respondents, and the encouragement in those very low moments. I would also like to thank my second supervisors, Joacim Hansson, 2004 – 2007 and Gunnel Hessler, 2008- 2009 for their critical perspectives on the thesis.

However, this study would never have been possible without the cooperation and support of the Uganda Parliament and the respondents. I would like to thank Mr. Benard Eceru and Helen Kaweesa for officially opening the doors to the research context. I also acknowledge in a very special way, each of the 35 Mp respondents, whom I cannot name for obvious reasons, for opening up their worlds and for sharing their experiences and challenges. Interviewees from the administrative section of Parliament, the Women parliamentary association, the women and local

councils and the contacts in the constituency offices are very much appreciated for their immense cooperation and enthusiasm in responding to my inquisitions.

Special gratitude also goes to the Parliamentary library staff; Mr. Innocent Rugambwa, Mr. Simon Engitu, Grace Mbabazi, Harriet Nalusiba and Andrew Beyunga for their warm support and whose precincts were always home. Simon is especially appreciated for his versatility and connections within the House which always melted down the barriers. I also commend him for his prompt responses to my numerous online information requests throughout the research process.

In trying to understand and keep up with events in the political context, I enlisted the services information assistants and I would like to commend them for their work; Jackie Nakkazi had the task of monitoring topical issues in the press concerning politicians in general and my respondents in particular and she prepared newspaper clips of those interesting aspects. Kenneth Yawe carried out the arduous task of scanning for issues of relevance from the Hansards. They are both appreciated.

In building up the manuscript, I am grateful for the comments and insights from Dr. Deborah Kasente, Makerere University, Department of Women and Gender studies and Prof. James Katorobo. I would like to thank Lena Wägerud for her outstanding contributions in the final seminar in shaping and lifting up the manuscript. Special thanks to Professors Louise Limberg, Geir Vestheim and Lars Höglund, for reading my text and their valuable perspectives in the final structure of the manuscript. Lena Waldau is appreciated in the same way; Boel Bismarck for the Swedish translation and Carina Waldèn for her design and graphic touch.

Colleagues at the department, Nasrine Olson, Frances Hultgren, Monica Lassi, Hanna Maurin, Jenny Johansson, Maria Lindh and Kerstin Rydsjö have always been very supportive.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, especially my parents, Mr and Mrs Serumaga, for their support and constant prayers along this undertaking. I applaud them for believing in the potential and possibilities of the girl child. I thank my father for the graphic representation of the women's journey displayed on the cover page. Uncle Wilberforce Serwaniko is appreciated for his vast experience and insights on politics and cultural matters which have widened my understanding of the political context of my study. My siblings Martha, Joy, Douglas, Edward and Peter have been an immense source of support. Martha is particularly acknowledged for all the legal interpretations of pertinent issues encountered in the study. Catherine

and Pastor Kato Kaaya are also commended for their spiritual encouragement in hard times.

Ruth Nalumaga

26th August 2009 in Borås

Abstract

The adoption of affirmative action in 1989 greatly altered the national landscape and the political terrain in Uganda. A platform for previously marginalized groups was introduced and set up at several levels within the administrative structures. Women have been the most prolific beneficiaries of this policy, and within Parliament, legislative quotas were instituted. However, this development came with various challenges. The thesis addresses information challenges that accrue when the women's social position progresses from a marginal and possibly parochial outlook to a broader, more public and visible status in mainstream politics. The point of departure is drawn from Elfreda Chatman's contention that "problems can arise when marginalized populations seek a more central place in a dominant society". This postulation was rephrased, in this study, to explore the information implications accruing when a previously less represented group becomes part of a mainstream environment.

Within LIS information behaviour perspectives, a social approach has been preferred to analyze how the social context of legislation impacts on the information possibilities for women legislators. The conceptual framework draws on Merton's discussion on Insiders and Outsiders in the sociology of knowledge. This perspective was selected because it ties strongly with issues of access to information. Social positioning is pointed out as a major determinant by Merton, Patrick Wilson and Chatman. The insiders and outsiders approach provided a theoretical lens through which to analyze the gender differences. The theoretical contribution is derived from adapting a conceptual approach formerly investigated in a marginal context to a public and mainstream environment.

The study is based on a qualitative inquiry consisting of in-depth interviews with thirty five (35) Mp respondents and seventeen (17) non Mp respondents. The non Mp respondents include staff of parliament and the library, the women parliamentary association, (UWOPA), the women councils, constituency contacts and the village councils. Other data collection techniques included observations in various contexts of the Plenary, committee meetings, the library, the women's caucus, election rallies and press conferences.

The findings reveal that although access to information appears to be even, legislators adopted different manoeuvres to keep up the pace, including hiring personal assistants, maintaining multiple offices and multiple communication and information acquisition channels. This presented an edge to male legislators with consequences for women legislators manifesting in disparities in information acquisition and utilization and therefore limited persuasive power. In addition, both the social and political context added challenges to women, including female roles of household concerns limiting both time and versatility. The affirmative platform embedded within the political context

impacts on their independence and diminishes self confidence especially in facing up to their challenges. It is prudent to argue that irrespective of the change in women's status, it is possible to remain an outsider or occupy a marginalized position within a mainstream environment. This study on information challenges and access to information provides insights on preconditions for social transformation. The Affirmative platform is not equal to real power and findings point to challenges in transforming formal power into effective power.

Language: English with a summary in Swedish

Keywords: Affirmative action, Information access, information acquisition, social transformation, legislators, insiders, outsiders, Uganda

Author's email: Ruth.Nalumaga@hb.se ;
relnalumaga@mulib.mak.ac.ug

1 Introduction

This chapter presents the inspirations behind the study and the general problem area, goal, research questions and the significance of the investigation both nationally and professionally.

1.1 Motivation and the general problem area

The desire to study Parliamentarians initially stemmed from an eagerness to explore what I observed in everyday life to be a growing divide between national legislative representatives and their constituents. The relationship between the Wananchiⁱ and those they commission to redeem them at the highest level, appeared to be characterized by frustration and distrust expressed through such remarks as Mps are greedy, tend to be silent on vital issues, never coming back to constituents once elected, visible only during elections. I presumed that this disconnection could as well be reflecting an information gap, perhaps exacerbated by the socio-economic conditions, which tend to impose various and divergent expectations on leadership. Lyons and Lyons (1999) had observed that in Africa, even regimes inclined towards democracy tended to be viewed by many citizens as alien, incomprehensible and distant. I intended to find out how representatives know and decide what suits their rather skeptic and dispirited audience and probe into the relationship with their constituents, which I thought would broaden my understanding on what happens in the legislature and possibly the problems that legislators encounter. However, this proved a relatively broad project and posed several methodological challenges. Thus eventually, it was the empathy for women, as the new players who had not been part of the reality of this public life, which was captivating and has hence been the focal point of the investigation.

Women, in this research, are conceptualized as having occupied a less dominant and in particular, a marginal and obscured position in public life and in Africa, this has been partly blamed on the broad processes of imperialism and post-colonialism. However, there was a change of Government (in Uganda) in 1986 and the new caretakers appeared to have a progressive agenda for women, presumably to correct the historical wrongs, and in 1989, a policy of affirmative action was launched. This policy paved the way for special seats, to be designated to women in the Legislative

ⁱ Wananchi is the Swahili term implying ordinary citizen or fellow countryman/woman

assembly, which was then referred to as the National Resistance Council (NRC). The provision of these seats was later institutionalized in the 1995 constitution and provided for a woman to be elected as a representative for every district. The positive discrimination was extended to the Local councils and provided for a third for all seats on the local councils to be filled by women. This too was institutionalized in the Local Government Act, 1997.

Through affirmative action and the increasing partitioning of the original thirty nine (39) districts into smaller entities, the number of women representatives has relatively increased and it currently stands at one hundred and two (102) out of three hundred and thirty two (332) or 30.6% in the Eighth Parliament (2006 – 2011). Indeed following the international statistics of women in Parliament, Uganda ranks at number twenty one (21) and fifth (5th) in Africaⁱ. So the main contextual question is; what happens when women become part of the mainstream? Feminist researchers argue that women probably do not just fit in and some of their arguments are based on the way the platform – affirmative action is implemented. In the Ugandan situation, it parallels a fast track (Dahlerup, 2006) or top-bottom intervention, which Tamale (1999, pp 105); Goetz (2003 pp 118 – 120) and Heywood (1992, 1998) critique as more of an add-on mechanism, and superficial, with consequences on the effectiveness of women in decision making. Some of the observed effects include its perception as a favour or token from the Government (Tamale, 1999 pp 105) and which ought to be reciprocated through loyalty. Ottemoeller (1999) also alludes to the same perception of tokenism as bonding women to the Government, since they are perceived to constitute a potential and influential voting bloc in an era of economic and political liberalizations, and whose support can be secured with low cost symbolic initiatives.

Goetz (2003 pp 120) argues that this add-on mechanism rests on the principle of extending patronage to a new clientele, rather than representing and illuminating the interests of women as a group, since their entry has been attained through undemocratic means. There is a proposition that affirmative action ought to have taken form of a bottom-up approach, with much influence from the grass root women's movement, which would have enabled women to devise the rules of participation by themselves (Tamale, 1999 pp 105). Bryson (1999) also points out another dimension, that the relations between the two sexes, within the public sphere cannot be

ⁱ Statistics obtained from the Inter-parliamentary union at: <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm#1>, accessed 14th June 2009

considered as one of equals operating on the same terms, but rather as both gendered and unequal with a likelihood that a disadvantage in the private, domestic or personal realms would be spilled over into the public and political worlds. Women have to abandon their feminine identities in order to fit in, for example to 'speak like men' as masculine attributes and characteristics have defined the terms of reference in the public sphere (Bryson, 1999).

These contentions suggest that the institutional and organizational framework is likely to impose challenges to women which may also influence their information behaviour and subsequently impact on access to and use of information. A perception of gratitude and bondage to the Government is also likely to greatly compromise one's analytical capability and consequently their information use in influencing outcomes. Tamale (2003) claims that placing women in positions of leadership and authority without simultaneously attempting to remove the practical and structural obstacles that hinder their effectiveness does not help very much. She argues that adding them to an existing status quo can do little to eradicate the discrimination and inequalities from which they perennially suffer. Tamale's argument would consequently point towards further marginalization even within the mainstream, especially if the institutional arrangements are not restructured.

My study is posited within the discipline of Library and Information Science (LIS). Its context strongly reverberates with observations from studies described by sociologists and political science researchers on the constraints encountered by women when their borders and boundaries are redrawn from the periphery to the center. However, it specifically seeks to explore a perspective that has received less attention in empirical dimensions. This aspect considers information challenges that may be encountered by this previously margined group, within the circumstances of this organizational framework that may impinge on its access to and use of information. Within LIS research, Chatman (1992, 1996, 1999, and 2001) carried out some studies on information issues within groups that were perceived to be marginalized and her studies provide insights into this investigation. In a key note address in 2001, she contemplated that 'Problems can arise when marginalized populations seek a more central place in a dominant society', which in the case of this study can be interpreted as a world in which they were not sharing its everyday reality. This is equated to her study participants, the prisoners, who held an imperfect view of the larger world (Chatman, 1999, pp 215). She envisaged

a situation where they have to understand the cultural, educational and social norms that are fundamental to the greater social world.

The study is explorative and the focused on women within the social context of legislation and representation, who have moved from a marginal status to a more public position in society. It is my anticipation that the insights would be of great relevance in understanding information issues that prevail in the women's legislative and representative performance. The study was carried out manly on the 7th Parliament (2001 – 2006), which was based on the Movement system of Governance, but in a continued search for variations amongst respondents, the study later spilled over to the 8th Parliament (2006-2011), which is based on the multiparty system of governance.

1.2 Goal

The overall goal of the study is to find out how the social context of legislation and representation impacts on the information access and utilization possibilities for women legislators.

1.3 General research Questions

- What aspects within the context of legislation and representation impose challenges in access and use of information for women legislators?
- How do the constraints in accessing and use of information influence the women's information behavior and their roles as legislators?
- How can the study on information challenges inform the overall acclimatization and integration of women in mainstream politics?

1.4 Relevance of the study

The study is relevant in many aspects, but first in testing a rather novel theoretical approach of Insider and Outsider within an LIS discipline, from a previously applied marginal and confined study setting in the studies of Chatman, to a new context of a mainstream environment of a developing country. In addition, studying access to information with women as a focal point, will contribute insights to further understanding of the processes of social transformation and gender parity as women access spaces formerly defined for men. Attaining equality moves beyond women just

comprehending and abiding with the norms of the public sphere or what could be regarded as assimilation. Rather, it incorporates fully integrating within the different environments, and this necessitates working towards changing those structures and norms which hold back the process. In this case, a study on information challenges and possibilities would contribute to the debates about understanding the prerequisites for institutional change.

Studies on the legislature in Africa have mostly been carried out at a more general level, with the main focus being on the information behavior at the national level and mostly reflecting information seeking and acquisition from the formal information sources. These studies have also been reticent on gender and have not reflected much use of theory to facilitate a broader understanding of this group of users. Thus this investigation, which adopts a social approach within the contexts of national and constituency level, will contribute insights to legislative information behavior and a conceptual understanding of the influences of context on information behavior. This will possibly draw attention to gender differences.

At a more practical level, the study will highlight general interactions between legislators and their constituents.

1.5 Study boundaries

The study context is limited to legislators' interactions at two levels, the national legislature (Parliament) and the constituency (within their respective areas of representation).

1.6 Definition of terms

This research on Information challenges which encompasses an understanding of legislators' information behaviour has been conducted as an exploratory study and I have adopted definitions that I perceive would integrate the various aspects pertaining to information as detailed below.

1.6.1 Information behavior

The study adopts the broad definition by Wilson (2000) incorporating the totality of human behaviour in relation to sources and channels of information, including both active and passive information seeking and information use. Face to face communication with others is cited as an example of information behavior and passive reception with or without any intention of acting on it.

1.6.2 Information challenges

Within the study, the term information challenges incorporate constraints in access to and use of information in fulfilling legislative and representative tasks. Access is a broader term that applies to all manner of documents and communication/information exchanges and events through formal and informal networks, meetings, workshops, conferences, through which information could be accrued. It has an implicit reference to the concept of information and this working definition has been construed from a study on similar respondents, legislators in the Ghanaian Parliament carried out by Alemna and Skouby (2000). Their investigation included a specific question on what Ghanaian legislators perceived to be information. The findings revealed that all published and unpublished materials, Government publications, circulars, reports, discussions at meetings, conferences, items in the newspapers, radio and Television, Informal conversations, discussions, comprised information to the Ghanaian parliamentarians. The respondents perceived that information could take a physical format, for example documents, reports, and also information as perceived to accrue from person to person interactions. Therefore access to information in this study refers to access to all forums and sources that are indicative of the presence of information and this could take form of active solicitation or information seeking and passive provision, for instance through information delivered through the parliamentary structures.

1.6.3 Legislator/Representative

These terms are used interchangeably in the study as a reference to members of Parliament (Mps). However, the identification as legislator tends to closely resonate with the law making tasks of the Mp at the national/parliamentary level, while representative reverberates with the constituency related demands and responsibilities. Another reference that combines both the legislative and representative obligations is Parliamentarian.

2 Background

The background chapter will be divided into three parts; the first section addresses reasons for the choice of the country for the study, and this will be followed by the general environment concerning information and lastly the political context in which the study is situated. The information environment will highlight the education system and level of literacy, reading culture, ICT infrastructure and the broader environment of women with respect to access to information. The third aspect will portray the political context featuring Uganda's political history and legislative structure up to the present state and review some of the women's efforts.

2.1 The case for Uganda

The rationale for selecting Uganda as a case for this investigation is both a pragmatic choice as a home country as well as providing an appropriate contextual period through which to study the experiences of women in the public sphere of mainstream politics. This study is therefore an investigation bordering on changes within the political landscape and inherently the women's platform of affirmative action, which has been in implementation since 1989 and to date accounts for over 80% of women's participation.

I will explore some of the peculiar circumstances through which women were embraced as political participants against the backdrop of a post colonial and military government of the National resistance movement. The literature points to two reasons. One of them reflects recognition of their contribution to the National Resistance Army/Movement's success in the civil war of 1981-1986 (Okwalanga, 1990; Byanyima, 1992; Matembe, 1995; Bainomugisha, 1999). The second is presented as a humane consideration construed from Museveni's revolutionary background training and association with FRELIMOⁱ, a Mozambican Movement and Tanzania's Ujaama. Both of these organizations upheld socialist/leftist inclinations, in which equality seemed to have been bolstered and this could have influenced his general acceptance of gender parity and women's empowerment as a principle (Tamale 1999; Byanyima 2004). The international statisticsⁱⁱ for

ⁱ According to Byanyima, Museveni spent time as a guerilla volunteer with the Frelimo, while pursuing his University education at Dar es Saalam, Tanzania and this period presumably brought him in close contact with radical left-wing politics.

ⁱⁱ Women in Parliaments: World classification; <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

women in the legislature for these two leftist countries appear to support some of these assertions, for example Mozambiqueⁱ ranks relatively highly at number fifteen (15)ⁱⁱ with a percentage (%) of 34.8 women in the National legislature, and in Africa, it is number four (4), while Tanzania ranks number twenty three (23) with a percentage (%) of 30.4 women in the legislature, and it is number seven (7) in Africaⁱⁱⁱ. The affirmative action policy was introduced and later inculcated in the national constitution and it is almost solely responsible for the majority of women in the national legislature. On the other hand, some critics considered it as a ploy to legitimize a government that had ascended to power through the barrel of the gun (Muhumuza, 2004).

There is however a growing body of literature that is questioning the effectiveness of legislative quotas in creating change and level ground for female participation in the national terrain. In Uganda, some of these critiques point to its ambiguity as opposed to other represented interest groups, for instance the Youth, Army, Workers and the Disabled whose focus is more or less demarcated. The affirmative for women, on the other hand is blanketed under the portfolio of district women Mps, implying an open and undefined mandate of representing everybody in the district. In addition, the districts range in size from for example, Adjumani, Yumbe in the North-western region with one constituency and a population ranging from 90,000 - 201, 493 to the Central districts of Kampala to Masaka with seven (7) to nine (9) constituencies and a population between 700,000 to 1,208,544 for Kampala, which is the highest district population^{iv}. This imposes an expansive area of management for the district woman Mp.

Other issues raised besides the quotas, but which have an impact on women representation include the socially constructed gender roles which tend to impose more burdens on women, for example having to raise the next generation, caring for the sick and aged thus a concentration on family matters which often makes them spend more time on their households and less for seeking out opportunities like networking with other members in ways that working men would do. The Parliamentary culture is often found

ⁱ The statistics maintained since 1997 reveal the Mozambique has maintained a lead position amongst the first five (5) in terms of women's legislative representation in Africa.

ⁱⁱ Accessed on 14th June 2009

ⁱⁱⁱ This is based on the statistics accessed from the Interparliamentary Union, by June 2009.

^{iv} Information about districts, constituencies, and population was derived from the Districts information handbook 2005-2006.

to have grown over the years around attitudes and priorities of male politicians, with parliamentary schedules less friendly to family life (Wijesekera & Reynolds, 1999; Stephenson, 2004).

Besides the challenges created with the quotas, there were indications in earlier studies, for instance Tamale (1999, pp 119-120) pointing to the absence of basic facilities, for example office space, research services and a functional library as detrimental specifically to the women's participation. This study has been conducted in the period after some of these facilities had been established and the findings could provide an understanding of the impact of these services in access to information.

In conclusion, the long term application of legislative quotas in Uganda (1989), as opposed to the southern neighbour Rwanda (2003); the structure of affirmative action; and the presence of gender stereotypes despite women's seemingly increasing empowerment present a case for studying Uganda.

2.2 The Information Environment

This section will highlight the context through which the information issues can be understood. It is general and focuses on four aspects, education and literacy, the reading culture, the status of the information and communications technologies, access to media and it will finally draw inferences pertaining to the information environment of women. However, I wish to point out that while information concerning education and literacy as well as the ICT developments is accessible, there has not been much research on the reading culture or on the status of the library development and in general on the information context of women. Studies on information behavior (Marcella, Baxter & Moore, 2001) point to a need to focus on women as a group that could be at risk from exclusion in the information society.

2.2.1 Education and literacy

Uganda's education system includes formal and informal education. Formal education comprises of training at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. It is a 7, 4, 2, 3 system, implying primary level of 7 years, secondary 4 years for Uganda certificate of education (Ordinary ('O') Level) and 2 years for Advanced certificate of education (Advanced ('A') Level) and tertiary from 3 to five years. Informal education trains beneficiaries in basic skills of education like reading, writing, numeracy.

Tertiary education includes universities, colleges of commerce, technical and vocational colleges, technical institutes and teacher training colleges. Admission to tertiary institutions requires at least a Ugandan certificate of education (UCE).

According to the 2002 census, one in every four persons aged 15 years and above had never attended school, while three out of every five had left school. There were a total of 5.2 million children of primary school going age (6-12 years) out of which 4.5 million were enrolled in primary schools giving a NER (Net enrolment rate) of 86%. The NER for secondary education was 23%, with wider differences between males and females (Uganda population census, 2002, 2006, pp 65).

Out of all persons aged 6 years and above who were out of school, 42% of the females and 26% of the males did not have any formal education at all. The majority of persons with no education were females.

The literacy rate¹s for the 2002 census was 70%. However, the female and male literacy rates were 62% and 77% respectively. The literacy rate among the urban population was 88% compared to 67% for the rural population. Illiterate females outnumbered their male counterparts.

Among the population aged 15 years and above, only 18% had received any post-primary education with lower percentages for females (14%) compared to males (25%). Women outnumber men amongst those with no education and lower primary, the men greatly outnumber women in terms of higher education. (Figure 10.1 – sex distribution of population that has never been to school by age) Figure 10.2 – Sex distribution of population (15 years and above) currently out of school by the highest level of education attained (Uganda population census, 2002, 2006, pp 126-127).

Legislators are required to have completed an equivalent of thirteen (13) years of formal schooling (primary (7), secondary (4) and high school (2)).

2.2.2 The reading culture

This is another area which has received less attention in terms of empirical research, therefore, there are no studies that have been carried out to ascertain the reading culture of the Ugandan population. There is however

¹ Studies conducted in the area of functional adult literacy (Okech ... et al, 1999) urge caution in adopting the literacy rate statistics as they seem dependant on self-reporting by household heads and problematic assumptions equating a given number of years of primary school attendance to proficiency in reading and writing. Their observations from research conducted on adult literacy graduates point out stark discrepancies in these assumptions.

inferences to its deficiency, for example in Ikoja-Odongo (2004) and in the debates on establishing the National library, in which all legislators who contributed to the National library bill lamented on this general shortfall. It is presumed to be precipitated by an underfunded and undeveloped public library system, which consequently impacts on reading and literacy (*see* Hansard 11th, 12th September 2002). Although the public library infrastructure appeared to have been established dating back to the colonial times under the East African literature bureau in 1948, and later transformed into the Public libraries board in 1964, it succumbed to plunder just like other national infrastructure in the years of turmoil. However, in 1997, their management and establishment was transferred from the Public Libraries Board and placed under districts and urban councils, in line with the instituted policy of decentralization through the Local Government Act (1997). Under this mode of administration, public libraries have faced several challenges including less prioritization in development initiatives with direct consequences in inadequate budgetary allocations (Ikoja-Odongo 2004 pp 170-172). In addition, a study by Ikoja-Odongo (2004 pp 170), indicated that only twenty (20) districts had established public libraries and three (3) rural libraries which are too few to serve as information networks for entire populations. They were also found to be inadequately funded, housed and stocked. In some instances the stocks were equaled to archives (Ikoja-Odongo, 2004 pp 178), which implies that they are less functional and relevant to the population's present information needs.

There have however been advancements, for example in policy propositions for school libraries (Magara & Bukirwa, 2004). Other earlier initiatives include establishment of a non-profit organization, the National book trust (NABOTU)¹, founded in 1997 with the goal of promoting reading. This organization replaced the former publishers association, (the Uganda Publishers' Association, UPABA) (Tumusiime, 2003, pp 54). The membership of NABOTU constitutes of authors, publishers, booksellers, printers, librarians and literature teachers and through the collaboration, there have been some efforts for instance establishing regular reading camps for children targeting primary schools, the annual national book week, an exhibition organized by publishers to network with people and elevate the culture of reading to the national platform. Other efforts described included consultative meetings with teachers, librarians, politicians and government to map strategies for enhancing reading (Magara, Batambuze, 2005:

¹ Some of the Information on NABOTU is derived from its website at:
<http://www.nabotu.or.ug/>

NABOTU). However, these are still propositions to develop and sustain reading as a culture and information behavior.

2.2.3 Status of the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) infrastructure

Information and communications technologies are other facilitators of access to information as well as communication. According to the statistics from the National communications regulatory body, the Uganda communications commission (UCC), by December 2008, the country had thirty nine (39) licensed communication service providers, fifty (50) licensed television operators and two hundred and twenty (220) radio stations.

Internet access

The number of users of the mobile wireless internet service amounted to 214,293 active accounts, while the fixed line internet subscription was estimated at 22,000. The number of internet users was estimated to be 2.5 million people and a total of 507.99 mbps of internet bandwidth was recorded. The statistics further reveal that out of this, 138.5 mbps was uplink, while 369.42 mbps was down link. The estimates for the national fibre network (government and privately owned) is over 2,500 km.

Telephone services: The number of fixed lines amounted to 168,481, while the mobile subscribers were 8,544,864. The tele density was reported as 29.47 and the number of pay phones amounted to 56,918 (Uganda Communication commission, 2009ⁱ).

However, while this data shows significant increments, the drawback lies in its inability to provide statistics at the household level. The only indication to the household was reflected in the 2002 census data, which has of course been overtaken by time. Nevertheless, the census revealed that the number of individuals owning mobile phones was 254,467 or 5.0% of the total population, while that of fixed phones was 27,382 or 0.5%. The percentage of households owning telephones (mobile or fixed) was 24.4% in urban areas and 5.5 % in rural areas. With regards to access to broadcast media, the number of people possessing television sets was 231,366 or 4.5% of the population, while radio ownership reflected 2,490,165 people. This data was not gender segregated and therefore does not provide any insights on women's access and use of ICTs.

ⁱ The figures are extracted from the Uganda Communications Commission, a national body that regulates the communication sector at <http://www.ucc.co.ug/MarketReviewDec08.pdf>

There has been another significant development of the establishment of the ICT ministry in June 2006 as a central structure charged with providing leadership, coordination and support for the ICT sectorⁱ.

2.2.4 The Information environment of women in Uganda

This is also another area with minimal research, and therefore limits our understanding of the situation of women. However, there have been surveys incorporating inferences to gender specific information behavior. An example was the National census of 2002 in which questions on how the population informs or gets informed were incorporated. Nonetheless this study was biased and tilted towards the mass media. Perhaps the inadequacy or near absence of functional libraries and a poor reading atmosphere makes these types of surveys less likely to incorporate libraries as viable options to source information for ordinary citizens. The data was segregated according to gender and further subdivided into rural and urban male/female headed households. The predominant source among female headed households was by word of mouth closely followed by Radio. Among the female headed households, word of mouth accounted for 2,520,731 (10.3% of total population) million people as compared to 1,833,107 (7.5% of total population) for male headed households. This followed with Radio as the main source of information with female headed households accounting for 2,451,002 or 10.02 % of total population and male headed households at 1,994,716 or 8.1%. A later survey by the National demographic and health survey (DHS) (2006, 2007), also leaning towards access to information through mass media, revealed that while most of the population tended to be exposed to some form of media, men were more likely than women to have access to all types of media. One (1) in four (4) women and one (1) in nine (9) men were estimated to have no exposure at all to mass media, although this tended to vary with the level of education (UDHS, pg 41 – 43).

In conclusion, these national studies show that women are less likely to be exposed to mass media, information tends to be acquired from local surroundings and literacy levels sometimes impose barriers to information acquisition. In these circumstances, are marked similarities with the information behaviour of Chatman's marginal groups who sought information from others similar to their circumstances. The census data is significant in that the respondents as well as those from the DHS survey could reflect the pool of Ugandan women from which legislators are drawn

ⁱ This information was obtained from the ministry website at address:
http://www.ict.go.ug/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=55

since they do not fit into one professional category, but rather a diverse array of backgrounds and levels of education. It also shows that men still have an edge in accessing information.

Three other studies were carried out in Uganda with women as the focal point. Two were in the field of health information and one within the informal sector. In the health category, a study by Ssali (1998) examining the gender variables in accessibility and utilization of health information in Uganda found the gendered division of labour as a significant determinant. The second by Musoke (2005) on accessibility and use of health information in rural Uganda found women to be particularly passive seekers of information which was also attributed to gender, culture and language as constraints to access and use.

The study of women and information within the informal sector was carried out by Ikoja-Odongo (2002) and he observed that the women's operational environment was neither supportive for information acquisition nor conducive for documentation of their experiences, a factor he attributed partly to illiteracy, poverty and heavy involvement in domestic chores. His study also demonstrated a heavy preference for informal sources and channels of access, which presumably did not take them away from their familiar surroundings, particularly word of mouth, personal experience, friends, relatives and neighbors.

2.3 The political environment: History of the Parliament and women representation

The Ugandan Parliament can be traced back to 1888 when the Imperial British East African Company set up some form of Administration in Uganda, with authority to undertake the duties of general administration, imposition and collection of taxes and administration of justice in areas under its control. In 1895, Uganda was placed under British rule. In 1920, another order of council was established allowing for the creation of a legislative body, referred to as the Legislative Council (LEGCO) composed of seven members, who were Europeans representing the Colonial Government of Great Britain. In 1926, changes in the composition of this body started to occur, with the appointment of the first Asian as a member of the council and by 1945, the council was composed of Europeans, Asians and the first three (3) Africans were sworn in. By 1955, membership to the council had increased to 60 including the appointment of 2 women. Between 1954 to 1961, when Uganda was agitating for self-rule, a total of 7 women had served in the LEGCO (Uganda Parliament, 2005).

Uganda attained political independence from her colonial masters, Great Britain on 9th October 1962 and it was placed under a unitary Westminster model constitution. The first Parliament was constituted partly through election and nomination under the Independence Constitution which operated from 1962 to 1966. The Independence Constitution was abrogated in 1966 and an interim was introduced which in 1967 became the Republican Constitution. The first and second Parliaments, 1962 to 1971, had two women out of 92 Mps and Tamale (cited in Byanyima 2000, pg. 5) attributes this to the post independence governments' obsession with vying and maintenance of power, which tended to blind them to the need to address 'structural and value-based' impediments to women's participation. There is not much literature about the activities of Parliament during the reign of General Idi Amin Dada, 1971-1979, however it is known that the Constitution of 1967 was suspended and all executive and legislative powers were entrusted in his person. The Parliamentary buildings were consequently deserted, in favour of a Military Commission under State house (official Presidential residence). Although there is evidence pertaining to involvement of at least two women, for example, Elizabeth Bagaya, appointed as a foreign minister in 1973 and Mary Senkatuka-Astles in 1974 appointed as a Minister of Culture and Community development, overall the impression derived from the Ministry of Gender report (1995) indicates that the political atmosphere characterized by turbulence, under Idi Amin and subsequent years provided very little in opportunities in ways of expression and advocacy for inclusion in decision making.

The Third Parliament was an interim Parliament, called the National Consultative Council, (NCC), and it took over immediately after the fall of the Idi Amin Government. It was initially composed of thirty (30) members and later expanded to one hundred and fifty six (156), between 1979 and 1980. It continued to be the Supreme legislative body until the general elections in 1980 and had two women representatives. The fourth Parliament from 1980 to 1985, was under President Dr. Apollo Milton Obote and had one woman representative out of 126 Mps. The Government was overthrown in July 1985 in a military coup led by General Tito Okello and Bazilio Okello. Their regime was short lived and during that time Parliament was in limbo. On January 26th 1986, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) came into power, under the leadership of President Museveni and legislative powers were vested in the National Resistance Council (NRC) and the President. At that time, it consisted of thirty eight (38) historical¹ members

¹ Historicals were those members who initiated the 'bush war' in 1981

and the National Resistance Council; NRC became the fifth (5th) Parliament. In 1989, elections were held and the NRC was expanded to two hundred and sixty (260) members in the following breakdown; 38 historicals, 149 county representatives, 19 City/Municipal Council Representatives, 20 Nominated Members and 34 District Women Representatives. Women had been given special seats in the National Resistance Council, under Legal Notice 1/86, amendment statute 1989 (MGSD, 1995). Later new districts were created and special interest groups were also created leading to an increase of two hundred and seventy (270) members. The number of women representatives subsequently rose to fifty (50). The number of ex-officio members of Parliament at any given time varies from time to time during a parliamentary period.

Parliament	Years	No. of Members	Male MPs	Male Ex Officio	Female Mps	Female Ex Officio
1 st	1962-1966	92	90		2	
2 nd	1967-1971	92	90			2
	1971-1979 ⁱ	Parliament suspended				2
3 rd	1979-1980	156	154		2	
4 th	1980-1985	126	125		1	
5 th	1986-1996	260	206	20	34	
6 th	1996-2001	281	229		52	
7 th	2001-2006	305	231		74	
8 th	2006-2011	332	218	12	101	1

Table 1 Numerical representations in the Ugandan Parliament

2.3.1 Constitutional changes and the Movement system of governance

The process of constructing a new (4th) Constitution is discussed as a significant phase in the Women's movement, particularly for its progressive provisions for their political engagement in the highest decision making institutions. The history of the Movement system of governance and the freezing of political party activities for a period in time is also highlighted with Yoweri Museveni, the current President (1986-), as a predominant actor.

ⁱ The reign of Idi Amin, Parliament was suspended but two women served in his cabinet. This information on the history of the Ugandan Parliament was mostly obtained from the Parliamentary website, but there have been several changes /developments on the site.

Post colonial strife – historical account

The post independence constitutions in most African countries were abrogated, with military coups following each other and the rule of law being replaced by the rule of the gun (Amaza, 1998). It is therefore not surprising that from the period of Uganda's independence in 1962 to 1986, the country had changed Guards/Heads of State eight times (Katorobo, 1995), including the reign of Idi Amin (1971-1979) when the constitution was suspended. The Westminster model constitution inherited on independence was replaced by what was referred to as a 'pigeon hole' constitution in 1966, and later replaced with a Republican constitution in 1967 (Furley & Katarikawe, 1997). The reasons for these upheavals and crises are numerous and varied and include inadequate preparations by colonial masters to the institutionalisation of liberal democracy in emerging states, thus granting power to inexperienced elites with no commitment to multiparty politics, but rather using the state power to advance personal and group interests (Cammack, Pool & Tordoff, 1993). Other contributory factors include the colonial masters' disregard for traditional institutions, multi-ethnicity, customs and values, particularly religious loyalties that characterized the Ugandan society (Furley & Katarikawe, 1997). Most of the post-independence parties formulated reflected deep ethnic, region and religious inclinations and Therkildsen (2002) argued that it contributed to the conflicts and upheavals, an argument that was advanced in the formulation of the new constitution. Therefore the post independence constitutions' presumption of the presence of 'settled political and economic conditions and a broad consensus on social values' (Ghai 1996 cited in Furley & Katarikawe) was not valid. Katorobo (1995) asserts that it was more of sharp ideological differences and power struggles among elites that led to undermining constitutionalism. The upheavals, fuelled by these power struggles, would propagate constitutional manipulation to suit victors who would then come up with new rules and new constructions. Byanyima (1992) contends that these elite struggles were more to do with the appropriation of officialdom privileges (privileges accruing to official positions) and the brutal and repressive machineries that characterized the post independence governments that resulted from these struggles, supposedly to counter and suppress dissent.

In 1986, following a six (6) year 'bush war'ⁱ the National Resistance Army, deposed the then government of General Tito Okello Lutwa and

ⁱ The bush war is a term usually used to refer to the guerilla warfare led by Yoweri Museveni during the period 1981-1986.

installed Yoweri Museveni who has been president since then, and also secured another termⁱ of five years in 2006. His engagement in a guerrilla war fare was allegedly a result of a controversial election in December 1980, where the civilian government of the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) was widely perceived to have rigged the elections.

These anomalous experiences that the country had gone through appeared to have propelled the conception of yet another Constitutional venture. By 1988, there were indications of attempts at restoring order, stability and constitutionalism, by the then new Head of State, Yoweri Museveni who had also gained power through the gun (Kasfir, 1994). Indeed in his inauguration speech in January 1986, he reiterated that 'No one should think that what is happening today is a mere change of guards; it is a fundamental change in the politics of the country' (NRM ten-point program, 1986ⁱⁱ; Museveni, 2005).

A Ministry of Constitutional Affairs was established in 1986 and attempts were made to produce a new constitution, whose principles would allegedly stand the test of time. This was to be accomplished by using techniques that embraced popular participation and consultation, to search for what would become the National Consensus. A bill setting up the legal framework of the constitutional Commission, the Constitutional Commission statute, was drafted and presented to the legislature and debated and on 21st December 1988, it came into force after the presidential assent. The Act provided for the establishment of a twenty one (21) member Constitutional Commission (Constitutional Commission Act, 1988). The Commissioners, appointed by the President included two women lawyers. The major mandate was to explore the views of the public and write a draft constitution. Techniques adopted incorporated reviewing the previous constitution and also considering new formulations and structures to form the basis for the country's new national Constitution. Its work commenced in February 1989. A questionnaire containing topical issues, like mode of governance (region, district or central government), reinstatement of traditional leaders, and opening up political space was utilized to collect data on people's views (Katorobo, 1995).

ⁱ This was secured through a controversial revision of the constitution in 2005, which removed term limits. The initial provision had restricted presidential intervals to two terms of office.

ⁱⁱ Museveni, Yoweri, the ten-point program, selected articles on the Ugandan resistance war, Kampala, NRM publications

The Movement system

During the course of the Commission, some contentious proposals were advanced some of which later bound the country in a single party status for sometime. One of these proposals, later endorsed in the constitution was for political parties to remain inactive for the subsequent five years in favour on Movement Politics of the NRM regime, and that at the end of that period, the fate of the political parties would be resolved by a referendum (Katorobo, 1995). However some concessions within this system included a provision for devolution of power through the concept of decentralization and this was later reflected in article 178, a and b of the Constitution¹ and operationalized in the Local Government Act, 1997.

The NRM too, effectively articulated this ideology of Movement politics by asserting that parties had contributed to the country's troubled past bedevilled with state-orchestrated repression, anarchy and political violence. This was allegedly due to their sectarian formulations and divisiveness, deeply rooted in fundamental identities like ethnicity and religious considerations, hence they could not resonate with a multiethnic and secular political order. The NRM envisaged a broad based government, the Movement, probably equated to a family, as the only viable option for the country. Other forms were deemed "politically and ideologically myopic". Rivalries among missionaries were also cited as another source of division due to fostering a spirit political competition among Catholics, Protestants and Muslims. The Uganda People's Congress (UPC) Party, for example, had been used by the Protestant elite to consolidate the dominant position they had attained by collaborating with the colonialists, while the Democratic Party (DP) represented Catholic elites trying to gain leverage over Protestants (Das, 1999; Museveni, 1997 pp 116, 117; Katorobo, 1995; Bratton & Lambright 2001, pp 430 ; Kasfir, 1998, pp 51, 52).

The disregard for party politics by Museveni (1997, pp 194) was evident as he castigated the Constitution Commission's compromise position of 'a return to political activities, five years from the first election held under a new constitution'. He described it as a "temporarising force for local and international political thinking, gravitating more to international thinking, especially on political parties, rather than reflecting the views of the people". To him, the Commissioners had watered down what the people wanted, of not returning to parties for a long time. He further argued that in Uganda there was no basis for parties, like social classes in the Western democracies, rather Ugandans were predominantly of a peasantry class. In December,

¹ Can be viewed at: <http://www.parliament.go.ug/chapt11.htm>

1993, the Commission presented a Draft Constitution to the President with further recommendations on procedural aspects. The Commission recommended election of a new body, the Constituent Assembly, through national secret and direct ballot, to debate the contents of the new constitution. This recommendation was adopted and the NRC passed a statute called the Constituent Assembly (Statute) which provided for the election of delegates to the Constituent Assembly in March 1994. Elections for this new body, the constituent assembly were held in March 1994. The composition of the Constituent assembly opted for 'guided democracy' as opposed to popular democracy with entirely elected representatives (Katorobo, 1995). They thus preferred to have group nominations and special representatives to include important minorities and specialized groups. Therefore, women, the youth, political parties, the army, trade unions and the President were allocated special numbersⁱ. The Constituent Assembly approved the new constitution in 1995 and it was promulgated on 8th October 1995 and a new interim electoral commission was established and it conducted the first ever direct presidential elections in the country on 9th May 1996. The electoral commission organized and conducted Parliamentary elections afterwards, which brought in the Sixth Parliament of Uganda whose term expired in 2001.

In conclusion, in 1997, the Movement Act was passed and the No-party arrangement came to be known as the Movement System and the voting procedures in the legislature were based on what would be referred to as a free vote in a multi-party system (Museveni, 1997, pp 195). This Act accorded the Movement system privileged constitutional status, where it was prescribed as the country's political system (The Movement Act, 1997, Carbone 2001). Some of the descriptions and characteristics of the system or the No-party-Democracy include; electoral politics, individual-merit contests and strict restrictions on party activities (Carbone, 2001). Its critics contend that even though the new constitution had progressive provisions like the affirmative action, its main intention was to place parties in "suspended animation" (Oloka-Onyango, 1998)ⁱⁱ. However, on May 4th 2005, the Parliament passed a resolution requesting to hold a referendum for purposes of changing the political system. It thus requested the electoral commission to organize for the referendum, after invoking article 74 (1)ⁱⁱⁱ of

ⁱ Uganda Government, Constituent Assembly Statute (No. 5 of Uganda)

ⁱⁱ Oloka-Onyango is a Law Professor at Makerere University

ⁱⁱⁱ Article 74 provides grounds for changing the system of governance; Provision 1 is through an act of referenda.

the constitutionⁱ and the country reverted back to multiparty democracy which was the basis of the elections for the 8th Parliament.

Women and national transformation – constitutional changes

Women organizations, taking advantage of the existent goodwill, are presumed to have pressured the NRM government to consider women's issues at the national level. Amongst their demands included establishing a ministry specific for women affairs; for every ministry to have a women's desk and for women's representation in local government structures at all levels. A ministry of Women in development (WID) was consequently created in 1988 to allegedly ensure integration of women in development issues and their economic emancipation. This Ministry was later merged with the departments of youth and culture in 1991 and three years later reconstituted into the Ministry of Gender and community development to reflect the operational activities of the ministry (Restructuring report, WID, 1994; Women newsⁱⁱ, 1994; Tripp, 2000 pp 75).

Again at the national level, the women's movement, through several organizations for example, the National association of women organizations, the gender ministry, the federation of Uganda women lawyers, (FIDA, (U)) and Action for development organization (ACFODE), allegedly played an active role during the constitution making process. These organizations formed a constitutional consultation project which carried out several seminars for women aimed at stimulating debate on the constitution making process and collecting their views for consideration. The two women lawyers on the review commission were utilized and women submitted memoranda that enabled incorporation of clauses within the national constitution that aimed at eliminating their historic social exclusion. Among the provisions included in the constitution were; a principle of non-discrimination on the basis of sex; preferential treatment or affirmative action to redress past inequalities, for instance the creation of the position of district woman delegate to the Constituency assembly, which later transformed into the district woman Mp slot; to outlaw traditional customs that are deemed injurious to women; and to provide for the establishment of an equal opportunities commission as well as rights in employment, property and the family. The women also insisted on using a gender neutral language in writing the constitution, by removing the 'he' pronoun that was predominantly used in public discourse to denote that men 'he' are the main

ⁱ Hansard 4th May 2005

ⁱⁱ Women news was a quarterly newsletter of the ministry (WID).

public actors (Matembeⁱ, 1995, 2002; Goetz, 2003). Specifically, women's rights were embedded in Chapter 33 of the 1995 Constitution and stipulated equal opportunities and gender balances and explicitly provided for affirmative action as outlined in chapter 4, article 33:

- (1) Women shall be accorded full and equal dignity of the person with men.
- (2) The State shall provide the facilities and opportunities necessary to enhance the welfare of women to enable them to realise their full potential and advancement.
- (3) The State shall protect women and their rights, taking into account their unique status and natural maternal functions in society.
- (4) Women shall have the right to equal treatment with men and that right shall include equal opportunities in political, economic and social activities.
- (5) Without prejudice to article 32 of this Constitution, women shall have the right to affirmative action for the purpose of redressing the imbalances created by history, tradition or custom.
- (6) Laws, cultures, customs or traditions which are against the dignity, welfare or interest of women or which undermine their status are prohibited by this Constitution (Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995, pp 30).

Women's political representation on affirmative action was embedded in Article 78 (1) which (b) provides for one woman representative for every districtⁱⁱ and within the local governance structure, Article (2) (b) provided for 'one third of the membership of each local Government Council to be reserved for women' and this was later inscribed in the Local Government Act, 1997.

Affirmative action had originally been adopted under Legal notice 1/86. Its earlier experimentation was on the executive councils of local councils (RCⁱⁱⁱs) with one mandatory seat for women, and where females were guaranteed to fill the post of secretary for women. The policy instrument was later amended in 1989, and the NRM Government expanded Parliament to include 39 seats reserved for women (equivalent to the number of districts by then). Each district elected a woman member of Parliament from an all

ⁱ Miria Matembe, is a former legislator and one of the two women who served as commissioners on the constitutional commission.

ⁱⁱ For further analysis of the affirmative seat, *see* 6.4.3

ⁱⁱⁱ They were referred to as Resistance Councils, by then, adapted from the National Resistance Movement.

woman list of candidates (Tamale 2003)ⁱ, through electoral collegesⁱⁱ, to serve on the Executive (MGSD, 1995) of the National Resistance Council (NRC), which acted as the Legislative Assembly. For the Constituent Assembly which discussed and debated the constitution, fifty one (51)ⁱⁱⁱ women delegates took part (Matembe, 1995). Furley & Katarikawe (1997) contends that the state seemed to recognize the role of women in society, taking advantage of the gender movement therefore making it a model instrument. These provisions were to be examined through article (Article 78 (2)) that stipulated review after 10 years and thereafter 5 years after assessing progress of women's representation.

The subsequent section will provide an overview on the configuration of Parliament.

2.4 The Organization of the Parliament of Uganda

The organization of Parliament in Uganda, as a former colony of Britain, is based on the Westminster model, therefore functions of Parliament reflect a replica of the House of Commons, in principle and characteristic features include a strong cabinet government based on majority rule (Bevir, and Rhodes, 1999), single member constituencies, accountability through elections, majority party control of the executive, elaborate conventions for the conduct of parliamentary business and institutionalized opposition and the rules of debate (Gamble, 1990). However, as narrated in an earlier section regarding the new constitution, the country has experienced several upheavals and has tended to 'deviate' from what originally constituted the ideals of this model. Mazrui^{iv} (2002), attempts an explanation using what he refers to as 'democra-cide or the murder of democracy, as partly attributable to the adoption of this model, to represent an ideal democracy. Accordingly, its adoption was an 'uncritical importation of an alien paradigm' where Africans imitated western forms but not 'western democratic substance', hence the tendency to drift towards 'anarchy'—too little control or 'tyranny' – too much control. Mazrui (2002) argues that embracing this model in itself

ⁱ Extracted from paper presented by Tamale in a conference held in Pretoria, South Africa between 11 – 12 November 2003, on African experiences on the implementation of quotas.

ⁱⁱ The electoral colleges were composed of Women councils and Local Councils.

ⁱⁱⁱ These included the 39 district representatives, 9 from the mainstream/open contests, 1 representing trade unions and 2 presidential nominees.

^{iv} Ali Mazrui is a Political Science Professor at Binghamton University and the State University of New York

signified a false start in the democratization process and consequently the independence constitutions were thus frequently abandoned in favor of militarismⁱ. However, with the recent adoption of the multiparty system, rules of procedure are currently a work in progress.

2.4.1 Administration of Parliament

The general running of Parliament is embodied in the Administration of Parliament Act, 1997, which provides the legal framework for the governance of Parliament. It sets up a Parliamentary Commission charged with establishing a Parliamentary Service Commission, its structure and functions, security and staff of the Parliamentary service. It is also charged with the task of formulating the Parliamentary annual budget. The Commission is composed of the Speaker, the leader of Government businessⁱⁱ, the Minister of Finance, and three members of Parliament who are not ministers. The Speaker chairs the Commission and the Clerk acts as the secretary. The Commission also provided for the establishment of the department of the Speaker and Sergeant-at-arms and the department of Library, Research and Documentation. It aims at providing overall strategic direction and coordination, monitoring progress at goal and purpose levels, approves annual budgets and provides a strategic oversight of resource envelope including basket fund and funding by development partners. The Parliament developed a strategic framework referred to as the Parliamentary Strategic and Investment plan, 2002' (PSIDP)ⁱⁱⁱ which guides the activities of the Commission (PSIDP Action plan, 2004/05 – 2006/07, The Administration of Parliament Act).

The Legislature, tasks and information requirements

Back ground: The emergence of Parliaments/Legislature is reviewed as a direct consequence resulting from the successive losses of monarchical powers' absolute character. According to Herman (1976, pp 571), this loss gradually lead to an evolving separation of powers into the three branches of government: The Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. The legislature is presumed to be the most significant amongst the

ⁱ Some of the arguments are elaborated in the section on the constitution

ⁱⁱ The leader of Government business is the Prime Minister

ⁱⁱⁱ The PSID sets out a strategic direction for the institution of Parliament, based on the vision developed by Parliament to be 'an effective and independent Parliament that protects and promotes democratic governance, accountability and sustainable development'.

three (3) in that it lays down the basic principles which the Executive and Judiciary apply and implement respectively.

Tasks

Within the Ugandan Parliament, the functions of the legislature have been elaborated as indicated;

1. to pass laws for the good governance of Uganda.
2. to provide, by giving legislative sanctions taxation and acquisition of loans, the means of carrying out the work of Government.
3. to scrutinize Government policy and administration through the following:
 - a. pre-legislative scrutiny of bills referred to the Parliamentary committees by Parliament
 - b. scrutinizing of the various objects of expenditure and the sums to be spent on each
 - c. assuring transparency and accountability in the application of public funds
4. monitoring the implementation of Government programs and projects
5. to debate matters of topical interest usually highlighted in the President's State of the Nation address.
6. to vet the appointment of persons nominated by the President under the Constitution or any other enactment. (Uganda Parliamentⁱ)

These functions fall into the categories of making laws, the oversight role and representing constituents. On a more practical and operational level, Gasarasi (2004) distinguished their responsibilities at three levels; the National, the constituency and at personal levels.

At the national level, he enumerates their tasks to involve making laws, passing and amending the constitution, approving taxes, other revenues and budgets, making or shaping public policy, controlling government actions, informing government about constituency situation, resource allocation nationally and providing leadership nationally.

At constituency level, their functions include informing constituency about government actions, plans and policies, helping to resettle conflicts and resolve grievances of constituents, aggregating and articulating interests of constituencies to relevant authorities, resource allocation locally,

ⁱ Uganda Parliament website:

http://www.parliament.go.ug/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=2&Itemid=5 accessed 2nd May 2008

mobilizing efforts for development of constituency and providing leadership locally.

At personal level he proposes more of self advertising, credit claiming and position taking, which functions are allegedly intended to accrue fame and a good image for the Member of Parliament with an intention of maintaining a successful political career. However, within this study, I will adopt Gasarasi's legislative tasks subdivisions, but focus on interactions at the national and the constituency.

Information prerequisites

In order to effectively execute these tasks of making laws, overseeing government and representing constituency demands, legislators would require access to various types and sources of information, in an appropriate form, details and time scale in order to transform the legislature. Examples of information of necessity include; government information, information from interest groups, political parties, individual citizens and groups on issues concerning their communities as well as those deemed to be of national importance (Coleman, Taylor & Van de Donk, 1999; Miller, Pelizzo and Stapenhurst, 2004) and information regarding sources of funding for community activities. In addition Shepherd (1991) points to a daily need for news and views of happenings and location of those events which point to a range of information sources for instance newspapers, magazines and periodicals, to facilitate a legislator keep up to date and to formulate views. Yet another visible and formal characteristic requirement in this promotion of a legislature which is informed ought to be the presence of a library and research service (Coleman, Taylor & Van de Donk, 1999; Miller, Pelizzo and Stapenhurst, 2004).

2.4.2 Composition of the 7th Parliament

The 7th, consisted of 305 members most of whom were elected by adult franchise (214) through the ballot box except for the few special interest groups like the army, women, youth and the disabled whose representatives elected by Electoral colleges and ex-officio members who are appointed by the President. Those directly elected constituent representatives amount to 214 representatives. The affirmative seats incorporated fifty six (56) district women representatives, ten (10) Uganda People's Defence Forces representatives, five (5) regional representatives of the youth and five (5) for the disabled from the North, East, Central, Southern and Western regions,

five (5) representatives of workers and 10 ex-officialⁱ members. This composition is embedded in article 78 (1) of the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda.

Women

The composition of women in the seventh Parliament consisted of thirteen (13) directly elected county representatives (contest with men), fifty six (56) affirmative action seats for district women representatives and five (5) special interest representatives, representing persons with disabilities, youth and workers. Overall, there were seventy four (74) women representatives in the legislative assembly out of a total of 305 representing a total of 24 %. Compared with the national population estimated to be 24.4 million at that time, (female population of 12.5 million and males 11.9 million), women who occupied 51% of the total population were being represented by 24% of legislative members, while men with a percentage of 49 had a representation of 76% of the total legislation. The total number of eligible votersⁱⁱ, according to the census results for 2002, was 10,733,821 (43.9% of total population) (2002 Census). In May 2005, there was a marked increase in the population to an approximation of 26.8 million people at a growth rate of 3.3% (UBOS estimates, 2005). The estimates also portrayed a ratio of 95:100 males to females in most districts. In 2006, the estimated voting population was approximately 12,150,685 at the growth rate of 3.3 %, however the Ugandan Electoral Commission figures reflected a national voter population of 10,450,788 (Electoral commission, [Http://www.ec.or.ug](http://www.ec.or.ug)). This figure represents those people who registered to take part in the electoral process, but does not reflect the total number of eligible voters.

ⁱ Ex-Officio members are people selected from the general public by the President to occupy Cabinet positions and by virtue of their appointment to the Cabinet, they become Members of Parliament but without voting rights – they are not allowed to vote on any Parliamentary issue requiring a vote. (Article 78 1d of the Constitution)

ⁱⁱ The voting age starts at 18 years.

Type of Constituency		No 7 th	Male	Female
Affirmative	Youth	5	3	2
	Army	10	10	
	PWD	5	3	2
	Workers	5	4	1
	District	56		56
Ordinary Constituency		214	201	13
Total		295	221	74

Table 2 Composition of the 7th Parliament

Committees

The House had four types of Committees, namely, Standing, Sessional, Select and Ad hoc Committees. The seventh Parliament appointed 12 Standing Committees whose membership was for the entire life of Parliament (5 years) and established 10 Sessional Committees, but it is empowered by Article 90 (1) of the 1995 Constitution to appoint any other committees (usually referred to as Select Committees) as it deems necessary. The Standing committees include the Public Accounts Committee, the Committee on Rules, Privileges and Discipline, the Business Committee, Committee on the National economy, Appointments, Government assurances, Committee on Commissions, Statutory Authorities and State enterprises, Budget committee, Local government accounts committee, Committee on HIV and related matters, Committee on Science and Technology and the Committee on Equal opportunities and membership to standing committees was for the duration of the entire five years.

A variety of Parliamentary activities are carried out within the Standing committees and their functions include: discussing and making recommendations on all Bills laid before Parliament, initiating any bill within their respective areas of competence, Assessing and evaluate activities of Government and other bodies, Carrying out research in their respective fields and to report to Parliament on their functions (Uganda Constitution, 1995)ⁱ. Membership to standing Committees was designated at 15 and members were elected amongst Parliamentary representatives during the first session of Parliament. Within all the standing committees, it was only the Committee on appointments, which apportioned a quota system on representation and stipulated two (2) women representatives for each region among its composition. It was the largest committee and had a total

ⁱ Article 90 (3) on Committees of Parliament, Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995.

membership of 56 and probably more representative due to the sensitive nature of its responsibilities of vetting all Presidential nominees and Parliamentary appointments. It was composed of 15 women representing an approximation of 27% of its total composition. Whereas the chairperson bears the greatest responsibility for the effectiveness of the committee operations (Ogle, 1999), women did not have an outstanding representation in this leadership as they have served as chairs on only two out of twelve Standing Committees; the Budget and Equal Opportunities committees and deputy chairs on two others, the Rules, Privileges and Discipline Committee and the Committee on National Economyⁱ.

Cabinet

The Cabinetⁱⁱ (by 2005) consisted of 6 out of 21 (28%) women ministers in full cabinet posts and nine (9) out of forty five (45) ministers of state representing 20% (President's office, Uganda, 2005).

2.4.3 Composition of the 8th Parliament

The political landscape of the eighth Parliament is different from the 7th as the country voted in a July 27th 2005 Referendum to revert to the multiparty system of governance. The electoral process of 2006 took form of multiparty democracy. The National Resistance or Movement Party transformed itself into the National Resistance Movement Organization (NRMO) or NRM Party and it has two hundred and eleven (211) representatives. Other contenders included the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) with thirty eight (38) representatives, the Democratic Party (DP) with nine (9) representatives, the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) also nine (9) representatives, the Conservative Party (CP) with one (1), JEEMA (Justice, Education, Economy, Morality and African Unity), one (1) and forty (40) independents.

Out of the 215 constituent seats, women succeeded initially fourteen (14), but later increased to sixteen (16) after bye elections. The districts seats expanded from fifty six (56) to sixty nine (69) and then to eighty (80). Prior to the national elections, the affirmative seats/special interest groups (women, workers, the disabled, the army and the youth), were subject to a constitutional review, since the ten (10) year examination period stipulated in the constitution had elapsed. Never the less, Parliament voted on January

ⁱ This information was obtained from the web pages of the Parliamentary website at [Http://www.parliament.go.ug](http://www.parliament.go.ug)

ⁱⁱ Cabinet membership is subject to change.

5th 2006 to retain all these groups. The women constituency received wide support in the vote (Hansard January 5th 2006).

The rules of procedure were also changed to reflect the political changes. Notable amongst these adjustments was the creation of the portfolio of the leader of opposition and a shadow cabinet. Other changes include modifying the timeframe of standing committees from the previous five (5) years to two and a half (2 ½). Membership to committees also negotiated through party lines, as opposed to individual preferences. Party caucuses also play an important role in the formulation of opinions for debates.

Women

The Eighth Parliament consists of the following women; seventeen (17) constituent Mps, seventy nine (79) district Women Mps, two (2) representing workers, one (1) for youth, one (1) for the disabled and two (2) for the army. Out of fourteen (14) ex-officio members, only one (1) is a woman. The overall number of Women in the 8th Parliament is one hundred and two (102ⁱ) out of a total of 333, reflecting a slight increase from 24% in the 7th Parliament to approximately 30.6 %.

However, of the previous thirteen (13) directly elected women constituents, only five (5) succeeded in re-election to the 8th Parliament, two (2) however did not stand again.

Type of Constituency		No 8 th	Male	Female
Affirmative	Youth	5	4	1
	Army	10	8	2
	PWD	5	4	1
	Workers	5	3	2
	District	79		79
Ordinary Constituency		215	199	16
Total		319	218	101

Table 3 Composition of the 8th Parliament

Committees

The eighth Parliament is composed of twelve (12) standing committees, whose tenure of office was reduced to two and a half (2 ½) years, from the five (5) of the 7th Parliament. Out of these standing committees in the period 2006- 2009 (February), there had been only one (1/12) woman Chairperson

ⁱ 101 is the number for elected women, while one is an exofficio member of cabinet.

and five (5/12) Deputies/Vice chairs. Amongst the thirteen (13) sessional committees, women legislators headed four (4/13) and five (5) in deputy positions. Women have had more opportunities in the sessional committees. Within the committee changes in 2009, four (4) out of twelve (12) positions for chairpersons in standing committees have been filled by women, while six (6) deputize. In the thirteen (13) sessional committees, three (3) women occupied top leadership positions while five (5) were deputies. The total ratio distribution for both types of committees amounts to 7/25 (28%) chairpersons and 11/25 (44%) vice chairpersons. These numbers, although not proportionate, reflect an improvement from the first session (2006 – 2009) which only registered one (1/12) female chairperson and five (5/12) deputies in the standing committees, while in the sessional committees, women headed four (4/13) and vice chairpersons in five (5/13). Overall, the ratios amounted to 5/25 (20%) chairpersons, and 10/25 vice chairpersons or 40%.

Cabinet

In the cabinet of the 8th Parliament, ministerial portfolios for full cabinet positions were increased from 21 to 28ⁱ, while ministers of state/deputies amounted to 44. Out of 28 full cabinet positions, only seven are women representing 25%, while another 7 out of 44 ministers of state are women representing 16% (Government of Uganda, State House, 2006 ; Mukasa, 2006). New portfolios were created including one for ICT with a full cabinet position and another specifically for women, but under another ministry. This representation in ministerial appointments has been dismal.

Shadow cabinet

The shadow cabinet consists of twenty three (23) portfolios and out of these, eight (8) women occupy positions of responsibility as ministers which is an equivalent of 34.8%.

ⁱ Inclusive of the portfolio of the president and vice president.

3 Literature review

The major parts represented in this chapter are user studies and information behavior studies within the legislature and in organizational environments. However I wish to point out that reviews and analysis of pertinent studies connected with this investigation have been spread out in several areas within the thesis mainly due to their close proximity to support discussions in those contexts. The information environment of women, for instance has been blended within other aspects connected with information and the social situation of women in Uganda and this is placed within the background chapter. The theoretical chapter reflects another level of analysis of legislative studies on Africa and points out the absence of a gender dimension, the methods chapter incorporates specific reference to the perceived information needs of legislators and this was directly connected to the development of the interview instrument. However, this chapter will begin with evaluating the dominant approaches in Information behavior research and the shifting focus in which the study is situated.

3.1 Dominant approaches in Information behaviour research

In 1986, Dervin and Nilan analyzed information behavior research and observed that information needs research tended to be biased towards Information systems' rather than users. It reflected the traditional bibliographic paradigm. They noticed that the literature exhibited a conceptual and theoretical impoverishment that was manifest in regular calls to take advantage of theory from social sciences, cited from Menzel (1966) and consequently, research had failed to inform practice due to an insufficient theoretical base to guide the design of information systems and services. Wilson (1999) attributes this lack of theories partly to the positivist tradition of utilizing quantitative methods which he criticized for inappropriateness to the study of human behavior. He also critiqued the counting of things, like personal visits, to the library, number of personal subscriptions to journals and the number of items cited in papers as contributing minimally to the development of theory. Other limitations, he noted, included the tendency to ignore works in related areas of human behavior and the novel emergence of information behavior models. Research currently reflects a shift to a user centered approach (Kuhlthau, 1993) which Morris (1994) conceptualizes as 'one that regards information as something

in part constructed by users, and recognizes common traits which humans share in processing information and that views the contexts in which information needs arise or are pursued as significant factors guiding the design of systems and services'. Wilson (2000) traces this person centered approach to the 1980s, consequently necessitating methodological shifts from quantitative methods to qualitative inquiry, which this study adapts to as well. The adoption of qualitative methods is regarded as transformational in the study of human behavior in that it increases the likelihood of adopting models and theories from the social Sciences to the study of information behavior, coupled with the acceptance of models and theories proposed by researchers such as Dervin, Ellis, Kuhlthau and Wilson.

I will briefly highlight some of the approaches reflecting this shift which have also brought about theoretical developments. According to Pettigrew, Fidel and Bruce (2001)'s review of conceptual frameworks, they categorized them into three perspectives; the cognitive, the social and multifaceted approaches. The cognitive approach is classified as focusing fundamentally on the attributes of the individual and examines the cognitive and emotional motivations for information behavior that carry across contexts or are independent of contexts. One of the landmark studies in this cognitive structure was the longitudinal study by Kuhlthau who observed six (6) mental stages in seeking information (Pettigrew, Fidel & Bruce, 2001 pp 46, pp 49; Kuhlthau, 1993, 2005).

Another category pointed out by Pettigrew ... et al (2001 pp 54, 57) focuses on the social context and had been observed to have emerged in the 1990s, presumably developed to address information behavior perspectives, outside the realm of cognitive frameworks. Prominent amongst the social approaches is Elfreda Chatman, whose studies focused on the social aspects of everyday situations of populations on the margin.

The third category identified by Pettigrew .. et al (2001) is the multifaceted approach, which contends that one view point, cognitive or social is insufficient to describe, analyze, explain or predict information behavior. Several researchers are mentioned, including Bystrom & Javelin; Sonnenwald & Pierce; Rasmussen (Pettigrew ... (2001) pp 59 - 62).

These approaches indicate that 'there is a more diverse array of assumptions, approaches, theories and methods from which to choose' (Case 2007, pp 143) while engaging information behavior research, and Fisher, Erdelez, McKechnie (2005 pp xxi) also allude to these possibilities in their anthology of Information behavior theories. However, most studies of the studies have tended to focus on elite user populations. Case (2007 pp 250 - 284), for example, provides categories of occupations dominating

investigations in most information behavior studies. They include scientists and engineers, social scientists, humanities scholars, health care providers, managers, journalists and lawyers and Case describes them in thirty pages (pp 250 – 280). Case then provides under section 11.1.8 (pp 280 - 283) other occupations which inadvertently includes minority groups. Notable among these groups are the studies of the informal sector (fisherfolk, blacksmiths, carpenters and others) by Ikoja-Odongo and Ocholla (2003, 2004) and Chatman's studies of Janitors (Chatman, 1990). These are populations, whom Chatman earlier considered as yet to find a voice in the literature (Chatman 1999, pp 207).

Although legislators constitute an elite population, they are not mentioned anywhere in the occupational groups. In the subsequent section, I will review some of the studies that have been conducted amongst this group of people.

3.2 Information studies on the Legislature

Amongst this group, Shailendra and Prakash (2007) conducted a study on the members of the Legislative assembly in Delhi (India). They investigated the information needs and found that Legislators' information needs were unpredictable and also preferred non-documentary sources of information over documentary due to time constraints. Their awareness and use of the formal information structures was limited and the authors offered suggestions on how to rebuild the information infrastructure to make it more accessible and relevant to the legislators.

Serema's (1999) study too, aimed at assessing the information needs of Parliamentarians in the House of Commons and the extent to which they are addressed through the library services and the electronic networks in place.

Mostert (2004)'s study was attempting to highlight the role of information in parliamentary democracies using a South African case study and applying quantitative methods. One of the variables cited affecting information access was the level of education, Mostert found that the disadvantaged education environment/context of the black population during the apartheid era in which many Mps found themselves curtailed knowledge of and the skills to access, retrieve and utilize a variety of information sources. Respondents with only secondary school education were found not to be utilizing extensively the variety of information sources available. Information utilization is linked to democratic governance as a vital support for decision-making.

Marcella, Carcary & Baxter (1999) investigated attitudes amongst decision makers in the European Parliament to the role of information in their work and their ability to identify, access and evaluate that information most relevant to their needs. The key informants were United Kingdom members of the European Parliament. The study was evaluative in nature in terms of information retrieved from the system and unmet information needs as far as the existing systems were concerned and problems encountered. Findings suggested the most popular sources being unofficial, informal contacts and MEP's own files as opposed to official EU databases and services. Problems faced reflected an information overload and time constraints. The methodology used was quantitative using a survey postal questionnaire.

Yet another study was carried out by Orton, Marcella and Baxter (2000) to observe the information seeking behavior of members of the European Parliament with regards to their use of the Parliamentary documentation center. One of their significant findings was a lack of awareness for the European Parliament's information service, including a legislator who had been in Parliament for over thirty (30) years.

Marcella, Baxter and Moore (2002) carried out another study focusing on the appropriateness, approachability and utility of information and communications technologies (ICTs) in delivering Parliamentary information to the general public and in encouraging the public to interact with government. They observed and gathered data on the behavior of end users in respect to navigation around web based technologies.

Other literature on the legislature emanates from librarians/staff and they include one by Tanfieldⁱ (1995) who was emphasizing the need for Parliamentary libraries to evaluate and assess their services and she points out several techniques of achieving this. Brianⁱⁱ (2004)'s article, was highlighting the various information services as well as the general operations of the library in addressing the needs of legislators.

Yet another article by Xue^{iv} (2005), details China's legislative system, its reforms in the past years and subsequent increase in legislative publications and ways of access.

In conclusion, while reviewing these studies, they have tended to focus on finding out information needs and information seeking behaviour and mostly reflect information behaviour from the formal information channels. These studies do not reflect any theoretical underpinnings that would

ⁱ Librarian at the House of Commons (United Kingdom)

ⁱⁱ Parliamentary librarian at the Parliament of New South Wales, (Sydney - Australia)

^{iv} Librarian at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Co

facilitate a conceptual understanding of this group of users, nor do they incorporate a gender perspective. There is a concentration on the rationale for Parliaments to have information and ways of delivering the services (Serema, 1999), or an administrative approach (Marcella, 2007). Indeed as Marcella (2007) observes, some of the literature on the legislative information behavior has emanated from library staff rather than independent research studies. Nevertheless, they are significant for my study in that they have highlighted common themes within the general information environment of legislators, for example time constraints and the need for summarized information. Studies conducted on the western world also reflect a long tradition of library services in Parliament and democracy.

However, my study focuses on women Parliamentarians in reflection of their shift in social status from a marginal to a more public position. Drawing from LIS studies, I find Chatman's studies appealing, first in their consideration of the social context in which information users are located and how these situations mould and shape information behavior. Chatman's interest is also in her choice of study objects on the fringe of society. Marginal populations have been less studied as elites dominate information behavior research, as earlier pointed out. Chatman carried out several studies on the information environments of populations that were situated on the periphery and they included the elderly women at Garden towers, the incarcerated and the Janitors. Some of the information characteristics that she found amongst these populations included situations where people knew that important, relevant and potentially useful information existed but these people chose to ignore it due to the social costs attached to its access. She also noted that some of the people in the marginal/small worlds could choose to ignore information if they perceive that their world was functioning without it (Chatman, 1999, Pettigrew, Fidel & Bruce, 2001 pg 55). This study is not so much for people living in their small worlds, but I am adapting and exploring with Chatman's social approach within a new and different environment by focusing on the social context and its influences. Specifically, I seek to reflect on the information challenges that may be encountered in the women's translocation from a private disadvantaged world status to supposedly one of greater opportunities. This framework has not been applied to any of the legislative studies reviewed. Perhaps as a starting point, I will examine studies on the information environment of women and also find out whether there could be any similarities in information behavior with Chatman's study objects that were living in restricted environments.

There is not much information about the women's qualitative experience as they interact with Information sources as they transcend to major organizational environments to enable drawing of plausible conclusions. However, the studies below reveal highlights on possible information behavior of women in such circumstances.

3.2.1 Gender studies in organizational settings

Within this category, a study set out to determine whether gender affected use, preference and value of information sources in the context of a single, large professional organization. This study noted a few gender differences at the highest organizational level (partners, managers), but considerable gender differences at lower organizational levels (professional field staff, secretarial and support). Findings showed that women more often than men tended to use all information types including Interpersonal and official company publications. This was attributed their perception of being new comers, minorities and organizational outsiders, thus the motivation to utilize all information in order to feel successful and effective (Burke, 2001). This study utilizing a quantitative approach, recommended further research to respond to explanatory issues regarding value and preference.

Mabawonku (2006)'s study on the information environment of Nigerian women in the public service found a correlations to their tasks and also identified, governance, religion, family, domestic matters and human rights among their information needs. The lowest ranked included leisure, recreation, housing and property, business, current affairs, commerce and credit. The most common information sources were colleagues, radio, television, the library and published materials like newspapers and magazines. Access to ICT services, like fax, e-mail, computers and internet was limited mostly by location.

In conclusion, these studies of Burke (2001) and Mabawonku (2006) are specifically relevant for this study as they demonstrate some of the information issues for women who have crossed over to a mainstream environment. While Burke's study exhibited a propensity to conform to the prevailing information environment, by actively utilizing all available sources, in a way of proving themselves as outsiders, or as in the quotation depicting 'outsiders who wept more than the bereaved'; Mabawonku's displayed at least one aspect of preference for sources within proximity, that also features with other marginal groups, like Ikoja's study of the informal sector.

I will conclude this chapter with a review of information studies specific to the African context. Some of these findings are also illuminated in the theoretical chapter.

3.3 Studies of Legislative information behaviour in Africa

In this section, I will analyze what I perceive to be pertinent LIS studies on the legislature in the African context.

3.3.1 Legislative studies in Africa

In Africa there have been very few studies conducted by professional researchers and they include one in Botswana by Thapisa (1996), another on the Ghanaian Parliament by Alemna and Skouby (2000) and third in South Africa by Mostert in 2004.

I will start with a review of the earliest study by Thapisa formerly from the University of Botswana. The context of the study reflects that at the time of the investigation, (August 1994), the Botswana national assembly consisted of forty (40) legislators, with only one woman legislator. The study was conducted as a pilot quantitative scheme and aimed at finding out the information needs of Mps in Botswana, information sources, the degree of assistance in satisfying their needs, the adequacy of the Parliamentary library and suggestions for improvements. Data collection was through questionnaires, but the response rate was only eleven (11) out of 40 (27.5%) and this excluded the female representative. Findings indicated that newspapers, government departments, personal contacts and fellow parliamentarians were the most popular information sources for legislators. His findings further pointed out that few legislators were making important decisions without adequate information, due to the insufficient provision of information. However, in terms of the gender dimension to this study, Thapisa professed his inability to obtain a response from the only female legislator at that time, so the study does not highlight any female information behaviour in the national assembly.

The second study was conducted on Ghanaian legislators by Alemna & Skouby, (2000). It endeavoured to find out legislators' information needs and information seeking behaviour and the adequacy of library services. The methods of data collection included a questionnaire and library visits. The findings indicated peak periods for information needs for example when preparing for debates. The low level ranking reflected preparations for constituency inquiries. Findings further revealed a low level of electronic information usage in Parliament and less satisfaction for Parliamentary

library services. With regards to Government related information (information from ministries and departments), the majority of the Mps (72%) expressed a desire to receive information in summarized form, while approximately 16% wanted information in its original form, and the rest preferred information to be explained to them. Although this study provides insights into information needs and information sources, as a quantitative study, there is not much mention individual contexts of information behaviour.

It also reflected more on the usage of formal sources. The context of the constituency has received less attention. In addition, the findings are not segregated in any way by gender. The only indication provided of representation in the sample is that the majority of respondents (72%) were male, so presumably the remaining 28% were female, but there is no candid mention of female respondents. It is therefore difficult to draw inferences on the information behaviour of women respondents. The study did not focus on the descriptive statistics on the respondents. In the case of female representation, Ghana, as a country, only implemented legislative quotas earlier in 1961, but they are not operationalⁱ as platforms for women's entry, so it can be assumed that the ascension to Parliament would be through regular means by both sexes. Information obtained from the world Parliamentary bodyⁱⁱ on women in the legislature for the 1996ⁱⁱⁱ elections indicate that the Ghanaian parliament consisted of 18 women out of two hundred members, (18/200) which represents a percentage of 9 (9%).

A third study on Africa was carried out by Mostert and Ocholla (2004) to find out the information needs and information seeking behaviour of parliamentarians in South Africa. The aim was to investigate parliamentary information sources, systems and services and determine the role that is played by parliamentary information services in the country. Their data collection instrument was a self administered questionnaire and they state their rationale for this choice including the diverse geographical locations of their respondents, inability to access respondents through work environment due to security reasons and busy schedules. The target group was all parliamentarians in South Africa, numbering 763, but only managed to get 167 or 23%. This is the only study that reflects a conceptual framework in

ⁱ Tripp, Aili M. (2003). The changing face of Africa's legislatures: women and quotas; paper presented at the International Institute for democracy and electoral assistance (IDEA/Electoral institute of Southern Africa (EISA)/ Southern African development community (SADC) parliamentary forum conference.

ⁱⁱ Interparliamentary Union; <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif200501.htm>

ⁱⁱⁱ Although Alemna and Skouby's article does not indicate the dates when the study was carried out, the date provided on the questionnaire indicates 1999, so the study could possibly be reflecting the election of December 1996, since the subsequent one was carried out in December 2000.

the investigation and adapted Wilson's 1999 model. They however critiqued it for its failure to accommodate third parties as information intermediaries and if translated to the Parliamentarians' schedules, these would include librarians, researchers and personal assistants, as people that could be assigned to seek information on behalf of Mps. Mostert and Ocholla thus modify Wilson's model to include both individual or own parliamentarian's information seeking and that performed through the intermediaries.

While their study brings out insights into the information behaviour of legislators, it does not provide any information on gender distinctions. They only indicated earlier on that out of the 763 parliamentarians, 33% (approximately 252 members) are women, but there is not mention on the number of female participants in the study. South Africa is also one of the countries that implemented legislative quotas for women, therefore a particular percentage of women are on the affirmative seat. Just like the study carried out by Alemla and Skouby (2000) it is similarly difficult to discern from these findings what kind of information behaviour accrues to women parliamentarians.

These studies also utilize quantitative methods, due to various reasons including inaccessibility of respondents and contexts for direct observations. I thus infer that the experiences of women legislators in institutions where they had no prior existence and the challenges they are likely to encounter could best be elicited through a qualitative inquiry with a social or context based approach. The social approach, also championed by Chatman focuses on the social aspects and environment of information seeking, rather than the cognitive aspects (Pettigrew, Fidel, Bruce, 2001). My presumption is that this approach is more likely to reveal the gendered patterns of interaction.

4 Theoretical underpinnings for the study

The study mainly concerns access to information as a fundamental component in the integration of women in mainstream politics and within Library and Information Science, this falls within the broader research area of human information behaviour. However, I will start this chapter with a brief discussion on the historical context through which the issues of women's representation are situated.

4.1 Women's marginalization in politics: possible explanations

Women in Uganda as probably elsewhere in the world had been previously restricted in activities of the public sphere of mainstream politics, even though population statistics reveal a higher numerical presence compared to menⁱ. Several reasons are advanced for this state of affairs, and the subsequent section will highlight some perspectives both at the international level, but more focused on the African context.

On the global scene, Duncan (2001) provides an analysis on the possible rationale in the obscuration of women in politics. She asserts that this was initially attributed to 'their' disinterest and incompatibility to public office and that their political attitudes were regarded as more resonant with compassion than tough mindedness, communal and public interest than individualistic or self interest, which would consequently translate to legislative patterns like supporting welfare, arms control, leniency on capital punishment and social services. Duncan castigates this presentation of women as ill suited to conventional politics as essentialist and based on justifications for separate and complimentary spheres for men and women. These explanations, also considered to be biological, were later discarded in favour of socialization and acknowledgement of social pressures to conform to traditional gender roles. Feminists argued that the real constraints lay in recognizing and appreciating the interconnectedness of gender and power and in acknowledging the gender role socialization as activating the maintenance of the separate spheres for men and women (Duncan, 2001).

In Africa, however, disempowerment of women appears to be situated within the imperialistic political processes of colonialism and post colonialism. There are arguments that the western conceptions of gender

ⁱ In Uganda, women represent 51.4% of the total population, but occupy only 26% of the national decision making positions.

apportioned women only the most restricted public role (Muhumuza 2004; Cammack, Pool & Tordoff, 1993). This contention is backed by Boahen's (1987, pp 107) assertions that, for example, few women were ever appointed to a 'European post'; that there was never a female governor of a colony and that women were reduced to petty trade and farming. On the other hand, there are arguments that women exerted some power and decision making authority in the pre-colonial period. Byanyima (1992), one of the authors who analyzed this phase claimed that the public and private spheres were fused together and women had important roles and more decision making authority, which accorded them indirect power through relationships with brothers, sons and clan members, and that this bestowed upon them some control to transform their conditions. The political and judicial structures are alleged to have been uncomplicated and accessible through decentralized clan-states, often depending on personal relationships which women could influence (Byanyima, 1992). Taking Uganda as an example, Byanyima (1992) asserts that the colonial period, lasting sixty eight (68) years, caused the collapse of these small-scale personal state structures, mostly accomplished through the centralization of power to a British governor. The political and judicial powers of former clan elders and kings, were eventually usurped as new administrative structures were drawn up, for example, Law, security, administration of land, animals, forests and many others, which were almost always headed by men. She claims that this initiated the notion of the public sphere which was government related and the 'private' sphere which was family. The British structures and policies reflected an ideology that perceived men as public actors and women as private performers (Tamale, 2000, cited in Byanyima, 2000, pg.9). Okonjo (1976) and Parpart (1988) claim, that this legacy of single sex politics, adopted and exploited by post independence governments dominated by African men, continued with the stratification of society based on their authority and that this explains the absence of women from meaningful political representation.

4.1.1 Rationale for the inclusion of women

There are contentions that the decline in the social positioning of African women would only be rectified if more women occupied positions of leadership and authority in society, for example as members of Parliament and as ministers (Cammack, Pool & Tordoff, 1993). Other discussions on the proper justification for their participation and legitimacy in mainstream politics hold that women occupy a distinct position within society, but they tend to be concentrated in low paid jobs and take on the primarily

unremunerated duties of caring for others. Thus their experiences are considered to give rise to particular needs, interests, concerns, which cannot be adequately addressed and ought not to be left in the hands of legislative bodies dominated by men (Whip, 1991; Phillips, 1995, pp 66), since their (male) control has often translated into laws, policies and spending patterns mostly of benefit to themselves (Ochwada, 1997). Women would hence contribute their distinctive perspectives, concerns, agenda and new ways of thinking about issues into the platform of public policy and law to promote their traditional and feminist interests (Tamale, 1999, pp 142-143; Tripp, 2000, pp 141). This approach would presumably change politics for the better and most especially for women (Stephenson, 2004). Other arguments are based on consideration for democratic principles and equality in political representation and participation. This is reflected in two aspects of their situation as a historically marginalized group and secondly in terms of population distribution. Women often make up half of most national populations and this necessitates a need for more equal representation (Whip, 1991; Mama, 1995).

In addition, women have participated in most liberation struggles, including the Ugandan case of the National Resistance Army/Movement (NRA/M), so incorporating them into post liberation governments can be regarded as a form of recognition for their contribution (Byanyima, 1992; Cammack, Pool & Tordoff, 1993; Matembe, 1995).

4.2 Insiders and outsiders

With the background of women's exclusion, the rationale for a legitimate position in the public realm and the continued endeavours to facilitate and sustain this status, I have opted to situate my study within the theoretical postulations of insiders and outsiders. This approach was derived from several researchers, (Chatman, 1996, pp 194) but the most notable attribution was to Merton (1972, 1996) and his discussion on the sociology of knowledge (Chatman, 1996, pp 194; Wilson, 1983, pp 3). Merton adopted this perspective or doctrine, as he preferred, when analyzing the social factors surrounding beliefs and knowledge claims, which emerge or intensify under particular circumstances of social change and polarization in society. He also related it to earlier concepts like ethnocentrism and chauvinism. Ethnocentrism, developed by Sumner, is interpreted as a perception of one's group as the centre of everything or knowing, while others get scaled and rated with reference to it, while chauvinism takes to the extreme in glorifying a social formation. Merton asserts that this acute form

was evident in World War I, when German scholars and scientists' renounced and discredited the academic and intellectual works of their 'enemies', and that this was done as a sign of preference to their status as nationals, rather than as scientists (Merton, 1972, pp 17 - 18). Yet another term within the same conceptual terrain is egocentrism, mentioned by Patrick Wilson (1983). He does not provide an operational definition, but there is a general understanding from his examples, connoting an obsession with self (Patrick Wilson, 1983, pp 4-5). Thus, the common denominator connecting these concepts is the tendency for a perceived exclusive right to particular knowledge in a moment in time.

If we get back to the insiders and outsiders, Merton presents the assumptions underlying this perspective using a simple analogy 'you have to be one in order to understand one' and that one can have monopolistic or privileged access to knowledge or be excluded from it by virtue of group membership or social position. This same idea is also alluded to by Wilson in his propositions that our experience and knowledge of the social world depends on how we are located in time and in space and in the network of social relationships (Wilson, 1983, pp 5). Thus, according to Merton, an insider could also be perceived as an insider, endowed with special insight into matters which are not easily discernible by others. They are members of specified groups and collectivities, or occupants of specified social statuses, also defined as categories in the social structure. An outsider, on the other hand is a non member and the inherent assumptions in the doctrine are such that the outsider has a 'structurally imposed incapacity to comprehend alien groups, statuses, cultures and societies'. Unlike the insider, the outsider has neither been socialized in the group, nor has the everyday experience that makes up its life and thus cannot have the direct intuitive sensibility that would facilitate an empathic understanding and access to knowledge in the insider groups could come at a greater risk and cost. Merton further affirms that it would only be possible through continued socialization where one becomes fully aware of the symbolisms and socially shared realities, the meanings of behaviour, feelings and value, the unwritten grammar of conduct and the nuances of cultural idiom' (Merton, 1972, 21, 1996, p. 246, 247, 251) and possibly the information practices that keep this group together.

The insider doctrine emerges under conditions of polarization in social structures, which get reflected in claims to intellectual and ideological domain, as groups fight to monopolize claims to the interpretation of public reality. Some of the suggested examples of empirical applications include choices in the foci of interest for researchers and research problems, for

example, Negro sociologists studying Negro problems and race relations and women sociologists investigating problems of women. The presumption would be that these insiders share the deepest concerns of the group, or are thoroughly aware of them, and their inquiries would be relevant to those concerns. Outsiders would probably differ in their outlook, since they would be occupying different places in the social structure. Each group would thus possess a monopoly of knowledge about itself. (This view is also implicit in feminist methodologies). Challenges are pointed out, especially when the interpretation moves beyond the boundaries of the ingroup/insiders to be accepted by outsiders (Merton, 1972, pp 15, 16, 19), or whether newly created knowledge could be trusted or taken as such (Wilson, 1983, pp 53).

When I relate the insider/outsider approach to information studies, there are strong ties with issues of access to information, which is presumed to be situational (Merton (1972, 1996; Wilson 1983). Wilson (1983, pp 149) propagates that ‘... the things one is informed about and the questions on which one has views are influenced by social location’ or in Merton’s terms, whether you are part of the group/insider or situated on the outcast/outsider. Within the field of LIS, in which my study is located; one notable researcher, Chatman, drew from the same theoretical foundation developed by Merton, to empirically investigate the information behaviour exhibited by people in marginalized situations. She developed frameworks of studying information flows of individuals in very restrictive circumstances (in prison, retirement homes and in low paid jobs – the janitors). She explored how these people acquire and use information to reshape, redefine and reclaim their social reality (Chatman, 1996 p.195). Her rationale for adopting this perspective is vested in its central focus on access and acquisition of knowledge (Chatman, 1996, pg 194). It also illuminated the distinctions in “knowledge awareness, acquisition, definition and use” (Chatman, 1996, pg 194). She pointed out some of the elements consistent in the literature that ‘insiders’ lived experiences are shaped by the fact that they share a common cultural, social, religious perspective’ and that these common experiences provide expected norms of behaviour and ways to approach the world.

In the same way, just like Wilson’s (1983, pp 149) postulation, the social positioning of one as an insider defines and determines what is worth paying attention to and what is not. When she applied this conceptualization to her studies of information and poverty, three other concepts evolved, including secrecy, deception and risk-taking. Secrecy developed from the assumption that the relevance of information could be suspect if it originates from outside the group (from outsiders). Deception was a form of concealing information from those on the outside and risk taking was a self protective

measure against unwarranted intrusion of an insider's life. These aspects were observed for example in the study of aging women in Garden towers, who exhibited informational tendencies like shielding themselves from needed resources often held by members outside their cultural and social boundaries as a self protective mechanism in order to appear to be normal, and therefore avoid being institutionalized elsewhere.

In my analysis of Chatman's approach, she seemed to have maintained to some degree this insider/outsider as a dichotomy in her study objects since they tended to be confined by their circumstances, their outlook restricted and options limited. An example is taken from some of the women in the prison environment, where information from fellow insiders tended to be valued as a catalyst for changing behaviour to suit the prison environment, especially since there were minimal opportunities of changing the circumstances and little use for information from the outer world (Chatman, 1999, pp 208, 215). In the discussion, there are parallel references to outsiders as marginalized and an example is the study of CETA (Comprehensive training and employment act) women. These women were temporary workers who had got into an employment setting where rules and social norms regarding work and behaviour had long been established. They were viewed by permanent employees with suspicion, since their entry requirements were different. As a consequence, they were shunned by permanent employees and they could neither socialize nor share work related information with them that would increase opportunities of becoming permanent. These women remained outsiders within their employment due to the closure of avenues of mutual support and acceptability.

In conclusion, the inference drawn from Chatman's use of the insider/outsider approach is that it served as an analytical tool, which facilitated illumination of distinctions in information choices by respondents in margined environments. Their information choices were dependant on how members perceived and related to those within their groups (insiders) with whom they shared the same status and those outside their group (outsiders). These relationships, in addition to their personal attitude towards those circumstances, determined which information to accept, reject or conceal.

However, if we go back to Merton's conceptualization, he affirms that structurally, the extreme form of this dichotomy only holds for small aggregate populations sharing the same status sets, (I take the example of prisoners and women in nursing homes, with very limited freedom of choice as demonstrated by Chatman and whose life circumstances left them with very limited associational capabilities, but with a rather stable and to some

degree predictable environment) as there is a tendency for individuals to be both insiders and outsiders, members of some groups and not others, occupants of certain statuses which exclude us from occupying other statuses. He thus infers that individuals do not have a single status but a status-set, which he interprets as an amalgamation of various interrelated statuses interacting and affecting behaviour and perspectives, neither status having primacy over the other. Differing situations consequently activate different statuses, thus dominating over rival claims of other statuses. We can deduce that the greater the number of group affiliations, the less a particular group would have in common and the less the dichotomy and this is likely to be more probable and applicable within this study of women legislators.

In the subsequent section, I will relate the insider/outsider approach used here and show case for its relevance in studying women in the legislature.

4.2.1 Outsider/insider perspective and women in the legislature

While in LIS studies, Chatman applied this framework to marginalized groups, she proposed in her keynote address in 2001, that it is possible to expand and adapt the same approach to a different environment. I perceived this launch to be a broader applicability of her framework, from the empirical focus of small, marginalized worlds, where life was played on a small stage, and useful information obtained from small places, to address issues of the wider world. Her central contention was that “problems can arise when marginalized populations seek a more central place in a dominant society”. When I reformulated this postulation to suit my research, I have posed this question: ‘what happens when a previously marginalized group becomes part of the mainstream? This proposition symbolized a departure from studying information aspects within the confined realm to a broader, less restricted and public sphere. I found this challenge to be of critical relevance in conceptualizing information issues amongst women legislators, and with reference to the main theoretical anchor of insiders and outsiders, my point of departure reflects this similar exploratory stance: ‘what happens when a previously restricted and less represented group, which I conceptualize to have been outsiders, seeks a more central place in a dominant society of mainstream politics?’ ‘What are the information implications?’ ‘How does the social context of legislation impact on the information access and utilization possibilities for this group?’

Although Chatman does not provide any methodological directions for this approach, she however, alludes to a need to understand the cultural, educational and social norms fundamental to this greater social world. Do

the outsiders become more 'zealous than insiders in adhering to the doctrine of the group' (Merton, 1972, pp 20, 1996, pp 251) or stated metaphorically in another way, 'do they weep more than the bereaved'ⁱ, as the example from a study of the information behaviour of women in a professional organization in which women at the higher organizational level were found to be more actively engaged in utilizing all the available information channels and types, which Burke (2001) attributed to their perception of being outsiders (new comers and minorities) and thus a need to do more to prove their worth and effectiveness. Or alternatively are they likely to cling to their own groups for support?

If we get back to the earlier discussion of Merton's conceptualization of outsiders and insiders, the gist of the discussion centred on access to information and claims to knowledge. The issue of social location was pointed out by Merton, Chatman and Wilson, as a determinant of what one has access to. In the case of women legislators, having been earlier socially excluded from the dominant public platform, I propose that there is reasonable ground to assume that there could be implications in adaptation when previous boundaries are transcended, and possibly challenges in access to information pertaining to the operation of this world. This deduction is construed from the allusion to the prisoners in Chatman's studies who held an imperfect view of the larger world. Women legislators as well had not shared the everyday reality of this larger political world. The assumption inherent in these contentions holds that access to information of the inside world of politics would be central into becoming fully integrated as insiders. Although there are several studies that have investigated the information behaviour of legislators, none of them have considered this conceptual approach.

Within the African context, three studies of relevance have featured and they include: Thapisa (1996) on the Botswana legislature, Alemna and Skouby (2000) on the Ghanaian parliament and Mostert and Ocholla (2004) on the South Africa parliament. These studies utilize quantitative methods, allegedly due to reasons of inaccessibility of respondents and contexts and also do not explicitly exhibit any theoretical grounding, except for Mostert and Ocholla who modified Wilson's 1999 model. Additionally, they are all reticent on the gender issues. Only Thapisa appeared to take note of it when he pointed out his inability to interview the only female respondent in the legislature at that time, but, the other two studies of Alemna & Skouby and

ⁱ There is an often used metaphor of an outsider who wept more or cried louder than the bereaved.

Mostert & Ocholla make neither mention of the number of female respondents in their sample nor indicate their contributions, making it difficult to discern and draw inferences on women's access to information in the context of African parliaments. This absence or lack of distinctions of the women's perspective in these studies, additionally feeds into the feminist arguments against research that is not cognisant of gender aspects. This is allegedly due to what they label as sexist assumptions fed into these investigations, which challenge the philosophical bases of the knowledge or truth claims generated from these findings (Sismondo, 2005, pp 128-129). These studies create an impression that both women and men at the mainstream level are confronted with equal opportunities, without much regard on the contexts.

None of the LIS studies on the legislature in Africa have adopted a social or context based approach as a conceptual framework or evaluated the information behaviour of women as a gender category and my inference is that this approach would be more pertinent in soliciting and understanding differences in information behaviour. There have been sufficient investigations carried out in other disciplines of sociology and political science about women's distinctive experiences in politics. These studies critique the impact of women's platforms of entry, the fast track approach (Dahlerup, 2006) through legislative quotas or affirmative action as is the case for Uganda, in empowering and subsequently enabling evenness amongst historically marginalized groups. Tamale (2003) predicated that placing women in positions of leadership and authority without simultaneously removing the practical and structural obstacles that hinder their effectiveness does not help much as it only adds them to an existing status quo, leaving their inequalities and discrimination intact. This is a view that was as well shared by Tripp (2000, pp 159) in her studies of women's organizations, when she pointed out that:

it is not sufficient simply to have more female faces in various public institutions to incorporate women's interests, the basic rules that drive these bodies need to be re-engineered, along with the conditions under which women enter the political/public arena.

Tripp proposed that this would require a change in the relationship between public and private spheres.

Through these studies, a common theme is that existing political institutions and contexts impose specific challenges to women, and these challenges can be construed to impact on their possibilities in accessing and utilizing information within the mainstream environment. Thus studying the information behavior of women ought to incorporate a prior understanding

of the political environment under which they operate. To illustrate my propositions, I will highlight studies which denote strong bearings on the information behaviour of women in political institutions. One of these investigations was carried out within the local councils, by Ahikire and Madanda (2002) and another one by Tamale (1999) on the national legislature (Ugandan). In the first example, I regard local councils as some form of mini parliaments consisting of elected representatives, a chairperson and a speaker. They are institutional structures, just like the national legislature, where affirmative action has been applied to bring women on board and they can be regarded as training grounds for women in politics, which situate them in a position of a bridge through which women can become conversant with the public sphere.

This study carried out in 2002, (Ahikire and Madandaⁱ) on behalf of Denivaⁱⁱ on women councilors in four regional districts in Uganda and the findings point to organizational and information issues that were encountered by women in what were supposed to be their ‘learning grounds’ for the transition to public life. The first part relays institutional/organizational culture and within the second portion, information implications are highlighted, however some of the factors raised are interconnected:

Organizational factors

Among organizational factors included: unfair rules and practices and the gender unfriendly organizational culture; that the way business in the councils was determined remained obscure to some councilors with particular emphasis on women councilors; the formal way in which council meetings were held tended to discourage those with little exposure; the use of English as a medium of communication and documentation of records challenged councilors with lower education standards. Women also encountered limited facilitation in comparison with their large constituencies, had inadequate public presentation skills and the networking opportunities were restricted due to their gender roles.

ⁱ Both Dr. Ahikire and Mr Madanda are faculty members in the department of Women studies, Makerere University

ⁱⁱ Deniva stands for Development networks of indigenous voluntary associations in Uganda.

Issues connected with access to information

The costs of accessing information centrally from districts or sub-county offices, was discouraging for women with less economic power; the big volumes of documents distributed at short notice made councilors unable to conceptualize them fast enough to contribute substantially to debates. There was an underdeveloped information system where most information was passed on through personal networking and this method was found to be less suitable for those, in this case women, with minimal political contacts. On the other hand, alternative structures of information dissemination and networking for women, the women councils were not functional due to inadequate funding. The limited networking capabilities also resonate with Molyneux's (2002) observations in her studies on the gendered dimension inherent in social capital. In her analysis, she contends that power relations within societies tend to be reflected and reproduced by social networks and that women often find that they do not belong to the kinds of networks that bring economic advantage, as in the case of business opportunities and political favours, since valuable contacts typically operate through male-in-groups, in masculine social spaces which tended to exclude women. She also pointed out that the networks depended on time and resources whose accessibility was gender related.

The findings suggest that even within the peripheral establishments that were set up as preparatory training grounds for women to take up high office, women tend to be bogged down by inexperience, gender roles and unsupportive structures which limit their information access possibilities and effective decision making. Could some of these challenges be reflected in the mainstream environment? Tamale's (1999, pp 119-120) study earlier on in the Ugandan legislature had also taken note of one example of inexperience and an insufficient information infrastructure, at that time, coupled with minimal information skills, which specifically challenged women, as previous outsiders and it is expressed in a quotation by one of her respondents.

We were going to Parliament for the first time, while many of our male colleagues had been there before at different stages of Uganda's political life and are skilled orators, you know. Their lives were a kind of big bank of knowledge and information ... Now you get the newer people who don't really have the basic skills of debating. There is no facility for research .. and I think it would be ideal to give us office space or a desk to work from ... you find .. quality of debate .. is lacking. And with women it's even worse. (Rosette, Ikote, AA)

These studies indicate that affirmative action, which is also the major platform utilized for facilitating entry for women in the Ugandan legislature, does not necessarily equal to real power and this creates the impression that women could still remain sidelined and marginalized even in the mainstream. I wish to highlight some of the observations that have been deduced from the literature about the experiences of Ugandan women legislators, which further pre-empt the conceptual classification of outsiders. They were not socialized to aspire for the mainstream, so their experience in public policy making is limited. Byanyimaⁱ (in Tanzam, 1996) asserts that they are coming from zero, there is no preparation both at home and at school, tend to have no contacts or skills, are less confident and in some instances do not even know how to start a political network. The implication drawn from this cultural socialization is that it possibly shaped their view of the larger world, the public sphere in narrow, limited terms. There could be a parallel with the 'locals' portrayed in Merton's (1968, pp. 447) observation of patterns of influence. The local was described as one with an orientation and interests geared towards local issues and problems.

Another observation impinges on the main stream structure. It is claimed that women have been added on to a structure of patriarchy, whose rules had long been established by men, with male norms, qualities and privilege still considerably steering the culture which permeates the decision making world (Tamale 1999). This could also be related to Chatman's CETA [Comprehensive training and employment Act] (1996, pp 204) women discussed earlier in this chapter, who came into an employment environment where social norms concerning work behaviours had been deeply established and entrenched. In their situation, the adaptation process was not very successful, thus they were further alienated through exclusion from crucial (job related) information and eventually relegated to an outsider status.

They had been previously underrepresented so there is not much information about women's involvement to learn from.

The social expectations and responsibilities in the private domain remain the same, so their socially constructed gender roles permeate and interfere with their public roles.

The majority of women in Parliament have been brought on board through affirmative action/quotas, which has not only accorded them larger (amorphous) constituencies and an unclear representative role, but has brought about the perception of being regarded as 'tokens'. In the Ugandan

ⁱ Byanyima was a legislator on a non affirmative seat in the 5th (1989-1995), 6th (1996 – 2001) and 7th (2001-2006) Parliaments

case, Tamale (1999) argues that women became more beholden to the powers that brought them on board than to their 'real' cause.

These observations are also compounded in the feminist theorization of the political. They argue that masculinity (a male attribute and in this case, in its traditional forms) and men tended to define modern political theory and practice, (Tamale 1999, and Frazer 1998). Politics is equated to a distinction between public and private and the political and non political spheres. In analytical terms, this presumably translates into a contrast between men and women; their respective forms of life between masculinity and femininity; which can not be conceptualized as a relationship of equals but of superiority and inferiority, of value and disvalue. Thus the likelihood that disadvantage in the private or domestic or personal realms would be spilled over into the public and political worlds (Fraser, 1998). Bryson, (1999) also further contends that both women and men do not interact on the same terms, rather as individuals who relate to these public spheres as a man and a woman. This, accordingly implies that a man can be himself in the public sphere for his sex, while women can only be admitted if they abandon their female identity and are expected to speak 'like men' rather than as women, as womanly concerns or forms of expression have been deemed inferior and inadmissible in the public sphere. Thus qualities and experiences associated with men like the combative debating style and trade union, business or military experience are seen as political assets and those associated with women such as conciliatory skills and setting up a playgroup or running a home, as not. The aggressive style of Parliamentary politics is also construed as an affirmation of a tough man's world. In conclusion, I propose in this study that the information behaviour of women in mainstream politics ought to be construed against the background of this qualitative experience in politics. Some of the issues that are being addressed in this research include responding to questions, for example; what impact these shortcomings and structural impediments, within the context of legislation and representation, would have on their ability to access information and also to transform themselves into a dominant inside force in mainstream politics. This access would involve both formal and informal settings and to both formal and informal information and in attempting to address this query, I have focused on the information behaviour of these legislators both in the National legislature and at the constituency level. Another aspect of significance is also finding out how women position themselves in this public arena, and this would be significant since the issue of location and positioning have been pointed out by Merton, (1972, 1996), Chatman (1996) and Wilson (1983) as

determinants to information access. Several questions are posed on possibilities; Are there any critical points, as women intersect with this sphere, which may impose barriers to information access and inadvertently hinder women from becoming fully insiders? If so, how do women manoeuvre to maximize their information possibilities?

5 Methods

This section provides both an introduction and summary of methodological techniques utilized in the study.

As indicated earlier, the central proposition that motivated this study was construed from a statement in Chatman's 2001 inaugural lecture on libraries, change and marginalized populations. Chatman seemed to reflect on practical problems of integration, when she stated that there would be challenges in comprehending the cultural, educational and social norms fundamental to the greater social world, but does not necessarily make inferences on what the information consequences could be. When I translate this proclamation to my research on women legislators, I pose a similar broad question, but in a slightly different sequence: 'what happens when a previously less represented group/gender becomes part of the mainstream? What would be the information implications, as they try to assert themselves in a dominant society?'

However, even though Chatman's proposition could be seen as pointing towards a shift and a new direction away from her contextual focus on small, marginalized groups, in terms of translating these novel proposals to an empirical setting, no plausible indications are provided on the methodological direction. In her earlier studies, she had applied an ethnographic approach, with participant observer as one of the data collection techniques. Through this technique, she immersed herself in activities of her respondents, presumably to be able to take note of subtle motivational forces contributory to the behavior she was observing (Chatman, 1992, pg 3), but an exact methodological match for my study did not really fit, due to two main challenges. One of them was expounded by the Parliamentary structure itself, which tended to reinforce some hierarchical boundaries and often set limits on the possibilities of interaction and participation. Secondly, respondents' schedules exhibited a degree of unpredictability, making it impossible to follow through on a regular basis. These limitations therefore hampered the original methodological strategy of observing Mps in their entire working environment. The circumstances of collecting data will later expound on these constraints.

Nevertheless, where plausible, I adopted some of the techniques, but the main data collection tool was in-depth interviews. Other techniques included observations, documentary and media sources (radio and newspapers) which in this case could be regarded as a way of methodological triangulation

(Patton, 2002, pp. 247; Johnson, 2001, pp 104). I carried out extensive in-depth interviews with legislators to gather data on almost their entire legislative experience in their various contexts, their self organization, information options and choices and information challenges. It was also found to be necessary to interview other non legislative people to expound on some of the issues that had been raised in the interviews. These respondents included contacts from their constituency offices, as well as the Local council leaders. Other interviews were conducted with parliamentary library and research staff, geared at uncovering the information behavior of Mps from the perspective of the intermediaries. From the Parliament's administrative services, I carried out two interviews, one reflecting the overall organizational structure of Parliament, which also included the structure of the 8th Multiparty Parliament, and the second with an administrative assistant (information assistant) in charge of a hierarchically situated legislator, to examine what I presumed to be information advantages/privileges embedded in particular portfolios within the legislature and what occupying particular statuses in the mainstream implies in terms of information access.

I also interviewed an official from the Women Parliamentary Association to find out its administrative and organizational structure and the general operational environment of this association. Other interviews were held with officials from the women councils and these were intended to gather data on how Women Mps interacted with these organizations, since they were supposedly indicated as both information sources and channels for women legislators on the district seats, so I wanted to find out how this relationship functions. I also carried out observations in the Plenary, in the library, in the Women's caucus (UWOPA), during elections, in committee meetings and press conferences. A lot of data was generated through these sources and this was mostly unstructured data and I have created two major classifications of formal and informal, with secondary analysis of women as a gender category expected at the level of Parliamentary structures.

The sections below provide full details of the processes involved.

5.1 Interviews

This section details all the interviews that were carried out with both legislators and non legislators and it is organized chronologically. The section also incorporates the context of the process. In-depth interviews, with a thematic guide (see interview guide p. 70), have been the main data collection technique and the choice of this method accrued mainly from the

exploratory nature of the study. An interview guide was perceived as the most plausible approach in an investigation which did not have much in a way of methodological precedence. The flexibility inherent in a guide could facilitate probing into further details to illuminate particular issues at hand (Patton, 2002, pp 343) and possibly allow for discoveries which would not have been anticipated or predicted, had the interview taken a more structured form, as evident in the other information behavior studies in parliaments in African countries. The conduct of an interview with a guide also allows for an open and amenable conversation to develop which deepens an understanding of a particular subject (Bryman, 2004, pp 324; Patton, 2003, pp 343). The probing feature is equally advantageous in that it restrains the researcher from imposing his/her assumptions about what is relevant for a study (Layder, 1998, pp 52). Within the interviews as well, there was an incremental element and as I probed further and deeper, more dimensions and possible information rich respondents were pointed to, which has necessitated additional interviews with both legislators and non legislators.

This section on interviews will begin with considerations in the choice of Mp respondents.

5.1.1 Choice of MP respondents

The total number of respondents for the study was thirty five (35). Respondents were purposively selected in consideration of possible variations amongst the groups represented in Parliament. The sample of legislators interviewed was distributed as follows: Women; Fourteen (14) representatives on the district affirmative seat, five (5) on the non affirmative seat, and three (3) representatives of other special interest groups, including one (1) for the army, one for workers (1) and another for the disabled (1). Amongst the male respondents, eleven (11) were on the ordinary constituency seat, while two (2) were representing special interests. The variations sought included age and legislative experience, marital status, positioning within the Parliamentary structure, leadership portfolios held, type of constituency, 'loud' or visible legislators and the 'silent' ones, both male and female. The total number of interviews conducted is illustrated in Table 4 at the end of this subsection.

While the number of interviews necessary to explore a given research question or what Johnson (2001, pp. 113) refers to as the lifecycle of an in-depth interview, remains contestable, within this study, my personal judgment on the adequacy of the number of respondents, was based on balancing the variations. I also wish to point out that this search for the variations is one of the reasons the data collection process, which was

initially designed to target the seventh (7th) Parliament, spilled over to the eighth (8th) Parliament. Appendix 5 provides more details on the background characteristics of the respondents. A pilot phase was initiated in 2004 in which I interviewed two legislators, one (1) male and one (1) female. This was followed by the main phase conducted between August 2005 and February 2006. Within this phase, twenty one (21) legislators were interviewed and they included sixteen (16) female and six (6) males. Although the study initially focused on female Mps, it was imperative to incorporate male Mps for comparative purposes, where necessary and to gain insights into the experiences and information practices of a gender considered to have been socialized for the public sphere and therefore insiders in the mainstream. In the subsequent phases, between September 2006 and January 2007 and also between July and August 2007, twelve (12) legislators were interviewed.

Additional interviews were also held with respondents who had held leadership positions like ministerial positions, heads of committees, networks and other legislative bodies, to find out whether there were any advantages in information access accrued from leadership positions, the forces behind these positions and whether there were any connections with the women's networks, since one of the goals of the study was establishing any efforts in which women as outsiders transform the political landscape.

Others have been through clarifications on incomplete or ambiguous information sought from original respondents and sometimes from respondents who have been identified or pointed to as possible sources of information for a particular point in question. All interviews with legislators were carried out in English language.

Type of Constituency		Male	Female
Affirmative	Youth	--	--
	Army	1	1
	PWD	1	1
	Workers		1
	District	--	14
Ordinary Constituency		11	5
Total		13	22
Grand Total		35	

Table 4 Mp respondents

5.1.2 Breaking ground

I was coming from a background different from my respondents, both at a professional level as a librarian in an academic setting, and in everyday interactions, so in all aspects, I was a total outsider to the world of politicians. Thus before the onset of the main fieldwork, I first sought counsel from researchers known to have conducted studies with this group of people and also from parliamentary associates on the best way of gaining acceptance into their world. Although these researchers had different vantage points, I was cautioned to be mindful on the ‘proper’ etiquette; to observe protocolⁱ, respect hierarchies especially in addressing them. In accordance with the ethical guidelines, I also pursued formal approval (*see* Appendix 8.1) to conduct the study and to access parliamentary structures from the relevant authorities; the public relations office, the office of the sergeant-at-arms (also in charge of parliamentary security) and the Libraryⁱⁱ. Finally a temporary permit was granted, which was renewed periodically and it allotted access to most Parliamentary facilities including the canteen, which was almost exclusively defined for Parliamentary staff.

Additional consent was also sought from the leadership of the women parliamentary association (UWOPA) to affiliate with their network so that I could closely observe their interactions, and it is attached in the appendices.

However, besides presenting myself to proposed respondents, I also reflected on other researchers’ experiences about the actual conduct of interviews especially involving women respondents. The subsequent section details these instances.

ⁱ Babbie (2007, pp 304 - 305) also provides some practical suggestions of presenting oneself to participants as a researcher, sometimes depending on the role to be assumed by the researcher.

ⁱⁱ Copies of these requests have been appended.

5.1.3 Self positioning and methodological literature

This section reflects, through the methodological literature, on the understanding of the researcher as an investigating subject. It incorporates aspects like positioning yourself amongst your research participants, the place of values and also how to relate with respondents who had previously been in a subordinate position.

The concept of ‘conscious partiality’, to replace ‘value free research’, is illuminating, as value free research is presumed to propagate indifference towards research objects. According to Mies, (1999, pp 71), this stance is different from simple subjectivism or empathy, but creates a critical, but dialectical distance between the researcher and research objects, which would also widen the consciousness of both. Feminist researchers castigate traditional research for its indifference and distance to research objects. Oakley (1999), for example, questions what she terms as the masculine paradigm of social research, within which an interview is a form of mechanical instrument of data collection, interviewees are characterized as passive individuals and the procedure is reduced to question asking and rapport-promoting. The relationship too remains typically hierarchical and exploitive as interviewees tend to be regarded as just sources of data . She draws her conclusions from her observations in her earlier research on aspects of the transition to motherhood and advocates for a less structured, non hierarchical relationship between the interviewer and interviewee to avoid objectifying ‘our sistersⁱ’ and additionally proposes that the interviewer ought to invest his or her personal identity into the relationship (Oakley, 1981; 1999, pp. 45, 48, 51, 56).

Oakley suggests that there ought to be a level of disclosure from the researcher as well, which she noticed in her research project on motherhood, as the women kept asking her questions reflecting their anxieties and soliciting her opinion on her own experiences of childbirth, which she found difficult to brush off in the guise of upholding objectivity (Oakley, 1999, pp 56). Johnson (2001, pp 109) also makes references to this process as complementary reciprocity, he upholds, as ideal for building trust and a mutual sense of cooperative self-disclosure, since an in-depth interview involves the interviewer’s self.

Another advocate of a similar approach is Creswell (1998) who suggests procedures of an interactive, dialogic manner that entails self disclosure and a sense of collaboration in the interview. In relation to information research,

ⁱ Oakley does not define this term, rather describes it as problematic, but useful as a basis for women to re-evaluate their relationships with one another.

this sense of collaboration was also idealized, when (Wilson 1990, pp 8) proposed positing the information user as a partner rather than as an object of research in what he refers to as an alternative paradigm.

Another elucidating concept was 'Conscientizacao', a Portuguese term implying critical consciousness. It was developed by Paulo Freire, and illustrated in his 'pedagogy of the oppressed'. A translation for this term by Ramosⁱ (1996) indicates that it means 'learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality (Freire, 1996, pp 17, 18). Mies (1999, pp 74) interprets this approach to imply that objects of oppression rather than experts are better suited to carry out studies of oppressive realities. Indeed Mies (1999, pp 70- 71) postulates that women social scientists are better suited than their male counterparts in comprehensively studying exploited groups, since they would have the experiential knowledge and identification, possibly absent in menⁱⁱ.

The emancipatory overtones of consciousness raising explicit in this conceptualization also ties with feminist methodological approaches of giving women a voice, a non exploitive stand to research of conscious partiality, achieved through identifying with research participants (Mies, 1999, pp 71). Again the experiences of other feminist researchers like Oakley (1999) and Finch (1999) appear to affirm these methodological stances. Finch (1999, pp 69) carried out studies on women in different contexts. Her respondents included mostly domesticated women, like the clergy's wives and other women in a playgroupⁱⁱⁱ. She found that the settings of her interviews, mostly in the respondent's homes, possibly held a sense of centrality in their lives as married women, as mothers and also as parents heavily involved in childrearing. She also found this particularly illuminating and conducive for the easy flow of information. Although she shared a common status with at least one group of respondents, as a former wife of a clergy, she acclaims that her identity as a woman was a bonus factor in providing an entry point to the interview situations. Through her various observations and comments to her inquisitions (from women), she

ⁱ Myra Bergman Ramos translated Freire's 1996 edition of the 'Pedagogy of the oppressed'.

ⁱⁱ This view is comparable to Merton's (1996, pp 245-247) description of insider claims to a monopoly of knowledge, in which one has monopolistic or privileged access to knowledge or is excluded from it, by virtue of group membership or social positioning.

ⁱⁱⁱ The definition according to Dictionary.com

<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/playgroup> is a group of small children, organized for play activities.

established that they were most of the time eager to talk to a fellow woman, a phenomenon that was attributed to the probability that both were sharing a subordinate structural position, by virtue of their gender. This situation could probably have created some empathy. Additionally, the respondent's home as a location for the interview could easily have transformed the interview into an easy, intimate conversation between two women. Finch also questions the suitability of the traditional structured interview (questionnaire) technique in capturing the subtle but significant expressions from her female respondents, which could allegedly only be obtained through probing in an in-depth interview and identification with an interviewee (Finch, 1999, pp 70, 71, 73).

Another tactic that was advocated by Armitage (1983, pp. 4, also cited in Kasper 2003) was adopting a technique that gives the respondent full control over the structure of the interview, a technique that focuses on active listening without unnecessary interruptions of respondents' accounts. Kasper also mentions the importance of the 'informed interviewer' while she was interviewing breast cancer survivors, the importance of familiarity with medical and social aspects of the disease, as crucial openings and acceptance into the social world of women with breast cancer, as cited in this quote 'I cannot afford to interrupt an interview to ask what an estrogen receptor is or the details of breast reconstruction surgery' (Kasper, 2003, pp 173).

In conclusion, the discussion surrounds the stance that research can not remain purely objective and that it ought not to adopt an exploitative, interrogative distance. Interviewees ought to be brought on at the same level.

5.1.4 Development of the Interview instrument

In designing the interview instrument, I drew inspiration from several readings and multiple sources as enumerated in this section and I will highlight the chronology of the process.

Initially, I proceeded with a pilot phase in the later part of 2004 in which I tried to meet with a few legislators and prepared some interview questions. These questions ranged from their interests, perspective on legislative roles, tasks and information needs and the use of library facilities and gender needs. This phase involved two legislators, one male and one female, both of whom I selected from the legislators that I located in the parliamentary library, with the assistance of a library staff. However, the male legislator indicated that he was almost out of itⁱ and had changed course to pursue a doctoral program and his information seeking was apparently predominantly

ⁱ He felt his legislative career was over

geared to that fulfillment, but his name is included amongst the thirteen (13) male legislators interviewed, but his data is not included in the analysis. I consequently engaged a female legislator and held a brief interview of not more than fifteen minutes. The data generated from this interview provided some general useful perspectives on the legislature, highlighted the existence of a women only network, UWOPA, and also how she fulfills her basic information needs, but it fell short on uncovering the whole legislative experience, as it generated more data with regards to fulfilling the respondent's information needs through the formal information structuresⁱ or more specifically how she utilized the library/ies and other facilities connected to libraries. This is also one of the criticisms advanced about studies of legislative information behavior that they tend to focus on the role and function of Parliamentary libraries (Thapisa, 1996). If I broaden Thapisa's criticism, it could have implied lack of understanding of the broader context (besides the library), which affects legislation and through which information needs arise and are mediated.

Herman and Mendel (1976, pp 528-544)'s analysis of the information environment of legislators was more inclusive, when they pointed out that they do not exclusively rely on library and documentation services for their information, but also sources from other contexts, namely: political parties and groups which provide information to members through circulars and working committees; interest groups through providing data and material for speeches, circulars and organizing visits; and individuals and groups of citizens through writing letters, sending delegates to Parliament and holding constituency meetings. Coleman, Taylor & Van de Donk (1999 pp 3-8) also highlight legislators' information needs pertaining to activities of the executive to facilitate proper scrutiny of executive functions, passing effective laws and for general accountability.

Perhaps of particular interest and consideration for information implications that women were likely to encounter in mainstream politics, was a study on the effective political participation of women counselors in the local government, (Ahikire & Madanda - Deniva, 2002). This study highlighted some of the constraints faced by women engaging in peripheral politics, which also held significant implications for their capacity to access and use information. It pointed out institutional factors defined by unfair rules and practices and the gender unfriendly organizational culture, the voluminous documents distributed at short notice making it difficult to

ⁱ The data has been included in the final analysis of information use from the formal information infrastructure.

internalize and for women to make substantial contributions, a personal networking information system unsuitable for people with minimal political networks, the cost of accessing information and the under funding of alternative information structures, the women councils.

These readings were important first in facilitating an understanding of the various information contexts that were to be found within a legislative career. The insights regarding observed experiences of women in local council politics provided perspectives on issues that ought to be considered in my approach to the study of the information behavior of women legislators. The reasons for this perceived relevance are two fold; I consider local councils to be mini parliaments and secondly, local councils are a platform and channel through which some women connect to the larger political world, as they get their initial political experience and exposure through participating in these councils. I therefore take inferences that some of the structural information constraints and disadvantages, as pointed out in the study, at the lower level, would most likely be mirrored in the higher echelons since this too is a political context and the mode of entry is similar.

There were also considerations for shortcuts for the study that I perceived plausible, one of them was to narrow the research focus to just one piece of legislation and follow the information practices through and as a female researcher, with some activist hindsight, and with women as the focal point of the investigation. The Domestic Relations Bill (DRB) appealed to the challenge, since it had been in Parliament for a longer period of time (allegedly 40 years) and it concerned issues of social justice for women. It had also failed to be enacted on several occasions, which would make its investigation illuminating. According to the verbatim records of Parliament (the Hansard), it was introduced to the 7th Parliament by the Minister of Gender in 2003 and has been shelved several times. It was introduced again on June 16th 2005, but was shelved again for a period of one month, supposedly to provide for more consultations with various stakeholders (The August Houseⁱ, June 2005). It was rescheduled in August, then October 16th and has since been shelved without ‘parole’ (there are however, signs of it being revived in 2008, according to several press reports). With this focus, I also considered an approach that would facilitate intensive interaction with women legislators and their networks, particularly UWOPA since it had earlier been indicated as a platform for women to push their issues. However, in the initial interviews, it was evident that respondents did not dispel much engagement with the bill but were co-opted in its final stage of

ⁱ The August House is the Uganda Parliament Newsletter.

legislation to internalize its critical propositions and even so, most of the lobbying was being done by people outside of Parliament, the civil society.

My explorations with LIS models to guide the study were not very successful in informing my approach. Chatman, the LIS mentor and anchor in the study concentrated on marginal populations and I was attempting to expand her approach to another level and new environment, to explore how the social context of legislation impacts on the information possibilities of populations which have been brought on board from the periphery. Chatman's propositions did not point to any methodological direction, and there were no comparable studies in the LIS domaine. Thus, I have approached the information environment of legislators through the few studies that I found to be relevant and they have been summarized;

Legislators' Information requirements and contexts partly illustrated through Herman and Mendel (1976) and organizational/context based dimensions as pointed out through Ahikire and Madanda -Deniva (2002)'s study of women councilors.

The interview guide

The study was exploratory and the interview guide was selected as a feasible tool for collecting data due to its inbuilt flexibility, openness and probing mechanism (Bryman, 2004, pp 324: Patton, 2002, pp 343) that could facilitate uncovering depths and details of experiences and information behavior. In this regard, it blends in well with the approach of the social context that guides this study. In addition, an in-depth interview with a less structured format, as opposed to a structured interview (questionnaire) is idealized by feminist research propositions for women to women interviews, as a method that can capture the subtle but significant expressions of a respondent as well as easing identification with an interviewee (Finch, 1999, pp 70, 71, 73).

The guide featured the following themes:

- Background information – including all information from previous leadership positions and engagements and prior influences for the formation of a political career. This information would be useful in gauging where individuals are coming from and what they carry with them into the context of political engagement and how it may influence their general behavior. The background would also facilitate an understanding of the insider/outsider perspective .
- Perceptions of Representation, evolving responsibilities and the significance attached to these tasks. – The presumption is that tasks to

be performed influence information behavior, therefore delving into these roles could yield insights into how they seek and access information to do what they need to do and the significance they may attach to particular tasks, like attending the plenary. One may perceive his or her role to be more vital in the constituency than attending a public debate or plenary

- Access to networks, formal and informal within and outside Parliament and how they influence tasks and opportunities – like seminars, travel, and other openings which are of information value. The presumption would be the gender relations that may be concealed in these networks and how they could expedite or impede information access or dissemination. Women’s caucuses are the public spaces in which strategies for lobbying are negotiated and examples include the Uganda Women’s Parliamentary Association, UWOPA. How these networks propagate and consciously inform on what they consent to be important to their legislative career and supposedly liberation of women would be highlighted.
- Other information issues, for example use of formal sources like library resources, Internet resources, email, Parliamentary research services and other information services outside Parliament as well as personal assistance.
- Constituency interaction, frequency of visits, information, sources and how is it obtained from constituencies and its utilization and challenges.
- Women ‘s interaction with particular pieces of legislation for instance the Domestic Relations Bill (DRB)
- Areas of achievement, personal and institutional during one’s tenure, could take form of motions moved, contributions to particular bills and prior information processes.
- Others are areas where a respondent had lost out and the contributory factors.

The initial interviews were more exploratory and encompassed a variety of details, for example it would start with the family background, educational history, earlier responsibilities held, how one got into politics, other interests besides politics, what a legislator felt were his/her obligations in Parliament, committee membership and activities and responsibilities in the committees, frequency of meetings, information seeking activities for committee tasks

and other procedures, whether a legislator has ever caused/introduced any bill or a particular piece of legislation and the preceding processes, the networks within Parliament and outside Parliament where they are affiliated, relationship with UWOPA (for women), information seeking from library and other facilities, study programs, constituency issues and arrangements and frequency, DRB issues and achievements and losses. Since this study was exploring the social context, I found it appropriate, at the end of each interview, to build a continuing relationship with my respondents which would create room for further consultation, if the need arose and indeed, I carried out subsequent interviews with some of the initial respondents, through face to face encounters and also through the telephone. Specifically for each interview, I was trying to determine all those instances within the institutional framework, the plenary, committee meetings, various caucuses, and at the constituency level, which may impose challenges for women as previously outsiders and I considered the following issues with regards to information:

- Access to parliamentary structures/networks (information networks - formal and informal)
- Utilization of information
- Networking and communication opportunities, which facilitate information exchanges
- Information needs that accrue within the process and corresponding information behavior

After considerable experience with the respondents, the guide was expanded to incorporate aspects that had come up in the interviews, for example two women expressed some contextual preferences, which had implications on what information they pay attention to and which one they ignore. Issues about the difficult relationships with women councils were raised and I wanted to find out specifically how the women in the legislature related to these councils which were supposed to function as information conduits for women representing the districts. Issues of managing the large constituencies also emerged and these necessitated further consultations on how women manage, how they position themselves in the districts, how they relate with their constituencies and the grassroots, how they acquire information, frequency of visits and also how they relate with other MPs in the district, possibilities for distribution of tasks. These relationships had considerable implications on whether information was shared or withheld

and its impact on their activities. For details pertaining to the interview questions, *see* Appendix 8.5, Interview themes.

5.1.5 The tracking of Mp respondents

The section consists of two parts: the context of the data collection for MP respondents and their tracking for interview purposes.

Context

Data collection took place within the course of a major election. This period was monumental in that the country was also changing its governance structure, from the Movement system, described earlier in the background section, to multiparty democracy. This transformation had earlier been sanctioned through a referendum in July 2005. Multiparty elections had last been held in 1980. The differences in the process were that within the Movement system, candidates had to contest on what was termed as individual merit, while Parties propagated a sense of collective/party ownership. The extent to which individual legislators had freed their minds from the individual merit remains debatable, but within the elections, only one party displayed this sense of oneness by presenting one manifesto, which was also the party program. Candidates of other parties usually presented personal proposals detailing their intentions for the proceeding five year parliamentary period. The elections for both the president and parliamentary representatives were held on 23rd February 2006.

The election time was particularly problematic and challenging for data collection, because legislators were very mobile and tended to rotate to and from their constituencies more often than usual. One respondent for example intimated that he had to travel, a (road) distance of over two hundred (200) kilometers, to his rural constituency almost every week to connect with his campaign team. This period also made it difficult to track some respondents whom I had perceived to provide variance to my study. The post election period also posed other challenges, for example connecting with an Mp who had not been re-elected mainly because telephone numbers tended to change and possibly ‘temperaments’.

Tracking respondents

At the onset of fieldwork, I sent out sixty (60) requests for interviews and out of which only one respondent called back to schedule an interview and for the rest of the would-be respondents, I followed them up through some

vigorous techniques and processes. Tracing respondents was quite challenging and eventually left to the convenience of a respondent. Respondents were rotating in between their constituencies, Parliament and other contexts and although I had to call them, it was also increasingly more realistic to physically locate them, at least within the Parliamentary structures and follow them. In earlier instances I would request to meet them outside Parliament, in what I presumed would be their places of convenience but this too did not succeed. It was only one rare instance where the interview took place in a respondent's home, and this was an exception probably through the intervention and presence of the researcher's supervisor. This interview can be considered to be the most successful since the atmosphere was calm and serene and encouraged the free flow of information. In a few others, that context was their offices in Parliament. Another took place at 7.00 am at a gym and continued in a respondent's vehicle as the respondent was heading off to another appointment and that was the only time available. However, there had also been an earlier interview that had solely taken place in a respondent's vehicle in between her tight programs.

For location purposes, the canteen was highly regarded as a convergence platform for Mps, so access was presumed methodologically advantageous. However, soon this proved rather impractical; due to the clear and pronounced boundaries between the Mps health break spaces and the rest of the Parliamentary staff. Crossing that boundary was out of order even to regular Parliamentary staff. At best the interaction a 'commoner' would influence freely in the canteen was with the regular Parliamentary staff. Another barrier stemmed from the cultural and social perspective, which posits the 'Honourables' higher in the echelons of the social stratification, rendering it outright impolite to contemplate infringing on a rather exclusive health break. All options that stood in the way of jeopardizing the already slippery prospects of accessing informants were foregone. So the idea of using the canteen as a recruitment basis for key informants was duly abandoned, but only utilized for identification and later follow ups of respondents of interest.

The Library was also another meeting place for those who wished to read the daily papers, utilize Internet facilities, meet guests, hold discussions, consult the librarians and the library collection including past Parliamentary records (The Hansard). Hanging around the library also provided an opportunity for observing its usage by the legislators. One of the librarians was especially endowed with extra skills in graphic design, which proved very essential in a period of designing campaign posters, in an election

period. I took advantage of this period to introduce myself to some informants and make appointments and at least one interview was conducted inside the librarian's office. Three other interviews were conducted in the Library reading area before the plenary sessions commenced and these were occasions where respondents would not accord much time because the interviews had been scheduled prior to the plenary sessions or it had been squeezed in between an Mp's schedules and in such circumstances of tight time constraints, I had to exercise personal judgment on pertinent issues and the number of questions covered, in these circumstances, depended on the time that the Mp accorded.

The time frames greatly differed for interviews and I had to always try to fit in within the legislator's schedule, for example, in one interview that I conducted, the office of this representative was very full and we lined up, including those I suspected to be press reporters and we all took turns, when my turn came the interviewee was shifting between different people and I did not feel that I had an upper hand in this particular situation. I felt as though the respondent had forgotten that she was talking to me as she would also simultaneously talk to other people. It ended rather abruptly and I had to leave as she was moving on to other commitments.

Standing outside the Parliament building, was another practical strategy at targeting respondents coming in and out, but this often raised security concerns in a highly policed institution. In one of these incidents, I was able to access and interview an Mp, while standing at the main entrance for close to eighty (80) minutes in a noisy background, as that was the only time the respondent could afford. The disadvantage with this tactic was being occasionally whisked away to the visitor's room, which was rather secluded and its contours would not provide the same strategic view of legislators coming in Parliament.

In most circumstances, courtesy, in a culturally endowed society was a key and a formidable approach method. Perhaps another technique was forging acquaintances with security staff and the desk staff in legislators' Parliamentary constituent offices. The security staff would provide information on Mps that had come in to Parliament on that particular day and I felt I had established a rather good rapport with these people that they would even 'notice' my absence, especially after my face to face sessions in Sweden, they would ask, 'we have not seen you in a while, where have you been?' Other members that I closely interacted with were the desk staff in the legislators' Parliamentary offices, as they would get you closer to the respondent's day to day schedules and through one of these interactions, while waiting to meet the would-be respondent, she instead invited me to

one of her pre-election meetings in her office with her ‘kakuyegeⁱ team’ to help select amongst her sample posters, the one that best enhanced her appearance and corporate image. I gladly took this opportunity to get closer to her and possibly fit in her schedules and she expressed what I perceived to be a genuine desire to create time and feature in my investigation. I also received a copy of her campaign poster and timetable and attended one of her rallies. Indeed we kept in touch, with several promises, but the real interview never took place, she lost the election and eventually my trail went cold.

I also missed out on four (4) four female Mps and the rationale for their selection varied, for example two (2) of them had been very active in agitating for women issues and in transforming the political landscape, which is central to this thesis. They were as well connected with Non-governmental women centered organizations, therefore their information behavior could be presumed to provide interesting dimensions to the study. Another one was labeled the quietest legislator, through a media survey (Mutumba, 2006), whom I perceived to be disadvantaged by the political terrain. The fourth one was the only woman who had been politically active and connected in previous Governments and she was relatively respected in Parliament. Her political experience spanned a period of more than twenty five (25) years and could be positioned as an insider to mainstream politics and had successfully contested for a non affirmative seat at least twice. Nevertheless, I followed up these legislators periodically after the elections, but eventually, only managed to catch up and interview one (1) in 2008, and this is the legislator with a fairly long political experience.

In general terms, the cost of tracking an MP involved long waiting hours and unceasing appointment phone calls.

5.1.6 Interviews with non Mp Respondents

Non Mp respondents were incorporated in the data collection out of a need for further exploration of issues raised in the interviews with Mp respondents and they included the parliamentary administrative staff, contacts in constituencies, local councils, and the women Parliamentary association. The language used in the interviews with parliamentary staff, UWOPA and the women council officials was English in order to accord some form of formality to the process, since English is the official language, common to all the participantsⁱⁱ. Interviews with the selected constituency

ⁱ Kakuyege refers to door to door campaigning

ⁱⁱ Uganda is composed of several ethnic groups with different languages.

contacts and the local councils at the village level were conducted in the familiar locally spoken vernacular language, Luganda. All interviews took place in the respective respondents' offices, except for the local council chairpersons, which took place in their residential homesⁱ. I have translated into English all interviews that were carried out in luganda. These separate interviews carried out in succession with the main interviews could be classified as a form of triangulation. The details are provided:

- Constituency visits: Three (3) contacts from constituency offices and one (1) from a non constituency office of a respondent.
- Two (2) leaders at Local Council I level at the village level and one (1) woman councilor.
- Three (3) officials from the Parliamentary Library and Research section
- Three (3) officials from the Parliamentary administrative services
- One official from the Women Parliamentary Association

Respondent		Male	Female	Language
Parliamentary staff	Library	2		E
	Research services	1		E
	Administration	3		E
UWOPA			1	E
Women councils		1	2	E
Constituency contact		1	3	L
Local Councils		2	1	L
Total		17		

Table 5 Non Mp respondents

E stands for English and L stands for Luganda, as the language used in the interview.

Parliamentary staff

Interviews were carried out with library and research staff to find out their services and how they relate with legislators. For library staff, questions on

ⁱ Residential homes sometimes double as offices for village council chairpersons.

the background and establishment of the library, staffing levels, services, and their overall interaction with legislators, information sought communications channels and the challenges encountered. The research services were structurally under the library and the interview carried out with the research official also featured how the research services were being utilized, the kind of information sought, the staffing levels and corresponding academic credentials. Interviews with administrative staff included questions on the history, general management of Parliament and the organizational structure. Other interviews were carried out with information assistants of legislators who occupied leadership positions to delve into aspects on social positioning within the mainstream and privileges accrued in information acquisition and handling.

The Women Parliamentary association (UWOPA)

Interviews were carried out with officials from UWOPA, as one of the networks that featured in its centrality to the self organization of women legislators. It is an association through which women, as previous outsiders would endeavor to change the structures of parliament to enable them take on a more central role in mainstream politics and also advance to positions that would be advantageous in acquiring information. While all interviews with women legislators included an inquiry about their involvement with UWOPA to ascertain the information flows within this organization, additional interviews were carried out with those members who had held positions of leadership in this association. In addition, one interview was held with the administrative staff of the association.

Women Councils

Visits to the women councils were also derived from initial interviews with women legislators. These councils had been pointed out as information channels which additionally provided networking opportunities for women legislators on the district seat. They are supposed to be the link between women in parliament and the grass-root women. The relationship between these organizations was pointed out as problematic and an information barrier. So I carried out separate interviews with respondents in the executive of the women councils and one woman councilor.

Constituency visits and Local council visits

Constituency visits were carried out as onsite visits to expound on the assertions raised in the interviews about managing large constituencies and the information acquisition and dissemination challenges for their constituents.

Subsequent supplementary interviews were also carried out with the village leadership, presumably at the grass-root level, to ascertain the relationship with Mps and information options. Thus I visited five (5) constituency offices and two Local councils to understand their interactions with the legislators and discern the information gaps.

Clarifications

Clarifications have been sought where instances of ambiguous or incomplete information have been encountered. They have taken form of additional interviews and documents requests, through email and telephone conversations. They have not been restricted to the parliament, but rather to other pertinent organizations as well. However, email communication registered a dismal response and this has been a frustrating experience. The presence of faster communication methods does not necessarily equal to actual usage. In my earlier discussion on this subject, I postulated that this could as well be a reflection of 'old' work methods that seem to appeal to the 'physical contact' (Nalumaga, 2005, pp 31).

5.2 Documentary sources

Documentary sources including hansard, reports, bills and Acts have also been utilized as sources of data. During the course of the interviews, I would sometimes be referred to the hansard, particular reports bills and Acts. However, while the Bills, Acts and reports were easily accessible, there were challenges with locating particular records in the hansard due to several reasons. There have been efforts by the Parliamentary administration to digitize records and proceedings, but have not been matched with functional search interface for the system. In addition, appropriate collation is only available with the documentary records, but not with the digital. Another anomaly lies with the sequence in recording. The registration of time in the plenary contributions is not consistently followed through, even within the same record, thus while some contributions are tied in with the corresponding time intervals, for others, it is omitted. These shortcomings presented problems of accessibility and appropriate citation. In order to

locate pertinent information of interest, you have to manually go through each issue of the Hansard, irrespective of whether it is in digital or documentary format. Although the documentary records reflected better organization and collation with an indicative contents page, at times contributions of interest were not listed in the contents, so there was not much escape from the time consuming individual manual checks. The constraints posed to the research process have been inability to ascertain all possible references to a respondent's contribution from the verbatim records.

5.3 Media

These sources consisted of newspapers and radio. Television did not feature among the respondents as a means of their regular interactions, but rather as a source of information for news and other programs. This could be due to the insufficient distribution per household as well as its national coverage.

Newspaper reports have been other information sources utilized in addition to interviews for several reasons in illustrating particular issues that have been pertinent to my discussions; one example is the issue of domestic violence and the vice president, to illustrate the conflicts that accrue from gender roles and women in public office. The presentation of women in public life has also been an aspect of interest in my background understanding of women in politics. There have been several press and tabloid reports, both explicit and disguised, which I have followed and documented, depicting private lives of some female legislators and the status of their marital relationships. Although some of them could be indicative of the public attitude towards women in politics, they also carry underlying overtones on the challenges that women face in attempting to break through with the informal information networks, which has been a crucial aspect as a gendered information access challenge in this research. However in cases of tabloid stories, filled with bias and devoid of anonymity, I will limit references to a few brief citations appropriate to the discussion, but without revealing any descriptive information concerning personal identities in the story.

Other examples include providing an understanding on how MPs present themselves to the public, some of them write regularly on topical articles in the press, or expressing opinions on particular issues and also others through press conferences.

The newspapers include the New Vision, the Monitor and Red pepper¹.

¹ Red pepper is a tabloid paper

Radio

During the interviews, one of the questions relating to how legislators kept in touch with their constituents indicated use of radios as communication channels as well as facilitating information acquisition, through interactive programs where legislators could be hosted regularly or occasionally. I subsequently followed up with some of the regular instances mentioned in the respondents' accounts. However, I wish to indicate that there are several radio stations in different parts of the country, operating in different languages, so I only selected those within close proximity and broadcasting in a familiar local language.

The forums included the daily 'political' programs and weekly talk shows commonly known in one of the vernacular languages as 'Ebimeeza' or the 'Common man's (person's) Parliament'. These programs dwelt on any prevailing national topical issues and some of them were interactive in form of live phone in sessions, while others had a face to face interaction. The two in particular were entitled 'Kiriza oba gaana' translated to 'Believe it or not', held on weekdays and 'Mambo Bado'ⁱ or 'there is more to come', held on Saturdays. Both programs were hosted on a local FM called 'CBS Radio Buganda'. It was also accessible for a while over the internetⁱⁱ, but the link has since been broken. I also attended one of Saturday shows. My observations of these platforms was that while these could serve as debating forums on challenging national issues, the politicians also frequently used them to disseminate information from their constituencies and other political contexts, even including their foreign interactions. They are also a central visibility strategy for a legislator or any upcoming politician in a way of connecting to the larger world, since radios are a common medium of communication, as well as a primary source of information (UNBS, Census, 2002). In addition, they further facilitated a deeper understanding of the political life of a legislator.

5.4 Observations

During the data collection phase, I spent a lot of time in Parliament as the main context of convergence for my respondents, which would also mirror Chatman's methodological approach of 'hanging around' her data collection environment, in the prisons, the retirement homes and with the Janitors and

ⁱ Mambo bado is a Swahili term and it is one of the ebimeeza (common man's parliament) programs. However, both programs were held in Luganda language.

ⁱⁱ CSB Radio: <http://www.radiocbsfm.com/>

spending long hours with respondents. Chatman adopted an ethnographic approach and her justification was the need to collect data in social settings that revealed reality as lived by its members. In her study of aging women at Garden towers (Chatman, 1992, pp 2, 3), she adopted the technique of participant observation, which facilitated active engagement in her respondent's activities in order to gather pertinent data. She also indicates a heavy reliance on the observations as a methodological tool, and interviews as a triangulation technique to check against her field notes and also to obtain data on aspects that could not be readily observed.

Although my study also leaned heavily on the social context, it did not fully embrace an ethnographic design, but Chatman's approach partly inspired my methodological techniques especially in sticking around the legislative environment and making some observations. I had organized for observations in all the contexts that respondents had identified as information gathering/communication environments to get acquainted with the interactions and processes and find out whether there were any forms of anomalies or barriers. These contexts included the plenary sessions, the committees, the library and in respondents' constituencies and this information would be utilized to supplement my in-depth interview data. As I mentioned earlier on in tracking respondents, the legislative environment was hierarchical and maintained some clear boundaries in terms of working spaces accessible to outsiders. A non legislator, for example could not get into the plenary sessions, rather one could only watch the debates from a distance in what is referred to as the Stranger's gallery. Another area that was demarcated was the parliamentary canteen.

However, while the contexts of committee meetingsⁱ and the library were more accessible and applicable for the participant observer method, as described by Chatman (1992, pp 3), in other contexts this technique proved problematic in application. Subsequently, I opted for the observer method. With this technique, the researcher perceives himself/herself as an 'objective', uninvolved recorder of events (Chatman, 1992, pp 3) and for the contexts that were more accessibleⁱⁱ. This type of observation is also referred to by the terms non-participant observation or unstructured observation, where the aim is to record in as much detail as possible on the behavior of participants, rather than using an observation schedule for recording behavior (Bryman 2004 pp. 167). I selected the library as one of the areas where I spent most time and probably being a librarian myself, I could easily

ⁱ Although in one such meeting I was told to leave presumably so that members would hold some deliberations in camera

ⁱⁱ With the permissions granted earlier

relate to the context. The library also had a central location within the Parliamentary structure and it housed the ICT facilities, which were substantially utilized since most legislators' officesⁱ were not fully equipped. There was another rationale pointed out by the intermediaries concerning challenges with use of ICTs, that drew legislators to the library, but this is further explored in the section on the use of formal information sources. So I presumed that on any given day, a legislator would visit the library for one reason or another. This opportunity greatly enhanced the initial interaction and customization, and subsequently served the purpose of recruiting respondents and some interviews were held within the facility. Other observations from the library included library and ICT usage as one of the information seeking/utilization contexts, the structure of the library and the interaction with intermediaries. One of them was facilitating recruitment of respondents and some interviews were even held within the facility. I also utilized extensively the Parliamentary information resources and ICT facilities for the study.

5.4.1 Plenary observations

In the plenary, my rationale for observing legislators was to ascertain whether they perceived themselves as having 'equal' opportunities of expression and contribution which for this study would imply possibilities for communicating information, or in choices for participation in particular national and international tasks/missions, which would avail further openings for networking at an international level. Some of these aspects had been raised in previous studies by Tamale (1999 pp 121, 135), and also through an allegation by a female legislator (Mutumba, 2006), dubbed a non performer. However, this perspective has been extracted from the interview data rather than through observations.

Another objective for the plenary observations was to find out whether there were any recognizable patterns of exit from sessions by both genders, which I perceived could shed some light on possible implications for gender roles which I could follow up with the interviews. However, as I mentioned that the debating chambers were not accessible, and the view from the Stranger's gallery was quite insufficient to observe activities on the floor of the whole House and although, I could sometimes notice legislators moving in and out of the chambers, this data has not been sufficient for any meaningful interpretation or conclusion. This is also compounded in some

ⁱ Only members who held leadership positions in Committees and other significant auxiliary foras had access to fully equipped offices

respondents' statements, through the in-depth interviews that when they are moving out of sessions, it is not always connected with family or other domestic issues; therefore this particular data has not been usable for the analysis. However, the section on gender roles could provide further insights in the organizational challenges and information choices for women.

The plenary sessions were also occasions for observing other 'interesting' issues that were being presented by women legislators and also by UWOPA that had featured on the order paper, some related to my study and others just out of curiosity. The debate surrounding the fate of interest groups, which also comprised of district (women) representatives, carried out prior to the elections was one example of issues I followed, through, although it has not yielded any data for this analysis, but it was exhilarating to have an understanding on varying perspectives on the whole concept of affirmative actionⁱ. Another instance was when women legislators lobbied to remove taxes from sanitary towels, or even when they were presenting particular reports, especially as the committee chairs/Vice chairs. Some of these instances were insightful, in addition to the Hansard checks, in providing that background pre understanding of the informed interviewer, when engaging some of these Mps in the in-depth interviews.

5.4.2 UWOPA sponsored workshops

The main intention of UWOPA meetings observations was to have an understanding of women activities and how they relate with each other in their network. I thus requested to be informed about any UWOPA activity, but although my request was assented to, no invitations were ever sent so I had to periodically check, with their offices for upcoming activities and additionally crosscheck regularly on Parliamentary notices for any information on UWOPA. There were two opportunities; one of them was through a study conducted by a local nongovernmental organization, (NGO) SNVⁱⁱ which focused on the role of women in Parliament. They held a focus group discussionⁱⁱⁱ where legislators talked about their experiences in

ⁱ There was a constitutional provision, Article 78 (1) b and c for reviewing the representation of special interest groups (women, workers, army and disabled) after a period of 10 years, which expired in 2005 and thereafter, every five years. The purpose of the review was to retain, increase or abolish the representation, and since the general elections were approaching, this debate was significant, especially for women legislators, who were the majority beneficiaries of the affirmative/special interest groups' seats.

ⁱⁱ SNV stands for the Netherlands Development Organization

ⁱⁱⁱ the date was in and around August 2005

Parliament, some of which I later incorporated in my interview scheduleⁱ, for example the late night engagements and problems with constituency management.

The second prospect was another workshop organized through one of their regional organs, UWOPA - the Northern Uganda Women's forum (NUWOF), on 20th September 2005. The theme of this workshop was 'managing the challenge of political transition, understanding the principles and practice of multi-partyism'. Some of the observed interactions from this forum have been utilized in the analysis of the Women's network, (UWOPA).

5.4.3 Campaigns/Public Rallies

Respondents had indicated that they interact with constituents through rallies, workshops, meetings, and their constituency offices, sometimes they are just stopped on the way, so I wanted to have first hand information of legislators' interactions with constituents through any of these forums. Since the study research was carried out prior to a general election, there were few possibilities of formal meetings, except through rallies for electoral campaigns, so I proceeded to make observations in the context of canvassing for votes. I had presumed that their interaction with the electorate/Constituents would be an information gathering and exchange process. Overall I attended ten (10) rallies including both affirmative and non affirmative contestants and they were all located in one central region, mainly due to logistical reasons, since delving into other regions would require more costs, for example facilitation in transport, accommodation and the possibility of [language] hiring interpreters due to the ethnic and linguistic diversity, whereas I could fully comprehend the lingua franca of the central region.

Nevertheless, I got an average impression of this situation; however observations from rallies showed that these contexts were not specifically information gathering forums. The election period was not equal to a regular constituency visit as it offered less in interacting and gathering information from constituents.

5.4.4 Committee meetings

I attended five committee meetings and this was to purely experience how committees carried on their business. In two of them, there was no quorum

ⁱ This study was carried out earlier on before I embarked on my main study.

and the meetings were called off, but in the other two, the meetings went on rather successfully. One of these committees was on HIV and related issues and in this particular meeting, there was a dissemination of findings to legislators by a non governmental organization (NGO), while the second one was a committee of Physical infrastructure, in which members of the public were presenting some proposals. Committee meetings usually took place between 10.00 am and 1.00 pm and business was more of scrutinizing bills, reports, field visits and gathering information from the public on issues of interest.

5.5 Field Notes

In every interview, I used a recording device, but also noted down the main points but in summary form, which have formed part of my research notes in the data collection process. I also transcribed fully the verbatim records, but noted some problems with the recordings and I wish to highlight a few of them; One of the problems had to do with the inaudibility of particular segments in the record, created when the tone of the respondent slowed down or in the event of a rowdy background or when the respondent was not stationary during the interview and tended to change positions, while still talking to me, and the audio fails to capture particular episodes, especially when he/she has moved a little bit far from the ‘microphone’. Noisy interruptions, especially in the background also rendered some files inaudible.

Some mishaps were experienced for example occasions when the recorder stopped functioning without my notice until the end of the interview. In most of these circumstances I relied heavily on the research notes in an attempt to recollect and reconstruct the lost parts.

Other situations where notes have been solely relied on to describe the research experiences include the two UWOPA organized day long meetings/workshops where recording was not possible. In the plenary and committee meetings, notes were taken too as well as the two press conferences which I attended and the election public rallies.

5.6 Ethical considerations, handling anonymity

The perspectives of Neuman (2003, pp.116-134; 2006, pp. 129-147) and Patton (2002, pp. 405-417) provided essential insights and guidelines on ethical challenges and considerations to be conscious about while approaching the qualitative investigation. The Uganda National research

regulatory body, the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology, (UNSCT) had also developed some brief guidelines, which were later expanded in 2007 (UNCST, 2007). The essence was to ensure transparent, unambiguous and voluntary participation; to uphold professional and ethical conduct in the study; and to respect the rights of the (human) participants. Thus requests for informed consent were sent outⁱ to prospective participants and contents featured the researcher's background, the nature and intention of the study, objectives, the funding body, the likely benefits of the study, a guarantee of confidentiality and anonymity, proposed duration of interview and field work and a promise to avail participants with a summary of findings (see example in Neuman, 2003, pp 124, box 5.10; 2006 pp 136 – box 5.6).

This information about my identity, motive, affiliation, the goal of the study, the importance of their participation and how the data would be utilized would be fully orally elaborated at the beginning of each interview, followed by a request to record. A verbal promise would also be initiated in the event that a participant desired to have access to the recorded interview. In my reflection, this pre-interview exchange created a more intelligible and trust building atmosphere and also helped to dislodge any misgivings about the consequences of their disclosure. The importance of making participants fully, adequately and comfortably knowledgeable about your purpose, to an extent that goes beyond a signature, is also emphasized in the Uganda National Research Guidelines, as an overarching intention in informed consent (UNCST, pp. 23).

However, as the fieldwork progressed, some of the ethical dilemmas emerged. The treatment of the concept of anonymity, for example, became more challenging especially in a highly public context and after some considerations, I preferred to exclude that 'promise' in subsequent requests, since even the adoption of fictitious personal names, or places would not fully conceal the identities of personal accounts, especially when these individuals are public figures and some of the information divulged in my interviews, could also be connected to their other public utterances and presentations, for example in press reports and in the Hansard. My earlier attempts with fictitious names had also created instances of misrepresenting information that I thought I was trying to portrayⁱⁱ, moreover my observation of other studies that involved in-depth interviewing of similar groups of respondents revealed some pattern of limited concealment of personal

ⁱ This information is incorporated in the appendices

ⁱⁱ Neuman (2006 pp 139) also cautions on the danger posed by fictitious information on figuring out the gap between what was found out (in a study) and what has been made up.

identities. In Tamale's research on legislators (1999, pp. 133 – 136), for instance, she adopted pseudonyms only when depicting what would be considered 'sensitive' circumstances of sexual harassment, otherwise most of her respondents were named. Tripp (2006) and Ahikire (2007) are also other researchers who studied politicians at various levels and their writings portray selective and limited anonymity and confidentiality of their respondents. Tripp (2006) identified and named some of her participants while other interviews are cited with initials (pp 131, *Notes* nos. 5, 8, 20, 21). In Ahikire (2007)'s bookⁱ, there are instances where respondents in leadership positions are identifiable (pp. 72, 73, 150), others categorized with a name of a month and year (pp 155, 156, 165) and a case of an alleged fictitious name (pp 168). Although there is not much information provided on the choices of the informants in the treatment of this aspect, Patton (2002, pp 411) insinuates some novel possibilities or trends in which owning up one's story is desirable and even considered empowering as an identity building process, especially in politically active groups. Silverman (2007, pp. 320) referred to another motive of recognition as career advancement, observed in his earlier research on HIV testing counseling (Silverman, 1997, *cited* in Silverman 2007, pp 320). He alleges that respondents, who were also in an academic context, not only expressed a desire for identification, but also to be enlisted as co-authors for some of his publications, allegedly to be able to advance in career status.

There were also propositions inspired from the example of a study of nurses and patients by Lofman, Pelkonen and Pietila (2004), in which respondents were requested to comment on the findings before making the final report and their responses incorporated in the report, but there was no opportunity as the study was conducted in between a general election, which was by itself a volatile situation and provided minimal chances of engaging or even tracking down respondents. Likewise, the undertaking to avail a summary of findings in the consent request was withdrawn for the same reasons; rather the institution will be availed with copies of the completed thesis.

However, in attempting to address these challenges, I have adopted several strategies including; separately numbering all quotations to minimize possible sequential chronological connections to identities and to combine the chapter of findings and analysis to abate the dissection and cross-referencing that would be inevitable if the chapter on findings and analysis were separated. I have also used pseudonyms, but mostly for names of

ⁱ Extracted from her PhD thesis

places. The real test has been when a respondent mentions names especially of acquaintances to illustrate an issue at hand, which are significant to the value of the account and in which this information could be closely linked to the identity of its source. I have handled this at three levels, in the first instance, I have exercised personal judgment and not altered anything especially when changes would most likely distort the message in the account, in other instances, I have tried to locate and utilize some other public documentary sources that could have the same information as the one indicated by a particular respondent, for example in the Hansard, but I have taken care that even the record that could be provided by the Public source is not connected to the identity of a respondent. I have also sought additional consent for obvious cases, where for example I have profiled a respondent and the information would most likely be matched to a particular person. Within this additional consent request, I have tried to indicate specific instances on how information would be utilized within the thesis, and an example of this request is appended.

I wish to point out that throughout the analysis, I have not openly disclosed any respondent's name, because interviews similarly incorporated some information that would be considered to belong to people's private lives, which has been more with gender role issues. However, the concerns of anonymity and confidentiality have been more with me as a researcher than with my respondents. They clearly did not seem to worry about them in any way, and one told me frankly that 'For me I have no problem, after all I am a public figure' [Field notes], which could also be consistent with Patton's (pp 411) observed trends of 'owning up' of one's story, discussed earlier in this subsection. Additionally, there was no objection to the recording or in halting any part of it. There was only one exception where a respondent clearly stated that I should not disclose certain issues pertaining to that respondent's political associations.

5.7 Challenges and reflections on the research process

In this section, I wish to relay some of my experiences in relation to my earlier pre-understandings regarding the research process, barriers encountered and adjustment to the circumstances.

5.7.1 The study environment

I had envisaged and emphasized accessing a serene environment, in a respondent's own time and venue that would possibly facilitate uninterrupted free flow of information, possibly similar to the one

experienced by Finch (1999, pp 70, 71, 73), in her interviews with the clergy's wives and the mothers in a playgroup. However, the time schedules of my respondents were very tight, so holding on to that relaxed, opportune moment that would presumably facilitate release of information turned out to be an unrealistic expectation and soon I conceded that it was best to grab any available opportunity or venue and proceed with the interview.

5.7.2 Interviewer gender and respondents' relationship

Another point of contention regarded relating with my female respondents, reflecting on my gender as a female researcher. I expected some form of natural bonding and probably enthusiasm especially from the female interviewees, however, I did not notice much difference between male and female respondents in the eagerness to participate or in differences in the level of disclosure, thus perhaps gender alone, was not sufficient to induce total identification with this group of women. There were a few exceptions, nonetheless, and one (1) female Mp indicated that they (probably as women) are encouraged to talk to people like 'us', probably the researchers and she was very enthusiastic and I perceived that she probably felt an obligation to divulge her experience, even though the interview took place in a very odd location, at the entrance of the main gate, where we both stood for over one and a half hours. In other words, in terms of accessibility and divulgence, some of the Mps who were in the unofficial oppositionⁱ appeared to be more open with their political experiences, but still acted reservedly on some of the questions pertaining to their private life (domestic issues).

5.7.3 The informed interviewer

Another perspective of an interviewer being knowledgeable about their research context as pointed out in Kasper's (2003) research on breast cancer survivors was reflected in responses of my earliest interviews. The legislative context is very elaborate and requires prior knowledge of the different processes, for example the different stages of a bill from initiation, the workings of committees and interaction with constituents, question time and the plenary sessions. The initial interviews conducted reflected a rather poor of understanding of these processes, which tended to put off some respondents. At least two respondents emphatically 'educated' me about their work in a manner which expressed a little disappointment and possibly

ⁱⁱ In the 7th Parliament, which was based on the Movement system, everybody was supposed to ascribe to the Movement ideology, but in reality, there were different ideological camps within the legislature.

embarrassment, especially when I inquired about the respondent's engagement in committees, issues like writing reports had been of interest as they would presumably require wide consultations using both formal and informal information sources. Committee reports, were apparently being written by clerks¹ attached to the various committees, therefore the level of engagement in active information seeking was more or less formal.

Aspects pertaining to background information also agitated a few respondents with exclamations like 'you should know that'. The guide I had initially composed included direct questions incorporating earlier education background, former leadership posts and family issues. The Parliamentary documentation allotted very brief biographical sketches of respondents, usually name, date of birth, marital status, contact, education level and interests. Other aspects prior to a legislator's career, which would probably provide a deeper insight about circumstances of political engagement, were not readily available. The interview guide was however later modified to reflect the new realities and what I perceived would be a 'warmer' inception into the world of a legislator and which would subtly capture all the background information. A typical interview would start with an inquisition like 'What was that turning point that initiated or drove your instincts into a political career?' This kind of approach usually put the interviewee at ease and a lot of information would be divulged pertaining to even earlier engagements including former positions in schools, family and other maneuvers, both political and non political and motivations behind them. However, this approach did not work in one particular instance, where a respondent who chaired a fairly substantive committee rebuffed most of the other contextual issues and was unwilling to divulge any information other than that which focused on the committee that the respondent chaired. All other issues were regarded as trivial and digressing and it probably took the shortest time of twenty five (25) minutes. This respondent also occasionally expressed opinions through articles in the press, and I compiled these articles to gain a deeper understanding on aspects that did not come through during the interview and indeed have yielded some data which has been cautiously used in the background section of the analysis. There was another female respondent who was not forthcoming and I perceived this interview as yielding more of matter of fact or mechanical responses, in some instances, rather than a lived experience.

¹ Parliamentary administrative staff.

5.7.4 Family issues

Issues about spousal support for political careers were considered sensitive (Tamale, 1999) and I opted to disguise these aspects in questions concerning ‘gender concerns’ and a typical inquest would be framed like “do you have any gender issues that would curtail your legislative performance, or family and where a respondent felt she/he missed out on information or crucial connections?” The intention was to delve into those aspects that would interrupt a respondent’s family life or legislative and representative responsibilities, like coming home late, maintaining large households with constituents turning up at their private residences, issues that would presumably bother their spousesⁱ and perhaps also affect their information acquisition processes. If I judged the interview atmosphere to be conducive, I would make direct inquisitions, but in other instances, it would be disguised. Information was extracted in some respondents through these means, and but in others, it remained very much concealed and an uncomfortable intrusion.

5.7.5 Interviewer positioning

I tried to adapt to a less structured strategy, to avoid appearing like a distant academic, however the social location of my respondents at first imposed a gap, therefore, at least within the introductory sessions of the interview, I had to acknowledge the protocol and hierarchy and address them appropriately and respectfully, starting with their titles. This tended to compensate and provide leverage for the unequal social status between the interviewer and the interviewee and in my experience provided an opening for releasing information. Two respondents and an official from women’s network (UWOPA) expressed an interest in reading the final report. There was also a second strategy of listening actively, without interrupting and only probing where necessary, which was very fruitful, especially as the respondent clearly took control of their story, but the drawback was the tendency to go overboard and dwell in too much of their personal context and experiences sometimes with minimal issues relating to the study.

ⁱ Coming home late has been cited in newspaper columns as one of those elements of women in positions of power that broods insecurity feelings of insecurity in spouses of politicians. Other regular expressions are that ‘Museveni has made women rebellious’

5.8 Analytical instrument

The analysis will be divided into three parts, but under the umbrella of the information infrastructure. The primary categorization will consist of the information behavior matrix and this will be followed by an analysis of the context and ensuing information behavior and third level will be the discussion on Chatman/Merton's Insider/Outsider perspectives. Some of the theoretical discussions will be blended within the analytical arguments. However, prior to the primary categorization, I will first explore, from the empirical data, the background of respondents in order to have an understanding of their life situations against the backdrop of the analytical classification of insiders/outsideers.

Unit of analysis: My central focus in the study is on women legislators. However, primarily, I will be analyzing them as individuals actors within the context of legislation and at the secondary level of analysis, I will analyze them as a social group, conceptualized as previous outsiders to the public sphere of mainstream politics. Male respondents have been incorporated to provide comparisons.

5.8.1 Primary categorization

I wish to point out that as a study that mainly focused on the context of legislation and representation, and its impact on information behavior, I designed a thematic, but incremental data collection instrument, which I perceived to be sufficient and comprehensive for this exploratory investigation. However, there have been consequences in the significant amount of data generated especially pertaining to the social operational environment of legislators and the inherent information seeking activities and opportunities. The major drawback has been a tendency for more context than the information content, thus at primary level, I found it necessary, to adopt an instrument that would first facilitate distinguishing and illumination of the patterns of information behavior from the maze of this contextual data. This primary level analytical tool has been developed through an analysis of previous literature on information behavior research and also from my empirical findings. Some of the studies that have been inspirational include; Olander (1992)'s personal information management research, in which she applied an information needs/information seeking matrix. Through this approach, she categorized information needs into explicit and implicit and information seeking into external and internal. According to her classification, implicit information needs and information seeking reflected the less direct and informal form of information receipt, for

example through browsing, receiving gifts, scanning reports and attending conferences, meeting colleagues and visiting researchers. The explicit or the formal way incorporated what would be classified as a purposeful expression of need and initiation to seek information from within proximity and outside, for example, asking a colleague or consulting departmental collection or going out to use library material, search databases and generally fact finding (Olander 1992, pg 153).

This type of classification was also enlisted by Kaye (1995) when formulating his guide to information sources for business managers. He also provided a matrix of formal and informal against external and internal components in information sources. His proposed typology categorized sources by format, status and location. In the realm of the external, for example, trade contacts, personal advisors, (financial, legal), professional associates, social and family contacts formed the informal, while publications and electronic information services (including libraries, government departments, research establishments, stock exchange) comprised the formal. In the internal category, colleagues, including superiors, subordinates, staff of other departments and board members formed the informal, while reports, memoranda, working instructions, codes and regulations, budget statements and accounts, orders and requisitions, invoices, delivery notes, analysis and test results, and others formed the formal sources.

Earlier on in 1986, an unnamed author (author?ⁱ 1986, pp 6) had come up similar groupings in the field of management, and had also suggested characteristics of information sources that could form the basis for the classification, as illustrated in the table:

ⁱ although the author is not named, article appears to originate from Kaye and has been listed in the references as so.

Formal sources			Informal sources		
Characteristics	1	Public – large potential audience	1	Private – restricted audience	
	2	Information permanently stored and retrievable	2	Information typically neither permanently stored nor retrievable	
	3	Information relatively old	3	Information more likely to be up to date	
	4	Orientation of information chosen by originator	4	Information primarily user selected	
	5	Moderate redundancy in information	5	Sometimes much redundancy in information	
	6	No direct feedback to originator	6	Often considerable feedback to originator	
	7	Transmission of information quicker	7	Transmission of information slower	

Table 6 Example of characteristics of formal and informal sources

Other studies where the formal/informal information sources matrix features include; Selden (1999, pp 59- 60, table 3 and table 4) and Høglund and Persson, (1985 pp 47, fig. 3.3).

Although these categorical distinctions feature in some LIS studies, there are a considerable number of studies in the fields of communication and business, but with no explicit reference to a solid theoretical base, but rather, the formal tends to be linked to official authority, procedures and organizational objectives, while the informal is based on recurrent patterns of interaction (Hartman & Johnson, 1990; Johnson ... et al, 1994). This rather fluid conceptual base also implies that they can be easily adaptable to most contexts, including the legislative context and I have found the matrix suitable for my study since the context is embedded with implicit and explicit structures. The formal/informal format as a primary tool will therefore facilitate illuminating the distinctions in the contexts and in the information sources and channels of communication. In its simplest form, the formal categorization depicts the regular standardized structures reflecting the formal authority, sources and channels, while the informal will illustrate what could be regarded as non standardized, but operational structures. Examples depicting each category will be elaborated in the analysis. Other subcategories will also be developed out of these major themes and the subsequent information behavior will be explored.

The tables below highlight how the primary analytical tool will be operationalized.

Representation of the analytical tools for the Information infrastructure

Parliamentary structures/networks			
Gender	Formal	Auxiliary networks	Informal
male			
male+female			
female			

Table 7 Networks

This table no. 7 demonstrates the proposed classification of the parliamentary structures and this includes parliamentary committees and party caucuses as formal structures, while auxiliary networks are regarded as informal, but formally acknowledged by parliament and the informal category includes some ideological associations and the less visible networks. The gendered distribution of these networks will be observed in order to understand how women integrate within the parliamentary structures.

Information Sources	
Documentary (written published and unpublished)	Supplied through the Parliamentary records services, includes; Reports, Bills, Acts, ministerial statements, petitions
Oral	Face to face -conversations, public hearings (committees), conferences, workshops, meetings and seminars
Parliamentary Library and other libraries	
Research services	Carrying out research, writing papers for conferences and workshops, literature searches
ICT services	Electronic information
Personal subscriptions/info rmation purchases and use of information assistants	Subscriptions to journals, magazines, newspapers, and others whether in print or online. Purchase of any other literature/information
Media	Radio, television, Newspapers

Table 8 Information sources

This table is a demonstration of the categorization of information sources.

Information sources tend to be fused together between the formal and informal and I will represent them in this table.

Information behaviour	
active (solicitation)	passive (provision)
Through taking effort to seek information	Information supplied through obligation or sometimes without effort or request

Table 9 Information behavior

While this table relates to the general outlook of information behavior, the analysis of information behavior will reflect two levels, the national (parliamentary) level and at the constituency level, through which utilization of information sources (formal, informal, oral and written) and channels will be explored. The contextual influences on information behavior will also be analyzed.

Information needs

These could be explicitly expressed either through active information seeking or implicit or passively through encountering information sources.

However, not all the information aspects will be expressed by this classification, other categorization will be inductively deduced and explained from the data. An example will be the category of Information assistants and also classification of information accrued as a result of a respondent's social positioning or in a leadership situation, for example as a chairperson of a committee or network.

5.8.2 Secondary analysis

The second part of the analysis will focus on describing the social context of legislation and representation and analyze how it impacts on the information behavior of legislators, and on their possibilities. This session will thus be an analysis of context. The final level will reflect the main theoretical anchor of insiders and outsiders. The objective will be to compare the experiences and information behavior of respondents who are perceived to have been mentored for the mainstream (the insiders - men) and those who are perceived to be transcending from their previously restricted boundaries (the outsiders - women). Previous studies (Tamale, 1999, Ahikire & Madanda - Deniva, 2002) on the working environment of women in mainstream politics had pointed out the organizational structure as problematic to women, thus this level will attempt to focus on how both genders access and use information, and the challenges at the organizational level both at National (within Parliament) and at the constituency level. The challenge of information access for a large constituency will specifically be analyzed (*see* 6.4.3).

6 Findings and analysis

The study draws from the conceptual approach categorized as social by Pettigrew, Fidel and Bruce (2001). It focuses on the social aspects of information behavior and one of the main proponents was Chatman through her contextual studies on marginal situations and how they impacted on information choices for her participants. In this study, I am adopting a similar approach to analyze how the social environment of legislation and of being a representative of the people impinges on the information behavior of women in Parliament. Specifically some of the questions addressed are what information options they have access to, what information choices they make and the information barriers encountered. As presented in the previous chapter, it will be organized at three levels. The primary level will depict and illuminate the information aspects through the information behavior matrix that will identify sources, channels, the second level will analyze how these sources, and channels are utilized through an examination of the legislative context at parliamentary level and representative context at the constituency level. It will explore how the context influences information behavior. The third level, through the discussion, will scrutinize the findings against the backdrop of the main theoretical framework of insiders and outsiders.

Within the primary phase, I will utilize the matrix that has been developed to classify information structures, channels and sources into two categories of formal and informal, but before I proceed with the main analysis of information behavior, I would like to provide some highlights derived from the background information of my respondents on their social positioning and situation in view of the major theoretical underpinnings of insiders and outsiders. In other words it is an examination of the theoretical concepts against the context of legislators' background life settings.

6.1 Background – Insider/Outsiders and the larger political world

This information is derived from the one of the first questions on my interview schedule regarding the background of my respondents and it included probing on family situations, prior responsibilities and leadership opportunities (*see* Table 13 Demographic characteristics of respondents). The objective was to ascertain from the social context of their life circumstances how both men and women connected to the larger political

world and how this information can facilitate a further understanding of theoretical classifications on the status of being an insider and outsider. In Merton's terms this would be establishing the social base for the classification of the insider/outsider. The first part of this analysis relates to the female respondents.

Women respondents and their political world

Some of the women seemed to have maintained some political life and exposure to the wider public sphere, albeit within the periphery. There is an example of a respondent who had been employed within the civil service as a gender officer, a posting which, though not political, accorded this respondent significant proximity and leverage within the district administrative structure. It also exposed this person to the voting block, at a time when the affirmative seats were voted through an electoral college composed of the same district officials (councilors). This posting also presumed that this respondent would traverse the district with its political and administrative leadership, and infiltrate every program in a way of 'mainstreaming gender issues' or inculcating gender issues in district activities, which could as well be perceived as changing the structure of governance at the district level. Thus the transition from the peripheral politics to the main stream national politics seemed to take a rather smooth path in this particular instance.

Other female respondents had been attached to women's groups where they had held leadership positions, like the Mothers' Union (MU), the Girl Guide Movement, the Young Women Christian Association (YWCA), the Girls Brigade and the Uganda women's efforts to save orphans (UWESO). These were not necessarily mainstream peripheral politics like the gender officer but they are supposedly referred to as having groomed these women and entrained skills like self organization and self empowerment, group formation and mobilization, public speaking and building confidence, even though most of them operated within a patriarchal hierarchy. Nevertheless, these skills would eventually be of practical benefit when countering the main stream, as this quote asserts, in response to my inquisition as to whether the respondent had received any training to partake responsibilities as a woman councilor for the local councils:

... I was a leader in Mothers' Union, YMCA, Girl guides, I used to get my skills from those other organs¹, but politically there was no training¹,

and she further highlights that involvement in the earlier women groups could have provided the basis in selecting women representatives on council positions, and she relays it through this quote:

.. so people would look at those women who had some skills, who had some talents, or who were known to be interacting with others, so they request us to lead others².

Another respondent also acknowledges the significance of these previous interactions in particular her association with the Girls' Brigade in organizing people and specifically for community health services and in her recollection, she asserted that:

.... all this grooms you into leadership.., brings you nearer to the people and helps you in a way of how to relate with the community.³

The Girl Guide movementⁱⁱ was also credited for its culture of survival, not really for the fittest but within the minimum. This respondent drew from the Guide experience, information that proved instrumental in inculcating practical skills amongst women in utilizing what was available and handy at that time. Some of these skills illustrated, included transforming for instance, sacks (gunny bags) into some form of clothing as exhibited in this excerpt;

.. as a woman leader I had to teach women how to make table cloths from sacks and even cushions, she continues... . we would make cloths for the children from those sacks ...

and she further proclaims:

... I had learnt those things earlier on, because as a girl guide we always say that make the best of what you have, so you can never say that I am short of ABC therefore I can't do this and this⁴.

These capabilities were more suitable in rebuilding and sustaining the economic and social lives of women, after years of political strife that characterized the earlier operational environment of the women counselors, as indicated:

...because [in] Government, there was no organ which could cater for women, so women had to find a way of improving upon their status by themselves⁵.

ⁱ Magambo and Mutawe (2007, pg 247-248)'s paper on women councils also highlights the significance of earlier women's clubs in molding their community leadership roles sometimes up to national levels, in the absence of any real political mentoring.

ⁱⁱ Also an active caucus in the 6th Parliament (1996 – 2001)

But what is astounding in this background discussion was the case of one respondent, for whom the transition to the peripheral mainstream politics of the local councils, to occupy the only position available for women then, at the lowest level of RC¹, the village level, as secretary for women, warranted some form of spousal consent since it implied crossing her boundaries and it is manifest in the quote;

.... men had to come to our home and begged my husband to allow me, then when my husband agreed that I could go, I had many questions, because it had to be only one woman sitting amongst many men⁶

However, even within the initial interaction from private to public sphere, issues of self determination tended to be undermined and overshadowed by insiders (men) as portrayed from this account:

we used to have one woman on every LC, and these were times when men were the masters, the rulers, who also thought for them. 'the woman would be there, then the men would tell her, now for you, go and tell your women to do, rather than the woman suggesting that 'I want my women to be like this and this'⁷.

Men would still determined the operational terms of this outsider turned insider. There was also another captivating instance of a respondent who contested in an ordinary (non affirmative) constituency of her husband's birth place and her husband appears to be the first person approached to take up the challenge, but he passed it over to his wife, as expressed in this excerpt:

.. the Mp at that time, ... people felt he had not done very well, they were not satisfied, so they went on talking to people and when they talked to my husband about standing, he said No, no, not me, it is my wife who is interested... that is how I went for it. My constituency is where my husband is born, not my birth place'.⁸

Contesting in her husband's home area turned her into a double outsider, as she cites the rhetoric that was floated by local citizens that 'No, we also have our children', (people born in that area). This respondent asserts that her husband had to shield her:

¹ Initially, when the local administration (village to district leadership) was reinvigorated and reorganized after the war in 1986, the administrative structures were renamed Resistance Councils (RCs), adapted from the National Resistance Movement organization which had captured power, but later with the promulgation of the 1995 Constitution, they were again redesignated Local Councils (LCs), reflecting ideological neutrality, just like the institution of the army revolved from the National Resistance Army (NRA) to the Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF).

he had to be like the one putting his face outside, he was very supportive ... because I was standing where he was born'⁹.

Overall, among the twenty two female respondents, only eight seemed to originate from purely professional backgrounds with limited attachment to the wider political sphere. Seven (7) respondents had however been actively engaged in the local governance system, or peripheral politics, mostly evolving through the affirmative slot of woman councilor and also through the semi autonomous women organizations. One of these though had been both through the local councils on the women slot and the national student politics. The connection between the women councils and women organizations is made explicit through an expression of a respondent;

... it was the platform standing for Parliament, ... it is at times very difficult to just come out and stand, but me I had a stepping stone, I had a platform as of Women.... I think it gave me a fence and it also gave me the confidence and credibility¹⁰

Six (6) respondents held semi-professional postings that permeated and brought them into closer contact with the larger political terrain, some as activists or mobilizersⁱ of some kind and one (1) stood out as an exceptional case of a female legislator who had been in active politics in previous governments before the introduction of the affirmative policy and she will be profiled to exhibit information behavior of someone who has been there. There were also threeⁱⁱ respondents who proclaimed their birth status as 'first-borns' in their respective families. This could be interpreted as according them some innate administrative and leadership potential. Two of these demonstrated this capacity in these statements:

I am the first born of my family and this already puts me into a leadership position and when I grew up I found myself leading other children, either for development or for self betterment..... and I have been holding leadership positions since childhood¹¹ and as a first born in a family of 10, I had to set pace for everybody¹²

Thus for the women, the link with local councils remains the crucial connection to the wider political platform, however, there are also indications that for women, being a first born could make it easier to conform to the male world.

In conclusion, among the respondents, the nature of the interface or spaces where women as outsiders tended to interact with the inside political

ⁱ Within the Movement politics, this is someone who mobilizes the masses for programs, can be immunization, or any development project or even for particular occasions.

ⁱⁱ Out of these three, at least two were directly from professional backgrounds to politics.

world has largely been through the position of women councilors in the elementary politics of the local councils which is presumed to have provided the orientation and training in form of arousing their political consciousness against the backdrop of homegrown preparation. However, women too had their own networks like the Mothers' Union, Girl guides, YWCA, which although largely apolitical, accorded them some social skills which made their transition even to the peripheral mainstream of local politics a little easier. This connection was observed in Tripp's (2000, pp 73-74) studies of women associations through which she similarly concluded that women involved in organizations were more likely to be involved in local council politics. Another mode of accessing the male world could also be derived from the innate birth status as a 'first born'. However, it should be noted that entry to these spaces was initially largely determined by insiders, the men, through admissions like for example, 'men came to our home to beg my husband' or when the husband 'had to be the one putting his face outside' in order to support his wife's campaign. With regards to information implications for women, especially those who traversed through the local councils, there are indications of structural impediments and disadvantage to women's access and utilization of information for decision making and a detailed analysis of these issues is provided in the theoretical chapter.

Male respondents and their political world

When we compare with the male respondents, among thirteen (13) male participants, only four (4) seemed to originate from purely professional backgrounds, while others had either been active politically as students in student politics which is also linked to national politics. Others had been active participants in liberation politics and some from deep familial political dynasties. None of the male respondents in the sample had been through the local governments, although the biographical details amongst other male legislators in the Parliament handbook indicated a few of them as having been in active positions through the Local council system, but an inference can be drawn that for the majority, local government politics does not appear to feature as a central springboard to main stream politics, rather there is a marked propensity to go direct for the 'main deal'.

Political experience could be equated to an insider status and it also carries distinct information behavior patterns and in order to illuminate my assertions, I will provide profiles of four respondents, two males and two females in the subsequent section. Three of them are characterized as insiders and have developed what could be an equivalent of an information

seeking career to sustain their political presence and get on top of their game. The fourth represents an inability to break through the legislative structures.

6.2 Portraits

In this section, I will portray four profiles consisting of two male and two female legislators. The rationale for the inclusion of these profiles is a way of illustrating a comprehensive representation of information behavior that could be perceived as consistent with an insider's political life. The last portrait will elucidate a respondent who appears to have been bogged down by the system. The constrained legislator could be either male or female.

6.2.1 The Insider (male)

The first profile exhibits a political life and consciousness as early as eight years old, and after an initial experience, he later asks his mother what particular terms referred to, through this quote;

My mother was a daughter of a distinguished Mukunguⁱ (Official) of the Kabaka'sⁱⁱ government, and this Mukungu, my grandfather was a chief of the village, or what people referred to as Omwami Omutongole. I used to go with my grandfather to the Lukiikoⁱⁱⁱ to attend a weekly meeting and I would accompany him and hear as much as I was very young, about eight (8) years [old] and listen as they talked, what they talked interested me, they were talking about Governments and I asked my mother, what is Government? I should have asked my grandfather, I was being unreasonable. My mother says those are leaders. That is how I got interested,¹³

This respondent further recounts that when he started attending school, he joined a debating club in Primary five (approximately 10 - 12 years old), and he claims that this aroused his political interest, as expressed in this excerpt:

I started debating when I was in primary five I was the leader of the debating club, a small club, that interest at an early age prompted my interest in politics. The political inclination upgraded my motivation in debating but I want to share with you the view that my political inclination was related to my upbringing.

ⁱ He was a representative in the Kabaka's Government as well as a caretaker or administrator for the village, also known as a Village chief.

ⁱⁱ The glossary at the end provides more details on these terms

ⁱⁱⁱ Lukiiko is a term for the Legislative assembly of the Buganda Kingdom

and later on, he attempted a mainstream legislative position while he was approximately twenty six (26) years.

.. my attempt to seek office in Parliament was in 1980 and I was the youngest candidate....

However, this respondent did not get to Parliament until 1996 after several attempts, since 1980. From his profile, we can deduce that he had by birth been connected to a robust political tradition. He asserts that his political inclination was related to his upbringing and also within the Ugandan patriarchal society, we can presume that his grandfather was probably much more likely to pick on a boy, his grandson, to go along with him to the Lukiiko, than perhaps a granddaughter, although the interview did not delve into the details of this family. In terms of what this close proximity to the Lukiiko would impact on his later choices, my presupposition is that he could probably have observed and learnt or reflected on how things get done politically, or alternatively he could just have got a background understanding of Government and leadership, which he exploited and pursued sub-sequentially. His account also reveals that he developed debating skills at an early stage, primary five, which can be interpreted as another way of embracing and nurturing his nascent (political) upbringing, and possibly a subconscious preparatory phase for successive engagements. The debating skills consequently became a very active part of his public life and political career. He was one of those Mps who maintained visibility in Parliament, most especially the debating phaseⁱ, the plenary, throughout his legislative career. Indeed he professed that his best areas in the house are in ‘oral questions, interventions, points of order/information and all interactive performances’ⁱⁱ. He also demonstrated an efficacious information behavior, acquired through his close association with academics – political scientists, which also strengthened his agitations in Parliament. I will profile what I presumed to be corresponding inbuilt information behavior for this respondent in a way of illustrating what his type of nurturing, in addition to his gender, could offer in information possibilities as opposed to women legislators, not raised to take up political posts and also constrained by gender roles.

ⁱ In a survey on holding members accountable, carried out between June 2004 and May 2005, he was cited as one of those very assiduous members of the 7th Parliament and awarded him a score of A. This survey, however did not measure effectiveness but provided an indication on the number of times a legislator engages the plenary, which is also the most visible context of a legislator’s tasks.

ⁱⁱ These could as well be tactics used by the Mp to catch the eye of the Speaker in order to draw attention to information/issues he is trying to communicate.

Interests

His declared political interests and pursuits included causes in Environmental preservation, human rights and federalism which are also political issues, he had also been active in environmental organizations. He had over the years gathered and put together newspaper clippings reflecting these topical issues, which he displayed in his office.

He also claimed to have worked with the press as a broadcaster and correspondent for some papers, namely; the People, the Voice of Uganda, Uganda times, the Guardian and the weekly and also as an editor with an earlier edition of a political science Journal.

In his early life, he worked with leading academics as a research assistant and consequently a connection with regional politicians as he asserts;

I worked with Prof. Ali Mazruiⁱ, he was my mentorⁱⁱ and he admired my politics, my debating here at school in the debating with Kings College Budo, through competitions sponsored by the British Council. ... Through this enthusiasm, I was able to link up with some outstanding political characters. They played a very big role in motivating my political career. Among those was the Late Tom Mboya (a Kenyan politician), the Late Oginga Odingaⁱⁱⁱ, the late Simon Kapwepe of Zambia, Ngugi wa Thiongo^{iv}, Wole Soyinka^v. Those political linkages were within the company of Prof. Mazrui who was very closely associated to me. I was doing the research for most of his papers he wrote and presented, so I was part of the framework of advocacy within his academic links. I also worked with a local university's institute of Social Research (MISR^{vi}) as a researcher

He also indicated a greater utilization of the acquired research capabilities in his legislative career, in some of the tasks assigned to him by Parliament and

ⁱ Ali Mazrui is an outstanding literature Prof, formerly of Makerere but currently at the University of Michigan.

ⁱⁱ Although this (his) list contains names of Africans of some prominence, I was only able to independently confirm the link with Mazrui, mainly because he delivered a public lecture, at Makerere University (Kampala, Uganda) on August 15th 2006 which I attended. The speech was related to a commemoration of an anniversary of a national institution, for which he (Mazrui) was invited as a guest speaker. During this speech, which this respondent notably attended, he (Mazrui) mentioned his name, in recognition of his former associates, before he left the country during the reign of Idi Amin. Thus I was able to establish that at least, they had worked together at some point in their past.

ⁱⁱⁱ Kenyan politician who served once as a vice president and later opposition leader

^{iv} Ngugi is a Kenyan author and playwright

^v Wole Soyinka is a Nigerian Nobel Laureate. He won the Literature award in 1986

^{vi} MISR stands for Makerere Institute of Social Research, and it is an institution within Makerere University charged with social and policy research issues

also other research tasks taken on out of his political conviction to prove his arguments in Parliament with empirical support.

As a legislator, he was able to link up with international networks and researchers who shared his causes and in turn, he affirms some of his research studies were facilitated through these connections and before the Parliament established the research unit in 1998, he was already employing some assistants on his own. There were also other benefits in these connections, for example he mentioned regular travels and also sharing information on latest studies in his areas of political interest.

He also mentioned publishing a book out of the various topical papers and research reports he had presented and audio cassettes reflecting some of his lectures/presentations in particular topics.

Constituency management

Regarding his constituency, he indicated that he had an office with some staff on the ground, and he affirmed physical presence in the constituency at least every week. He also additionally hired political assistants whose tasks involved extensive information gathering in form of coordinating constituents' demands and scouting and reporting on activities and happenings within the constituency¹, some of which, he indicated, were important for him and thus required his physical presence. The examples he cited included cases of visiting government dignitaries, launching ceremonies of social services (water projects, schools, banks) and deaths of 'significant' constituents. He classifies them as 'emergent activities' that sometimes come up without notice, but which his scouts/political assistants must always keep him informed about. My interpretation of these events and their information worth for the Mp is that, a constituency leader/representative will most of the time be acknowledged in any function, (when present) and accorded the podium, an opportunity that would extend even to the grieving process (in the case of funerals) and can be utilized to address constituents on issues related to the occasion at hand, but additionally also disseminate and gather some other pertinent information during the ensuing interactions. Also within the social structure, death is not

¹ I am highlighting this point to illustrate the contrast with one female district Mp who indicated that she had to close down her constituency office, because it was allegedly not cost effective, as at times her political assistant could wait for whole days or even a week without any one turning up. This respondent does not only wait for people to come to his office, he goes after them. He actively looks out for information about his constituency, through his assistants.

private, but considered a community crisis, thus being close to mourners endears the Mp to constituents and there is a possibility of strengthening the support base and he seems to have a way of balancing his activities, which enables him to still stay afloat. Some of these incidents are also covered by the press which increases the visibility of the Mp.

Other activities assigned to his political assistants also included scheduling his meetings, running radio announcements and sometimes organizing for his press conferences. He indicated that at times he also works through the Local councils as information channels, but these times appeared to be limited.

Use of formal information structures

He emerged as the only respondent who did not appear to be bothered by the information burdens, he did not consider it in the negative and indicated he 'had the time' to go through his information bulk. He also utilized the Parliamentary Library to prepare for his internal and external presentations, to prepare motions and also for Parliamentary question time. He indicated regularly using five other libraries, besides the Parliamentary library for research work. He admitted assigning research assistants now and again for some of the literature searches.

He also used to subscribe to other information sources in his personal capacity allegedly to keep him abreast with current affairs and issues of political interest and maintained a home library with an index card filing system for ease of location and accessibility of documents and newspaper clippings.

He utilizes the Internet (sometimes with assistance of his secretary) and e-mail to widen his social circles and corresponds with fellow mps and fellow researchers in his networks.

He also acknowledges that a lot of presentations in Parliament are of an impromptu nature¹. At this point, I wish to incorporate two other legislators' accounts, (male) that I perceived to further illuminate this point, one of which was a respondent for this study, while the other was discovered through browsing the Hansard. With the first case, also of a respondent, I was trying to inquire about the information preparations before his parliamentary work and he intimated;

... let me be frank, the sort of things they do to us here, can't allow us to do research, because most times you don't know what is going to happen on the

¹ The view is also demonstrated by at least two other male Mps and is perceived to be consequential to their information seeking.

floor, so unless they have circulated a bill [before], you can't do much research .. *What sort of things?* Information [the order paper] comes late, although we noted in our rules of procedureⁱ that we have to be notified three days in advance, for whatever is coming before Parliament, but that is not followed¹⁴.

In the second account, derived from the Hansard, a male Mp was complaining about the late release of the daily Parliamentary agenda and below is the excerpt, in which he was engaging the Deputy Speaker;

... I do appreciate the effort you have put in this week for us to get the order paper by 10:00 am. This however does not give us enough time to do our homework on any matter coming up in the afternoon. Is it possible to have a tentative one for the week so that we can prepare accordingly, even if we have to adjust? [Hon Awori, Hansard 17th April 2002, 1st page – 3rd paragraph]

Perhaps it is not surprising that these issues were being raised by two male legislators, with extensive legislative experience in previous regimes, were frequent debaters who were also rated fairly highly in terms of their contribution to Parliamentary debates according to the Surveys carried out in 2005ⁱⁱ and in 2006ⁱⁱⁱ and fairly influential legislators, perhaps derived from their constant contributions. Their legislative experience made them familiar and deeply internalized procedures and the necessary preparations. Raising these issues bordering on information seeking implied that they cared about their information preparedness for their presentations for national discussions and decision making. Their influence was also of benefit to the women Mps, for example, when women wanted to move a motion for Parliament to set up a nursery, one of them intimated in the interview that they had to lobby an 'influential' member, and the motion was successful.

I have brought in these two accounts for the purpose of corroborating the account pertaining to the arbitrary Parliamentary agendas, as presented by the respondent in the profile. However, the Mp in the profile, displayed a different approach, he does not appear to condemn the practice as something irregular, but had devised a working plan that seemed to cope and confront it:

ⁱ These are rules set up by Parliament through its committee on Rules and privileges, to guide Parliamentary practices.

ⁱⁱ The report is titled: holding members of Parliament accountable: Mps performance report card of the 7th Parliament of Uganda (2006)

ⁱⁱⁱ Parliamentary scorecard, 2006 – 2007 : assessing the performance of Uganda's legislators

... you must engineer a framework of impromptu preparations if you are going to meet the demands of impromptu presentations ... you have got to have something to match it

He explains his strategy that he usually goes for the order paper before it is officially released:

you get it out there ... I lock myself inside the room, and when matters affect me very much, I do not have to line up in the canteen for eating, I just get my secretary to provide for me some water, make some coffee, like two cups and I go to the house. I would rather stay here and prepare than go to the canteen and wait for another thirty minutes before I can have lunch ... because there is need ... to prepare .. you cannot afford to do anything without even the most minimal preparation .. even if it is five minutes.

He also indicated that he requests his secretary to record plenary sessions when he is away allegedly to keep pace and consistency in Parliamentary issues.

Other interactions included addressing regular press conferences, and had regular slots on three (3) local FM stations.

This respondent was also taking a law degree ostensibly to enhance his legislative capabilities and public advocacy, as he explains:

.. when people come to see their Mp, they don't necessarily come on only one item, they come and they see you as a judge and as a well informed person. They expect you to administer clear effective directions on any matter of concern; therefore you cannot say you don't know what is happening.

Summary of the information behaviour of the insider

- Constituency issues;
 - Lives within the constituency, thus close proximity to the electorate
 - Weekly visits
 - Regular rallies
- Library, research services;
 - Utilizes parliamentary library, research services and other libraries, sometimes with help of personal assistants.
 - Purchases personal information sources, maintains a personal library

- Held leadership role in parliament, therefore had access to personal assistance
- Personal publicity
 - Regular press conferences
 - Regular radio shows

In conclusion, this profile reveals a political style and corresponding information behavior that follows through his legislative practices. He could be considered to have fully exploited his background traits, work experience and his gender resulting into a very vibrant information rich legislative career. He had also been successively elected twice to Parliament.

6.2.2 The political entrepreneur (male)

The second extreme example in this category of male legislators with strong political connections, although the family background did not reveal much engagement or even emerging from an established political family, but his earlier student life, was very much political as expressed in this quote about his background:

What I can tell you is that when I was in secondary schoolⁱ in Kampala, in Bwanamukunguⁱⁱ senior secondary school, I used to attend Parliament I did, that was the independence time, in the (19)60s when Uganda got independence, I was here so I used to attend in the stranger's gallery, [and] there were negotiation [s] for getting independence in 60s I had my interest so when we had occasion, we used to come, so I continued having interest¹⁵

This respondent also participated in what we refer to as liberation politicsⁱⁱⁱ, as cited in this quote, 'I went to Dar es salaam and then met President Museveni, we had the same interest ... with [he names six (6) personalities]...'. He has also been in Parliament since 1992. His list of political 'associates' includes several contemporary prominent politicians and government officials some of whom he affirms were school mates. One particular trait in his information behavior that he pointed out as closely

ⁱ The 'normal' secondary school age range is between thirteen (13) and twenty (20) years, so I can presume that the age range the respondent is referring to was between teenage and probably early twenties.

ⁱⁱ Bwanamukungu is a pseudonym for the name of the secondary school

ⁱⁱⁱ Liberation politics is connected to the liberation wars of Museveni, that took place in the period 1979 – 1985, so he could be considered to have actively participated in the liberation movement/struggles.

linked with his earlier political ambitions and political comrades was; ‘.... reading newspapers’. He still considers this trait of great significance to his legislative career as he asserts ‘I read all newspapers written in Uganda, from Kenya, all of them they give me information to know what is going on’. However, this respondent has since risen to various positions in Parliament and his current standing for example accords him great social status, which accrues a myriad of information acquisition opportunities and privileges, since he is able to freely associate with the executive. He is therefore part of the major influential information networks. He expressed part of his clout especially in fast-tracking issues, including his constituency issues in this excerpt:

... because this is my position, I will call a Prime Minister here if I want and have a problem, I will call a minister if something is not being done ... I call the person concerned ...

In addition, the government facilitates his political assistants at constituency level, allegedly in recognition of the additional responsibilities accrued from his portfolio. At parliamentary/national level, he also holds an office with administrative and support staff at his disposal. The bulk of informational work, according to my interview with his administrative assistant, seems to be carried out for him by the administrative staff responsible, for example, for drafting speeches both regular and occasional and preparing conference papers. With regards to the bulk of information received from the parliamentary sources, the Mps affirms; ‘some I read, some I don’t, and some are read by my liaison officer’. The administrative assistant is also in a position to ‘exert pressure’ on other organs both within Parliament and outside, to prioritize and avail pertinent information at short notice, under the clout of this office.

This office also doubles as a conduit through which information is passed on to Parliament, thus this respondent almost has prior knowledge about ‘things’ to come, for instance information in form of petitions, motions, resolutions to be brought to the floor of the House. Undoubtedly, following my interview, I witnessed a group of people, waiting in queue, with their area representative (Mp), to petition this respondent about an issue pertaining to their locality. Specifically, they were seeking national recognition of a disaster, with the goal of qualifying it for special public attention and corresponding disaster relief and the respondent later moved out with the group to seek first hand information on the problem at hand.

Summary of the information behaviour of the entrepreneur

- Although he keeps in touch with national and international issues through reading newspapers, his Information acquisition is mostly through his privileged social positioning within the bureaucracy of the political establishment.
- Has extra personnel both in his office and at constituency level paid for by the state to handle information.
- His information burdens are certainly reduced by the information assistance and an inference can be drawn that he is effective.

In conclusion, although this respondent did not provide much information on the circumstances that prevailed in electing him to his current position, my interpretation is that his earlier undertakings, which I categorize as political investments and translating into ‘powerful’ connections could have enabled him to advance politically and hierarchically in the Parliamentary structure. This progression in turn accorded him a prestigious and respectable position with relative advantage and ease in accessing information as his needs are certainly prioritized and handled promptly and thus the classification of a political entrepreneur.

6.2.3 The thriving cosmopolitan (female)

Sheⁱ asserts that she cannot pinpoint a starting point for her political ambitions, but rather attributes it to the hostile environment in which she was raised, and her background experience presents more of a life struggle, of defiance against cultural prejudice. Her political career seemed to be born out of a desire to change the social structure, or what she refers to as ‘breaking tradition’

The environment I grew in looked down on the girl child There was that culture of thinking that a girl should be prepared for marriage ... going to school was just to make your life a little better, but basically you were supposed to be someone’s wife¹⁶

These circumstances entrenched a form of assertiveness in her personal character and demeanor to fight for what she felt she deserved, as proclaimed in these quotes:

Now that environment of course did have an impact on me, it gave me the spirit of defending my interest. I think that is how I can describe it in other

ⁱ This legislator was interviewed twice, the first interview through a face to face encounter and later clarifications through a telephone conversation.

words I developed a defensive character to try and stay where I feel I should stay, to do what I felt I could do and to say what I felt I could say like for regardless what the environment dictated ...

Although she describes her father as ‘modern’ man who appeared to value equality, but in some instances, tradition and culture prevailed. She recalls an incident when the education opportunity almost slipped away, but she fought back as expressed:

.... my father didn’t think that my being a girl I should remain home he was a little bit exposed to education, to understand the importance of bringing up children equally he was willing to make a sacrifice but despite that, at some stage when my mother had a baby, you know my mother ... had babies one after the other, I had to drop out of school for about a term or so, but my attitude made them to take me back. My attitude was so negative I was always crying, so it was like I was missing school, I was all the time miserable so my parents had no choice but to take me back the following term. So you can see the environment that dictated at that time. You can see I could have been sacrificed, I could have lost out on my education, but I was able to get back to school and continued as usual.

Even when she describes the choice of a future career, her attitude differed from what was the norm at that time and once again she was assertive:

.... I remember one incident that took place in my school I went to our school was visited by a team from the Ministry of Culture and Community so they came to talk to us girls about career guidance because girls had to be guided on the right course to do ... I think it was in the year 1963. So they came and talked to us and told us girls, you are supposed to do soft courses; otherwise teaching was the best course for girls followed by Secretarial¹ training, followed by Nursing there was that danger of you being impregnated any time, even if you get pregnant in the end, at least you would have ended up with some kind of training. So that is when I stood up and asked the team, how would they handle a girl who would not hope to get pregnant or hope to be diverted, how would they handle that girl that kind of girl?

When pressed by the Ministry officials to elaborate on her real ambitions she affirms:

.... I told them that I don’t quite understand [I have not figured it out yet] but what I want, is to do what a man can do I think if a man can be a manager, I want to be a manager

¹ This occupation referred to an office assistant, who organizes offices and handles official communication including typing.

She later obtained a scholarship due to her outstanding performance and was admitted to a missionary boarding Anglican based girls' high school, against her staunch catholic upbringing, which greatly bothered her father. However, later, compromises were made for her to attend mass in a catholic church, even when it meant crossing the school gate, which she refers to as 'breaking tradition' so as to maintain her faith and she expresses it in this quote:

I refused to be integrated in the Anglican faith, I insisted on my faith ... I did not want to let my father down.

On another occasion, when it came to the actual choice of career at university level, she opted for Commerce against the counsel of her academic mentors, as she explains:

... they were not allowing girls to do commerce because it was a very difficult course, it was very mathematical .. not in the line for women ... but I insisted .. in fact in my second term, I was asked by the dean of my faculty to go for law ... they thought I was very eloquent, I had a gift of articulation and public speaking ... but I told them No, my heart is to do commerce and I have the ability to do that ... [moreover] law was part of the component course, because to do commerce, you had to do law of property, law related to corporate society, the law related to contract, so we had a lot of law in our training, so I insisted that commerce was the right course for me ..

At university, she joined the students' leadership and also other national students' associations, which brought about an initial excitement about politics. Through the student leadership, she had at some point worked closely with the political elite and experienced the transformational effects of power, as she states:

I could see that by influencing opinion, you can change things so I became rather interested in taking up positions which would make it possible for me to change things....

She later took up positions in the corporate world and was able to rise to the top of the ranks, allegedly changing the organizational environment along the way in the pursuit of promoting women in leadership. She also cited a few examples of the beneficiaries of maneuvers. Eventually, but perhaps unsurprisingly, she crossed over into mainstream politics and again advanced to the top leadership positions of her party, which she refers to, using the communist ideology of the Polit Bureau, the top inner core of the party. She was charged with the mandate of running the party on a day to day, full time basis, since the other executive comrades of the Polit bureau

held official positions in Government, thus preoccupying them with national affairs, since this was also the ruling party at that time.

Thus when the policy of bringing women on board came up in 1989, her social positioning had already been uplifted and elevated, she was no longer in the marginal status, but in most respects had transformed herself into a political insider and she portrays it in this excerpt:

... when they talk about affirmative action bringing out women, I was really there, I was already there ...

Her party eventually lost power in 1985, and another regime took office briefly before being overthrown by the current regime (1986- 20...). This government established affirmative constituencies, but she carried on, while also holding on to her fallen Party's mantle, and when elections came up, she contested and perhaps with little surprise, her option was going straight for the main, the ordinary constituency, rather than take on a specially created women's seat, and she expresses it in this excerpt:

I was exposed, I should say and I had the stamina to compete with men

She consequently represented a non affirmative constituency from 1992 until 2006. In 2005, when the system of multiparty politics was revived, her party experienced internal conflicts which eventually alienated her from her usual constituency, resulting into a lost election. However, she later took advantage of a newly created affirmative constituencyⁱ and successfully contested for the seat, but as an independent candidate. She does not seem to regard this new shift as backtracking from her original ideals as an 'emancipated' woman, who always 'went with the boys', but rather perceives the initial loss as an unfortunate consequence of her successful struggles, through Parliament, to reinstate multiparty politicsⁱⁱ. She reiterates that;

I do not have to stand with women in order to come to politics, but *the hostile environment had closed the door* [her emphasis] and so the affirmative action was able to open the door for me to come to Parliament, but nobody can say, [I amⁱⁱⁱ] not useful material in the politics of Uganda.

ⁱ This is also a case of one of the many new districts created.

ⁱⁱ She credits herself for persistently and consistently speaking for the opposition, during the Movement years (1986 – 2005). However, there could have been some differences, in plausible options with regards to how to relate with a government (the Movement Government), that had seriously undermined her own party and eventually caused its downfall. Her move to work within it, as an Mp, might have estranged her from other party stalwarts, while she argues that it was a tactical resolve to avoid political oblivion.

ⁱⁱⁱ Here she stated her name

She also prioritizes her legislative choices which also translate to information choices as she exclaims:

I am not an everything Mp, ... I am a few issues Mp ... I try to understand every issue, but I don't have to be an expert on every issue. I am focused on democracy and very strongly and that is central to my heart; I am focused on the issue of human rights that too, is central to my heart. I am focused on the issue of Land, conflict resolution, because it touches on the situation in [my region]. I am focused on the issue of gender and children's rights and as a farmer I am focused on the issue of agriculture

She is thus selective in her information seeking and use and the information she focuses on reflects her interests, but also displays an affinity to current affairs. She affirms that she spends lots of money on newspapers and this has been extended even to her constituents, for example, she attests that she buys newspapers for every primary school in her area, for the sub-county offices and also for head teachers', so that they too, get informed and also 'develop the culture of reading', which would in turn impel them to make their own purchases as well as widening their outlook.

Use of formal information sources (the library, Internet, research services)

She uses the library mainly for Hansards and the Parliamentary research services for her presentations; however, she does not employ any personal/political assistants to facilitate her information seeking and she ponders on how to put them to useⁱ but rather emphasizes that she reserves time to do her own research, allegedly out of her own responsibility as a leader, moreover she finds her 'honorable' position a useful expediting asset in 'demanding' for information from different places. She also emphasizes a need for one to do research and 'being in charge of what you are going to say before you stand up, and if you are not ready, do not stand up in Parliament and speak'. So she asserts that at Parliamentary level, 'I can handle [information], I can network with my fellow Mps, ministers, if I need clarification on certain policies, I can have one to one with my colleagues'. Thus, she reserves the political assistants for her constituency activities. She also points out that she utilizes her own information and knowledge and her exposure to formulate her positions.

Internet: She admits being semi-literate, although she can send emails and at times access Internet, but tends to rely on the expertise of other people and family members. She does not utilize the Network from the library

ⁱ She claims that it is not to do with their funding, but how best to accommodate and utilize them

allegedly due to the congestion, she suggests leaving the fight to younger legislators, and uses her own personal unit.

She also subscribes to literature of interest, for example *The Economist*, to provide an outlook on the international dimension of the business and political world and most of the local magazines and journals on corporate governance. Thus through this literature, she constantly connects to both the local and international political scene.

Gender aspects, informal networks

Although there were no specifics disclosed, she proposed a need to balance marital aspects with politics. She is cognizant of women's domestic challenges as pointed out in this extract:

... not only in politics, but in the corporate world and in academia, ... a mother, a woman .. is overworked/overloaded because when you are at home, you are not there to rest, our men go home to rest. You go there to start another session of work even if you have domestic servants to assist you, unless you strictly supervise them, they will be more destructive than constructive if you are not watchful so a woman is overworked at home, overworked in Parliament ...

She does not negate this double load, and despite her outspokenness and various challenges to the status quo, she advocates for a traditional approach to domestic relations as she expresses; 'you must know how to relate with your husband ... if you are going to be a boss to your husband, you are actually going to force him to look for a wife', thus she attempts to 'balance' her time and responsibilities and also spread them. In the same vein, she did not favor joining after-hours networks and her argument was that;

... the only time I have after Parliamentary session for my family is the time after, so if I am going to use the time after for maintaining a group, it is not going to be easy. And as a woman, you are different because to maintain that social group, probably you need to go with your husband, because if you are going to go to golf club, or Casino..., you are going with your male colleagues, you are going to stress up your husband

But on the other hand, she could stay longer in the Parliamentary canteen and ironically sometimes cautions overstaying young female colleagues, about the risks to their marital relationships. When I inquired further whether she perceives any information losses created by the domestic arrangements, she asserted that;

I have developed a character that I can penetrate every area even if physically I am not there. *How?* I can get information even if I am not there, there is nothing which is done I tell people, if you want secrets from State House, I will get it for you. If you want Cabinet extracts I can get it for you because I have developed a system around me to sustain me. *Through your experience as a legislator?* Through my experience, not only as a legislator, but even as a politician you have to maintain contacts in every area sometimes even information just drops on my desk ... so you get volunteers who can give you information and I think I will always pride myself of being very privileged in that. People trust me with this information, people trust that they are not just giving information, but that they will give me information and I will use it to change the situation.

Although she is not really open about her informal information practices, it is possible that her long exposure to the mainstream, political astuteness and assertiveness have enabled to infiltrate powerful information networks, which levels out her gender related limitations.

Constituency management issues

Perhaps in an attempt to 'make good' of her new assignment, she articulated that in terms of political exposure, and exerting influence, the district seat is advantageous because;

As a woman Parliamentarian, you are penetrating every area in that district so you can transform the lifestyle of people in that district, in the entire district, whereas you only had the jurisdiction over a small constituency. So in terms of functional sphere, functional area, women are better off in charge of the district, because they have bigger responsibility, bigger area to look at, bigger population to deal with, bigger agenda in terms of moving the community forward, ...whereas you only had jurisdiction over a small constituency.

So she regards this position as more empowering for the woman compared to an ordinary constituency, but what is the cost in terms of information seeking and dissemination?

In response, she credits her academic background as a manager, which inculcated in her character a degree of versatility and as such, she claims she should not necessarily be comparable to others, since, 'her style of doing things is different'. In comparison to her former constituency, she asserts that it was easier to manage, since it was located in an urban environment, thus the office was located in the center of the town and she found no need to open offices in other divisions. However, with the affirmative seat,

consisting of five (5) big sub-counties and 34 to 35 parishes, she relays a different approach:

.. the best way that I can coordinate activities is to have offices in all the sub-counties and to have a coordinating office at the district headquarters, at the district center so the presence of an Mp is there, through that office and a caretaker in that office. That is where people can meet, that is where people can plan, you know you have somebody and that is where I can disseminate information. When I know I have a meeting to hold, I just send messages to my district office and the district office will disseminate this information to the sub-county office and everything is done.

She adds that although it is expensive, it is worthwhile especially:

in terms of penetrating the community, you see as a driver, you have got to go an extra mile, and that is one of the ways I have [done that] in order to be in touch with the people', regardless of the expenses involved and she finances the district office with three (3) full time staff and one part time and each of the sub-county offices also has one staff member.

She has served as a mentor to most legislators and constituents come to her home. She also further elaborates:

You know there is that attitude that has been created that members of Parliament are distant from the electorate and that the moment they are elected, it is difficult to find them, difficult to talk to them and it is the tradition that has been with us for a long time, but we want to break that barrier You have to go to the people rather than wait for the people to come to you. And one of the ways I can go to the people is to have an office nearer to them, they can still talk to me, even if I am far from them.

Whereas she affirms that her arrangement in the previous ordinary constituency appeared to have been less laborious, probably due to its size and her long term familiarity with the constituency, within the new assignment, she is taking extra effort, utilizing her management expertise and political shrewdness, acquired through the extensive mainstream experience to penetrate the grass root and build a new power base. She also emerges as the only affirmative district Mp who has attempted to spread out like some of the respondents who were representing ordinary constituencies. Her rationale for this arrangement also seems to extend to the broader relationship between representatives and the electorate and confirms that some of my earlier observations concerning the Wanainchi's attitude towards their representatives could have some ground. Some parliamentarians appear to realize and acknowledge detachment and this is further compounded in press reports, published on 1st July 2008, by Kiwuuwa, and later confirmed for an inaugural session on 25th September

2008, by ‘Vision reporters’, in a major Ugandan daily. In this account, the Deputy Speaker is cited as having pronounced that Parliament was intending to spread out to the districts, allegedly to bridge the gap between the legislators and the electorate. It is contained in this excerpt;

We feel that the electorate does not know what the legislators discuss. There is need to take debates to them so that they understand us (Kiwuuwa, 2008)

The Deputy Speaker’s proposition of taking the national legislature closer to the people and the respondent’s several constituency offices all appear to be responding to a void, and an urgency to (re)connect.

In conclusion, the three profiles reveal the information environment of respondents I would refer to as typical or ideal insiders. I can also deduce that most of the male respondents in my study had earlier on an ubiquitous public and political life, thus their grooming or rather preparation were more or less ‘home’ grown and also self motivated, which could also fit in well with the traditional patriarchal values and customs, where men as heads of households, clans and kingdoms were assumed to be leaders (Kabonesaⁱ, 2001), and thus the transition from household or clan headship, to politics appears to be only natural. These earlier engagements in some instances also have encompassed a pertinent information behavior that has been appropriate in discharging their legislative tasks. With the case of the woman referred to as the thriving cosmopolitan in the profile, her political career was not resultant from any prior privilege or political upbringing, but rather through concerted struggles, even at the lowest level, to fight tradition, patriarchal structures, or a ‘hostile environment’, which had repeatedly threatened to curtail her potential. She was determined to break through the norm and eventually sustain presence in the mainstream. Thus she is not just a survivor of patriarchy, but she has also thrived and come through with her numerous political battles. She has also built clout around her and to-date stands out as one of the most influential and respected female legislators and she is certainly visible and vocal. It could be interpreted that her long experience and struggles have built in her a strong personality, character, confidence and eventually some standing within influential information networks. However, unlike the two male colleagues in the profile who are not bogged down by gender roles, she subscribes to a traditional and conservative approach to family relations, which implies that gender roles are added onto her other legislative duties. Although this seems

ⁱ Dr. Consolata Kabonesa is a lecturer at Makerere University, Department of Women and Gender Studies

to be at odds with her character of an outspoken change advocate, it could be construed as a tactic to maintain her position in the mainstream, by not antagonizing the domestic arrangements.

Hence her approach to the social and life circumstances could match Merton's classification of the 'cosmopolitan'. Merton, in his description of world views, distinguished two types, the locals and the cosmopolitan. A local was an individual observed to have focused on everyday life situations in their locality, while the cosmopolitan maintained minimum relations within their local community, but oriented himself to a world outside his immediate locality. He regarded himself as an integral part of the outside world, the greater society with its emphasis on national and international concerns (Chatman, 1999, pp 208; Merton, 1968, pp 447). In the same way this legislator's refusal to be limited and restricted by her immediate circumstances of culture and gender exemplifies an attitude which has situated her favorably into the public sphere and thus the label of a thriving cosmopolitan. This however, does not imply that she pays less attention to her local situation, rather she positioned herself strategically to take charge and capture information from both worlds of the local environment and the wider perspective.

Summary of the highlights of her information behaviour

- Constituency issues
 - Maintains several offices and office assistants in all sub-counties, thus she is on the ground
- Library use
 - Utilizes library, research unit, ICT facilities, although Internet usage is sometimes through other people
 - Privately subscribes to various information sources to maintain a lead position in national and international affairs
 - Does not employ personal information assistants for her workload but very selective in her legislative interests
 - Also indicates strong use of her position to demand for information as well as attracting insider information.
- Personal publicity
 - Sometimes utilizes the media to disseminate information.

I also wish to relay some of the information behavior derived from the experiences of these three (3) profiles. The information behavior prevalent in all the profiles is the quest for knowledge of both local and international affairs, a trademark of a cosmopolitan, in order to connect with the larger political world and remain relevant, as it also implies they would probably ‘fit in most political conversations’. This information behavior also featured with the portrait of the widowed legislator when she affirmed that ‘you have to be up to date with the news, reading newspapers, is a must, listening to the radio is a must ...’¹⁷. The profiles also reveal investments in information acquisition and thus minimal impediments in pursuit of legislative tasks.

6.2.4 The bridled

In the profile of the bridled, I was contemplating the experience of a legislator who appeared to have been bogged down by the legislative structure and unable to progress. I presumed that indicators of this condition would include legislators whose activities, contributions, interests are considered scanty within the public domain. Examples would be limited information on contributions in the Hansard and in the press reports. Probably this could as well be a young female legislator, with a young family and probably with minimal education. Another pointer would be for legislators who had opted out of the race for the 8th parliament. In general, I was contemplating a legislator who had remained an outsider in the mainstream.

There were both male and female legislators who would fit into this category. However, I was unable to interview the two female legislators as appointments were never honored. I held an interview with a male Mp who exhibited at least some of these traits. He was considered silent and low key and had never held any leadership position. This Mp indicated a backstage preference in what he termed as “playing behind the scenes”. However, his account and patterns of information behavior at all levels of the national parliament and his constituency, opportunities available to him, as well as his gender and spousal support all depicted a very illustrious politician and could hardly fit in what I had envisaged to be a constrained individual. He served in the 7th Parliament and unsuccessfully contested his position for the 8th ⁱ. From his account, I infer that probably silence alone may not be the best indicator of a hindered political career.

The only respondent who exhibited frustration with the political establishment and opted not to stand again was a woman. She too, however

ⁱ This legislator lost in the primaries.

did not fit within the typical profile of the bridled, since she was a very active and visible legislator in most legislative contexts and had risen through the ranks of the political bureaucracy at some point, courting with the internal information networks of Executive and even chaired major committees. However, reason for quitting was indicated as someone who had “simply lost the fire” and was no longer able to effect change on the national stage due to what she attributed to as institutional deviations that were threatening all the modest achievements. In a way she symbolizes being restrained by the structure, although not in terms of access to information or failing to occupy an insider position. At the same time she somehow extolled dignity of purpose in exit, since opting out of the political establishment even when a legislator may no longer be in a position to make an impact, has always been a decision made by the voters. This is deduced from the experience of the 7th parliament when only eight (8) legislators took a concerted decision not to stand again.

In conclusion, being bridled was not a single trait displayed by one or two legislators, rather it was reflected in barriers at several points within the contexts of social and political. The woman legislator who complained about her inability to work through the information overload in the section on gender roles was constrained by the social expectations. The female legislators who were unable to sustain any permanent constituency presence could also fall in this category of being bridled since they indicated being overwhelmed by their huge districts, therefore the political context imposed burdens on their capabilities. However, these are traits that could be found in more women than men.

6.3 The Information infrastructure

The information infrastructure will be subdivided into two main categories, the Parliamentary/National level and the constituency level. At the parliamentary level, it will incorporate analysis of parliamentary structures, information sources and the ensuing information behaviour mostly for national legislative tasks from both documentary sources supplied through the parliamentary information system and oral information sources. The usage of library/ies, research and ICT facilities will be elucidated as a distinct part of the formal information infrastructure. The second segment of the information infrastructure will incorporate an analysis of the information structures at constituency level and the ensuing information behaviour. The information challenges at the district level will be illuminated as an aspect that impacts heavily on women legislators on the affirmative seats, as well as

the consequences of gender roles. However, some of the aspects of information behaviour will overlap between the two main contexts of national/parliamentary and constituency, but this will be pointed out and explained.

6.3.1 Parliamentary level information structures/networks

This section of the main analysis will start with the scrutiny of parliamentary structures as reflected in table 10. It reflects one of the interview questions on the respondent's networking and associational capabilities and how women were incorporated into the political structures. These structures could be interpreted as information structures, since they are forums for information exchange, thus the overarching label of Information infrastructure.

Parliamentary structure/networks			
Gender	Formal	Auxiliary networks	Informal
male			After hours
male+female	Cabinet, Committees, Party caucuses	UPFC, CPA, APCAN, Amani, NAWMP, Food security forum, YPA	Regional/ethnic caucuses, ideological caucuses, special interest groups, personal – affiliation to NGOs both local and international
female		UWOPA, Girl guides	

Table 10 Parliamentary structures

Committees

Parliament conducts its business through both committees and in the plenary sessionsⁱ. Within this research they will constitute the formal structures

ⁱ Parliament of Uganda. (2008) How Parliament works: committees and plenary of Parliament.

accruing from a constitutionalⁱ obligation at the National level. While the committees are specifically reflected in Article 90(1) of the national constitution, their composition, functions and jurisdiction are spelt out in the rules of procedureⁱⁱ, which also provide an operational framework for parliament. Committees could therefore be regarded as smaller defined working groups that subdivide the legislative tasks into manageable assignments and present their final reports/findings to the wider group of all legislators in the Plenary sessions for national discussion and action (plenary debates). There are four types of committees;

- Standing committees
- Sessional committees
- Select committees
- Adhoc Committees

Standing committees are appointed at the commencement of a parliamentary term and in the 8th Parliament, the terms lasts for two and a half (2 ½ years) followed by new appointments. Standing committees include:

- The Public Accounts Committee
- The Committee on Rules, Privileges and Discipline
- The Business committee
- The Committee on Budget
- The Committee on National Economy
- The Committee on Appointments
- The Committee on equal Opportunities
- The Committee on Government Assurances
- The Committee on Commissions, Statutory Authorities and State Enterprises
- The Committee on Local government accounts
- The Committee on HIV/AIDS and related matters
- The Committee on Science and Technology

ⁱ All matters relating to the legislature are reflected in Chapter six (6) of the 1995 national constitution, Article 77-97 (pp 49-61).

ⁱⁱ Rules of procedure of parliament of Uganda, 2006, Part XXIV, pg 87-119.

Sessional committees are construed based on specific fields/departments, their lifespan is one session equivalent to a parliament year and their composition is determined at the beginning of each session. There are five sessions in a parliamentary term. Sessional committees in the 8th parliament include;

- Agriculture, animal industry and fisheries
- Tourism, trade and industry
- Social services (covers education and sports, health and the equal opportunities commission)
- Physical infrastructure
- Legal and parliamentary affairs
- Public service and local government
- Natural resources
- Defense and internal affairs
- Presidential affairs
- Foreign affairs
- Gender, labor and social development
- Information, communication and technology

Select committees and Ad hoc committees are usually appointed to investigate particular issues of public importance in a moment in time, that do not fall into the other committees and they expire immediately after completion of their assigned tasks.

All committees both standing and sessional have specific jurisdictions and functions, but in general terms, these functions incorporateⁱ;

- Critically examining, discussing and making recommendations on bills brought by Government before the House, prior to their debating in the plenary
- Initiating bills within their respective areas of competence
- Critical examination of government recurrent and capital budget estimates and make recommendations for general debate

ⁱ Information about committees and their jurisdiction and the structure of the 8th Parliament has been adapted from the Rules of procedure.

- Initiating or evaluating action plans of respective ministries and sectors to make appropriate recommendations
- Examining and commenting on policy matters for respective ministries
- Assessing and evaluating activities of government and other bodies
- Ensuring government compliance with approved plans and programs
- Carrying out relevant research in their respective fields and;
- Reporting to parliament on their functions

The tasks embedded in each of these committees constitute pertinent context for exploring the information behavior of legislators at parliamentary/national level.

The arrangement of the 7th Parliament dictated that legislators subscribe to committees of choice, but with the Multiparty 8th Parliament party whips or rather the leadership structures within the political organizations determine membership as well as leadership on the various committees.

Party caucuses

The 8th Parliament also incorporates other functional formal structures of various parties which are referred to as Party caucuses, which derive their formal authority from the principle political party. The rules of procedure also provide for leadership positions within these caucuses, for example appointments of Chief whips in both the ruling party and the parties in opposition. Their main duties revolve around organization issues within their respective parties and ensuring compliance. According to one respondent information is exchanged through these forums and decisions or common positions arrived at for further public discussions, in for example the plenary and in this way, just like the committees, these enclaves can also be regarded as information sources since they feed information into the public debates. However, members tend to be controlled by their respective partiesⁱ, thus this information could be construed to be regulated and one legislator commented that she regarded the plenary under the multiparty system ‘as a little irrelevant, since you are not supposed to differ from the party opinion’¹⁸

ⁱ There have been several press reports depicting members’ unease to this effect and examples include: New Vision Sunday 10th August 2008, entitled Mps should be allowed to debate freely, by Okot Ogong (an Mp) and another by Mary Karugaba titled ‘NRM drafts tough rules for Mps, Tuesday January 27th 2009.

I also wish to mention that other formal structures include the cabinet, ministers of state and a shadow cabinet, but these were not part of the investigation.

Auxiliary networks

These are structures that I would classify as supporting networks and they take the form of both formal, in that they appear to be recognized within the parliamentary structures and precincts and even at times access parliamentary resources, including funding and office space, and at the same time informal in they do not derive their mandate from the constitutional obligations of legislators. The interviews that I carried out with administrative staff did not yield any reasons for their seemingly official acknowledgement. They can, however, be categorized as lobby groups within the legislative structure, set up by like minded legislators to promote various causes, examples include children's rights, women's rights, peace, corruption, food security and one legislator summed it;

when we find a problem that is crosscutting, then we decide to start an association¹⁹

Examples include:

- The Uganda Parliamentary forum for children, UPFC for the promotion of the rights of children in legislative and policy processes
- The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) for the promotion of Parliamentary democracy and the rule of law, individual rights and freedoms
- The Uganda Parliamentary Network on World Bank, Uganda Chapter
- African Parliamentary Networks against corruption, Uganda chapter, (APNAC), aimed at involving Parliamentarians in the fight against corruption
- Amani (Peace) Forum for Parliamentarians in the Great Lakes region with a commitment to peaceful conflict resolution
- The Network of African Women Ministers and Parliamentarians (NAWMP) with the objective of transforming laws and policies concerning reproductive health and reduction of maternal mortality
- The Food Security forum

- Young Parliamentary Association, (YPA) for mentoring young legislators into professional, knowledge based leadersⁱ
- The Women Parliamentary association, UWOPA

The only exception in this category is the Parliamentary Cooperative Savings and credit society which though fully recognized a form of parliamentary fora, but it dwells more with the financial security of legislators. It also appears as a limited organization with its own websiteⁱⁱ.

Informal – Ideological/regional caucuses

This section includes informal networks based on ideological positions for example the Movement caucus, in the seventh Parliament, whose membership included legislators ascribing to the then prevailing Movement system of governance.

Others are based on regional and ethnic affiliation, and taking on such names. They include the Teso, Lango and Acholi Parliamentary Groups, for legislators from those respective sub regions; the Buganda caucus for Mps from the Central region of Buganda; the Bunyoro Parliamentary caucus. These networks are acknowledged, but in my assessment were not carrying the same clout and regularized status as the ones in the auxiliary category. Respondents indicated that they tended to become active as a collective in particular instances when issues move beyond a particular constituency and engulf a larger area, for example in cases of regional strife, insecurity, tension and natural disasters. Whereas such circumstances tend to invoke ethnic (tribal) affinity and bonding, they also serve specific purposes for regions under distress since representatives exchange and present pertinent information pertaining to their regional issues as a group, which in their intimation is a more proactive approach in compelling action than would individual, scattered initiatives.

ⁱ Although some respondents attested to the significance of this association in nurturing their earlier legislative careers, it allegedly spanned controversy in the ruling 'party - Movement' surrounding its ideological orientation and in the 7th parliament, it appeared to be in limbo. It was however revived later, in 2007, according to a press report by Olupot, New Vision 2nd August, titled; 'Youth Mps association revived'.

ⁱⁱ Parliamentarians cooperative savings and credit society limited;
<http://www.parliamentariansacco.org/>

Informal - Special interest groups

The special interest groups of women, army, the disabled and workers also demonstrated maintaining some form of regular inner caucuses to discuss information pertinent to their specialized legislative agenda. The workers' representatives for example shared an office and a respondent indicated that they formed their own caucus, with a Chair and Vice chair with internal arrangements, for example holding meetings together on a particular day of the week and at the same time also receiving and acting on information brought in from their constituents;

we basically meet on every Friday and we get many complaints or problems on Fridays and we handle them from there²⁰.

A respondent from the disabled interest group also highlighted the rationale for a form of caucus cooperation in this excerpt;

... it is not always easy, me as a disabled person, looking at a law, I cannot possibly know every single negative effect a law may have towards disabled persons, [because] disability is not homogeneous it gives separate challenges and has a different impact on a person What we normally do, is that the five of us, we sit together and we discuss a bill and say, this bill is here, what do we do about this and we go through it together and we try to analyze it vis a vis the different disabilities, and fortunately in our group we have disabled people with different disabilities and different sexes, that helps ... you can't have all the knowledge all the time. We discuss these things and come up with whatever we believe would be in the best interests of disabled persons²¹.

Another informant from the army also affirmed 'we have our own caucus, of UPDF, we also have consultations within that caucus on crucial issues to get a way forward'²². Regarding the youth, I was unable have access to any of their representatives so I can only infer that they too maintained some form of internal cooperation. However, all these conclaves did not stand out as visibly, pronounced and proactive as the Women's association, UWOPA and it will be discussed separately in chapter six (6) depicting a category that could be considered the most visible beneficiaries of affirmative action and also as a forum through which women would endeavor to transform the legislative structure.

Informal networks – personal

Some respondents also indicated that they were affiliated to other networks outside Parliament, but in some ways connected with their activities in Parliament. They included both local and international bodies and I have

classified them as informal personal networks. They included affiliation to local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), for example, ACFODE (action for development, a women's rights group), the Uganda Joint Christian council, (UJCC) an interfaith religious body, but also a lobby group, environmental organizations – Globe International and Greenbelt movement. This membership could accrue from pre parliamentary connections or directly from the legislator's status and interests. Respondents also indicated forming or making strong connections with localized NGOs within their respective constituencies to coordinate their own activities.

Informal networks - invisible

One of the questions revolved around evolved around the women's ability to take part in after-hours information exchanges/networking. I have referred to these groups as invisible informal networks and it is one of those contexts that would exhibit a probable sex divide and it will be analyzed under the section on gender roles.

The essence of analyzing these structures/networks lays in the prospects for integration; how women as previous outsiders have been incorporated into the structures of the larger political world, the possibilities of access or whether there could be any points of exclusion. In the light of information aspects, access to these structures, would imply connecting to information from the major public networks. However, responses indicate that both genders appeared to have access as well as participating in communication and information exchanges in the formal and auxiliary structures/contexts. In the seventh (7th) Parliament, for example, some respondents expressed liberty at selecting committees of choice and professed access, usually depending on a legislator's prior background, interests (strategic or otherwise) or depending on academic grounding, in order to exert influence on national decisions, since they stated that most of the actual input and taking positions are incorporated at committee level, and this is expressed by two legislators in these extracts;

Committees sometimes have immediate impact ... what is refined in a committee, parliament does not have much time, it will just pass, if you emphasize your time in a committee, you will have that impact ... and in the committee, you come face to face with real implementers, whom you can prevail to do the right thing²³ [male]

The second legislator (female) who exerted influence for a budgetary allocation in her committee for a blistering constituency issue indicated;

.. you have the opportunity to push for that [in the committee] ... so that by the time you get to plenary, somehow those positions are incorporated in the report of the committee. If you try to change things at plenary, it might get complicated, sometimes the success rate is low²⁴.

These responses are reflective of the rationale that legislators pointed to at joining particular committees and they are represented in the responses below;

... when I came here in parliament, I entered committees which suit my manifesto. I did not go anyhow, like for example the committee on social services, I had an interest in education, and in the health sector, I also joined the committee on local government to influence policy (female)²⁵.

.. I went to local government by choice Because I came from Local government, so I knew what issues used to bother us which should have been brought on board .. so I thought we can push for better policies for local government taxes in the country²⁶ (female)

.. from 1986, I have been in LCs, so I have been interacting with local leadership all that time I was a counselor, chairperson, ... I have been at all levels in the local councils ... so I feel I understand local governments and I have been on this committee for the last 10 years ... ²⁷(female)

There was another perspective mitigated by gender, for example a female respondent who joined the committee on defense stated that:

First of all this committee was purely for men and the soldiers, and I said we have to engender it because in the army there are also women. Secondly those men are or sons or our daughter's husbands and the issues that have to do with war affect women much more than anybody else .. so we needed another voice in the defense committee²⁸ (female).

Yet another example of entry to a committee to influence what was alleged to be a 'burning' constituency issue and the respondent affirms that while in the natural resources committee, she managed to influence and take power to a school in her constituency²⁹ (female).

There are examples, although not always, of influences emanating from a respondent's academic background, for instance an accountant who connected naturally with the Public Accounts committee, and the subsequent information acquisition advantage regarding other government units.

In conclusion, in light of the theoretical anchor of Chatman/Merton, it is reasonable to deduce that the extreme forms of the dichotomy of insiders/outsidees would indeed hold for 'small aggregate populations, sharing the same status sets', for example Chatman's study participants (prisoners and the elderly), but the case of women legislators calls for the appropriation of the concept of status sets, since they are both members of

some groups and not others. The Parliament does not necessarily exclude them from any association of interest and there were not many examples provided of exclusive networks. However, the presence of a women only network, the women's parliamentary association, UWOPA (*see* Chap. 7), presents an anomaly and I wish to expound on it using the analogy of women prisoners in Chatman's studies. The incarcerated women did not have much control over their circumstances, so they displayed symptoms of powerlessness and consequently ignored information from the larger world in which they had lost control, but the presence of women in parliament, on the other hand signifies a break from marginality and possibilities for transformation. By formulating a women only network, my contention is that they are drawing on strategies that other women have adopted allegedly to secure greater equity in leadership (Pini, Brown and Ryan, 2004). Pini, Brown & Ryan postulate that these spaces provide an environment in which women share gendered experiences of organizational life, and thus could be a source of resistance against the status quo. Through UWOPA, women can share information on how to remodel the political landscape and make the institutions and structures relevant and improve on their access to information.

Information Sources

The table below shows examples of information sources of legislators. They include documentary sources supplied through the mail system, information acquired through oral interactions, the formal information structures set up by Parliament, the library, research services and electronic services. Legislators could also additionally subscribe to other information sources and they could also utilize several media sources for example radio and television.

Information Sources	
Documentary (written published and unpublished)	Supplied through the Parliamentary records services, includes; Reports, Bills, Acts, ministerial statements, through NGOs, other bodies, constituents – letters, petitions
Oral	Face to face conversations, public hearings (committees), conferences, workshops, meetings and seminars, rallies, caucus meetings
Parliamentary Library and other libraries	
Research services	Carrying out research, writing papers for conferences and workshops, literature searches
ICT services	Electronic information- internet, through email, CD- Roms
Personal subscriptions and information assistants	
Media	Newspapers, radio, television

Table 11 Information sources

Information sources (written)

This section lists from the empirical data all information sources indicated to have been received in documentary (written) format and this includes both published and unpublished materials.

- Order paper (daily agenda for parliamentary business)
- Information from parliamentary clerks, circulars
- Government reports
- Bills

- Internal committee and caucus reports
- Internal caucus reports
- Ministerial statements
- Policy statements
- Motions, petitions
- NGO reports
- Reports from statutory bodies (examples include Amnesty commission, Immigration, Uganda Revenue Authority, Uganda wildlife authority, National Environmental Management Authority, Inspector General of Government, NGO Board)
- Foreign reports (eg from the Commonwealth Parliament)
- Workshop invitations (eg from lobby groups)
- Some NGO reports
- Documents from religious groups
- Commercial adverts
- Letters (from constituents or other sources)

Library, Research and Electronic sources

- Libraries/resource centers (within and out of Parliament)
- Internet and email
- Parliamentary research unit/Personal assistants
- Own sources/personal subscriptions
- Oral sources
- Interacting with people connected with formal written information (eg policy statements, petitioners), could be through public hearings, site visits
- Workshops
- Direct personal interactions for immediate problem solving

Media sources

- Listening to radio

- Watching television for news, commentaries on particular topics

Information behaviour	
active (solicitation)	passive (provision)
Library/ies, ICT services, research services, personal subscriptions - purchases, constituents and constituency offices	Through parliamentary mail system; through the church; being stopped enroute; ceremonies – weddings, graduation, funerals
Through a person – librarian; personal/information assistant, colleagues; other source – people connected with particular information, for example government officials, district officials.	Listening to media, radio, television, and reading newspapers

Table 12 Information behaviour

6.3.2 Information behavior - National level

These responses were generated from questions from the interview schedule relating to how legislators prepare themselves, what information they need and how they access it to fulfill tasks at the national level, for example for policy formulation through the plenary discussions and committee meetings. All respondents pointed out the massive inflow of required information in form of written documents, from within and outside parliament and distributed through the Parliamentary records management services (PRMS). Most of this information is acquired without active solicitation and this inference is derived from the excerpts below from various respondents;

.. every organization that is worth its name and publishes something in Uganda delivers to Parliamentarians. All these NGOs, they give us annual reports, documentaries, whatever they feel they would like us to know, Ministries ... and we have over twenty one (21) ministries, commissions, everything, reports ... from organizations and institutions which are meant to give reports to Parliament, the IGG,ⁱ the Auditor General, Uganda Revenue Authorityⁱⁱ.

... a parliamentarian's pigeon hole is a bank, really everybody sends you information. They know that you will read it to promote their policy³⁰.

.. what is delivered in our pigeon holes is massive and you can get almost everything that you need from there including foreign reports, for instance

ⁱ IGG is the Inspector General of Government or office of the Ombudsman

ⁱⁱ The Uganda Revenue Authority is the national tax body.

the Commonwealth secretariat sends us the *Parliamentarian*, a magazine. In some situations, we study some petitions from people who would like Parliament to intervene in particular areas You are expected to study them, talk about them and debate intelligently [but] some of the documents we get are totally irrelevant, they are about religion, Bahaiⁱ, all sorts ...^{31 32} You will [also] find people advertising suits and all sorts of things³³

Some of the documentary information originates internally from parliament, for example from committee reports and others from government institutions as a result of a legitimate obligation to present information about their organizations to the scrutiny of Parliament for their oversight role as well as making laws, and they include policy statements, ministerial statements, annual reports, and bills, which form the basis for information necessary for legislators to make decisions at national level. This gives an impression of a sense of privilege in access to national information, since it is supplied without solicitation and consequently a presumption from the information producers, that legislators ought to have broad knowledge and understanding of national and possibly other issues. Other types of documentary information received in this mode were categorized as less relevant for the legislative functions as well as for personal consumption and this included some of the adverts and documents from religious bodies.

In order to construe and understand the individual information needs and interests for legislators, regarding information for national tasks, I will analyze the responses against the backdrop of how legislators handle and evaluate this information. However, there were common expressions of frustration, but also selection as demonstrated below.

.... If you give somebody press reports, five of them today, tomorrow again another five, first of all he has to read them, a whole day you might be in committees, then you dash out for lunch, then go to the plenary, now at 5.00 pm you are exhausted³⁴(male)

This respondent allegedly sieves through the information and determines what he perceives to be of urgency and secondly information that directly concerns his committee and suggests recommendations for Mps to have assistants who can:

... really help you follow up certain issues and should be of some competence .. somebody who can read a report and try to internalize it.. and is able to give you an overview of what is in that report ..

ⁱ Bahai is a religious faith

From this response, there is an implication of not just an overflow of information, but also an abrupt distribution system.

For the subsequent response, the respondent's information choice reflects policy issues.

.. the important ones I go through them – policy statements, government statements.. but we do not have enough time to read it.. so if you do not have enough time, you don't have to read the whole thing, you just pick a few³⁵ (male).

Similar to the response above, this respondent's information need reflects an interest in policy issues, committee and constituency matters

.. initially, statements made by ministers, we read through those, because a statement made by a minister is subject to debate, so that one you read ... debate it, comeback and put it away ... But there are other things which we get, some of the mail is junk mail, people advertising things ... cars, computers, everything. Now that we are in the process of election, they tell you they are the best printers you can think of ... publicity materials, that also ends up in my dustbin. Then you get committee reports, .. [those] are serious documents, you have to read that report in order to debate it ... unless , sometimes it may be on a subject over which you may not lose any sleep over³⁶.

He also mentions documents that deal with his specific special interest group constituency as important³⁷.

Another one (male) selectively considers mainly matters related to his constituencyⁱ and they include 'matters of national concern, matters of national interest and matters of common good'³⁹. For this respondent, it is only information regarding his specialized constituency that he considers important.

The last four respondents in the male category exhibit information behavior of scanning through documents, executive summaries or whatever they perceive to be current, but with no stated preferences.

All information, I think I could easily grasp it, only that there are times when we are flooded with policy statements, voluminous documents that you may not find the opportunity to go through them and you resort to executive summaries and you miss out a great deal of the body⁴⁰. (male)

I scan through all my mail, I classify them ... I don't destroy them, unless they are funny letters, but you never know when information becomes useful⁴¹(male)

ⁱ This representative belonged to a special interest group, and not an ordinary constituency

.. you flip through just to give you an idea, so that in future, if you want, you can refer to it, but we have information on practically everything which happens in government⁴² (male)

the traffic is so much that you just can't cope and you try to sift through to see what is current, what you are currently handling and see what is burning on your mind and you see which is the relevant publication or document from which you can access the information you want⁴³.

Responses from women

The first two responses claim that they endeavor to study the documents as expressed in the excerpts:

I read all of it, everything. I put time aside every morning before committee meetings begin and I go through them one by one ... I may not read everything if I think it is not very good, but I look at them⁴⁴.

Second respondent

..every evening, I must empty the documents in my pigeon hole ... then at night, after my family, I give myself two hours to read those documents. ... you can't read it all, you see .. these are letters, information from the clerk, some of it you read and throw it away, but when it is a bill, you must read it, when it comes to the budget, the budget book is so big but you must read it, you must go through it, at least particularly the committee you represent... I must read what is pertaining to the committee, to see if the budgetary allocations are adequate for like your district, the youth, .. whether you want it or not, you must read something small, if you are lazy, at least you scan your area of interest⁴⁵

Although this respondent scans through some areas, her interest lies in information pertaining to her committee, the budget and the bills.

Third respondent

Actually when I came, I thought I was going to read everything, but it is just not possible, we get a lot of stuff, I can't read everything, so I sieve out what I need ... gender issues, regional bodies, international things, so these other I just put aside, they are too many, you just find your pigeon hole this big ...⁴⁶
(female)

This respondent's choices include gender and international issues.

Fourth respondent

We just go through it depending on the urgency of the [matter], but time is not there to peruse through all those. We may just have an idea and no time

to concentrate on all those I think every Mp should have a personal assistant paid by Government, who should peruse through this document and advise when to act on them or how urgent they are, because you can go and forget, other issues may be important, you know ...⁴⁷ (female)

Just like some of the choices of the male respondents, her information choices are also indicative of prevailing issues at stake, and not very specific so discerning her information need is challenging.

Fifth respondent

... picks out like ‘bills, ministerial statements, although not page by page, but there are things that you have to read .. books (reports) from ministries and classifies it according to her interests and priorities, ‘if there is something about children, definitely I have to read, something about women, I have to read, budget speeches.. if you have to read everything you will not do anything else’. Despite the overload, she however credits the service for enabling her get ‘a rich library’ which she later supported her formal undergraduate academic program which was closely linked to her tasks as a legislator⁴⁸.

Other responses

We find it difficult to sit and analyze all these materials.. when you share your time ... we lack facilities like a good office and maybe a researcher, someone special maybe a personal assistant ... who can look at these documents and possibly summarize them for you... instead of reading a document of 100 pages ...⁴⁹(female)

There is no way you can manage ... just put in the bin, read what I want to read, put the rest in the bin ... I have not said I burn it... sometimes I go and check, maybe I have time for this report ...⁵⁰(female)

The last excerpt originates from a woman with considerable experience in parliament and she attests, ‘You can’t go through all that literature, but sometimes you have to create time’ and for this respondent, this time could be derived in-between committee meetings, in case her committee does not take up their full time, she can use the spare time to read some of the reports or in case of particular Parliamentary committee reports where she is not a member, she could ‘go to the committee which made the report which you have failed to read, ask the Mps there, they would explain how they came up with that report, in summary... so you get a rough idea on what the other committee decided or recommended’⁵¹(female). As a legislator who had been in Parliament for more than two terms, my interpretation of her strategies was that her rather long experience, had enabled her position and

reorganize herself to maximally exploit her limited time to inform herself on crucial national issues through both oral information requests and exchanges with the appropriate producers/sources of the documentary information and additionally through documentary sources. This was also partly evident through her comments; ‘... people (colleagues) had tended to stick on their committees without going to get ideas even to know how some of these other committees operate’. Her political experience could have impressed on her that particular information behavior.

In conclusion, responses imply that whereas legislators admittedly access all information they perceive to be essential to perform their national/parliamentary tasks, the volume is considered enormous and at times unpredictable. Their reactions are not necessarily different. Both genders concur on the massive information burdens and on the necessity to be selective and privilege some information over the other, presumably according to general interests and committee affiliation. Wilson (1996) perceives this strategy as an attempt at specialization, in order to manage an information overload. Specialization, is also connected to information behavior displayed in other contexts, for instance in contributions in the plenary debates and this is exemplified in the two examples. The first respondent (male) stated that he does not talk on all subjects in parliament:

I am selective and that explains how people contribute on the floor. If it is not your area of knowledge, you really contribute very little .. sometimes what you can contribute is just a few things, but if it is in this area¹ you sometimes ask for some information..⁵².

The second respondent (female) attests:

in parliament, you don’t have to be an everything Mp. I try to understand every issue but I don’t have to be an expert on every issue. I am focused on some issues, democracy,⁵³.

Although legislators attest to the reception of ‘information on practically everything which happens in government’, the stream of unsolicited information impedes an understanding of the ‘real’ information needs of legislators, in retrospect. However, their expressed individual preferences and interests which inculcates level of expertise, parliamentary affiliation, level of urgency, since responses indicate that there are times when urgent issues crop up and tabled provide a clue on construing and understanding the legislators’ information needs and the ensuing information behavior pertaining to the national/parliamentary issues. The last indicator of need is astuteness in handling information.

¹ He elaborates on his areas of interest

The information load cuts across the genders, but an elaboration on gender roles and how they impact on information behavior will reveal the dual challenges for women legislators. Three legislators advocated for research/personal assistance and they included one male and two females both on the affirmative seat. One of the female respondents was of the view that this assistance should be preferred on women, and the other two thought it should cover the whole Parliament, but some legislators were ambivalent about this prospect, especially regarding its financial implications. In the case of one legislator, in order to counter the time constraints of reading whole documents, with the instance of committee reports, she finds it more practical and rewarding for her information acquisition to face the authors (committee members) and get the briefings from them.

However, despite the expressions of the approach of specialization, there is still a challenge for further research on the impact of these information burdens on the decision making process in parliament and also for an appropriate information management strategy for legislators. The arrangement of preparing parliamentary schedules (the order paper) in advance and disseminating the information to legislators well in time as mandated in the rules of procedure (24), does not seem hold as expressed in varying intonations in these quotes:

... let me be frank, the sort of things they do to us here can't allow you to do (adequate) research because most times you don't know what is going to happen on the floor⁵⁴ (male)ⁱ.

You may not even have sufficient notice of [parliamentary] business .. some issues raise up that do not wait for a notice to be given, like a certain bill will be tabled ... some matters are so urgent (male)⁵⁵.

This issue had apparently been raised earlier in parliament by another legislator (male) (Hon Aworiⁱⁱ, Hansard 17th April 2002). This would have been one of the attempts at bringing order and predictability to parliamentary business, which would consequently facilitate appropriate preparations in form of selection of topic/item/s of interest to a legislator and researching or reading and internalizing pertinent documents. These findings, however, do not suggest whether national decisions could be based on partial information, or on 'satisficing' (Patrick Wilson, 1996, pp 23, 31ⁱⁱⁱ).

ⁱ This reference has been used earlier in the discussions within the profile of the political insider.

ⁱⁱ He was not part of the study

ⁱⁱⁱ Satisfice or satisfactory is a concept allegedly famed by Herbert Simon, implying that decision makers aim at outcomes that are satisfactory, good enough though not

However, there was an admission to this effect expressed in this excerpt, from a female respondent, which would necessitate further investigation:

there are many bills we pass in the house without seriously analyzing them
56.

6.3.3 Information behavior - oral sources

Legislators also use information sources which could be classified as oral both for national legislative tasks and other tasks in relation to the documentary information sources, for example when scrutinizing bills, policies, budget statements or responding to petitions. Some of these instances cited are mandated through their rules of procedure (Article 181, pp 111) that grant special powers to committees to:

call upon any minister or any person holding public office and private individuals to submit memoranda or appear before them to give evidence
call or invite any person to take part in the proceedings of the committee without the right to vote.

They also have powers of the High Court to:

enforce the attendance of witnesses and examining them both on oath, affirmation or otherwise
compel production of documents

An example of these contacts and rationale is relayed in these extracts from two legislators:

We call in line ministries [that initiated bills, budgets, policies, etc] .. Parliament normally requests all those who are interested to appear before the committee, Non governmental organizations, individuals... they come and we interact with them⁵⁷

Justification for information acquisition from oral interactions

... interacting with other people where the policy/statement originated ... gives you further insights to the points that have precipitated coming up with that statement/policy⁵⁸

Committees have the function of monitoring and evaluation of activities of their respective line sectors/ministries and statutory bodies and some of these tasks incorporate face to face interactions through site visits and field observations. I will highlight two examples of legislators' description of these tasks in my earlier inquiries on the operation of committees. The

necessarily optimal. This discussion has been derived from Patrick Wilson's article on the consequences of information overload

first one subscribed to the committee on agriculture, animal industry and fisheries;

.. we do [carry out] field studies, some for projects like ‘the lake Victoria environment programs, Kawanda (Agricultural) research station and all these other research stations, visiting them and seeing what they are up to or if a ministry says they have a goat project somewhere, then we say let’s go and see some of those activities that you say are in such and such a district under your program, and we make a report to parliament⁵⁹.

The second was a member of the local government committee.

.. we go out and assess the performance of local government on a number of issues. You visit them, you call them, you hold a big meeting with the staff of a local government, you interact, you report back to parliament⁶⁰.

As part of data collection, I attended two committee meetings to experience activities carried out in these contexts and in one of these forums, an organization was submitting memoranda on a pertinent issueⁱ, while in the second a group of researchers were disseminating findings to a particular committeeⁱⁱ.

Although these activities are associated with formal legislative tasks, information sources can be perceived to be oral through person to person interactions, and also information accrued from physical evidence generated through direct observation of particular activities, even though they would later translate into formal documents in form of committee reports. The information behavior in these instances can be classified as through active solicitation.

Workshops, conferences

Workshops and seminars can be regarded as communication events through which information is exchanged both orally and through documents. Legislators indicated that they attend several workshops both organized by Parliament, civil society and other organizations. One legislator for example commented on some of the practical benefits;

I think some people appreciate that we do not have much time to sit down and read the books [reports], so they present to us summaries of their

ⁱ This was in a committee on physical infrastructure where an association of local bankers who had formed a pressure group/NGO were presenting their suggestions on a national discussion about curbing road carnage.

ⁱⁱ This was in a committee on HIV, in which a group of researchers and women organizations were presenting findings on gender based violence in a conflict zone.

findings, sometimes it could be a launch or deliberate dissemination for purposes of lobby and advocacy⁶¹

However, in a broader sense where women as previous outsiders expand their outlook and networks, workshops and seminars both national and international were perceived to be of practical relevance in building these linkages and one of the interview questions reflected this dimension on whether legislators perceive they can access these opportunities.

There are gender implications, expressed by a female respondent about the frequency and venues of these workshops which tended to directly interfere with their gender roles, especially when they are residential and held far from their residences.

Informal associations

Other examples of oral sources are derived from interactions in informal networks, some of which do not necessarily result in documents in form of reportsⁱ, but perhaps issue written statements, depicting their positions. Examples include the ethnically based informal networks, which allegedly become operational under situations of distress. Their decisions and positions are fed into formal authority structures, like the plenary for action or drawing the attention of government.

6.3.4 Information behavior—The Library, Electronic information and Research services

The library, research and Electronic information services will be analyzed as a distinctive component of the information infrastructure directly connected to the formal authority of Parliament, and as an official designated information service and gateway. According to the Parliamentary commission report (2004), the department of Library, Research and Information services consists of three sections; the Library, Research and Information technology. The functions of these sections within the legislative process are classified as supportive and aimed at providing appropriate information and to develop and manage the Parliamentary information and communications technology systems and services

Interview questions concerning these services ranged from how legislators utilized the parliamentary library, other libraries, whether and

ⁱ Respondents did not mention any documentary reports accruing from their meetings, but written and signed statements were implied. Their activities, agitations and resolutions would be reported or leaked to the press.

how they used the Internet, email and research services, other efforts in acquiring information for example own subscriptions, hiring personal/information assistants and also whether they were undertaking any academic programs. Within the information behavior matrix, use of the library, research services and the Internet present instances where legislators actively solicit for information. Information on the background and activities of the library and research services was obtained from documentary reports and from interviews with two library managers and a staff member from the research unit.

Background

The existing library was set up in 1999 almost afresh, after the previous, smaller Information unit had been severely plundered and dislocated during the political upheavals of 1970s and 80s. Its refurbishment followed an earlier evaluation report in 1996ⁱ that highlighted several deficiencies including;

- Absence of professional organization and management
- lack of equipment for information acquisition, processing and dissemination
- inadequate holdings in terms of depth and variety of information sources, and
- absence of research services
- Very limited space

Following the overhaul, the library establishment stands at two (2) managers, one director and a deputy at the apex. They were recruited around the time the library was being reconstituted and actively participated in its revitalization. Other staff included three (3) professional librarians and one (1) library assistant. The book collection amounts to approximately fifteen thousand (15,000) volumes. The library is equipped with a network connection and nineteen (19) personal computers, twelve (12) of which are reserved for the Legislators. It also implemented an information system under the brand name 'Koha', which is an open source integrated library system. The research department was introduced at the same time, but unlike the library, it did not exist previously. Different disciplines were brought on

ⁱ This information was extracted from a project proposal for the library, research and information services, submitted to a donor agency. It was entitled 'Sub-project proposal for library, research and information services to the Parliament of Uganda'.

board and by 2007, it consisted of sixteen (16) researchers with diverse academic backgrounds and they include social workers, lawyers, an engineer, agricultural scientists, an economist, an accountant, a statistician, a sociologist and a political scientist. Their activities range from carrying out actual empirical investigations to literature searches and drafting reports. However, there have been organizational changes which granted ICT unit autonomy from the library.

The subsequent section will provide an overview of the interaction between intermediaries and legislators, followed by legislators' access to and utilization of these facilities.

Library staff/intermediaries interaction with legislators

The analysis of the interview transcripts of the library staff/Intermediaries reveal that while their activities revolve around routine library work, for example planning, budgeting, collection development and the implementation of library policies, their other concern is the facilitation of informed debate, through provision of documents and online information.

Their accounts indicate that circumstances that pre-empt users to make demands from the formal information systems (ie the Library and Intermediaries) include when facts or statistics are being sought to prove arguments on the floor of the house, or what one respondent termed as "informed debating and not just allegations"⁶². In these instances some of the information sources sought include Reports from ministries or agencies, Acts and Codes. Other instances include assistance with the technologies especially in online information searching and other technology related challenges, some of which reflect deficiencies, (for instance when a legislator's mailbox gets full and finds he/she cannot receive any more mail and thus makes a request to be assisted with offloading some or emptying the entire mailbox), general reference work, other situations where MPs plan to move a motion or resolution, or making constitutional amendments, presenting papers for local and International conferences and cases that require empirical data to enact policies and laws on emergent issues.

The intermediaries' observations also indicate that approximately 50% utilize their services for Parliamentary work, while other use stems from academicⁱ and consultancy pursuits. Some legislators employ political assistants for information seeking. They also notice that legislators from the

ⁱ Library staff indicated that in their estimation, almost more than half of the legislators were pursuing higher academic programs and I found it pertinent to incorporate this information in my interview guide as a possible motive for active information seeking..

legal background and those originally from the academia often frequently made use of the formal information systems.

Other demands pressed on Intermediaries were regarded as private to the individuals but were acted upon by the intermediaries mainly out of regard for their social positioning, as reflected in this statement ‘their status in society, they come with a lot of things, wanting you to do things which are not your core’ an example given is typesetting their documents.

Observations of library usage

My reflections on library use were that it served divergent purposes; as resource center for consultation in formal information sources and other services, a reading facility, an ICT service and as a social meeting place. Some of the resources that were heavily utilized included newspapers. The ICT facilities were in heavy use as well, despite the presumed extension of the network to legislators’ parliamentary offices. The intermediaries had pointed out that some of the legislators were often challenged by the Information technologies, so they would prefer to utilize facilities within close proximity to professional support - from library staff.

As a social meeting place, I would often hear Mps on phone directing their correspondents to meet them in the libraryⁱ and some of these were visitors, and not fellow Mps, so it could be interpreted that the library was additionally serving as another networking/contact point for legislators. Two legislators (women) were notably utilizing it for academic pursuits.

I noted regular users amongst both male and female legislators, but besides legislators, the library was used by other parliamentary staff, legislators’ political assistants and researchers (including myself).

Respondents’ access and use of Library, ICT and Research services

While reflecting on previous research, especially Tamale (1999, pp 120)’s observations, she pointed to lack of library facilities as specifically detrimental to women’s participation as previous outsiders. However, this study was conducted when these facilities were operational and one female legislator who had participated in the 6th parliament remarked that accessing information was no longer a handicap for women as it used to be in the previous sixth Parliament, when women complained that they could hardly access information as expressed in this excerpt;

ⁱ None of the respondents in the interviews indicated this as a form of library use.

... so you would find the debates being taken over by the men because they would move around to try to get information⁶³.

This respondent was of the view that access to information was now dependant on an individual's preferences. This section will however analyze how respondents, both male and female accessed and utilized the various resources; the Parliamentary Library, other resource centers, own subscriptions, use of Email and Internet, Research services and information acquisition presumed connected to academic pursuits. The use of resource centers/libraries and personal subscriptions in this study denotes supplementary efforts by legislators to acquire information, besides the provisions of the parliamentary information structures. This data has also been attached (*see* Appendix 6).

6.3.5 Women legislators

This section details responses from female on the use of the formal information infrastructures and this is one of the instances where information is actively solicited.

Library use and own subscriptions

There are various uses cited for libraries some of which are not very specific, but among the definitive applications include; use for committee work, consultations for paper presentations, plenary discussions, consulting reference books and reports, other laws, reading newspapers and the Hansard and for academic pursuits. Two respondents indicated that they find the library insufficient to meet their information needs. One of these respondents especially preferred oral forms of information acquisition and consultation for her particular information needs and she indicated it in this excerpt;

... there is a way I get that information, at times I handle the people themselves, if it is to do with Local government, why not go to the local government and talk to the permanent secretary ... and I talk one on one with them and I even get to know what I wouldn't have known by just accessing the library, internet ...⁶⁴.

Five (5) respondents consult other libraries, three of which engage them to meet their 'private' academic pursuits. One consults her personal library built out of literature distributed through the Parliamentary mail services.

Personal subscriptions/purchases of information sources

Only two female legislators subscribe to other literature besides the information provided by parliament. One subscribes to online information in a subject of interest to her parliamentary pursuits. The second is a veteran politician who subscribes to a broad range of information resources to accord her a broader outlook on national and international issues, which are characteristic of her political interests. A deeper analysis of this respondent's information behavior appears in the profile under the label 'thriving cosmopolitan'.

Email

There had been allusions that some of the respondents had difficulties utilizing information technologies, mentioned by the intermediaries. However, only one respondent in this study admitted to such challenges. Most of the respondents, except one, indicated being regular users of email. Some of the uses comprise of:

- communicating with colleagues and friends, 'people outside parliament', and donors,
- lobbying,
- accessing email information subscriptions.

The women parliamentary network was pointed out as a regular disseminator of information, through email to female legislators, some of which consisted of documents. The respondent who attested to utilizing email to access her online subscriptions was one out of only two women who subscribed to secondary information sources, besides the Parliamentary supplied literature.

Internet

The use of internet was split at several levels, and most women indicated usage, for reading online news (papers), conducting searches for information pertaining to their areas of interest, examples cited include information on women and children's welfare, parliamentary information for instance on national budgets and to make presentations. One respondent expressed disinterest in internet (and the parliamentary library), while another felt less proficient or being 'semi-computer literate' but attested relying on the expertise of other people and family members, thus using the service by proxy. This respondent also pointed at the congestion in the Library ICT

facilities, thus preferring ‘leaving the fight to younger legislators’⁶⁵. There were in addition other women (Four (4)) who expressed dissatisfaction about the infrastructure, while two (2) pointed out time constraints, with access seemingly consuming a lot of time, thus a preference for documents – books. Among the complaints on the inadequate infrastructure, one respondent expressed it in this excerpt:

.. it would have been easier if I had a computer on my desk and I can access whatever information I want, but you have to go to the library, the computers are so old, they are so slow ... I think we could really have better ways of accessing information.... Maybe the administration also needs to be aware to take seriously some of these things, like [technological] access to information as an important tool for Mps⁶⁶.

The legislator with a disability also pointed to the unavailability of specialized infrastructure for access, despite alleged technological proficiency through earlier training. A further need possibly in form of a budget for an interlibrary cooperation facility was implied to cater for information needs from the internet that attracts payment.

There was however one woman who alleged to have extended connectivity to her constituency office, although not necessarily to take charge of constituency issues.

Research services

Women (8) indicated utilization of research services for paper presentations (workshops and seminars) and preparation of motions, but six (6) did not specify. One respondent representing a special interest group relied heavily on these services for her constituency related issues. Three (3) legislators expressed concern about the inadequate number of Parliamentary researchers.

Academic pursuits

Six (6) respondents had enrolled in academic programs by the time of the interviews and one of them perceived her choice of academic course as a way of further improving her political interests and career.

In conclusion, in terms of access to information from these formally structured sources, there seems to be some level. The uses mostly rotate around purposes of seeking information for national legislative tasks, for example to contribute to their understanding and presentations in and out of parliament. None of the women indicated use of these resources to respond to constituency related issues, implying that reacting to information

generated from constituencies requires different approaches. Women have expressed dissatisfaction with the inadequate infrastructure which hindered fulfillment of their information needs. These complaints are augmented by my observation of the ICT section. The infrastructure was not only inadequate in terms of numbers, (twelve (12) computers reserved for over three hundred (300) legislators), but this was also coupled with a slow and intermittent network connection. In addition, none of the women legislators maintained any personal assistants to facilitate their information acquisition or processing.

The inclusion of the question on academic pursuits was reflected in earlier interviews with the library staff who indicated that most parliamentarians were actively engaged in some form of academic improvements and that library use was connected to these information needs. However, despite six (6) legislators indicating pursuing of academic programs, only two stated using the parliamentary library as well as other library sources in this pursuit, while a third legislator sought information on her graduate program from another library. The other three (3) legislators possibly fulfilled their academic information needs from other sources.

6.3.6 Male Legislators

This section highlights the responses from male respondents regarding use of information sources from the formal structures.

Library use and own subscriptions

This ranged from academic presentations to preparing for question time, motions and constituency issues. Others include preparations for committee work and for ‘informed debate’, consulting Hansards and other research reports, newspapers and other texts; to prepare for plenary, to learn about [different] Parliamentary practices and procedures. Five (5) respondents indicated that they utilize other resource centers for political and other interests, while two could not perceive a need for that. Two legislators pointed out the deficiency in the stocks of the Parliamentary library and the need for ‘more strengthening’, but one (1) acknowledged its close proximity within the Parliamentary structure as advantageous. In addition, five (5) respondents indicated employing personal assistants who are graduates, to assist them with information issues. However two (2) out these five were situated in positions that accord them these services, as expressed respectively; as having officers in charge of his information, while another one relied on institutions within his specialized constituency for information.

Seven (7) respondents subscribe to literature connected to their political activities, with one also maintaining a collection of books personally purchased. Examples of subscriptions/purchases include The Economist, Newsweek, The Spectator, Newspapers - regional (Uganda, Kenya), Nordic African newsgroup. Two male legislators expressed a need to strengthen the library stock.

Email

Most of the male respondents professed to utilize the Internet, except two. One of these two did not indicate so, while the second one was among the two legislators privileged with information assistants, so possibly they were handling that part as well. Usage of email incorporated communicating with colleagues (fellow MPs), international contacts, researchers, accessing online subscriptions, and a respondent who admitted to being a very frequent user also indicated maintaining three active accounts and used them to communicate with donors NGOs, other international Parliamentarians and congressmen and for lobbying. One MP also professed to have a network of colleagues within parliament with whom they shared information on a regular basis.

Internet

Most male legislators indicated use except two (2), who also employed information assistants. Usage included preparing for presentations in and out of Parliament, accessing other parliaments, and examples cited include the House of Lords, Congress and its library, accessing International news, CNN, BBC and current affairs, access for various legislative works and one also one expressed using it for his private research not related to Parliamentary activities. There was one legislator who pointed to the ease of accessing electronic information from the internet than the hard texts, while another found it challenging and required assistance.

Research services

Seven legislators indicated use of research services and four (4) legislators did not specify. One legislator also expressed distrust on the quality of their work, and preferred to do it himself. However the uses featured preparations for paper presentations, writing articles, and a better understanding of legislative information – bills. One specified that he used them more for literature searches.

Academic pursuits

Only two male respondents indicated pursuing academic programs and a third one still in contemplation. One of the enrolled legislators pointed out that it was a direct consequence of his legislative experience and he expressed it that 'when people come to see their Mp, they do not necessarily come on one item, they see you as a judge and as a well informed person'. The program was perceived as a way of broadening his knowledge in carrying out his representative role. His account is reflected in the portrait of the insider.

In conclusion, the male legislators appeared to utilize library resources to a greater extent in the pursuit of their legislative tasks. Although three expressed dissatisfaction with the services, there was more likelihood for the male legislators to invest in information acquisition, through hiring personal information assistants and extra subscriptions and purchase of information directly related to their political pursuits. Personal information assistants would perform functions such as 'sending them for information' which includes trips to other libraries/information resource centers, sorting, filing and organizing documentation, Internet searches, handling messages including emails, delivering messages/information, preparing newspaper clips, carrying out actual research to support the legislator's agitations in parliament and summarizing information. In one case of a male legislator representing an affirmative constituency, their office maintained a team of five (5) graduates from varying disciplines and allegedly utilized them as a think tank. He stated that 'when an issue comes, they look at it, they research it on the internet, prepare some papers, come up with proposals' and he affirmed that it had worked to some extent and that they (in their affirmative group) use some of these proposals and findings to support their presentations in parliament.

In this way, male legislators appeared to be more adapted to the inconsistencies in the information provision. Although both female and male legislators expressed discontent with the information provision, the only similarity was with the need for restocking. The other complaints differed, for example while women indicated the inadequate infrastructure in terms of connectivity and equipment (numbers), slow connections and inadequate number of researchers, the male respondents did not express these concerns even though they were obvious in my observations of the library and ICT infrastructure. Computers were not adequate and there were queues at times. The only complaint from a male legislator concerned the research unit and it bordered on issues of competence to fulfill particular information tasks. My inference of the information behavior of male legislators is that probably as

political insiders, they could easily adjust to these inadequacies, by taking additional steps and expenses to acquire information. If for example, they are unable to queue behind a slow connection, perhaps a political assistant could take on the task, while the legislator frees himself for other assignments.

6.3.7 Information channels - media

Newspapers

Legislators indicated use of this type of media in several aspects, including writing articles in the press and calling press conferences. Three legislators, including one woman, indicated press conferences as a regular part of their publicity schedules. One of them held press conferences allegedly to inform the public on what was happening in her constituency. Within the public sphere publicity is informative.

Radio

Legislators also indicated use of radio in several ways, through being hosted regularly on topical political programs, through invitation by radio hosts to discuss topical issues, or specifically paying for particular slots. Radios were also used to make announcements for legislators' schedules and activities to constituents. In this respect radios were more connected to constituency related communication and information acquisition, especially in case of talk shows which provided for feedback. Radios could be classified as having a dual purpose for communication and for acquiring information.

In my observation of some of the regular participants, radio shows were utilized mainly for discussions and information dissemination relating to issues of the day.

Parliament also utilizes this medium in special circumstances, an example from the responses is the case of emergencies, when members are invited for emergency sessions through radio announcements.

6.4 Information structures at the constituency level – relationship with constituents

The constituency as well will be analyzed distinctively as another essential component of the information infrastructure for legislators as representatives

of their electorate. This section will analyze the information behavior at constituency level both at a general level and also within their constituency contacts/offices. The main question from the interview schedule related to how legislators get in touch with their constituencies, the information flows, general arrangements in constituency management and specific challenges faced by women legislators on the district seat.

At constituency level, Mps ought to inform their constituencies about government actions, plans and policies, aggregating and articulating interests of constituencies to relevant authorities, resource allocation and mobilize efforts for development of constituency and providing leadership (Gasarasi, 2004). This conceptualization could also be based on how an Mp perceives his/her role as a representative. One respondent proposed that the Mp ought to identify with the constituents and take on their issues as his/hers and that this would distinguish the role of a representative from being perceived as merely a delegate. There is also a presumption derived from another respondent that an Mp is supposed to know the information gaps in their constituents and bridge them and determine what is best for them. These perceptions situate a legislator in some form of knowledge position. In discerning this information, Mps draws on several information sources and channels which I have ascertained from the findings and listed below.

Information sources

- a) Constituency offices
- b) Local councils
- c) Women councils
- d) Meetings, Seminars, Rallies
- e) Constituency Party offices
- f) Constituents
- g) Radio
- h) Parliament (through information exchanges)
- i) Rallies
- j) Incidental opportunities through worship centers, ceremonies (burials, weddings, graduation, fundraising)
- k) International networking (information accrued from international exchanges)

Information channels

- a) Women councils
- b) Radio
- c) Rallies
- d) Local councils
- e) Telephone

Classification of Information from constituencies

- Information within the representative work roles
- Information outside the representative's work roles, but 'acceptable' to the Mp.

The next section will analyze how these sources and channels are used during constituency interactions. There are some examples that show how different contexts necessitate adoption of different channels and information sources.

6.4.1 General constituency interactions

Facilitation: In 2005, the parliament approved a fund for Mps to contribute to the general welfare of their constituencies and lessen the burden on Mps (Hansard, 9th September 2005). The rationale is expressed by a respondent in this extract,

.... You can do your legislation and you can do everything here (in parliament) but if you don't get to the needs of the individual, you find that you have not delivered anything, so members find themselves financially overburdened, because they must help these people and the people are so many.....⁶⁷.

Legislators, thus get facilitated annually with Ug.Shs 10,000,000 million (appr. Sek 40,000 or US\$ 5000), to promote development/income generating projects for constituents. However, this figure is the same for both ordinary constituent Mps and the district women Mps. Admittedly women legislators protested its unfairness in relation to their bigger responsibilities, but only received some remedial measures in form of an increased travel (mileage) allowance (negotiated through their lobby – UWOPA)⁶⁸.

All legislators attested to various forms of arrangements to interface with constituencies. The schedules appeared to be based on personalized agendas. The frequencies ranged from weekly to bi-weekly, monthly, quarterly or

once every two to three months. Respondents who were representing constituencies close to the National Parliament were observed to have comparative advantage over others, at least in one aspect of touching base and establishing presence, since most of them lived within close proximity to their constituents and as one legislator in this situation remarked;

I am very close to the people now, I bury their dead, I know when they are sick ... it constrains financially, but it is good ... you get to work with the people⁶⁹.

The visits also varied in scope, some being scheduled at village level, parish level, or sub-county, depending on need, the organizational proficiency of the Mp, the size and diversity of the constituency. These visits were intended for acquiring information on constituency problems and challenges, seeking constituent views on particular bills in parliament or informing them about parliamentary affairs, legislation and government programs. Other intentions were checking on the progress of (development) projects and district programs. Additionally, visits by legislators could be initiated by constituents, to address particular issues, to attend or officiate at functions (for example fundraisings, sports events, graduation, weddings), and this could be through letters or telephone calls. Legislators would also scan the constituency environment for first hand information on possible issues of contention and discussion.

In preparing and carrying out these tasks, legislators apply different approaches; for example workshops, consultative meetings, rallies and radio interactive shows were preferred by some legislators with issues outlined below:

- Consultation on bills and other issues that a legislator perceives to be of interest to constituents and this is explicitly expressed in this excerpt; ‘if there is a bill that I feel I really must get their input⁷⁰’. Examples cited included the constitutional amendments, referenda, government white paper, the domestic relations bill and in preparations of the national budget. Personal discretion is applied the selection of what is perceived to be of significance and warranting collaborative information acquisition.
- when introducing particular programs and projects or trainings in the constituency, for example SACCOs (Savings and credit cooperative organizations)
- when informing constituents about particular pieces of legislation passed, examples cited included the national budget, allegedly to make them aware of their allocations and entitlement. In this instance,

parliament can be interpreted to be a forum of information exchange through which a legislator synthesizes and discerns information of benefit to his/her constituents.

- When rallying constituents for support to discuss and address matters of concern, ‘unfair’ legislation or government propositions, government actions or inaction. These could culminate into petitions or public demonstrations.

However, some legislators expressed reservations with rallies in terms of their cost effectiveness and providing a less conducive environment to reciprocally exchange information. A similar limitation was labeled on Radio shows but in a slightly different dimension, as scheduled time allotment could limit responses and the cost of airtime for respondents could be a drawback in the ensuing information exchange to an elite population.

The structures of the local government/local councils would be utilized to acquire information and to pass on information. In passing on information, local councils would be utilized to make the necessary announcements and mobilization for the Mp as part of their official obligations. Local councils would also be sources of information, about constituency issues and on district programs and there are few examples of these interactions:

.. I ask them (Local council chairpersons and councilors) for briefs, what is it you are doing, what is the district doing, what problems/constraints are you facing ... when I go to parish level, I gather together the LCI and then they talk about their concerns, ... they write a memorandum report⁷¹.

In this respect the local councils could be construed as constituting one of the official information and communication channels for the Mp at the constituency level. In addition to the local councils, legislators would also use radios¹ to place announcements regarding their scheduled visitations, for example ‘the Mp ... wants to meet the youth of this parish at this place on such a date ..’⁷² or that ‘on this day I will be here.... on this day, I will be there’⁷³. Mps indicated that occasionally they would participate in local councils meetings by invitation as well as through the legislator’s initiation. However, while some legislators indicated a smooth working relationship with local councils, they also hinted on consequences of ideological and personal differences as interfering in the information flows. This is implied in these examples, the third being less explicit, but indicative of possible antagonisms:

¹ Legislators used radio for other purposes described in an earlier section on media.

.. some of them may not have supported you politically so they will try to see that the meeting fails ... it is a very big issue, you don't agree with LC1 in parish A, you tell them to mobilize people, they will not be as effective. You have to be mindful⁷⁴

.. You might find, the LC chairperson was probably not even supporting you, he was supporting your opponent, the one you defeated, but he will not be direct in trying to frustrate your effort, but you know you might find his mobilization has been poor then he will say, I got the information late, or I did not understand it⁷⁵

... the local councils are also politicians like myself, the only thing is that we are at different scales ... nevertheless on matters pertaining to them we communicate through them on those communication that needs to reach down⁷⁶.

Legislators adopted other strategies in these circumstances as indicated:

.. if you are friendly to a certain catechist, you use him, a religious leader or if you are in good books with some elder somewhere, you might use those informal methods⁷⁷.

You use your campaign managersⁱ

.. I also use my other channels, my agents, supporters, to reach out to my population⁷⁸

Although most of the legislators resorted to their agents or loyalists, one took it further in an ambitious and grand undertaking. He allegedly seized an opportune moment in an electioneering period, to actively agitate and campaign for a more ideologically compatible local leadership in his entire region. He claimed to have attained this objective and that

it had eased the working relationship with the local leadership' allegedly because they 'all speak the same political wavelength'⁷⁹.

These examples reveal how different contexts, and in this case situations of distrust activate diverse mechanisms of action and communication for legislators. The implication is that information seems to be more securely handled through political allies irrespective of whether they are to be found in the formal structures. These examples were all expressed by men. None of the women representatives seemed to experience or notice the limitations within the local council structures.

ⁱ Campaign managers refer to individuals who were involved with the legislator's election

Incidental information acquisition

The reference to religious leaders/organizations as communication channels is also not only limited to legislators, but significant for circulating government information and other community events. Most Mps also professed to periodically attending religious services and ceremonies, which could both turn out to be unplanned contexts or incidental opportunities for acquisition and dissemination of information as revealed in these two examples,

.. sometimes I go to church, say my prayers and they acknowledge [his presence] and after they say you may want to greet people and say a few things .. then you go ahead and talk to people and maybe after that they will have to come to you as individuals and then LC1⁸⁰

.... I go for prayers and then when they ask me to say something, they give me 20 minutes, which sometimes amounts to one hour and I tell them something, while they also let me know about their lives⁸¹ .

I concur with these assertions through my personal experience of church attendance as well as other ceremonies like funerals. There is a predisposition, as a matter of etiquette, for church leaders and other conveners to acknowledge protocol, thus any seemingly hierarchically situated individual within the social structure would be publicly recognized and at times accorded the podium. Sometimes church leaders rise at an opportunity of the presence of a representative to hint on pertinent social issues or request the Mp to comment on particular aspects.

Other contexts where legislators encounter information are also enlisted in the another example;

.. you could be traveling from Kampala and you enter the constituency, you meet many people gathered, could be for some function, at times you take it upon yourself and say you should either greet them and on reaching there they might raise other issues that you yourself might not have thought about⁸²

Constituency offices

This section will reflect the arrangements for constituencies both general and affirmative and the case of political party offices.

Legislators can adopt various means as described above to reach out to their electorate, but constituency offices/contacts symbolize and establish permanent presence of the legislator. The significance of this office is illustrated by a respondent in this extract;

You can't operate effectively if you do not have an office, because that is how you interact with people, that is how you get in touch with them. They come, they get to know your program, when are you coming, they want to get a program for you, is it possible, so unless you have an office, you can't operate effectively'⁸³

Thus, it is one of the ways in which legislators as representatives of their electorate interact, acquire information and manifest their presence with their electorate. It would therefore be considered to be the most enduring information source about the affairs of the constituency and a formal requirement as part of a legislator's responsibilities. Legislators professed to maintain this office with one or more contact people and others acknowledged having more than one office. Respondents on the ordinary constituency, both male and female were more likely to sustain several offices in the different sub-counties that constituted their counties (constituencies). All women legislators on the district seat except two also maintained at least one office, with the exception of the representative profiled as 'the thriving cosmopolitan' who spread out her presence in the district through establishing several offices. She described her approach as 'going an extra mile to be in touch with the people'. Despite this legislator's brave maneuvers, the district still posed significant challenges in information acquisition for other women and they are further elaborated in the subsequent section on the affirmative constituency.

Constituency office contacts were selected based on a legislator's personal discretion, but were generally not highly educated. The need for identification with constituents was emphasized as a major consideration in these choices. Although legislators indicated that their offices were open and operational with their assistants through the week, they also recounted designating particular days for personal one-on-one meetings with constituents in their offices. However, as the interviews progressed it became apparent that constituency matters shift beyond these offices to the Legislator's residence. Thus it could be construed that legislators connected with constituents at three different levels, in the office within their constituency, at their residences and also in Parliament. However interactions that spread home were more dependant on a spouse who was 'equally collaborative'. A less cooperative spouse could hinder information flows from the constituency. This discussion is reflected in section on gender roles.

Other special interest groups constituency contacts

Besides the ordinary constituent and district representatives, the study also included representatives of other special groups like the army, the disabled and the workers. This category interacted differently with their constituencies. Within the army, for example, a respondent indicated that the constitution was less clear on their actual mandate in parliament, but that their representation had to vaguely border on 'matters of national interest and common good'. However, and rather not surprisingly, security was one of those aspects, identified as pertinent to their loosely defined mandate, and also within a hierarchical organization, this officer who also occupied a distinguished position, stated that as part of his constituency consultations, investigative organs within the institution accorded him access to information on pertinent issues for discussion in parliament. His information acquisition can be classified as privileged.

On the other hand, legislators representing the disabled were divided according to regions (Eastern, Northern, Western and Central) with each regional representative responsible for a number of districts. One respondent, for example was responsible for eighteen (18) districts while another twenty two (22) and both professed their inability to establish permanent presence in their respective constituencies/regions. They indicated relying on established channels of their district (disability) unions offices and had designed what would be cost effective ways of managing their large constituencies, for example visiting two to three districts at a go, or alternatively requesting constituents in neighboring districts to meet with them in one specific central location.

The account of the workers' representative pointed to the parliamentary office weekly caucus arrangements/meetings with constituents, described earlier in the section on informal networks, as the more regularized form of interaction with constituents. Other occasions cited of constituency/field visits appeared to be more occasional and at times precipitated by urgent calls.

Party offices

The multiparty dispensation would necessitate establishing party offices which could also serve as constituency offices for a particular party, however, none of the legislators interviewed from the 8th Parliament mentioned any use of these structures, even though they clearly belonged or were affiliated to particular political organizations. Legislators still operated

as individuals at constituency level probably due to what is usually referred to as ‘the hang over of the movement system policy of individual merit’.

6.4.2 Information from constituency offices

However, despite the various programs, all legislators concurred that bulk of information channeled through constituency offices reflected what they perceived to be welfare issues and personal problems and I will illustrate how these ‘odd’ expectations, the political environment and individual organizational arrangements as further imposing information challenges on the district representative. Particularly, the contextual questions in the interview addressed in this section included;

- What kind of information do you receive from your constituency office?
- Where do you stop (in terms of jurisdiction) and where does the Woman Mp start or come in?
- Do you have any issues you designate to the woman Mp?
- What is the relationship with other constituency Mps?
- How do they handle this information and what are the consequences?

The second part will consist of information that Mps consider legitimate for their tasks.

Welfare information/personal problems

One of the respondents (district Mp) expressed that although their basic responsibilities as legislators were more connected to making laws, moving motions to enable government to implement its policies, she felt that they were increasingly being dictated by the community. She attested that society had imposed its own demands, and examples given included attending burials and weddings⁸⁴. The burials would sometime involve organizing for a coffin and transportation of the body or demands for contributions towards the funeral. Other pressures include attending to the sick, facilitating school dues (school fees)⁸⁵, looking after orphans and widows⁸⁶. One respondent stated that if a constituent is sick, you must make it a point to go and check on them. There are also financial requests to facilitate graduation ceremonies or just extending credit facilities and participating in the construction of places of worship.

Yet other requests necessitate mediation in domestic issues with spouses, and an instance is quoted; ‘some woman has been sent away from their

homes then they would want to talk to you, help them get help, then you talk to the man',^{87, 88}

During my constituency visits, I also observed some of these personal requests. Two constituents came in the office to find out, from the office administrator, whether their earlier information/requests had been passed on to the Mp (Woman Mp). When they left, the administrator disclosed their intentions; one of them, a father of twin babies was appealing for facilitation from the Mp, to perform the initiation/baptism/naming rites of his toddlers. The second came from a nearby church, which had written to the Mp requesting for support in a community fundraising project. This kind of information necessitated practical support.

Mps' response to information about welfare issues

The bulk of information that gets through the constituency office reflects some of perceptions that ordinary people exhibit towards their representatives. Most Mps acknowledge these asymmetric expectations, in references like 'misplaced priorities' with both sides [the representative] and the constituents focusing on different priorities⁸⁹ or 'they [constituents] look at you as somebody up there, .. well off ... who earns so much money ... and you should be there to solve their problems'⁹⁰ The legislators, however, seem to have assented to these obligations and tended to tread very carefully in their responses, as indicated in the excerpts;

It is a bit risky, you know we try to sensitize them, you see if you are a member of Parliament and try to be so blunt, in a sense to say it is not my responsibility to give you fees or to take your dead body home, it becomes difficult, you have to explain it in such a way ...⁹¹

... it was not easy in this democracy of looking for votes, what I observed, you just can't go out and tell them, you know, an Mp is not supposed to be doing this, burials ... you would rather .. I for one .. could call a meeting for LCs, give them issues on what transpired in Parliament, how Parliament works and at the same time attending their burials, like I had to really try to .. otherwise you just can't run away from, to them it is part of them, however much you talk, I think it was too much for the vote of 2006, they thought they owned me and I was always there for them, so it was a good mobilization skill, to get many people to your side⁹²

you can help them with fees for their children whether they are in primary or secondary .. [but] they have literally pushed members of Parliament to the wall ...⁹³

You might have to give a humanitarian heart, much as you think it is not your obligation, but when you reach there, you step in, you might see what you can do⁹⁴

you listen and if they [demands] are not very hard you try to solve, with school fees, at times you assist, you assess the situation and you can gauge if the person is genuine⁹⁵

.. it is more of a social obligation, social provision since the nation has failed to provide a social security system for the poor⁹⁶

Reacting to this information does not necessarily require consultation from documents or other sources.

None of the responses from both male and female legislators came through in total negation of these social ‘responsibilities’ or even express this information as another overload, but they all seem to find a way around these extra burdens, which implied that they do not totally ignore information on what they are not supposed to do and although some of it necessitated practical (monetary) support, there was also a reliance on the Mp’s internal information databank, for example in educating constituents about their [Mp’s] roles, and who/what department should handle particular issues,⁹⁷ providing information (counseling) on the appropriate approach for their problems, and this is captured in this extract; ‘... I give them guidelines on what I can handle and what I can’t handle I write to them with information on where to go .. when they have problems, so I channel them to which ever offices⁹⁸

The contradictions, however, can perhaps be summed up in the excerpt derived from one respondent’s observation of her experience in Parliament;

... (our) main role is to make laws ... [but] what I realized is that even if you don’t attend any meeting in Parliament and you are with those people [in the constituency] Monday to Sunday, you win an overwhelming support than the best legislator in the House⁹⁹.

This contention, which suggests concentration of information seeking and use on constituents’ ‘welfare’, appears to find support in another extract about an outstanding male legislator, who was never returned for the 8th Parliament. This legislator was described in a press analysis of 2004 as ‘astute’, ‘always having something to say’ and ‘one who appeared informed on all matters from defense, diplomacy to human rights’ (New Vision, 7th January 2005) and also an outstanding performer according to survey of the 7th Parliament [AFLI, 2006, pp 105]. Although this legislator lost, but successfully legally overturned the election of his opponent, he opted out of

the contest for the bye-electionⁱ. Perhaps some of the reasons for his initial loss and probably his later decision to bow out could be ascertained in what has been ‘pointed out’ as his ‘short comings’ as a representative. He is alleged to have presumably erred on one crucial aspect, of ‘neglecting’ the constituency, as expressed in the excerpt of a press report;

he made one mistake, according to voters. While he shook Parliament with his well-calculated and researched debates, he forgot about his constituency [and] gradually he lost his political clout in the area

The press report further quotes the sentiments of an alleged voter from his constituency;

.. he used to disappear for months and return occasionally. He was no longer in touch with the population. We became tired of him, says Samuel Ochieng, a taxi driver at the border town [Kato, 2008]

In conclusion, whereas the differing expectations of constituents may presumably impose some extra burdens on the woman Mp, but my rationale for incorporating these extracts is to reveal another dimension, the broader context through which to reflect on the challenges and contradictions of representation in situations of adverse economic circumstances, even when most Mps, male and female profess to establishing development projects presumably for the economic empowerment of their constituents. These conditions additionally impact on their information behavior and choices as expressed in this excerpt;

...you find that there is so much time wasted in weddings, funerals ... instead of focusing on very important things ... you find a member of Parliament attending funerals, so you find that instead of these political assistantsⁱⁱ doing very serious mobilization work for you, you have to send them to represent you at somebody’s funeral¹⁰⁰.

If there is a slight disregard of this information from their constituencies, and a legislator concentrates on synthesizing Parliamentary and national informationⁱⁱⁱ, there is a real risk of losing ground at the grass-root level. Moreover, while acting on this personal constituency information may popularize and endear them to the masses, it is likely to be of little benefit to the overall functions of legislators especially at the national level and in the case of the Mp referred to in the press reports by Kato (2008), it is possible to interpret ‘disappearing for months’, alleged by one of the voters, as

ⁱ The bye-election was held January 2008

ⁱⁱ This respondent was referring to his constituency aides/administrators.

ⁱⁱⁱ I am referring to scrutinizing bills, government reports and other documents concerning their oversight roles

becoming less absorbed with information concerning burials and social welfare issues, while preparing and taking his other oversight legislative roles very seriously. During my interviews, I also tried to find out whether respondents had any contextual preferencesⁱ in the legislative functions and most of them were non committal and just ‘emphasized’ a necessity to balance their participation in all contexts. Two women, however exhibited less regard for the debating (plenary) sessions and there was only one woman who specifically stated that on average, she spent eighty (80%) of her time in the constituency and this legislator had also been re-elected to Parliament for three consecutive terms, which may imply concentrating her information seeking on issues pertaining to the constituents.

There were, however other requests that Mps considered more befitting for their obligations to constituents and they are outlined in the subsequent section.

Legitimate constituency demands

The examples in this category incorporate information regarding requests for development projects where an Mp could facilitate a projectⁱⁱ, or connecting constituents to donor agencies or train constituents in an appropriate approach to donors, through skills like initiating and writing fundable project proposals¹⁰¹ and the Mp can take on the responsibility of seek information on potential donors and fundable projects from the various embassies, non governmental organizations, international friends. Some constituents could seek counsel on how to translate their ideas into tangible projects, while others would want their Mp to connect them to high offices¹⁰².

Other examples included constituent complaints about commodity prices, or funding of the local governments¹⁰³. There were reported cases of broken boreholes, where the Mp had to identify and use their position to contact the appropriate offices and ensure compliance¹⁰⁴.

There were other legislators who utilized their offices for more pragmatic purposes and this category was evident with two (2) male legislators representing constituencies in war distress. These respondents displayed a more systematic approach in seeking and organizing information from their constituencies. They indicated that their offices were being effectively

ⁱ This question focused on where they spend more time, for example in plenary sessions, committees or in the constituencies, which would give a clue on the kind of information they deem to be important and prioritized.

ⁱⁱ Most of the Mps attested to having set up different types of development projects in their constituencies, including microfinance, poultry, weaving, animal rearing

utilized to gather and document information on concerns that were distinct to their electorate and these included; security issues, human rights abuses, humanitarian problems, food supplies, educational facilities, health facilities and district activities, the status of the infrastructure, monitoring the number and credibility of operational Non governmental organizations. This information would allegedly be strategically analyzed and transformed into formal documents like reports, which in turn would be circulated to both local and international agencies, foreign missions, Non governmental organizations with the intention of appealing to their sentiments, lobbying for government action and implicitly expand their international linkages^{105.i}

¹⁰⁶ Another claimed use was in the fight against corruption and in this instance the Mp would use his documented and information acquired through personal observations in comparison with other official sources to check and alert for discrepancies with the appropriate offices.

In terms of percentages, one respondent affirmed that about 50% of issues received concern welfare and the other 50% differed on economics and politics. Another one estimated that it could probably be approximately 30% of her constituents who understood what she is supposed to do as a legislator¹⁰⁷.

Impact on women district women Mps

Although the next section 6.4.3 specifically analyzes and expands on the challenges and intricacies of the district women seat, I will incorporate some of the consequences of constituency demands in this subsection since they reflect on the general interactions with other constituency Mps.

Constituency requests affect affirmative women in two aspects; one is monetary, due to their larger constituencies, as expressed in this excerpt;

.. the expectations from the women representatives are bigger, not only because of the size of the constituency, but because of the misconception that we represent women. So women because of their poverty and literacy levels, they become too demanding on the woman representative¹⁰⁸,

This respondent emphasizes women.

Another aspect that was apparent in the interviews was the absence of clear demarcations of responsibility between the District representative and a constituency representative and this posed information implications as I reflected on the contextual questions of the arrangements with other Mps in the constituency or district and this was reflected in these questions;

ⁱ These examples were particular to constituency offices of representatives in war ravaged areas.

Where do you stop and where does the Woman Mp start or come in, or do you have any issues you designate to the woman Mp? or alternatively what is the relationship with other constituency Mps?

In terms of partnerships, some of the responses indicated a degree of cooperation, expressed in the form of informingⁱ one another in case one (especially the Woman Mp) was visiting a particular area in the jurisdiction of a constituent Mp and sometimes invitations to come along, others were less direct and stated it as ‘a matter of fact’ in expressions like;

we work together, because the woman is supposed to look after the entire district ... therefore I should be able to work with the woman in respect of things that are falling within my constituency ..¹⁰⁹

Other Mps indicated no relationshipⁱⁱ, while for one ordinary constituency Mp, she indicated that she stops within her constituency boundaries and ‘forgets’ that there is a woman Mp and thereby acts on issues as they come up, but acknowledges the overlap of roles¹¹⁰.

There was nevertheless, one allegation of relocation of issues by a district woman legislator to a constituency Mp. In this case, a male legislator disclosed his experience of the district Mp pushing issues to him, as expressed in this excerpt; ‘you see here like school fees, whatever, you might find that most of the time, they tend to push to the constituency Mp. I am telling you my personal experience because during my time, I got [issues] being referred from the Woman Mp specifically to me. You find somebody being stranded in Kampalaⁱⁱⁱ, you find the first thing she asks, where do you come from, I come from this sub-county, or this sub-county is in the other county, therefore the best person is so and so go to Rian^{iv 111}

Overall, there was no response with distinctive responsibility frontiers or the kind of clearly defined collaborations that would pull both information and monetary resources together on a continuous and regular basis, which

ⁱ My initial interpretation of this informing was perceived to be a way of harmoniously working together, but through informal interactions within UWOPA, I realized that it also carried other connotations which I construed to be a way of avoiding backstabbing each other and sort of guarding one’s territory, and there was a slight possibility of a constituency Mp taking offence by being uninformed about an event organized in their constituency by a district Mp, just in case the platform could be used in any way to attack the performance of a constituency Mp who may not be present.

ⁱⁱ In some of these instances, the reasons fronted reflected personal, ideological or organizational differences.

ⁱⁱⁱ This reference implies a constituent stranded in the main city without any funds on him/her and thus looks to their Mp for redemption, possibly transportation costs.

^{iv} Rian is a pseudonym replacing the name of this Mp.

would ideally be more cost effective for the legislator with a larger constituencyⁱ, and in one case about this relationship, a male Mp stated;

.. actually, I cannot tell because women come to me, the Youth come to me, the men come to me, all groups, I actually don't know the role of the woman member of Parliament. *You do not have any issues that you push to her?* I have never tried and I don't think I can do that, because all these groups bring their problems to you¹¹²

Ironically, the similar complaints are echoed by an affirmative respondent who asserts that;

a woman Mp is a member of Parliament for all. They all come to you, the people with disabilities, the elderly, so you find there is a lot of burden on our time and resources¹¹³

Thus there is a possibility of duplication of services effectuated by not sharing constituency development and other information. Respondents seemed aware of this potential, most especially on the possibilities for replicating donations or other financial assistance and this is illustrated in two examples; one was connected to my constituency visit, with the case of the father of twins. Although the office administrator handled his inquiries with utmost courtesy and dignity, she later intimated that he could most likely also have been to [seeking similar assistance] the constituency Mp¹¹⁴. The second case is derived from my interview with a constituent Mp, as indicated;

what I think, some of these associations we help could have approached me and again approached her [District Mp] on the same issues [laughs]. I believe ... we don't combine programs we [were] working as individualsⁱⁱ

On the future possibility of closely working with the woman Mp, this respondent affirmed, that she had not thought about it, but would give it some consideration¹¹⁵. This situation could also be attributed to the 'remnants' of the Movement system of governance which fostered individual capabilities, despite both Mps (the affirmative and the constituency in this case) currently belonging to the same party. It could also

ⁱ However, Mps tended to coalesce in their regional networks described in the section on informal networks in Parliament, but this appeared to be in extraordinary and special cases impinging on serious issues in their respective areas, like security or natural disasters like floods and this would go beyond individual districts, to whole regions, like the Teso region, Lango region.

ⁱⁱ This response provides some underlying factors and points to the spirit of the Movement system of governance that promoted an individual, as opposed to Party politics.

be due to personality differences. Perhaps in the same line with the possibility of duplication, I also noted, after having conducted some interviews after primariesⁱ and also after the elections, that the transition from one representative to another was not always smooth. It emerged that it was not necessarily automatic that an incoming legislator/representative takes over establishments/initiatives by the former. After interviewing four (4) women affirmative legislatorsⁱⁱ who would be out of the eighth Parliament, on the fate of their projects/constituency development issues after they left office, two of them affirmed that they would continue with the running of those projects, one specifically indicated that the incoming legislator must start her own. Another one who was not running for office again indicated that she had left such decisions with the individuals in the projects, while the fourth one signaled some willingness to cooperate with her successor, although she alleged that the successor had not expressed any interest. While it could be interpreted that the ex-legislators moving on with their establishments guarantees some continuity and stability to constituency/community development issues and services, but there is a real possibility of continuous duplication and possibly waste, when information is not shared and harmonized.

6.4.3 The Affirmative Constituency/District seat

This is the second part of the analysis of information challenges at the constituency level with specific emphasis at the affirmative constituency. It attempts to illustrate how the structure of affirmative action impacts on the constituency related information behavior and choices for women legislators on the district seat.

The dimensions of a large constituency manifested during the process in several ways. One of them was through one of the two UWOPA – SNV sponsored workshops when a woman Mp conceded that she had closed her constituency office, due to alleged misuse by constituents and she cited examples where some constituents would drop in and at times hold-up in order to physically meet with the Mp, which could be after several days, thus creating inconveniences for the office contact and eventual costs to the Mp. I thought that if the office is supposed to signify a form of presence of the Mp to the local population, how are Mps able to keep in touch if the office is closed and is this way of working widespread? I followed this thread in my

ⁱ Most primaries were held late November 2005

ⁱⁱ Two of them had lost in the primaries and were not contesting, one had opted out of the race and the fourth one eventually lost the election

subsequent interviews by inquiring initially whether women maintained constituency offices, their location and whether they were able to get to everybody who needed them and I thought this would shed some light on the information implications of a big constituency. Among my respondents, there were two legislators (women, district) who professed their inability to maintain an office, while one had closed it down allegedly due to the financial constraints, but I will start this section with the wider implications of the affirmative action policy.

Affirmative Action policy

In order to comprehend the district constituency, I thought it pertinent to illustrate it from point of view of the initial rationale for the affirmative action policy. This policy was adopted in 1989 supposedly to bring in more women into the National Resistance Council (NRC), which acted as the Legislative Assembly by then and consequently institutionalized in the 1995 Constitutionⁱ, providing for a woman representative for every district and which would be reviewed after a period of ten years and thereafter five, for the purpose of retaining, increasing or abolishing such representation. The affirmative seats were constitutionally guaranteed through article 32 of the 1995 Constitution, and it states that;

.. the state shall take affirmative action in favor of groups marginalized on the basis of gender, age, disability or any other reason created by history, tradition or custom, for the purposes of redressing imbalances which exist against them.ⁱⁱ

Article 78, especially parts b and c partly streamlines article 32 by specifying the composition of all marginal groups to be represented at the highest decision making body, as indicated;

Parliament shall consist of:

- members directly elected to represent constituencies;
- one woman representative for every district*;

ⁱ There is a corresponding policy of affirmative action at the lower governance structures, and it is enshrined in the Local Government Act (1997) 48 (3) and it provides for at least one third of the Executive Committee members at the Parish or Village level to be women.

ⁱⁱ Article 32 (1) of the Uganda constitution.

- such numbers of representatives of the army, youth, workers, persons with disabilities and other groups as Parliament may determine*;ⁱ

The constitutional justification for affirmative action is supposedly to correct historical imbalances and although other categories of interest groups embraced in the provision include the Youth, Workers, the Army and the disabled, women are admittedly the most prolific beneficiaries of the affirmative action. It has contributed to their increment in numbers in politics and as Kharono (2003) observed, their visibility as well in public office and subsequently legitimized their presence in areas formerly considered being the preserve of men, which in Merton's view denotes more confidence in being regarded as an integral part of the larger world (Merton, 1968, Chatman 1999, pg 208). Another advantage pointed out is the confidence with which they have accrued in standing for public office, in that there are more women willing to contest. In the context of the overall theoretical approach to this study, the affirmative action has provided the mechanism and a channel that has facilitated outsiders to come on stage of the larger world. Thus through this forum, outsiders have intersected with insiders, at least in their numbers and it has subsequently been one of the means of entry for which women as outsiders to mainstream politics have eventually been connected to national politics.

Within this policy, there are also additional layers in the representation of other interest groups, for instance, out of the five seats for the youth, workers and persons with disabilities, at least one of them has to be reserved for a woman, while for the army, out of 10 seats, two have to be contested by women alone and this is reinforced in the Parliamentary Elections Act, 2005, article 8 (2) a - d.

The special seats are clearly the only means that have brought in a larger number of women in the legislature, if we take the example of the Seventh Parliament (2001 – 2006), in all the 214 directly contested seats, women successfully competed for only thirteen (13) or 6%, while the district seats were 56. In the eighth Parliament (2006 – 2011), out of the 215 constituent seats, thirty two women contested constituencies for the directly elected members (non-affirmative) and fourteen 14 were successful. The affirmative seats for women at the district level however attracted more contestants, out of sixty nine district seats at the time of the elections in February 2006, one hundred and ninety four (194) candidates were registered as contestants (Electoral commission, 2006). Thus it could be interpreted that women were more confident to stand for the affirmative seats than the non affirmative,

ⁱ Article 78 (1), a, b and c

even though the success ratio of those elected on direct constituent seats at 14 out of 32, was higher at a percentage value of 44. However, the number of women on the non affirmative seats has since increased in 2008. Two women were successfully elected both of them via their husbandsⁱ. Amongst the three other interest groups, the youth, disabled and the workers, only one woman on the workers' ticket succeeded on the non affirmative seat, thus out of the five seats for workers, there are two women representatives, one for the affirmative and another for a non affirmative seat. Otherwise overall it appears that the rest of the female representatives could only be guaranteed through an improvised and special quota system.

The affirmative constituency

As outlined in article 78 (b), the largest number of special women seats is guaranteed at the district level, which would translate, at least on the surface, to district representation. The number of women at the district directly corresponds with the number of districts, thus in 1992 when the districts were 39, there were 39 women representatives for these seats and with the decentralization policy adopted and the devolution of power have led to further splitting of districts into smaller entities, some of which consist of only one county. The number of districts thus currently stands at seventy nine (79), and this corresponds with the number of women legislators in the special category of the district seat. The fragmentation of the original districts from thirty nine (39) in 1992 to fifty six (56) by 1996, sixty nine (69) by February 2006 and later seventy nine (79) 2007, although spans controversy, especially regarding its cost effectiveness and underlying political intentions, it certainly works in favor of women. This process creates more seats for them and thus guarantees an increased representation, with 76% (56/74) of female legislators in the 7th Parliament and 78% (79/101) in the 8th Parliament. The numbers of the non affirmative seats have largely remained unaltered except for the addition of one constituency/county from 214 to 215ⁱⁱⁱ. Another advantage for women is that smaller entities reduce the size of the women constituency thus perhaps

ⁱIn the first case, the husband, who was an Mp passed on, while in the second instance, the wife contested in the position of her husband, whose election had earlier been annulled through a court petition. The numbers of women on the non affirmative seats currently stand at 16.

ⁱⁱⁱ The new constituency of Bughendera was carved out of Bwamba county, Bundibugyo district in 2006.

making in more manageable and easier also in information gathering and dissemination.

Perhaps these advantages can be summarized in this excerpt of a female respondent:

... It reduces the size of the constituency; secondly, it adds another woman. I like it for our numbers. It increases honestly on our numbers and if we are pushing any agenda, we have the numbers, so the more districts, the more women, because the new districts created do not create new constituencies, but bring in a new woman for Parliament. I think I like it although it is becoming a bit too much. But for women, we get something, as women¹¹⁶

The boundaries and sizes of districts have been changing with the increasing fragmentation, thus some districts currently consist of one county, while others have numerous, for example nine (9) countiesⁱ and the population also differs likewise from the lowest estimated at 99,794 to the highest at 1,359,100 people. Moreover the terms of reference for district women legislators are not very distinctive and in the subsequent paragraphs, I attempt to briefly elucidate on the perspectives of two affirmative Mps and some intrinsic advantages outlined in successive responses:

the formulation of affirmative action left lack of clarity on what women Mps are supposed to do ... on the surface it appears my business ... is to champion what concerns purely women, on the other hand ... what we have since learnt, you represent women in leadership. You do everything that all political leaders are supposed to do, but maybe the additional work of kind of a gender lens to see whether as we do that, we also look at women as key stake holders in matters of defense, local government, anything ...¹¹⁷

Another extract:

it is a woman who represents a district not only women, [but] we can have a bias towards pro-women policies¹¹⁸.

This implies that the woman Mp's jurisdiction would necessitate spreading out and information acquisition and dissemination to more people as well as catering for the district's interests, thus this starting point does not appear to be even with representatives on ordinary constituencies. However, there were respondents who claimed some innate advantages in this structure, as expressed in this extract; 'by being in the district, I can enter any constituency,¹¹⁹ which implies that the district seat gives her leverage over information in other constituencies within the district, perhaps without

ⁱ The rationale preceding this fragmentation of district boundaries could be regarded as more political than lessening the burden of women district representatives.

arousing suspicion from colleagues in the constituencies, thus it does not really come through as a burden.

Another respondent, though does not consider the information implications but considers the inherent nurturing aspects in this excerpt;

a woman Mp is concerned in like being a parent of the district. You see, there are so many divisions in politics, you find constituencies with the men and you find they don't talk to one another or they don't talk to you, but at the end of the day, you are the person who takes over the whole district, who is voted for by people that vote these other people, much as you may be having differences between you ... it is a role that unites ... trying to bring together the various forces at each and every council ..¹²⁰

Since the process of splitting districts into smaller entities is ongoing, it is my anticipation that future investigations could compare the information behavior of district Mps in some of these districts consisting of one constituency, with that of ordinary constituency Mps since the constituency size would be level. However, this data is thus largely based on women with districts composed of more than one constituency, which is definitely bigger than a normal constituency and has wider information implications at the constituency level. The questions I have sought to address in analyzing information behavior and information challenges within the context of the constituency are; how does size impact on the management of their constituency and information possibilities? What is the difference in terms of information choices between a district representative and a representative of an ordinary constituency and how can this help us understand the ensuing information behavior regarding the dimensions of a large entity? As an issue that specifically applies to the women district representatives, I sought to investigate it at three levels, one from the perspective of the Mps and also considerations for the choices of the non affirmative Women Mps, the second level from the constituency, through constituency offices and thirdly through the eyes of the grassroots population, through their representatives, posited at the lowest receiving end, the village leadership or the Local council chairmen – the LC1; whose presence at the grassroots do they experience more?

Choices of a non affirmative constituency

The first section will consider the rationale for and considerations behind respondents who had opted for the non affirmative (open competition) seats as opposed to the affirmative, did they have any concerns about manageability which would implicitly point to information issues? They were five (5) in total, but the first one was interviewed briefly in the pilot

phase of the project in 2004 and efforts to secure a second in-depth interview were unsuccessful. Nevertheless, the motivation behind these choices varied, as expressed in these excerpts:

Respondent No. 1

.. I didn't want to apologize, first of all, I think affirmative action is for people who need it, The women who need it. There are people who need it, like... and I don't think I am one of them.... I thought that I have been an executive director, managing men older than me, with more degrees than myself, I have done a good job, I sit on so many boards of schools and so many institutions, I didn't see why I should take that benefit. ...and because I took over a constituency, there are two of us in Parliament... those are two women¹²¹.

My interpretation of this response lies in threefold, first that she did not wish to bear the burden of having to bow to, atone or feel eternally grateful to the 'giver' in a way of 'apologizing' to that person. The non affirmative seat would possibly accord a sense of independence, especially in a situation where the respondent had already advanced in the corporate and presumably 'masculine' world, which could be perceived as outstanding preparation and an edge in the male political world. Thirdly, she 'displayed' a sense of altruism in leaving the affirmative seat to the 'less privileged' women, who had presumably not made it to her level.

Respondent No.2

This respondent had been born to a family of single sex siblings and thus declares that:

... there was never a gender difference as we were growing up, even when we had boys around the house, we were the same, we were just children and we grew up as such¹²²

Although the circumstances differ from the first respondent, the familiar situation in this case also presented no hassles in fitting into the male world of an ordinary constituency.

Respondent No. 3

This respondent was non committal although she claims the woman seat would have been a bit easier, having worked through the women structures before her Parliamentary ambitions, and she demonstrates in this quote:

.. it would have been much easier to for me to get on the women seat actually because I had to traverse the whole district [but] I think that is not where my heart was...¹²³

Although this respondent could have had some advantage for the district seat, due to the familiarity with the terrain, perhaps she had other considerations, or possibly political tradeoffs in her choices.

Respondent No. 4

The fourth respondent initially demonstrated mixed signals regarding the principle of affirmative action, but which she quickly retracted as indicated:

I don't believe in affirmative action, No, no, no, I do in a way that it gives us an opportunity ...¹²⁴

However, the ensuing response hinted on an understanding indicative of her consideration for the challenges of a large constituency. She thus highlights some rather interesting issues with regards to the central focus of this study, the information implications, in the choices that outsiders make as expressed in the excerpt:

.. Now, this one [the ordinary constituency] is a smaller area. Actually what prompted me, I wanted my impact to be felt and I thought like in a whole district, it can't be. I couldn't make an impact in such a bigger constituency. So I thought within a smaller area ... for example my constituency has three sub counties, it is a smaller working area, so if you made a small program, it would trickle down easily¹²⁵.

In order to operationalize 'her impact', she says;

I used to have [a constituency office] in every sub county, in the last Parliament (7th Parliament), when we were in the Movement system, individual merit¹²⁶

The choice of a competitive seat for the fourth respondent reflected both independence and a desire to be effective, which could only be achieved in a smaller constituency. This was demonstrated in the manner in which she managed her constituency. Within the seventh Parliament, and in a system of governance that privileged an individual, she found it more practical to operate several constituency offices and possibly maintain some form of permanent presence on the ground. She also indicated that sometimes she would hold meetings with Local council officials at the grass-root, which she realized was more efficient in acquiring information rather than to wait for it in the constituency office and she relays it in this excerpt;

... in my meetings, I used to call them [LC officials] ... and they are good at raising issues when you are down to them, than them coming with those issues to the office. They come and talk and talk and they will tell you things.¹²⁷

An inference that could be derived from this situation is that she could easily obtain information about her constituency, since she had spread out her information collection/acquisition centers – the constituency offices and also her operational mode of going down to them. Just like the male legislator in one of the profiles, this respondent too does not wait for information to be brought to her office, she goes for it.

Constituency management and constituency offices (district constituencies)

As discussed earlier constituency offices manifest the official presence of a legislator amongst the electorate. I however, wished to explore further how women touch base within their fairly larger constituencies and amongst the respondents, two affirmed that they did not actually maintain any within their respective districts. One of these preferred utilizing the main Parliamentary officeⁱ allotted to all representatives from a district and thus shared by other ordinary constituency Mps. She explained that they instead pool resources and employ one person to coordinate their activities. This contact or clerk was supposed to receive information act on it or pass it over to the respective Mps and she outlined these duties to specifically incorporate ‘keeping the office open and running, receiving visitors, making appointments for people who want to see them, taking minutes, typing (word processing) their documents and keeping their records’. This clerk is an information assistant¹²⁸. About an office in the constituency, her response;

in the constituency, we don’t have. Why? It is a bit expensive ... it is not cheap to open another one although it would have been good to have another office there¹²⁹

However, I wish to point out that, her other constituency (county) representatives within her district were not included in the interview, thus it could not be interpreted whether the ‘we’ in her expression of ‘we don’t have’ [other offices in the district] also applied to her colleagues (male constituency Mps). Rather, her mode of keeping in touch with constituents;

.. through these mobiles now, it is not difficult to communicate if someone wants you. They can call. So they keep calling? Yea¹³⁰

This is a rejoinder from the second respondent, who too could not sustain an office;

Where can I put the office? the constituency is amorphous¹³¹

ⁱ In the seventh Parliament, each district was allocated an office, within the Parliamentary building in Kampala, which was shared by all representatives from that district

She however reaffirmed that her people know her number so they call her and she goes out and meets them.

These two respondents seemed to rely overwhelmingly on technological developments to acquire information and coordinate activities and thereby presumably maintaining ‘virtual’ presence in their respective constituencies.

However, there was also a third response whose office appeared to be partially operational as she indicated that she had close it because she ‘would not have a permanent person to sit there and not demand for payment and additionally that at times the office would be open and no one turns up for a day or week’, so her political assistant opens it occasionally¹³².

Constituency visits

In exploring the district challenges, I made five visits in total; three of them from rural affirmative constituency offices. One of the offices, however turned out not to be directly concerned with the day to day activities of the electorate, but rather for a specific district project which the Mp was running concurrently, thus data from this visit is not included in this analysis. An attempt was also made to visit an urban affirmative constituency. Two other visits were carried out to two officials from the lowest level of the local administrative structure, the LC1ⁱ (see Figure 1) at the village level and they concentrated on their experiences with both the woman representative and the local ordinary constituency representative.

Experiences with the constituency offices

I wish to point out that my first constituency consultation followed a major election that culminated into the 8th Parliament, and in which the incumbent had lost, thus that particular office was not fully functional. The second visit to another constituency office occurred later during the term of the 8th Parliament and this office was fully operational and has yielded most data for this analysis. In both of these constituency visits, the positioning of these offices was similar. They were situated at the intersection of the main roads and within the major town centers of the women Mps’ respective districts. The assumption about the location of these offices could be for strategic information purposes. One of the reasons advanced by the contact in charge of one of the offices was that;

ⁱ Local council 1 : The local council administrative structure is composed of five administrative units, starting from Local council 1 at the village level, LC II at parish level up to LC V at the district level. The LCV chairperson is the political head of the district.

... this is a town and everybody can report here, for example those from Biku (a town bordering the northern part of the district), it is [also] easy for people from Bimonde (another town on the southern end), it is also easy to come here and then she (the Honorable) finds her information and she also takes it to Kampala¹³³.

During the interaction, it also emerged that both offices were additionally housed in properties that were owned by the respective representatives, and one of the explanations bordered on cost effectiveness as explained by this office contact;

...[and] what seems to work to her [the MP] advantage is that the building belongs to her, if one does not own the building, then you may have to rent a room for the office and yet it is costly to rent a room here in Biyuni (district), like now, a room like this one goes for [Ug. Shs] 40,000 but if you own a building, you probably wouldn't go opening an office everywhere.¹³⁴

Maintaining an office 'everywhere' also costs not just in rental expenses but also in manpower requirements as the office contact affirms; *'you have to pay people who are working in the office'*¹³⁵, thus the inability to spread them out in the district, especially when the Parliamentary constituency allocation is constant for the district representative as well as for ordinary constituencies. The aide also envisages her role to be more of connecting the Mp to her people and when quelled on how the office keeps in touch with the grassroots, i.e. acquiring information from constituents in distant villages, she affirms that *'they come here and make their appointments or requests to the Mp'*¹³⁶, and in her assessment, the office is functioning effectively as an information conduit and saves constituents transportation costs to the Kampala office which she suggests *'serves people who are in a better financial position and are able to reach Parliament'*¹³⁷ and perhaps some of the rural constituents may not necessarily be in a position to make that trip, thus utilizing the constituency office. But what is the perspective of the common man/woman? This will be unraveled in the subsequent section on Local councils.

Village local council visits

In this section, I have investigated the interactions at another level, to have an understanding of the purported grass root relationship with representatives. I selected the lowest administrative leadership structure, the

ⁱ The names Biku and bimonde are pseudonyms for towns in that district that are situated at opposite ends of the district borders. This interview was also conducted in one of the local languages and was translated to English'

village level or Local council 1 (LC1), mainly because of my perception and experience that the LC1 chairpersons handle issues of the common man, the Wananchi. I randomly selected two Local Council executivesⁱ, from both urban and Peri -urban local councils, but before I proceed to the empirical data, I will enumerate the day to day interactions that these officials handle, as outlined by one of the chairpersons in the study, in the section below;

Common local council issues

In practical terms, the average concerns that village leadership gets involved in include; Family wrangles; land disputes; cases of child neglect; cheating, including cheating tenants, trespass, including that of animals—when farmers/animal owners have been negligent with their livestock – poultry and swine or even with pets; adultery, elopement and inducement; and simple crime. However, the chairman pointed out that these issues are handled with a community spirit of conciliation and mediation to enable parties reach a settlement acceptable to both and if the negotiations are not successfulⁱⁱ, matters are forwarded to the next level which could be the LC11 (Parish level) or the police or straight to the courts. Other activities performed by the chairman include keeping track of people in his/her particular village, when new residents or tenants are settling in, they are obliged to introduce themselves to the Chairperson. Likewise when residents are selling off their land, the chairperson is notified and of the new owners. The chairperson is entrusted with the initial proof of citizenship, in that nationals in the quest for travel documents first receive mandatory written accreditation through their village leaders.

The LC1 chair is also bound to be notified of any functions, rallies, in his/her area of jurisdiction, and correspondingly, Mps are supposed to notify him/her in case functions are scheduled within in their locality and in instances of an affable working relationship, the LCs are utilized as information conduits/channels to mobilize villagers - constituents for these functions.

The chairman pointed out areas where they do not have appropriate jurisdiction, and they included cases of murder, aggravated robbery, defilement and child rape and treason. The legal framework for the operations of the local councils is contained in the Local Governments Act of 1997, 50 (a – g) and 51 b (i – iv); and their judicial responsibilities, they

ⁱ The sampled councils are located in the constituencies of respondents in the study.

ⁱⁱ This is incorporated in the Executive Committees (Judicial powers) Act, section 8 regarding objections to jurisdiction.

are enumerated in the Executive Committees (Judicial Powers) Act (*see* Appendix 4.2).

The purpose of elaborating on the functionalities of the LC1 is to illustrate the administrative closeness and interactions with which ordinary citizens have with these officials concerning their welfare and the well being of their area, such that even when they encounter issues which would necessitate the intervention of higher powers, the initial point of concern would be through their local administrative structure. Thus, in conclusion, the overall objective of incorporating the village administration was to find out how people I presumed to be at the lowest receiving end, the grassroots interact with their Parliamentary representatives, both the district representative (the woman) and the ordinary constituency representative, from the point of view of the village leaders. Who is closer to them and if they have issues for their representatives, where are they likely take that information? Their responses are relayed;

The Kalobo village chairperson

The first response is derived from a chairmanⁱ in an urban constituency, which I will use a pseudonym Kalobo. During his acclaimed experience of twenty one (21) years, as the chairperson, he could recall four major issues that the citizens of his village had to deal with and in all these cases, they had forwarded that information to their local constituency Mps of that time. He named four of them in succession, including a woman. When asked about interactions with the District woman Mp, his reaction was;

That woman representative is very far from us and for all this time, we have never benefited from her representation, maybe she spends her time with women, but we only hear about her on the radio when she is making announcements inviting women on their day held annually on March 8th 138

The chairman also sheds another dimension, regarding the relationship with the Mps which although is not restricted to the Woman Mp, it is indicative of the prevailing political structures. He asserts that within the Multiparty dispensation, opposing ideologies could sometimes impose information barriers, and in this instance he cites an example where both the constituency Mp and the district Woman Mp ascribe to the same ideological camp, which he may not necessarily subscribe to and this at times imposes difficult working relationships and he also presents an example in this excerpt;

ⁱ Chairman, is usually a title ascribed to the chairperson of Local council I

In this era of multi party politics, both representatives belong to the Whiteⁱ Party. They only care about their party members, and for me as someone who does not belong to their party, I find it difficult to work with them effectively, for example, there was a time we held a meeting and while the constituency Mp wanted to address constituents, this Mp was also fuelling rivalry between our opposing camps¹³⁹

He describes his interactions with ordinary constituency representatives who have mostly been men in this extract;

I have generally found it much easier to approach the male parliamentary representative¹⁴⁰

The Kakirita village chairperson

The second chairpersonⁱⁱ relates his contacts with the two types of Mps in this excerpt;

In our interaction/relationship, I would consider the male Mp as having been more approachable for us. *Why?* I would not know why really, but here in our area, it is the male representative who has been coming back more often to the people. He usually comes on his own, but even when people approach him, he usually comes and explains issues, he is very helpful in various ways, he also attends physically most functions where he is invited and he contributes ... and his home is just here at Pinguiv. I would say he is very active and very visible. Even with some of our local smaller issues/cases brought to us (the LC village council) to sort out, while you are still working on the case, you find that some people have already gone direct to the representative to seek redress on the same issue. So I would say, that people in this area find it easier to deal with the constituency Mp¹⁴¹.

When asked about the Woman District Mp he stated:

I would not say that the woman representative whom we have, has ever come this side, if anything, she has come only once. I am not just accusing her, but if you also ask other people ... I think she has concentrated her effort on the other side where she comes from. But this end, I only heard about her only once and the second time when she would have come, she only sent someone, In actual fact, even in her Parliamentary campaigns, she didn't bother coming this way. At least she would have held a big rally in this area, but she did not¹⁴³.

Possible reasons?

ⁱ This stands for a political party I will refer with the pseudonym White.

ⁱⁱ Kakirita is a fictitious name.

^{iv} Pingu is a pseudonym for the name of the place where this particular Mp resides and it is within a distance of approximately 6 km.

I cannot tell, but perhaps she finds it easier in her home area or there are more people that side, but I think our sub county has more people. But perhaps she realized that this area is more negligible, even if she does not put in that much effort, the other area is enough to secure her win¹⁴⁴

This ‘accusation’ apportioned to the Woman Mp tending to concentrate in one area where she probably resides was echoed in another interview, and labeled against a former Woman Mp. This respondent alleged that the previous Mp was voted out presumably because of her condensation of efforts in only one Sub County and it is reflected in this quote:

.. she went in only one parish ... , that is where she comes from, ... where her family is, that is the parish that has everything, that is where her projects are, and that is where women representing her are, [and] where everything of her is, which is not good, because you were voted for the whole district, but why are you choosing only one parish? we decided we want a person for all of us¹⁴⁵.

In conclusion, these two chairpersons consisted of only males, an inference could be preferred on the possibility of differing responses had the selected respondents included a female chair. However, my general interpretation of these two cases is that in spite of the differing expectations of local people towards their representatives, the constituency Mp still appears to be more in touch and possibly more frequently informed on local situations than the district Mp. The reasons could vary from operating in a smaller constituency, and in some instances having their permanent residences within the constituency and ‘cooperating spouses’ for male legislators, thus guaranteeing presence, accessibility and another point of almost infinite convergence. However, this posed considerable challenges with some female legislators, in an attempt to safeguard their homes against constituency related ‘interruptions’, probably to avoid conflicts with family obligations. This aspect is explored in the section on gender roles, where some women affirmed that they leave parliamentary business in their respective offices and when they go back, they are fulltime housewives. They had to oblige to their marital responsibilities.

With the case of the district woman Mp, the strategic positioning of her main contact point (the constituency office) in a central and township location appears to be well thought in terms of acquisition of information, but, however, responses from the village leadership imply that this office could still be considered distant from the grassroots to function as an effective information gathering point for constituency issues. This is also compounded through the aspiration one of the Mps through her term of office;

It is my hope that in the five (5) years, I would have managed to go through each of the parishes in my district¹⁴⁶,

The implication drawn is that it is not possible to make the rounds on a regular basis. Allegations of the woman Mp concentrating in particular localities could also highlight some of the choices and repercussions that impinge on managing large entities and the struggle to exert some influence. Perhaps I would infer that faced with a large constituency, the woman Mp may at times opt to concentrate on a smaller area, which is also likely to be closer to her residence and be effective in that conclave. However, this would ironically render her invisible, remote and uninformed about issues in the broader constituency, as the distance from that enclave widens, since she probably would not have the resources to spread out her presence in a whole district. However, there are some examples of how some women have ‘managed’ the large entities and they will be discussed later, but I also wish to briefly explore and contrast with another constituency office, which I visited of a male legislator.

Constituency office (non affirmative male legislator)

This office was situated in the intersection of a very densely populated neighborhood. This office was also situated by the main highway, and it was rather small, but equipped with two computers and also two staff members. It also operated a microfinance project. In the ensuing discussions with the liaison officer/office contact, I was informed that this location was selected because it was a ‘catchment area’ in between the major sub-counties. The officer informed me that his main activities in the office revolved around managing the microfinance project, although he would receive information for the Mp. He also indicated that the Mp had another bigger and spacious office, but housed in his own premises in another locality, where he would receive constituents as well especially larger delegations. In addition, a local village council chairperson close-by was pointed to as another liaison officer to connect the Mp to constituents.

The office assistant indicated that they usually receive and collect information for the Mp and call him or take it to his home, which he hinted on as doubling as another constituency office. The ‘Honorable’s’ wife was alleged to be actively engaged in constituency matters, receiving constituents and at times acting in his (her husband’s) capacity, in terms of occasionally representing him at functions.

Although not all constituency Mps claimed to maintain several offices, there were more likely spread contact points in all their sub-counties and

with this case, I could interpret that this Mp also operated three (3) constituency offices. They were not necessarily at sub-county headquarters, but situated in-between, including his home, with a cooperating spouse, or a dutiful political wife¹. He could be taken to possibly be very accessible and well informed with events in his constituency.

The subsequent section will attempt to illustrate some endeavors by women to match the district information challenges.

6.4.4 Possibilities for countering the district information challenges

In this section I highlight prospects in rising up to the challenges imposed by the district in information access.

The Women councils

The rationale of incorporating women councils is two fold, first as structures instituted for women to access and facilitate entry to the mainstream and secondly for support, information acquisition and networking. They would in other words act like a visible women's club. Administratively, these councils are placed under the responsibility of the Gender ministry rather than the Local government ministry. The intentions behind these distinctions point to a gender friendly political environment in which the women's agenda is prioritized and possibly protected, but on the other hand, their existence exemplifies a gendered society, since there are no parallel structures for men.

Background

The National women's council was established in 1993 by the National Women statute No. 1, with the objective of bringing all women of Uganda together for development purposes, irrespective of their tribe, origin, status or political affiliation (National Women's council strategic plan, 2005?). It consists of an elected body where women elect their leaders right from the village to the district and they exist independent of the local councils, thus

¹ In academic literature, it was hard to come by articles reflecting the use of this concept of political wife, but there are several media portrayals especially in US politics connoting wives of politicians and who sometimes identify with their husbands' political inclinations, undertakings and shortcomings. Examples include an article on Elizabeth Edwards, a wife of a former presidential candidate in 2008 US elections at: http://voices.washingtonpost.com/onbalance/2007/03/elizabeth_edwards_political_wi_1.html and an earlier time magazine article on political wives at: <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,943007,00.html>

the one third of district women counselors provided for in the Local Government Act, Article 11 (e) as part of the composition of district councils, is not part of the women councils. The women councils are headed by a chairperson at National level who is elected from the chairs of the district. The council's stated aims are organizing and developing women through training, sensitization, lobbying and advocacy, networking and economic empowerment skills. It is also a training ground for women offering opportunities to engage in development and building leadership skills and confidence for eventual participation in elective positions in local councils, the National Parliament, institutional boards and other organizations. In this case it is regarded as mobilization structure to facilitate building up the critical mass of women to partake leadership positions.

The activities of the council are coordinated by a secretariat headed by an executive secretary with other support staff who implement the council resolutions while the National Executive Council (NEC) provides general guidance and strategic direction. The council has a governance structure of committees and councils from village to national level and members of committees and councils at the different levels are the policy makers. The composition of the women's executive committees consists of a chairperson, a vice chairperson, a general secretary, a publicity secretary and a finance secretary (5 women). Although the council structure is supposed to operate parallel to the Local council, there is a provision to intertwine at two levels of the village and parish, ideally to link up with the programs in the local government. At these two levels of village and parish, the chairpersons for women councils also double as secretaries for Gender in the local councils, (see Figure 1 Local government structure), while at the sub-county and district levels, this provision is not provided for in the Local Government Act 1997ⁱ, (National Women's council strategic plan, 2005?; Magambo and Mugombe, 2007; Hansard, 12th January 2003).

Within the amended Act of 2002, women legislators are required to take up positions as defacto members of the District Women councils, and this is the presumed link and an information channel between the National legislature through the women's parliamentary association (UWOPA) and grass-root women through the women's councils. Organograms of both the local and women council structures up to the Parliamentary level are included as Figures 1 and 2 to illustrate the relationships in both the women and the local councils. Figure 1 represents the local councils and the linkage with women councils at the lower level. Figure 2 represents the women

ⁱ Article 48 (2) I of the Local Government Act

councils. UWOPA differs from the structure since it is a non governmental organization and it is presented with a dotted line despite its status and mandate at the national level.

Local Government structure

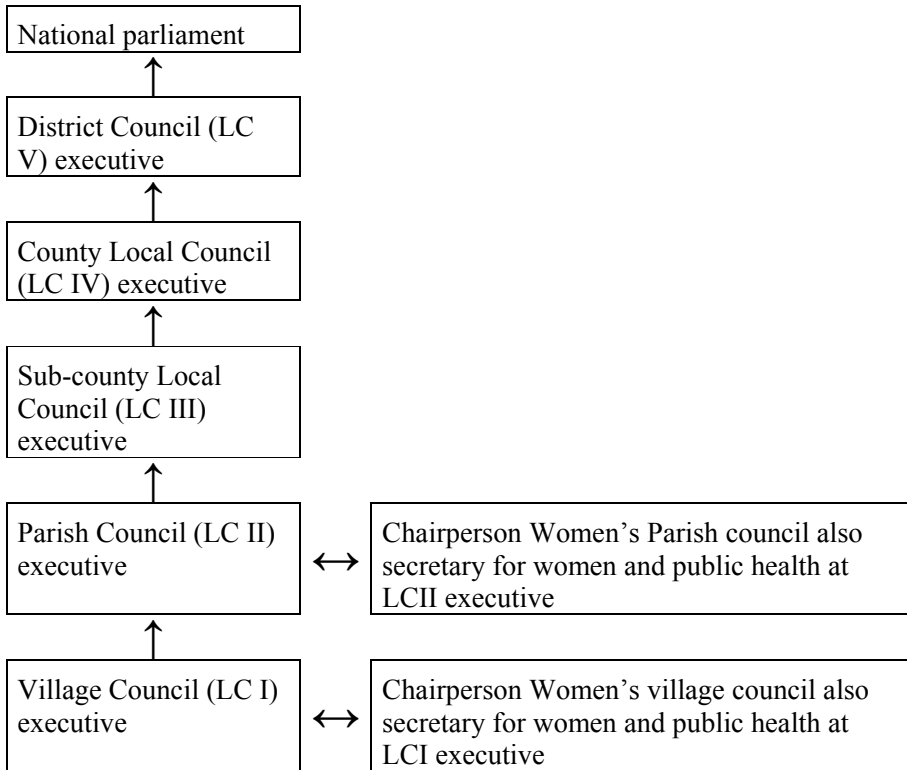


Figure 1 Local government structure

Structure of the women's councils

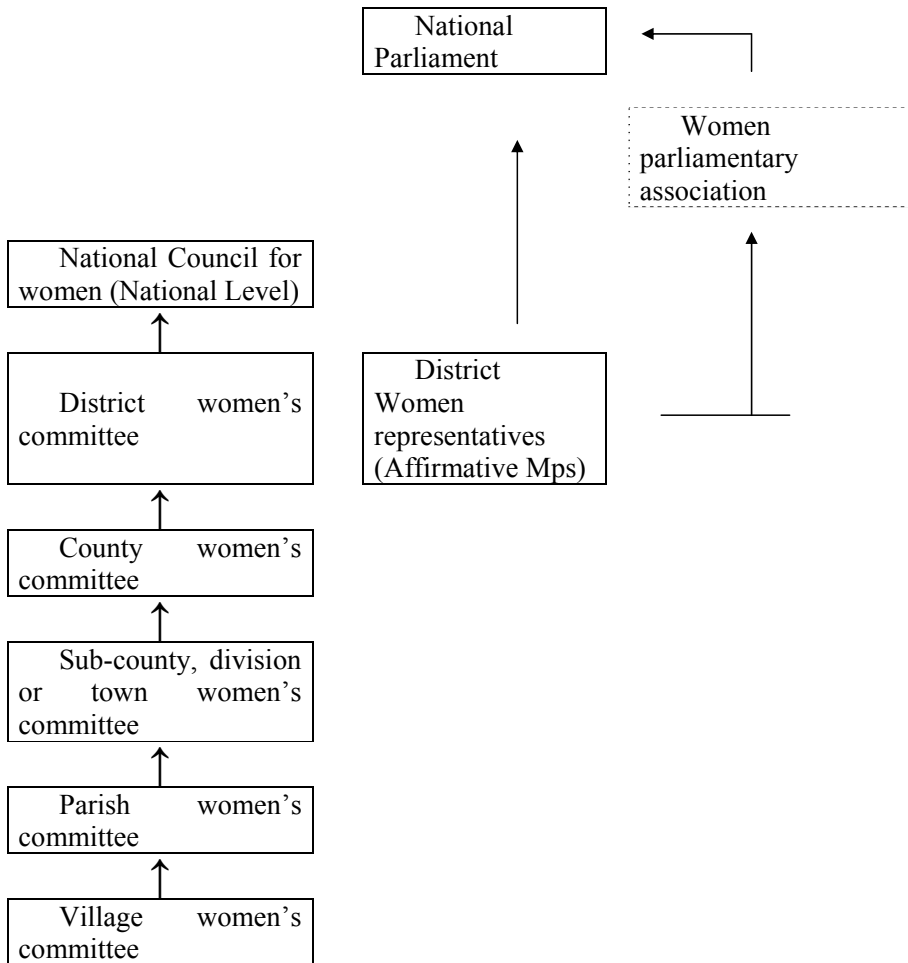


Figure 2 Women councils

Within this section I wish to highlight efforts at utilizing the women's formal institutions.

One of the channels of communication, information acquisition, dissemination and networking specifically intended for women MPs to women at the grass-root was through the Women councils, which were parallel structures set up alongside the Local government structures. With the acknowledgement of the amorphousness of the district, women could

utilize these structures to spread out to the grass-root. The district woman representative is legally mandated to participate in the deliberations of the women councils as per National women's Council (Amendment) Act 2002, Section 4 (5 (f)), as an ex-officio member, but without voting rights. This implies that the District women Mps are supposed to attend all executive meetings at the district with the women councils. Thus through this provision, the women Mps are supposed to remain connected and also replenished to the women in local politics, who are in turn linked with the grass root women movement, since the women councils are elected from the village level. It thus remains one of the information acquisition, exchange and dissemination contexts for women affirmative legislators. I can also infer the possibility for the non affirmative woman Mp to utilize these structures, just by virtue of their gender as women, since legally all Ugandan women above the age of eighteen (18) years are members of the women councils. However, these institutions were beset by perennial inadequate funding, which rendered them ineffective and redundant most of the timeⁱ. Some of the indications of this relationship from the respondents' accounts included;

women in the councils have never given me any memoranda to take to Parliament because they are not facilitated they do not originate meetings¹⁴⁷.

There were also allegations of existent tensions due to perceptions of competition and rivalries which in some instances blocked communication, and there are examples of some of the excerpts from respondents closely connected with the council structures. The first respondent from the women councils recalls her experience with women legislators;

Women Mps, many of them were not very outgoing, you know this competition in politics I would see there was some bad blood, although I cannot say all of them, but as Parliament, they need to come out to support the women [structures] I also realize that most of the people who go through these councils at the same time stand for Parliament positions and in most cases they compete with members of Parliament, because of that they really see that you are a competitor because you can stand.¹⁴⁸

The second example is extracted from a woman legislator and indicates some of the repercussions in access to information.

ⁱ This is corroborated by most of the respondents' accounts, the accounts of the Local Council officials, also through the study by Ahikire and Madanda (Deniva), 2002 and another account by Magambo and Mutaawe, 2007 who had actively participated in these councils as Finance Secretary and Chairperson of the Women's Council, respectively.

I think in other districts as well as mine, you find that the person who turns out to be the chairperson of the women council had contested with the Mp, so then they are at logger heads for instance at that time, the chairperson had contested with me and so I was supposed to be a member of that district women council as an ex official, but they would never call me and when you organize a function, you invite her, she doesn't turn up, so that kind of antagonism was always there ... *but she attributes it to a bad spirit*; generally our people are bad losers, somebody loses an election and then you become enemies, then they don't want to work with you ... so quarrels from the campaign would be carried over to the activities of the women councils.¹⁴⁹

Thus the information consequences derived from the friction of competing women structures and inadequate funding inevitably leads to several information implications, deduced from the account of a respondent from the women councils. There is an inability to share information about national and policy issues from the national legislative assembly that would be contributed by Mps as policy makers. There is another drawback for women Mps failure to contribute to the discussions/ information exchanges, for example in the budgeting processes within the district. As channels that could be utilized to communicate to the grass-root women, there is also a loss in terms of mobilization of women for socio-economic and political issues and this would invariably affect the way women at the national level interact with women at the grass root. Thus in terms of information challenges, women have minimal access to information from the district and also at the grass-root.

Despite these challenges, there were two legislators who appeared to have worked through with these councils at some point. One respondent narrated that initially she was charged with a constituency of over 100 parishes and more than twenty (20) sub-countiesⁱ and she formed an association of Women Leaders which incorporated women from both the local councils and the women councils allegedly to develop the constituency. Through this association, she would organize discussion forums, and facilitate them at the sub-county level. Through the discussions, she would also hint on her own limitations, for example the inability to spread out to the grass root of so many parishes, and thus task the women to pass on and share the information with those deep down in their areas of jurisdiction, as expressed in the extract:

... I was dealing with sub-counties and for whatever I would do, these are the people, I always put on board, .. women councils and LC women ... in that

ⁱ This was before her district was fragmented

organization, we would work together, call everybody together, they come and we sensitize them and then over whatever issue and then they are supposed to go back and sensitize the people they are in charge of their sub-counties because everybody who came to the sub-county belonged to a parish ... if you are representing your parish to sub-county [and] you manage to learn something from the sub-county, you are supposed to pass it on, and I would tell them it's not my responsibility to go to the village and to go to the parish, you people are supposed to do that¹⁵⁰.

The legislator also mentioned in general terms, some drawbacks in this arrangement in that since she could only meet the women at a certain level, the sub-county level, and they are supposed to do the implementation, at two levels down (ie the parish and the village level). She therefore had to delegate the task of information dissemination, it would be difficult for her to have a feedback from the grass-root, for example on the progress of the implementation or if it was never carried out.

A second respondent also indicated utilizing the women councils by incorporating them in her schedules as she affirms:

.. women councils do not have programs of their own, they have to move on my own programs When I am visiting, I would inform the local councils, but I would also inform the women councils so that they mobilize for the same ... and I also give them a voice / platform first to know that they exist and also to air their views on whatever they want to talk about .. since there is no platform for them¹⁵¹.

Some of the programs she indicated to incorporate them include 'protection of springs', allegedly with the rationale that it is women who draw water; development of health centers allegedly due to reasons that it is women who care about the sick and thus this lessens their burden.

In conclusion, while these two examples demonstrate attempts for district representatives to interact and utilize their local structures to mobilize, disseminate and acquire information, their inadequate facilitation as government units, renders them frail and ineffective as plausible information sources, conduits and networking channels for legislators with larger constituencies, especially when engaging them would imply facilitating them financially. Some of the challenges facing women councils are highlighted in Magambo and Mugombe's article (2007) which also led them to ponder about the Government's intention of 'promoting a cause without means' (pg 258). I also held an interview, later on, with a councilor in one sub-county to have some understanding on the budgetary issues of the women councils in her division. The documents comprising of the council and district annual budgets showed some rather ridiculous allocations for the

women councils, and she stated that at times the women themselves opt to have the funds returned unutilized.

Constituency contacts

Other efforts to maneuver through management challenges were manifest through the actual choice of the constituency acquaintances. An example could be derived from the constituency office which I visited and one of the issues posed was how this person was recruited into this work. She affirmed that she had worked with the district council for more than five years and this experience presumably brought her closer to people, thus becoming an obvious contact choice for this Woman Mp and she relays it in this except;

... Honorable ... opted for me to be in her office as someone she saw fit, since I enjoy quite a positive demeanor among the people, because I know them as I was once a district counselor for seven (7) years representing both men and women ... She (the honorable) told me, you will have to help me, because you know the people, you know their ways, you have been with them, you know their characteristics and how to handle them, so you know everything, therefore I am requesting you to help me and be in my office, and that is how I came to be working here'¹⁵².

Her earlier political experience as a counselor, would give her an edge on the knowledge of the kind of issues pertinent for the rural communities, and methods of effectively acquiring and disseminating information to the populace, since as a counselor, she asserts;

... we used to go back to the village and develop those areas, hold seminars and we would take them down to the grassroots in the village and that is why I am trying to help the honorable to go deep in the village'.¹⁵³

A similar strategy is also echoed by another respondent who also explained her choice of one of her constituency contacts;

.. I just picked on somebody who first of all has authority and whom people respect, because you can have somebody, well she works well for you, but does not have the respect of society. So I picked on somebody who is known by the society and is respected And she just happens to be, she's always been in the local council structure, but it is not a must, but by virtue of her job ... she interacts with everybody in the district'.¹⁵⁴

There are inherent information acquisition advantages derived from contacts within the local councils which include staying informed about district activities and thereby exerting some influence in the running of the district for a district representative, as she attests;

I always attend district the councils and I am on record ... for me that is how I follow. I attend the councils to see the development programs that they have, have they walked [sic] [been implemented] as they ought to? Where do they need help? Is the money enough or is it being targeted to the wrong area'. *How do you get to know about these meetings?* 'They do [invite her] but even if they don't, I never wait for invitations, I get to know somehow, I have my people in the council and they tell me that our next council will be on this and this date'¹⁵⁵.

My conclusion on this section on constituency issues as construed from prevailing circumstances is that these few examples illustrate that constituents would conceivably take information concerning their needs and demands to a representative who is nearer to them and this is more likely to be the Constituent Mp, since their area of jurisdiction is smaller and are more likely to spread out their operations than district representatives, who on the other hand would find it more difficult and costly to touch ground, while faced with a larger operational area. There are however indications that some of the strategies women Mps devise to take charge of the wider electorate include selecting contacts who are well respected in their respective districts and these people would probably also be experienced and well connected within the Local governance structures. This aspect of societal respect signals a sense of confidence, thus information brought to them as well as that which is disseminated by them would be trusted and possibly treated seriously. By choosing someone who is part of the local council structures, a representative also stays informed on issues concerning the district. It is one way of effectively managing the district.

6.5 Gender roles and information choices

This section will provide an analysis of gender roles with some implicit hints on the organizational structure of parliament and how they influence the information behavior for both genders, and also assess opportunities for information dissemination at national level. Gender roles are fused in every aspect of a legislator's context at the national level and in the constituency and this is the reason why it is analyzed independently as opposed to illuminating them in the various sections. It also illustrates another example of contextual influences on information behavior.

6.5.1 Gender roles, masculine structures, informal networks and information implications

The section on gender roles is guided by an overarching question; whether a legislator felt they had any gender concerns that would curtail their legislative activities or caused them to miss out on any information or crucial connections of any form. This question was general and open ended because issues surrounding gender roles, domestic relations were regarded as sensitive, given the public perception that women's presence in politics had led in some way to the disintegration of the family structures and also traditionally, domestic affairs are still considered private and rather exclusive. The main intention, though, was to probe into issues like coming home late, participating in 'informal' networking, spousal support, or even constituency issues getting mixed up with domestic affairs and possible consequences for information acquisition and dissemination. Some of the responses were open, others were less direct. Several dimensions of gender issues are highlighted. I would like to start this section with a general overview of gender roles within the Ugandan society.

Some insights indicative of Gender roles for female legislators

Within the Ugandan social structure, the sexual division of labor still prevails, thus besides the demands of the legislature, women still have to take prior responsibilities in their homes, their families and their constituencies as 'advised' by a facilitator in one of their induction seminars for the Seventh Parliament in 2001. Nsibambi (2001, pp. 8), in his presentation on Self awareness, self management for effective representation, stated six functions that women Mps were supposed to carry out and while the five of them, including attending Parliament and committees, carrying out research, articulating issues bargaining with different groups and 'nursing' or attending to her constituents' needs, were more in line with regular or expected Parliamentary work, the sixth was specific to the functioning of 'her' private domain as he asserted;

She must attend to her domestic chores, and they include looking after the children, the first of whom was the husband, as sometimes the husband resents a wife member of Parliament who comes back late in the night [Nsibambi, 2001, pp. 8].

With this proposition, Nsibambiⁱ, the current Prime Minister, was also inscribing the traditional roles of women in their legislative agendas. Even

ⁱ Apollo Nsibambi was a political science professor at Makerere University and has been the Prime Minister since April 1999

within the highest echelons of decision making, there has been very little change in attitude towards the social expectations on women. Perhaps it is not surprising that when the debate on labor laws inculcating paternity leave came up, as ideally one of those transitional phases of role transformation, which would have been even beneficial to women legislators, was opposed by some women on similar perceptions. One respondent from the women councils, for example, would rather have an increment in the maternity leave than the paternity and her reservations are inclined in her statement;

I talked about maternity leave which was 45 days [and] now increased up to 60 days. I didn't lobby much for Paternity, but when it came to Parliament, they thought the men should also take leave but for me my view was that if you leave the men to stay at home, then you would also have another burden, because they would not cook, they will not do what .. [yet] you have just given birth, you are looking after the baby, you are supposed to rest, then he is also there. Unless he is there to help you, but if he is going to be a man again then you have to rush and cook food then do what¹⁵⁶

When it was tabled on the floor of Parliament, another woman argued too, that her constituents had rejected the whole idea;

... I have inquired from my constituents about whether they felt that men should have paternity leave and the majority of them said No. They do not want to have two babies in the home. Why? Because once the man is at home, he will be looking at his watch wanting to have food, wanting to have water to bathe, generally being idle and eventually disorderly. So the women have said that in this culture of ours where men do not do anything in the household, they do not want to have them in the home when they have delivered. They want to have at least one baby to attend to; and moreover when you have a man on paternity leave, suppose he is polygamous? You are giving him an opportunity to go and make more babies and make even more women really have problems. [Hon Namusoke, Hansard, Tuesday 21st December 2004 pg [60]ⁱ]

This is one of the examples of a discernment of gender roles deeply enshrined in the realities of the social structure and would not easily be appeased with a 'modest' gesture that should ideally offset a transformation in the masculine structures, through active participation in child care. It is thus not surprising that it is rebuffed by the very gender whose burden it is

ⁱ Recordings in the Hansard are not paginated, no does it posses any other identifiers like time on which a particular presentation was made, so in an effort to make approximations on the location of a particular citation in question, I have taken a decision to make a physical count of the pages contained in a session for that date. This counting is based on the MS download in its original format, without any alterations in size of text or spacing.

supposed to alleviate. These women do not foresee any adjustments in the social order, but rather one suggests that;

... people should know that politics is no longer a male dominated area and they should take into issue that women have multiple roles, you are a mother, a wife and you are everything So if we are struggling to be in leadership as women, I think society or government should appreciate our multiple roles and put in place measures that are favorable¹⁵⁷

They are not advocating for an equal share of the ‘domestic’ responsibility, but rather acceptance of the new status quo, with its additional tasks. In this respect, I also wish to allude to an admission attributed to a Ugandan feminist activist, also a lawyer, Asiimwe (cited in Scheier 2003), that ‘Even the ‘liberal’ man has certain expectations at family level, ... he wants a woman who works and also one who serves him dinner’. The broader interpretation derived from Asiimwe’s assertion could be that however much a woman progresses in status and career, she is still expected to carry on within her socially constructed gender framework.

Similarly, it can also be argued that some of the female legislators attempted to mark boundaries between their legislative activities and home/domestic affairs and we can take examples from the affirmations of these legislators;

..... when I go home, I leave all this business here [parliamentary work] When I go home, I am a full mother and wife we don’t even discuss politics ... we always have other things to discuss¹⁵⁸

With the second respondent, she acknowledged the pervasive nature of politics, but had at times found it pertinent to set limits in her constituency as indicated;

... I tell them that I have come like Mrs. so and so, and I am not attending to politics, so I go and stay in my home and I don’t usually allow people calling to my home and they don’t come to my home. They come to my office *They know it ... and the office is for them [her emphasis]* They don’t have to come to my home, it is my home and it is my home¹⁵⁹.

Although this could be interpreted ordinarily as her way of structuring her duties and reserving time for herself, it could also be construed as taking on her gender roles in the home as somebody’s wife ‘ought to’ especially with the reference to Mrs so and so.

With the third respondent, there is also an indication of the preservation of the conservative, cultural attitude as expressed in the extract;

.... I have heard people quarrelling, fighting, politicians because they are what ... but what I have done, I have not put on airsⁱ like those artificial things, I kneel down for my husband, because that is my culture, I do the necessary ...¹⁶⁰

This respondent was also making a reference to what is perceived by the public to be ‘negative’ spousal relations amongst women politicians, allegedly ‘when they attain positions of honor’¹⁶¹

These examples reveal that despite being part of the mainstream, a woman politician still has to fit in with her cultural obligations and responsibilities without causing undue antagonism in the home/domestic arena. Thus my interpretation of these ‘strategies’ is that perhaps these women have deeply internalized their roles or that they may find it ‘safer’ to stick out this way, or strike a balance, since reversing the tide or agitating for a reconstitution of roles could create a backlash and unwanted negative publicity, which would admonish a precarious political career. Further to the discussion on gender roles, I further wish to draw from another enduring piece of family legislation, the Domestic relations bill, DRB.

The Domestic Relations Bill, DRB

This bill has been advanced through UWOPA and other civil society organizations, but has failed to get enacted into a law. The women claim that the desire to have a harmonious family law has been with Parliament for over forty years presumably starting with the Kalema report on the commission of inquiry into marriage, divorce and the status of women in 1965. There were also subsequent reports on studies conducted in 1980 by women lawyers and 1993 by the ministry of women in development. The bill seeks to cover all types of marriages in Uganda and consolidating family laws into one law. The marriages that it seeks to replace include;

- The Customary marriage (Registration) (Cap 248)
- The Divorce Act (Cap 249)
- The Hindu marriage and Divorce Act (Cap 250)
- The Marriage Act (Cap 251)
- The Marriage and Divorce of Mohammedans Act (Cap 252) and;
- The Marriage of Africans Act (Cap 253)

ⁱ Putting on airs would probably symbolize regarding oneself highly

The bill specifically deals with the age of marriage, consent to marriage, forms of marriage, solemnization of marriage, prohibited degrees of relationship for marriage, conditions for polygamy, cohabitation and its legal effect, marriage gifts, responsibility for maintenance, sexual rights including the right to sexual intercourse and the offences of adultery, marital rape and demanding the return of marriage gifts, property rights and for divorce prescribing no fault divorce, otherwise known as irretrievable breakdown of marriage, to apply to all forms of marriage. It sets preconditions for presumption of marriage for cohabiting couples after a particular period. It also handles widow inheritance and mixed marriages, separation and alimony [DRB, 2003 pp [1 - 3]].

This bill was first presented to Parliament in December 2003, and read for the first time and then committed to a committee. It has failed to be enacted allegedly because of a myriad of circumstances including disagreements amongst the various faiths and the prescription of one solution to several diverse marriages. While the Christian lobby suggested some adjustments, the Moslem community was totally uncompromising, most especially with the issue of regulating polygamy and the scrapping of bride price. This bill uncovers several aspects regarding gender roles and the rights of women. There seems to be an inherent and acceptable right, for example, for a man to have more than one wife which is not the other way round and in one of the press reports attributed to the Moslem demonstrators, the Muslim men, waving four fingers were presumed to be pronouncing that they wanted to marry four wives, while the women too alluded ‘let them marry us’ (Etyang and Nalunkuuma, 2005). Indeed when Hon. Namusoke was submitting her constituents’ position on paternity leave, she wondered aloud how a polygamous man would handle the time off proposed in the leave (Hansard, Tuesday 21st December 2004 pg [60]). Her use of the blanket term polygamous, without necessarily causing offence or uproar and the ensuing debate, in which some male legislators supported her argument, also leaned towards impinging on the general societal recognition and acceptance of the prevalence of this status. It remains a right that only belongs to men. The National demographic and health survey of 2006, published 2007 indicated that the overall percentage of married women in Uganda living in polygynous unions was 28%¹.

¹ However, I wish to point out that according to this Demographic and health survey, 2006, pp 85, the analysis of polygyny appears to have had some sexist connotations, evident in the questions in Appendix 3; Qn. 606 – 608 pp. 407 (for women) and Questions 405 - 406, pp 444 (for men). The responses do not indicate women who may

Other issues that the DRB seeks to outlaw like compulsory marriage gifts, which have been analyzed to often turn women into some form of paid for, or bonded property, which can be owned or discarded at the whims of the owner. Another clause to strengthen the woman's stronghold in the home by providing for an equal share of the matrimonial property is the most diversionary and perhaps one of the real reasons why the bill has failed, since it encroaches on the power base of men. In the interviews, there was a tendency to point to Moslems as the strongest reason why the bill was failing, but there are some arguments which came through as masculine and provided a window through which the bill was perceived and they mostly dwelt on property and specifically the sharing of matrimonial property with the spouse. The first one is an account of a male respondent who appeared to support it but allegedly relayed some of the 'questions' he had heard from his male colleagues.

How can a woman just take away my property?¹⁶²

The second one was a personal view of a male respondent who was more outright with property through his example:

.. there is something funny on property that says you should share ... you know I can marry, some P6¹ drop out, I am a commissioner in the Ministry of finance, my salary is good, I have got a car, I have got a plot of land somewhere, I have built a house, but we are together at that time, does that amount to working together? We have worked together, what does it mean? What does it amount to ... quantifying may be a little difficult ..¹⁶³

The second respondent also affirmed that he had not tabled it amongst his constituents because he considered it controversial. My interpretation of these excerpts is that society expects women to efficiently take care of the homes, look after their husbands and children and kin, pay homage to their guests (including constituents – in case of male legislator's spouses), thus providing the labor, which according the last citation¹⁶⁴ cannot be quantified, or equaled to. They therefore are not supposed to own these homes.

6.5.2 How do the Gender roles impact on the information behavior for women?

As exemplified in the examples cited, gender roles in the legislative career tend to manifest in the competing interests on the woman's time and they

also be involved with more than one partner simultaneously, so it may complicate the way polygny is assessed.

¹ Primary 1 – 7 represents the lowest education level, from 7 years up to 13/15 years of formal school

include; parliamentary issues, constituency obligations, family issues and the constant struggle to strike a balance and have an impact which preempt several information choices and repercussions and it is no surprise that one legislator intimated that one of her major achievements during her Parliamentary years was time budgeting;

I have many interests, I have to go for this, attend to that, I am a Parliamentarian and I am a mother, I have to budget for all those interests and they have to fit¹⁶⁵.

This is also reiterated by the experienced woman legislator in the profile, who also asserted that she knew how to balance and spread her time¹⁶⁶. However, the illustrations below reveal the extent of the challenges;

The first one is from a woman on an affirmative seat:

... a number of women Mps have families, so in addition to your huge constituency, there is a family to take care of, husband, children, so that sometimes the woman has little time for the families or has little time for the constituency .. we find it difficult ... and one thing in Parliament is that we have lots of documents to read, lots of reading material .. so you would need to sit and read and analyze all these materials, so when you are sharing your time between you, your family and constituency, so sometimes women do not prepare adequately for their debates and presentations in Parliament ... it would have been good to have a researcher, someone or a personal assistant if I can put it lightly, someone who can look at these documents and possibly summarize them for you, say this is a policy statement on this and the main issues are these and a person like me who is interested in children, what is there for women is this, what is there for children is this, so that it helps me instead of reading a document of 100 pages from page one, someone summarizes it in maybe 10 to 20 pages ...

Quite often, the men have a little more time to read than we do, if we get home, I really must rush to the kitchen and see what is going on, has my husband got a cup of tea or something? The male member of Parliament may go to the study and is on his computer, looking at this, he is researching on the Internet, [for example] he is looking at other members, other Parliaments, what do they say on this, how do we comparatively do this law, how does this country talk about this, things like that ... and I have little time¹⁶⁷.

With this respondent, her gender roles impacts in two ways, one is with the amount of time she spends with her constituents and on her ability to read and internalize national information issues. Thus she is sometimes inadequately prepared to meet the obligations of the national legislature and also possibly to acquire information from her constituents and she agitates for professional assistance.

The second example is also from a woman on an affirmative seat and she expresses it similarly:

As a woman, if you want to do well, of course you have to balance between family and Parliamentary work. Most women in this position, you find that domestic work falls in your hands and when you are trying to balance it, sometimes you come late, sometimes you miss workshops. Secondly, you know we have to produce [sic] some of us are young, like for me I have, and when you have a small baby, of course that bars you from attending and we requested the Parliamentary commission to give mothers a room, where those who have babies will come with their baby sitters, and stay with the babies there in order not to inconvenience us ...¹⁶⁸

The consequences for this respondent manifest in missing out on national discussions, training, information dissemination and networking opportunities, for example in the workshops. She had advocated for crèches, allegedly as a mitigation measure, but Parliament has not yet implemented this provision. The demand for crèches also features in another legislator's account and it is indicated in the section on UWOPA.

The third is from a woman, but on a non affirmative seat:

When you are a mother, you need to have time for your kids, you have to have time for your family and sometimes in Parliament there are all these meetings ... in plenary there in session, the men talk and talk for them going home is not an issue, they can even go to 9.00 pm ... or even at midnight and like if you want to debate and they talk, over talk, you look at your watch and it is 7.00 pm ... you see this one is talking, the other one is talking and when they are talking, they want the whole world to listen to them, so you say, let me go, by the time they get to me it will be very late you just go out because you want to go home .. then workshops every weekend why do you want to take us every weekend? .. and they want you to sleep there you just say, this one I won't go so if you are going to put all your time in these meetings and sessions ... you are not going to be complete, you will not manage the other role¹⁶⁹.

She also affirms that perhaps if her family had been older, the political career could have been better, since 'you have nothing to worry about, the kids can take care of themselves' [but], she always had to pick them from school at 5.00 pm¹⁷⁰ and also expressed some reservations on the spousal support.

Even though this informant is not burdened with a huge constituency, she still finds herself trapped in an organizational structure that is not compatible with her 'private' duties and thus she is at times unable to contribute and communicate her views (information) in one of the most visible contexts of a legislative career, the plenary, especially when visibility is also

informative and asked whether she perceives she misses out on anything, her response was affirmative;

.. you miss out a lot they should come up with different ways of engaging us without tampering with our families ... for instance why don't they say Parliament begins at 2:00 and ends at 5:00 pm ... or [that] let us start at 9:00 am then go for lunch, come back in the afternoon up to 5:00 pm like other offices¹⁷¹.

Although she is proposing an overhaul of a masculine style of operation to enable her participate effectively, she still exhibits some sense of remoteness within the institution that she is supposedly part of, the distance of an 'outsider', whose operations are greatly dictated by others, especially in her reference to 'they'.

The tone of the last informant in this category seems to be more of resignation, as someone who had come to terms with the way things are done and thus does not seem to be bothered as she demonstrates;

Here meetings are a bit erratic, they go beyond the time. I never usually complete them, so once it gets to 8.00 pm, I leave and that is a known factor, they know me if it gets to 8:00, 8:30, I just leave. *What if serious issues are discussed afterwards?* At times they have to forgive you. Very rarely do I really stay¹⁷².

She does not appear to concern herself with what she may be missing, but rather to be understood and excused for her inability to go on and on.

Adjustments in the legislative structure

There were however respondents who argued that domestic responsibilities could not curtail the information possibilities in their legislative career. The first respondent in this category also had a baby at some point in her career, but she alleges that;

It depends on how you program yourself, I do not think there can be anything that can prevent someone from doing her work... like for me I am married, I have a baby of one year and nine months, I was coming here when I was pregnant, and when I delivered, I wrote a letter to the Speaker asking for days to be away.. after I came back and resumed ... that would be the most intricate issue, but these other ones ... if you have meetings at night, you have to attend them, that cannot stop you..¹⁷³

Another female informant, also with a family allays that she finds the legislative career more adjustable than the normal employment as she expressed 'the beauty about politics is that it is flexible, I can change my timetable and explain it, so this is easier than the professional job there

are no strains really, if you know how to manage yourself ... deal with the people and time management'¹⁷⁴. This was a legislator on a non affirmative seat and was more assertive in her demeanor, during the interview, which I interpreted as having a sense of control over her choices.

The third respondent in this connection does acknowledge the 'slowing down' effects of motherhood, from her observations of colleagues in those circumstances, although she particularly did not fall in this bracket, but had kids and admittedly 'one small one', but her argument seems to rest on a considerate spouse as she affirms that she had a spouse who 'is very supportive and would understand'. When she had to deal with late night engagements, she asserts;

... I attend, [for example] whenever the President calls us for like a caucus, he lets us go back at 2.00 am .. sometimes at 3.00 amⁱ .. and the President comes once in a long time and it is not that you are sitting with him everyday.

With the day to day assignments, she affirms that she does not have the 'excuse' of getting out of meetings in order to pick kids from school because she has someone to do it, 'maybe when you talk to others, but I for one, No. I move out [of meetings, plenary] only when I want to ... because we have so many reasons to attend to .. I have other programs ... but not to go home and cook or something, no, not me at least. During the interview, she also reminded me that she was giving me a few minutes, in between her engagements for the day, and this was after the initial agreed dates and times had changed three times'¹⁷⁵.

There was also a similar response from another informant who confirmed that her marital status did not necessarily hinder her legislative responsibilities as affirmed;

all my children were big and so you know there were not many concerns', so she could attend to late duties 'and if it got so late I would leave, not because I am married, but I am tired, why should I sit in a meeting up to 3:00 O'clock in the morning otherwise for the few times I left or I didn't attend it wasn't because I was married but had to leave for one reason or another'. However, later on, she got a baby and acknowledged 'slowing down [but] out of a sense of [primary] responsibility for the person you have brought in the world', rather than family pressure. Her reaction towards her spouse was 'he did quite well, I don't see anything that he could have done that he did

ⁱ Meetings ending at 3:00 am or later were also commented on in another context, but by women who had served as cabinet ministers. This was during my earlier interactions in one of the UWOPA sponsored meetings

not do and also the freedom to do without insulting, interfering, you know saying this or that ..¹⁷⁶

Another legislator in this category also affirmed that since she had ‘big girls who were also busy doing their own things’, so she could afford time for what she termed as after hour caucusing. This legislator however does not mention anything about the spouse, but she additionally mentioned some benefits accruing from this involvement, including ‘building teamwork’ as in a way of canvassing for support for particular undertakings, and this is how she presents it;

.. if you have an issue .., you have to lobby and in that caucus, your friends will support you .. [as] you share knowledge and you forge a way forward’. Among the examples she cited included one when her particular area wanted another district¹⁷⁷.

The first two legislators in this category also did not say much about their spouses, but I would infer that restrictions imposed by gender roles appear to be dependent on the age range of one’s family and the cooperation of one’s spouse (spousal support) and also possibly the assertiveness of a legislator which would seem to accord a woman a degree of confidence in traversing the different legislative sessions and contexts and managing her schedules. In the subsequent section, I wish to explore the experience of one of a widowed legislator as an extreme form of self-reliance.

Self determination: The Widowed legislator

Among the legislators who appeared to have traversed their gender obligations, was one extreme example of a widow. Although the female participants consisted of four (4) widowsⁱ, only one of them stood out as the epitome of self-determination and this is exemplified in the excerpt of the profile below;

I am a widow, so I enjoy a certain degree of independence and my kids are grown, they are all in boarding school, they go away .. I have more liberty, I am sure than many people ... the younger legislators, I understand are more constrained, they have younger children, possessive husbands, so I do understand the environment they are in¹⁷⁸

This legislator certainly emerged as a woman who maintained more autonomy and control in her legislative choices, which she could probably not have afforded if her spouse were around. She maintained an illustrious

ⁱ Although the intention in the female participants was to include the various marital statuses, the incorporation of four widows turned out to be a pure coincidence and consequential in the search for other variations

information behavior, organized at several levels. Initially, to effectively manage her constituency, she set up an association with very broad representation in all the parishes in her constituency, and with this arrangement, she was able to be ‘very much on the ground’ with constituents, and subsequently, she would ‘get to know about them and illnesses, insecurities and blocked galleysⁱ and things like that’¹⁷⁹. Regarding her working relations with fellow legislators in her area, she did not mention any roadblocks. She was also in a position to hold rallies at parish level, if there was a serious issue for discussion in Parliament and affirmed that she dedicates one full day every week for interacting with constituents in her constituency office.

She also held weekly press conferences so that people came to know what was happening in her constituency and also hosted on weekly popular talk shows on two different radio stationsⁱⁱ and writes two weekly articles for the press in two different papers. She perceives all these avenues as opportunities of expressing herself, as well as disseminating and acquiring information as she demonstrates;

When I express myself, people respond to me or I get an opportunity through those avenues to respond to the issues that affect me¹⁸⁰.

She also emphasized a need to be constantly up to date and thus conditioned herself to always read the newspapers and to listen to the radio especially utilizing the periods she spends in her car commuting in between her daily engagements. Accordingly, this time is calculatively utilized trying to get abreast with current issues and this legislator also featured among the top ten (10) contributors in the plenary session, in a study conducted between 2006 – 2007 by the African leadership forum (AFLI, 2007). Although her ubiquitous information behavior could also be attributed to her background, organizational or leadership style, but it also demonstrates the capacity and possibilities abound to someone who is occupying a less restricted position.

6.5.3 Concluding remarks on gender roles and women legislators

The information implications accrued would be that if the kids are older, a ‘supportive’ spouse or no spouse, and self management, a woman legislator

ⁱ Blocked galleys are actually blocked drainage pipes, and although this may not necessarily feature as a legislator’s role, the common person would expect the Mp to intercede and have it fixed. It represents the sort of information that would easily get through a constituency office.

ⁱⁱ During my fieldwork, I tried to follow up on these references and confirmed a fairly regular appearance at least for the radio shows and also with the press articles.

would probably be more versatile and would not miss out on crucial information contexts that operate both normal and extended or ‘awkward’ hours. While some respondents managed fairly well, others expressed handicaps. In my earlier interviews, one female respondent commented on some of the inequalities she had witnessed while working with women in her constituency. She asserted that at some point women were being denied opportunities just because they were not connected to powerful after-hours information networks and she expressed it in this excerpt;

... Business women would not get information to run their business, so like men would meet in a bar and they would seal their deal there ... then they would call a meeting for tender and women would go and men would just say, as we talked last night they have already disseminated information about a tender, they have sealed their deals and women would come green from the kitchen, and do not get any information and the tender is taken, whether you are capable of doing the work or¹⁸¹

However, within this study, I did not come across any other female respondent who pointed out such glaring and blatant information and eventual economic or other deprivation, indicative of the real influence and significance of the ‘boys’ networks. Thus perhaps as some women have pointed out missing out on particular contexts, for others, perhaps they do not notice, as stated by one respondent who felt there was adequate time in Parliament and the canteen and thus did not feel any information loss, at least visibly; ‘if you do not know what you are missing, then you don’t have to miss it’¹⁸². In other words, although the study draws out some of the challenges poised by gender related responsibilities to information access; it does not delve into the depths of quantifying the nature and effect of the loss on the women’s legislative career.

Perhaps another consequence in relation to the gender roles and a challenge to information access in informal networks was the possibility of domestic violence. However, amongst my respondents, this was not explicit, except through tabloid stories. There was also the implicit implication of family instability, derived from two respondents: One of them was the respondent in the profile who indicated that ‘for a woman to maintain a social group .. you need to go with your husband’, in order not to arouse suspicion’ The second one who also held reservations about taking part in after-hours networking, which also denotes a form of bar culture, stated that

participating in their drinking, out of here [Parliament], .. it is tricky, I don’t even have that time, I can assure you¹⁸³

These respondents appeared to hold reservations about this culture. However, to demonstrate some of the risks and intricacies of the informal networks and mainstream women, I will relate to one public example. This case was not part of my fieldwork, but it illuminates the point in question, because it involved a woman legislator, also in the 7th Parliament and who in addition occupied the second highest Executive position of Vice President. Her marriage ended in a highly publicized divorce partly attributed to domestic battery. Her domestic woes were also ‘privately’ revealed to fellow women legislators in a women’s parliamentary association (UWOPA) workshop. Nevertheless, it is the circumstances of the separation and divorce petition, that are critical in the arguments to strengthen the manifestation of gender roles and informal networking in her public (political) life. With regards to this case, as the divorce petition was filed, it is alleged that her husband opposed it, first on religious grounds (his catholic faith), but also that he had only ‘slapped her twice’ with no serious injuries. His alleged reasoning for the initial bashing was that, ‘she had come home at 3:00 am in the morning and could not give any satisfactory reason ... [and that] she had teamed up with some women politicians which I did not approve of and they used to go out a lot, even when I had warned her before’ (as cited in press reports: Buwembo and Maseruka, 2002; Nankinga, 2002; Ochieng, 2002; Kibirige, 2002; BBC Africa, 19th March 2002; Scheier, 2003) and this seemed to ‘justify’ the assault. In other words, my interpretation of these media allegations attributed to the VP’s husband, in light of the discussion on gender roles, is that perhaps the consequences of her maneuvers in possibly actively tapping into late political and informal information networks could have led to ‘back tracking’ and shifting of her gender roles, especially as the husband is presumed to have indicated, that their marriage had progressively deteriorated as his wife’s public profile grew [Buwembo and Maseruka, 2002, pp 2].’

6.5.4 Gender roles and the information behavior of male legislators

In this section, I wanted to find out and compare whether perceptions on the gendered division of labor affect the information behavior of male legislators in anyway as not being able to network or miss out on crucial legislative contexts in response to family or other responsibilities and I will begin with a quotation from a male legislator which I perceived to epitomize the male experience, taking into consideration the structure of society and the social expectations from men;

‘I can be out late, provided I explain and this would be understood’

Below are the details of other responses.

... I do not have any problem staying up late, I think I have not experienced that, I think they [his family] are tuned to the kind of work that we do actually the day to day here is not much of a problem, because you find that by 8.00 pm or 7.00 pm, you are through but then you find that you have to network on so many other things, and maybe midnight, or 10.00 or 11.00, you are at home¹⁸⁴.

While this legislator does not encounter any hindrances in working late, he also hints on the existence of an informal information network that operates after 'normal' parliamentary duties.

The second response:

[For] late meetings, I don't think my wife is ... unless it is extraordinarily late, like 1.00 am, 2.00 am and you sit there without telling her, but otherwise usually, it is really normal, not only meetings, I can have a drink in the canteen here [the Parliamentary canteen] or in my club [outside Parliament], up to a time which is acceptable¹⁸⁵

Another respondent:

.. in terms of family, maybe my people have been tolerant, I haven't had any real problem of like staying late in Parliament because of the concern to be available at home or whatever. If I have to stay late, often I stay late, fortunately I tell people what my program of the day is and they would know if there is a change in the program, I will say so ... my wife would appreciate the nature of my work.

He crowns it with this statement 'I can be out late, provided I explain and this would be understood', but also acknowledges the challenges for her female colleagues as he elaborates;

... I don't want to mention names, but I think you have heard some of the names, it becomes very difficult for ... it has actually affected relationships for the lady Mps for staying late and of course if your husband is out there and you are busy in Parliament here and he builds castles¹ Yet there is a lot of politics which goes on here, in the bar, you argue, you influence colleagues ... so I think for those colleagues, to maintain a family and really discharge your responsibilities as Mp becomes a big problem¹⁸⁶.

His responses denote the possibility of after hour activities.

A fourth male respondent also affirms that any 'distractions' to his legislative career are not really from family, 'they haven't inhibited me to any considerable extent, but rather from what he terms as the 'overlapping

¹ I would interpret this phrase to imply a form of self imagination on the side of the male spouse about what he thinks his spouse would be up to late in the evening.

roles of a Parliamentarian, not limited to legislative, debate and oversight roles, but from informal interruptions from constituency, [for instance] constituents looking for school fees, vacancies, the sick or even death of a constituent, leaving him running up and down instead of committing time on Parliamentary tasks¹⁸⁷

Another respondent attests, that he too has got no restrictions as he affirms:

The good thing is that I have a very small family, two children and one wife who is self sustaining'. He also asserts that there is no problem with late engagements¹⁸⁸

Another curtly said 'No'¹⁸⁹

Yet another asserts that:

there is always time for family, time for work' and if he stays up late; .. my wife is very understanding¹⁹⁰

The disobliging spouse

The responses in this section highlight other dimensions of a spouse who may not be very accommodative, and it expands from after hour networking and includes the reception of constituents, as indicated earlier in the section on constituents' offices that a legislator's home serves as another office. The responses are expounded below;

The first indicated that his wife was not that considerate as he relayed:

.... my wife is very quarrelsome ... but she is, I think gradually picking up, getting used to it ... the late meetings, people coming home for political matters and you cannot chase away people, can you? These are some of the problems ... some of those issues she is not very happy with .. so what you have to do is ignore and that passes gradually ...¹⁹¹

With this respondent, an uncooperative wife, who may actually be fighting back on the gender roles or perhaps hold suspicions of her husband's engagements, affects some of his information flows both in Parliament and at home. This respondent's assertion that his wife may be picking up could also be interpreted as putting her back in line with what she is supposed or expected to be as a wife.

Issues about spousal assistance are also alluded to by another male respondent who concurred that;

.. without spousal support, you can have a lot of problems with the people, because part of the support is welcoming your constituents home, looking after them ... explaining some of the issues as she [the wife] will know what your program is all about People will always try to flock home saying we

want this, we want that, so she has to explain to them all sorts of things ... so you need that support ... if they come looking for you like at home and nobody opens the gate they will be cursing you¹⁹²

I wish to also highlight a similar incident that I observed, during the campaign rallies of 2006, where a male campaign manager of an opposing candidate capitalized on this kind of scenario against another contestant who also happened to be the incumbent. The assertion fronted was that family members of this contestant had often barred constituents from interacting with their Mp at his place of residence and in a worst case, this campaigner alleged that the family had let out pets (dogs) on the intruders - constituents. While this could as well be interpreted as election propaganda, or mudslinging, in the circumstances of the campaigns, it portrayed this contestant/the incumbent as having acted aloof and detached from the ordinary person, the Wananchi or the votersⁱ, as they are sometimes referred to. With this case, the incumbent lost the election, but it is not possible to assess the contribution of this alleged situation of an uncooperative family – the wife to his eventual loss, but it was fully exploited by his opponents.

In conclusion, according to these responses, the success of a male legislative career and his ability to traverse through all the various information contexts appears dependant on an understanding spouse too. However, the difference is that she seems to be expected to be just that and perhaps not the other way round. This therefore implies that this spouse too must fully identify with her husband's occupation and also conform to the socially defined gender roles, moreover through welcoming guests, for example, she would be receiving information from constituents and also disseminate as in a way of explaining issues in line with her spouse's programs and closing the gates would imply closure to pertinent information and inevitably a distance between the Mp and his constituents. In the same line, if we take the example of some of the women legislators, who indicated that they leave political issues in the office and come home to be wives and mothers or as Mrs. so and so, there could be an inference that in their quest to fulfill their gender roles, perhaps their spouses may not necessarily be expected to cooperate in the same way as the wives of male legislators. There is thus the possibility of distance from the electorate and a loss of information. The responses from male legislators also point towards the existence of some form of invisible networking that is restrictive and possibly consequential to most women with families.

ⁱ The term voters, as I understood it in the study, tended to refer to constituents, who feel that the Mp had an obligation towards meeting their needs, personal or otherwise, under the pretext that they voted for that person.

6.6 Communication events – opportunities

Besides the gender roles, there was another aspect connected to information possibilities but which incorporated what would be classified as communication events within both the national context and at an international level. Do both genders perceive that they have access to equal opportunities in terms of actively participating in contexts of information exchange, for instance within the Plenary context and aspects like not being able to catch the eye of the Speakerⁱ, and thereby being denied an opportunity to communicate and contribute to national discussions or to disseminate information; or through not being selected to take part in any national or international assignmentsⁱⁱ (conferences, international delegations), which would informationally imply missed prospects for networking at a global level and probably knowledge acquisition from international colleagues or partners. Some of these issues were raised through previous research, for example one by Tamale (1999, pp. 135), within another context of harassment, but whose findings I found relevant in my discussions on information challenges. Tamale observed that sexual harassment poised consequences for female legislators with particular reference to their probability of taking part in international conferences, tours and consultations, since the decisions regarding participation were controlled mostly by male bosses.

The respondents in my study, both female and male did not make any outright allegations of being disadvantaged in any of these contexts. With the case of national and international assignments, respondents indicated that the powers lay with the Speaker, but nevertheless, professed to having been selected to be part of delegationsⁱⁱⁱ, either through their committees or outright through the plenary, so this did not come through as a concern and therefore not an information challenge. However, there were some hindrances pointed out bordering on gender roles which limited opportunities for contributions. Another legislator had observed intimidation and low self confidence and she relays it in the extract;

ⁱ One woman Mp made this allegation, but I was unable to hold an interview with her so I am not in a position to speculate on the dimension of this aspect, as it was not explicit in other respondents.

ⁱⁱ The rules of procedure mandate the Speaker to select legislators to carry out various national activities/duties.

ⁱⁱⁱ Most of them had traveled out of the country on national/parliamentary duties.

When you stand out as a woman, then they start, look at her hair style, that dress and like all the time they see us as sex objects, that attitude, but otherwise we have equal opportunities, I think, may be¹⁹³

She also alleged that men tended to outsmart women

... as in talking, expression, even if they made a mistake, women are very conscious, or timid .. me inclusive, for example as you stand up to talk, and somebody says, 'Order!'ⁱ, 'Procedure!'ⁱⁱ then the woman easily gets distracted with all those inconveniences, but men stand firm.¹⁹⁴

With male legislators, two exhibited some frustrations in the plenary, but attributed it to the sheer number of Mps, which at times restrained opportunities of expression on the floor. One of the male members, however, asserted that with his experience, he had found a way around it; he knew how he could 'shoot up' and catch the Speaker's eye. For the male respondents, it seemed a solvable challenge.

In conclusion, while opportunities of expression and international collaboration appeared to have some level, a few women expressed some distractions within the national context, which I will try to explain using the propositions of feminist political theorists. They claim that the principles that govern the legislative structures were based on masculinity and in this respect, masculinity tended to manifest through aggressive behavior. Perhaps when the calls for 'Order', 'Procedure' or 'Point of Information'ⁱⁱⁱ are made, they appear to be threatening and intimidating to some women in communicating pertinent information. They distract information flows.

ⁱ When Mps or the Speaker shout 'Order' it implies that there is something in the debate that needs to be ruled or put right.

ⁱⁱ 'Procedure' means that members are not following the right procedure and there is a rule or regulation where somebody raising the point of Procedure will quote.

ⁱⁱⁱ Point of Information is another 'interference' when a member wants to give information, either to support a submission from another member on the floor or to discredit it.

7 Changing the game: Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association (UWOPA)

This chapter is a continuation of findings and analysis, however it is elevated because it is examining the activities of one informal association that emerged as exclusive for women legislators. The analysis of this network is in response to earlier postulations raised in the theoretical framework about possibilities for countering challenges including information challenges. In the previous chapter several areas of problematic access to information are highlighted, for instance the inability to access and maintain help in form information assistants, the burdens of a large constituency and the gender roles which impact on what information women can access. This chapter elevates the possibilities that women as the disadvantaged actors opt for in order to maximize information access and use. It is therefore in direct reference to the questions raised at the conclusion of the theoretical chapter. If there are constraints in accessing information, which in turn hinder women from becoming fully insiders, how do they move past those handicaps? How do they maximize their information possibilities?

It is construed that when women are inhibited, they seek to resolve their limitations through their own network and therefore this is an attempt to challenge the structure. The association also serves a purpose consistent with some of the theoretical arguments for the inclusion of women, mainly in recognition of their specific interests and concerns. The analysis of this association is based on interviews with both legislators and the administrative staff and also through a review of their documents/reports and the Hansard. The existence of UWOPA can be classified as consistent with findings of other studies conducted on women in similar circumstances of previous exclusion, in which they discerned a need to organize and join forces in a gender secluded network with the intention of securing greater equity. It can thus be deduced that these networks provide a forum for plotting resistance and transformation of unequal situations, and in the process counter information access challenges.

All female respondents pointed to this association as a focal point of interaction. They professed to have had some contact, either in meetings, seminars or workshops with the association. The chapter will be subdivided into two parts. The first section will reflect the background which includes its evolution and activism geared at inclusion of their specific interests and changing the structure the second part will be illuminating all aspects

connected with improving their access to information and challenges encountered. However, it is important to note that although this thesis focuses on information issues, agitations connected to information are observed to be somewhat embedded within their overall strategies of transforming the political landscape.

7.1 The Uganda Women Parliamentary Association, (UWOPA)

The Women Parliamentary Association is a caucus which incorporates the largest interest group, women legislators. It was one of the auxiliary networks that was visible and recognizable within the parliamentary structures. It had official premises within the parliament precincts and an administrative structure. In the directory of the 8th Parliament's listings of Parliamentary recognized fora (pp. 222 - 226), it is listed as number one and in developing their concept plan and proposal for 2002 – 2006 as well as other workshop programs, UWOPA (2002 - 1) acknowledges the support of the office of the Parliamentary professional development, OPPD, which seems to imply some form of prioritization of UWOPA issues within the formal Parliamentary structure.

Although during the process of fieldwork, there was not much documentary information with regards to the earlier period of the association, other than the brochure of 2007, in 2008 (UWOPA, 2008) a source was released by UWOPA which incorporated interviews with some of its founder members. Some of the views are incorporated in this analysis. The 2007 brochure, on the other hand, indicates that the association was formed during the 5th Parliament of 1989 – 1994. The alleged aim was to engender the legislative process as well as providing a forum for women members of Parliament to discuss, share experiences and support activities that facilitate women's participation and leadership in all dimensions of politics including socio economics, science and technology. In the UWOPA 2008 report, an interview with one of the founder members indicated that she alluded to these similar objectives in the brochure which included a need for women leaders to unite, network and have a common stand on women issues, which would; 'make it easier to push issues through parliament if we acted as a pressure group'. In addition, she pointed out another practical necessity derived from her personal experiences of women in the legislature, as previous outsiders, and it is expressed in this excerpt;

.. the majority of us were basically civil servants and were inexperienced in politics. I realized that a few Mps were either shy or inexperienced in public

speech [and] after swearing in, they [women] never uttered a word again. At our time there were no induction workshops or seminars (Margaret Masaba cited in UWOPA 2008, pp. 8).

Other details concerning this association have been extracted from respondents whose parliamentary experience spanned over a longer period of time and those who held leadership positions. These were presumed to have first hand information regarding the internal structure and evolution of this organization. The second type was the administrative staff. As the interviews advanced, other respondents were recommended, for example individual women who had held positions in parallel women organizations, for instance the National Association of Women's Organizations, NAWOU, allegedly due to the close connection between these associations and the emergence of women in politics. However, there were constraints in building up the chronology of UWOPA with regards to fitting within the time schedules of some of the would be respondents and furthermore, in accessing all those women who were no longer directly connected to parliament. Therefore, I held interviews with two respondents in previous leadership positions and an administrator within the organization and their recollections form the timeline and organizational structure of this institution.

One of the respondents, alleged to be a founder member, had legislative experience on the affirmative seat for more than fifteen (15) years and had risen through the ranks of the executive and of UWOPA. These accounts are dependant on individual recollections and interpretations of their experience.

7.2 Background and organization

According to the recollection of one respondent, the idea of a parliamentary association for women seemed to have originated from an initial intention to coordinate with other women within the East African region. This is alleged to have later culminated into an Arusha (in Tanzania) meeting with women in other East African countries. Their intentions then, she affirmed; 'when we formed here in Uganda, we wanted to be seen and be heard because we were representing special groups and we did not make a critical mass'¹⁹⁶,. This earlier formation could be regarded as getting to know each other, fostering visibility and to find ways of exerting influence as a group against the backdrop of numerical limitations.

This respondent also professes and credits the contribution of NRM historicalsⁱ, who are male (insiders) and the women who were in the women's league of the Movement, in the earlier formation women's political consciousness;

The first people to mentor us they are the cadres of NRM, I still remember the late (Major) Victor Bwana I remember (Major General) Otafiireⁱⁱ. they used to come and give us the ideology of the Movement and how the Movement co-opted the women into the struggle and what we stand for, what were the objectives of including women into politics. Normally we used to listen to various speakers from Parliament, Major Kyaligonza, Victor Bwana They were really schooling us in the art of politics, women in politics. Then we used to be addressed by women from the NRM secretariat, because there was a women's desk¹⁹⁷.

This informant also asserts that the organization seems to have revolved at different times;

But when did UWOPA as an organization solidify? I think we had different interests at different times. I have told you, when we had just come, we wanted to know each other and to know the politics we had got in ... just for information and communication and also to lobby¹⁹⁸ ... but [initially] it started by meeting somewhere and talking over ideas. Now at that time there were men and women ... because it has men as associates, those who are here now are not active¹⁹⁹

The association appears to have started as a loose coalition that tended to coalesce and became active in the face of specific challenges, that could polarize and threaten the women's progress, as she relayed;

.. So we first became active on the floor of Parliament when the Electoral commission was appointed, they brought men and just put on a woman. We put our foot down and refused the bill to pass until they gave us a position. They had put men in the top, the Chair and Vice chair, both were men ... we refused to vote [and] the bill was withdrawn, and Florence Nkurukenda was appointed Vice Chairperson²⁰⁰.

Another milestone highlighted when women parliamentarians as a group got active occurred when one of their ranks was set to lose her position as the Deputy Speaker. She asserts;

we again put our feet down then we were compromised by having 8 ministers ... it was give and take, of course they removed her, made her a

ⁱ NRM historicals are members who are alleged to have been involved in the original planning and execution of the guerilla war of 1981 – 1986.

ⁱⁱ Kahinda Otafiire (Male) is currently the Minister of Local Government (2006 -) and also an Mp since 1996

minister and appointed others, that is how the Nankabirwa¹ got in, that is also when we got a minister for disability.²⁰¹

The constitutional making process is also applauded as another point of convergence amongst women in this excerpt;

... the constitution making process united the women more. We had to put in issues of women in the constitution, that is when also the Ministry of Gender was close to the caucus, .. the working relationship was enhanced since it had compiled the views of women into a working document.. that was actually the springboard for the forum for women in democracy (FOWODE), ... we used it to lobby NAWOU, the National Association of Women's organizations in Uganda and other male Mps so we had a coalition of the marginalized²⁰²

This respondent felt that the 'Gender sensitive constitution' was a 'sort of sharing the [National] cake'²⁰³, which in this theoretical framing would be national platform incorporating insiders into the national debate.

7.2.1 Institutionalization

At a later stage the respondent asserts that the women's association was transformed from merely organizing and bringing women together on particular issues to a process of institutionalization. It was also registered as a company with limited liability with a governance structure of all ex-chairpersons constituting the board of trustees. The organization also obtained official premises within the Parliamentary structure and associated equipment. The leadership subsequently developed a concept paper delineating strategic objectives, which also constituted its norms, opening it up and broadening its mandate from barely scrutinizing bills and airing women's views which was initially intended to make themselves heard, to adapting into a self accounting institution, presumably *that would hold people accountable*. This respondent discerned that this whole process constituting of 'building teamwork, a concept paper and a strategic plan, [which] was a step towards institutionalizing it (UWOPA)²⁰⁴. UWOPA is also ascertained to have drafted a distinctive legislative agenda.

As part of the organizational building, UWOPA started documenting the women's milestones. Some of the reasons advanced for the documentation included keeping track of the affirmative action policy and secondly, maintaining accounts of personal political achievements which would serve as learning experiences (UWOPA, 2003, pg. 4). One of their most visible 'documents' outlining their achievements, which appeared as a supplement

¹ Nankabirwa was a state minister for defence, 2001-2008

for a women's day in 2004 is appended. Accordingly, the documentation was a record of celebrated accomplishments, and a 'consolidation of all that had happened before'. A brochure was printed and has since been improved upon. The women also accordingly designed a logo for their organization, utilizing their own internal expertise, specifically one member with a background in the Fine Arts.

Other developments included establishing viable and durable links with other legislators, and a respondent who had been on the UWOPA executive recalled how one of their vital attachments was developed, through their reorganization and documentation and this is her extract;

... I think we managed to lean on our brochures, if I recall well because we just took them [the brochures] to various embassies as a way of introducing ourselves Then we got that gentleman ... from AWEPA, Association of European Parliamentarians, and we started talking to him, and we found out what areas he could help us in and we came on board. AWEPA is one of our basic donors²⁰⁵

Additional affiliations included those established with the British Council orchestrating the North to South and South to South exchange programs. The former involves exchange programs, visits with legislators in the developed world while the latter deals with legislators in developing countries.

The documentation appears to have facilitated connections to donor communities resulting in exchange visits and some of the benefits accrued in interacting with other international legislators included;

... exposure, ... building capacity in leadership and also tackling issues like gender budgeting.

In conclusion on the chronology, the initial development of the women parliamentary association, from 1989 - 2006 could be classified as having taken place in roughly three phases; the first stage of coalescing culminated into a gender sensitive constitution that would facilitate participation and getting to know each other, making their voices heard, the second stage was pushing women into actual leadership positions and the third stage seems to be one of consolidating achievements, institutionalizing the association and spreading it beyond Parliament, while also attempting to strengthen their political positions. The milestones achieved amounts to transforming the political landscape. The background also exposes the extent of the 'outsiderness' of women who required some form of specialized orientation. It is also important to note the reference to men as their initial mentors, coaching or schooling them 'in the art of politics'.

7.2.2 Organizational structure

The women leadership also took a decision to decentralize UWOPA, by adopting a regional representation and representation reflecting the various interest groups in Parliament like the Workers, Disabilities, the Army and the Youth, thus the UWOPA Executive consists of 13 representatives. Five (5) of these seats are directly contested and they include the Chair, the Vice chair, General Secretary, Treasurer and Publicity Secretary. There are also four representatives for the four interest groups and another four regional representatives. The regions are divided into Northern, Central, Western and Eastern. According to one informant, this seemingly decentralized administrative structure was supposed

to make it stronger so that it is encompassing and to make everyone belong, because it was also following the constitution ...²⁰⁶.

Another respondent thought too that having regions represented would imply, *that they are not partial*²⁰⁷. These arguments could be interpreted as advancing a sense of ownership and attachment for all the women categories as represented constitutionally. Some of the practical and information benefits especially with regards to regional representation include examples cited in the excerpt;

We have had activities that are regional, when you look at our strategic plan, we have constituency outreaches that are regional, so when we decide to have like the Northern region, the representative from the Northern region is responsible for organizing us, showing us where to go, where is the need most and if there is information that we need to gather from there, she guides us, because that is her responsibility, she is a representative of the North, then we settle like that²⁰⁸.

Example of empirical observation of the organizational structure

During the progress of my fieldwork on 20th September 2005, I attended one UWOPA orchestrated workshop, organized under the sub component of the Northern region referred to as the Northern Uganda Women's forum, NUWOF. Within this workshop, the women Mps from the Northern part and the sub region of Acholi, Lango and Karamoja were in charge of the main organization. The major theme of what they called a 'National consultative dialogue' was titled: 'Managing the challenge of political transition, understanding the principles and practice of Multipartyism'. Their vision was set 'To realize an empowered community capable of participating in development, democratic governance and peace process'. The forum was held on the verge of a major election and it posed some general and specific

questions. The general question, also a concern for UWOPA as a whole, revolved around seeking information from all prospective political parties on how women would be incorporated in the transition from the Movement system to the multiparty setting, what roles they are envisaged to have in political parties and issues of representation in a multiparty framework. This women forum also claimed that political parties were yet to show their commitment to the integration of affirmative action in the process and thus pressed for a 40% representation. The more specific issues related to the cause of these Northern region representatives, concerned how the Political parties would handle the Northern question, the 19 year civil war and its consequences of internally displacing their constituents who had lived in camps for several years. The women also sought information from the political parties on how they would address issues of economic emancipation of this deprived group, preferring to be guided by the principles of what they termed as the 3Rs, of Reintegration, Resettlement and Re-skilling. As women from war ravaged constituencies, this information was important for planning the future welfare of their electorate (5.4.2).²⁰⁹

This workshop provided one of only two opportunities I had of visualizing UWOPA in action. It contributed insights on the women's acclaims that within this institution, they tend to rally around one status set and cast aside, or at least suspend other differences, especially ideological. This was observed from an incident that had occurred just about that time, in which a woman Mp had apparently been fraudulently denied an opportunity to participate in her Party's primary elections, by withholding information on the election dates and venue. She was subsequently refrained from representing that political party and consequently opted for an independent position. This political party was the first to hold primaries in preparations for the 2006 general elections. The victimized legislator issued a personal statement depicting the alleged dubious circumstances and among the participants, there were expressions of 'disappointment' from both genders, most particularly the Deputy Speaker, a woman, who in unison with other women Mps echoed a seemingly common concern and displayed a sense of oneness with their aggrieved member. However, while retrospectively reflecting on my role as an observer, seated amongst local politicians and national legislators, I overheard a few sarcastic remarks disclosed by participants close by, through expressions like; 'what did she expect?' that is the only thing they know ... I would be surprised if they did not do it (rigging)'. Apparently, these comments were reflecting the past political situation in which this particular party which had held power twice had also

been accused of election flaws and irregularities, which would apparently render a similar incident against one of their own, presumably unsurprising and commonplace to some of the participants of the workshop¹. These rather subtle sentiments reflected and symbolized, in my opinion, some of the existent personal preserves that are foregone or submerged in favor of forging common positions against undesirable traits. Certainly the voices of these women appeared uniform and total in condemning the ‘offending’ Party, which had apparently denied a fellow woman an opportunity and a lead role in the multiparty setting²¹⁰

Perhaps to back up earlier affirmations of institutionalizing UWOPA, there was an emphasis, in this meeting, on building UWOPA as an organization and also a call for its transformation into a Standing committee of Parliament. The latter request for a committee position however did not feature in any of my interviews²¹¹.

There were other advantages accrued to some members for spreading out the UWOPA representation, for example, a member of the executive representing persons with disability recalled some of the benefits from this arrangement;

UWOPA has a number of programs mainly to work for women, now I make sure that when they are training, they invite women with disability to also benefit from it. Also I can lobby.. so when it comes to a bill of people with disability, they give us support, so it is one of the benefits²¹²

In conclusion, what could be ascertained is that information exchanged in these networks tends to be used for purposes of arousing their consciousness as women to a common predicament and also foster a collective bond and voice amongst women as outsiders as expressed in this excerpt; ‘we come up with a common position²¹³ presumably on the kind of information to be incorporated in legislative documents. This form of consciousness raising is important to counter the deep patriarchal thinking patterns that may threaten any efforts to change the status quo. The timeline for the institutionalization seems to be in the period of the seventh parliament (2001-2006).

ⁱ This party was the first to hold primaries after a limbo of multiparty political activity of over twenty six years, (since 1980). It was also linked to a controversial and brutal political history, however, as the candidate selection processes progressed in other parties, it emerged that intrigues and manipulation were not entirely the preserve of the distrusted party. They manifested in other political organizations as well and it could partly have contributed to the high number of Independent candidates in the 2006 elections.

7.2.3 Self reported interactions within UWOPA

This section reflects examples of legislators' self reported collaborations in UWOPA depicting coalescing and agitating for changes within the national structures and institutions that were disadvantaging women. Some of these interactions appeared as though they were unplanned, while others reflected clear strategies for example in organizing for trainings and workshops, but all were aimed at achieving particular objectives. The example below shows an unplanned encounter referring to a woman who was heading a committee.

.... Sheⁱ would come to UWOPA and say now (sic) how do we engender this committee ... we would have some gathering then she would ask us and we look through the whole bill, where are the gender gaps, where are they failing to address women issues? ²¹⁴

Another example presented as an impromptu consultative opportunity reflected the debate on the army / Uganda People's Defense Forces (UPDF) bill, as indicated below;

we were debating the UPDF bill, and in that bill, there were very ugly provisions, that soldiers are not supposed to get pregnant, some nasty stuff. So all of us jumped to it and said fine, this is something that we have to tackle²¹⁵.

These maneuvers were manifest in the Hansardⁱⁱ records for the Plenary debates, where the UPDF bill had originally proposed the following;

- 'A female serving officer, cadet or recruit trainee shall not become pregnant:
- a) within two years from the date of her enrollment in the Defense forces.
 - b) During the period of her training; or
 - c) Within two years since the last date of her delivery of a child'.

It had also recommended that 96(4) a serving officer, militant cadet or recruit trainee who becomes pregnant or who causes pregnancy of a female serving officer ... (3) commits an offence and shall be liable to punishment as prescribed by the minister in the regulation made under this law.

While the defense minister (a man) labored to elaborate on the laborious character of military service, the hard training and its incompatibility to the pregnancy status, the women legislators on the other hand argued against criminalization of this condition and asserted that; 'it [pregnancy] is neither a disease nor a disability and should not in itself be a reason for dismissal'. Rather, pregnant trainees should instead opt for maternity leave, which they

ⁱ A woman who chaired one of the Parliamentary committees

ⁱⁱ Hansard Wednesday 6th October 2004

also proposed to be 90 days, which would allegedly be in line with the maternity leave protection, instead of the proposed 60 days, after which trainees would resume duty. [Dora, Hansard Wednesday 6th October 2004 pg 30 - 31] In the final Act released in September 2005, the articles on dismissing pregnant women had been deleted, but the maternity leave was stayed at sixty days, with a provision of half day work sessions for a maximum period of six months [UPDF Act 2005, 94 (5 - 6)]. Thus some of the issues that women had agitated in UWOPA were reflected in the final law. Information discussed in the network is transferred to another context, the plenary and it influences part of what is finally documented as the UPDF Act. In addition, a respondent indicated another success within the armed forces where the defence leadership was tasked to improve on the representation of women in armed forces within the national legislature through an affirmative platform. This was later inculcated in the Parliamentary elections Act, 2005, Section 8 (2) (a) and it states that;

For the Uganda people's defence forces, there shall be ten representatives at least two of whom shall be women.

7.2.4 Training

Other avenues of collaboration were carried out through the mode of training, where information was shared for specific purposes to achieve distinct objectives. This information was derived from formal documentary sources and this section will highlight some of the documented and accessible instances. The first indicated a report on a workshop for capacity building in effective legislative representation, held 26 – 27th October 2001. The stated objectives for this workshop included:

Enabling women parliamentarians review and share knowledge, skills and attributes of effective leadership and strategize how best to increase the number of women in power/decision making positions

To build confidence in leadership skills; knowledge of effective representation; and,

Understanding the process of engendering legislation

It is important to note that both the subject of the training sessions and the pedagogical skills were important for women. In facilitating this workshop, for example, UWOPA drew its resource persons amongst peers from Kenya and Uganda, and also from the civil society and the intellectual community. The rationale for utilizing fellow legislators was regarded as a way of building their own capacities and boosting their self confidence and

leadership especially in the inculcation and dissemination of pertinent knowledge. An example is given on the discussion of the Land Act, a respondent on the executive affirmed;

... you get a woman from the [Parliamentary] committee on Land or Natural Resources, to bring that experience and she becomes the presenter of that and women discuss.²¹⁶

These occasions were also formal and systematic sessions and part of the presentations embarked on raising the self consciousness of women towards their common predicament. This information is meant to counter their internally held beliefs or assumptions which have been a result of earlier socialization experiences in order to arouse their consciousness as women. One of the papers attributed to Kittonyⁱ (2001), for example, highlighted some of the problems surrounding the perception of leadership in the African society, its patriarchal inclinations and subsequent negation of women as inferior beings. She advocated for a need to coalesce in order to advance their (women's) interests, to widen the scope of their agenda to include the needs of the whole society which would ideally transform their cause into a legitimate one. Another paper, presented by the Deputy Speakerⁱⁱ, Kadaga (2001) on leadership skills for women Parliamentarians also cautioned women on the same, to first understand the patriarchal political environment and subsequently attempt to maneuver and penetrate the system, asserting their positions on Parliamentary committees and rights through appropriately conceptualizing the rules, procedures and practices in the House as well as vying for leadership positions. Other issues advanced by the Deputy Speaker included a need to develop a close rapport with the media, build partnerships with male legislators to get support for the critical mass and also lobby for facilities that make Parliament women friendly.

Another presenter, Nsibambi'sⁱⁱⁱ paper was on self awareness and management in which he urged women to adopt a discipline of strict time management, developing a work plan with set priorities, promote the girl child, also utilizing the media effectively, be armed with relevant and accurate information for advocacy and develop an impact assessment strategy for periodic evaluation of performance. A paper by Tumwesigye on information and communication skills development highlighted the need to acquire accurate and relevant information, and to use appropriate methods

ⁱ Hon Ziporah J. Kittony, an Mp from Kenya

ⁱⁱ Hon Rebecca Kadaga, Deputy Speaker, Uganda Parliament

ⁱⁱⁱ Prof. Apolo Nsibambi is the Prime Minister and also holds the portfolio of Head of Government business in Parliament

and means to effectively communicate information and he pointed out the special reference to the communication of contentious issues like the co-ownership of land with the spouse and the DRB, which he suggested would avert unnecessary conflicts and misinterpretations by key stakeholders. Other issues pointed out by this presenter included establishing relationships with the civil society and media as a way of communicating with the outside world and overseeing the executive. In essence, legislators were urged to establish an efficient and effective feedback system.

There was a presentation, by Kabonesaⁱ (2001) on social awareness and social skills for effective legislative representation. This paper further pointed out the challenges of women and just like the previous papers, overcoming patriarchal values and customs that discourage women from undertaking decision-making positions was emphasized, the effects of the socialization process in instilling a sense of low self esteem self confidence among women, the low levels of education and low incomes which translate to an inadequate financial base and the traditional roles of women which greatly hinder women's participation in politics. She thus urged the women who had ultimately successfully challenged the status quo to be visionary in terms of what they want to achieve during their tenure in office, with due regard for the social operational national and international environment. Among the social skills advocated included the ability to resist the egocentric, impulsive and non accommodative social behavior, to read social cues and situations and take action. She suggested that women could get informed about these skills through learning experiences by women legislators else where, thus learning the culture, rules and guidelines of the political club while striving to change stereotypes. This resource person also demonstrate a need for women to actively participate in international conferences on women issues, also develop an alliance with the media for promotion of the women's cause and spearhead a revolutionary reorganization of the institutions and structures in economic and political spheres.

A presentation by a fellow legislator, Byamukamaⁱⁱ (2001), advanced the gender dimension and result oriented leadership focused on gender auditing and the need to engender laws and policies in order to ensure that women have equal access and control of resources such as land and education. The final paper for this workshop was on advocacy and lobbying, presented by

ⁱ Dr. Consolata Kabonesa (female) is a lecturer in the department of Women and Gender Studies at Makerere University

ⁱⁱ Hon Dora Byamukama was a female legislator in the 7th Parliament representing an ordinary constituency

Nkuuheⁱ and it pointed out the different strategies and requirements aimed at influencing decision making at all levels. Once again one has to analyze the political environment to come up with workable solutions. The advocacy strategies proposed included media, lobbying, public events, research and building coalitions, holding direct talks or personal interaction with target groups using different platforms. Nkuuhe also provided them with information on what constitutes a strong lobbying strategy, involving clarification of the issue/problem, carrying out research, identifying strong allies, proper channels and avenues to achieve the objective. This particular workshop was attended by ninety four people (94) and this included fifty two (52) legislators – 45 women Mps and seven male Mps. One of the final propositions for this workshop was a specific call towards a particular information behavior;

.. to do research, be well informed about issues, policies and have up to date and analytical information on issues that affect their constituencies to use Parliamentary researchers, academic institutions and civil society organizations that have databases.

(UWOPA, 2001, pg 56)

There was also a call for UWOPA and development partners to assist women Mps with research assistants. I would interpret this information to be more of advising women to get acquainted with the information structures.

In conclusion, these presentations underscored the need for women to understand their environment, their limitations and to be able to connect within Parliament and change the game. However, they also impinged on their ability to access information implicitly and explicitly and this will be pointed out in the section below.

7.3 Countering information challenges – improving access

While UWOPA interactions indicate concerted moves and tactics to incorporate women's issues in the legislative agenda, several aspects pointed out were directly connected to inculcating a pertinent information behavior that would be consistent with a mainstream environment. Examples include papers presented by Tumwesigye and Nsibambi in which acquisition of 'accurate' and relevant information was emphasized as well as adopting appropriate means of communication. Another presenter, Kadaga stressed the importance of penetrating the system and rising to positions of leadership

ⁱ Jessica Nkuuhe works with a civil society organization, Isis-Wicce, aimed at promoting justice and empowerment of women through exchange of information and skills

which also harbor inherent information advantages. The third agitation connected to information proposed in the workshops was to facilitate women Mps with research assistants and the fourth by Kabonesa pointed to the need to network internationally. In the subsequent section, I will highlight these specific achievements deduced from the interviews.

7.3.1 Crèches

Women legislators had indicated an absence of maternity leave and day care centers within the precincts of parliament so that nursing mothers would easily access their small babies from time to time so that they would not miss out on both information acquisition and contributing to discussions in crucial committee and plenary meetings. This is exemplified in these two quotations;

..we are also advocating for facilities to be improved in Parliament, now that women are eligible to contesting for Parliamentary seats in this seventh Parliament, we have had several women who have produced [sic] children then they leave their young ones, very small babies at home ... to come to serve the Nation, but they are not facilitated like with a day care centerⁱ feeding rooms in Parliament, so we are asking Government to improve this²¹⁷

In this respect, a motion was moved in Parliament as this respondent elaborates;

... In my first year, I produced [sic] a baby I wanted to move a motion about getting a room for mothers in Parliament So I raised that at least let them provide us with a room for nursing our babies, so that even if I am in the committee room and my baby is sick, I know it is somewhere, I can go and check on it, I can still function it never went through²¹⁸.

The tactic she used for the motion to succeed was through lobbying a respected male legislator,

... I used a man, an influential man, to move our agenda as women and it went through, [although] the men laughed It would have been scorned if another woman had brought it up ... [thus] the Sergeant at armsⁱⁱ was asked to identify a room and the commission to furnish itⁱⁱⁱ.²¹⁹

ⁱ Within feminist literature, these childcare centers seem to have preferred the Portuguese term Crèches.

ⁱⁱ The office of the Sergeant-at-arms in the Ugandan Parliament is charged with providing a safe, secure and clean environment thorough the precincts of Parliament ;

http://www.parliament.go.ug/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=38&Itemid=1

ⁱⁱⁱ Hansard, Wednesday 19th March 2003 [pg3]

Despite the motion, the crèches are not yet functional and this issue was also reiterated in the debate that followed a presentation of a Ministerial statement on ‘the effectiveness of the implementation of the policy of affirmative action in regard to Gender balance’ⁱ, and also in the Parliamentary debates on the Employment bill 2005ⁱⁱ. They would have served a purpose in cutting down on a legislator’s time commuting in-between her engagements in order to fulfill her maternal duties, as pointed out earlier in the section on gender roles.

7.3.2 Transport facilitation

As identified previous chapter on the information challenges of a large constituency, the facilitation for both women and men was the same, despite the boundaries of their constituencies, which placed huge burdens on the affirmative seat representative in terms of the general management of the constituency and to an extent access to information from constituents. The women however, lobbied through their network for an increment in at least the transport allowance which was granted as expressed; ‘we are given more for fuel than the men to take us around’. Thus their mileage is more than for those with the ordinary constituencies²²⁰

7.3.3 Women council seminars

The findings from the previous chapter indicated a problematic relationship between women legislators and the women in the councils. This situation posed two serious challenges for women, one was the threat it imposed on their power base as exemplified in the quotation below;

.. this battle, tug of war between the Local council women and Members of Parliament I have lived it, 14 years I have been here, I have lived it you know, there was unnecessary competition, between a woman Mp in a district and the district counselors who are women. It was a scramble for power and a clash of roles²²¹ *How else did it manifest?* there was an outcry from the seminars... the newspapers, My experience in my constituency on the disparities of the women Mps, how proud they are, how they were going to be overthrown by those women down there in the constituency and undermining you in the constituency and the women of the NRM Secretariat were fighting the Women Mps in Parliament²²²

ⁱ Hansard, Tuesday 21st December 2004, on the debate on the Ministerial statement on affirmative action, pg [44], Ms word version.

ⁱⁱ Hansard, Monday 27th March 2006, on the debate on the Employment Bill, pg [26] Ms word version

The second aspect impinged implicitly on information access especially from the women constituency caused by the tensions. This aspect has been fully explored in the previous chapter in the analysis of the affirmative constituency.

These conflicts were alleged to have been addressed through practical approaches for instance regional training workshops presumably to highlight the thorny issues and streamlining responsibilities.

7.3.4 Women and leadership positions

Merton, Wilson and Chatman all concur that in terms of access to information, social location is a determinant. In this respect, when outsiders integrate within the mainstream; they would have to position themselves favorably. Acquiring a leadership role is one way of improving status within the structure and gain a more dominant position in the inside world of politics. Leadership positions offer opportunities to display capabilities; they give political clout and in terms of access to information, there are inherent advantages in acquisition and use as will be exemplified by the experiences of women in this subsection.

The women parliamentary association made concerted efforts to access these sources of power as expressed in this quote;

... our strategy was really to show that we are leaders,... we encouraged women with capacities to go and lead the committees so we decided to target those committees and led them ... some of them we are still leading... the Budget committee, Kiraso is there, the Parliamentary and legal committee, you see Dora Byamukama, the Public service you see Beatrice Byenkya, we also targeted the Deputies ... Bintu Jalia was deputizing Economy. Matsiko was deputizing Finance and Planning We [also] made sure we chair Education ... We used to do it voluntarily, just to show your ability to steer a committee. You would contest and be voted for, sometimes by Parliament, sometimes by members of the committee²²³.

The operational strategies indicate that women tried to match Mps' competencies to the contested leadership positions and that this process entailed some form of SWOTⁱ analysis. They discerned the strengths and weaknesses of each contestant and tried to match them with the available opportunities, as illustrated in the examples;

ⁱ A strategic planning tool for evaluating Strength, Weakness, Opportunities and Threats

.... The Late Bigirwa was the chairperson of Government Assurances because we knew her as a former RDC (Resident District Commissioner)ⁱ and she was the one who [the women perceived] could put Government to task over presidential pledges and things like that²²⁴.

Advancement to these post would also bring in material benefits and some of these privileges included having a fully equipped officeⁱⁱ with the appropriate human resource, which denotes that the chairperson and vice chair would have extra personnel at hand to assist in handling and processing information.

As chairperson, there is an added advantage of getting information before others, expanding one's networking and implicitly their power, for example with more people desiring to connect with a chair, which helps in building political relationships, and within a fairly hierarchical society that the Ugandan society is, information demanded by the chair or vice chair would warrant some degree of expedition as compared to an ordinary Mp's information request. Examples of how the clout and information acquisition played out, are exemplified in the quotes of three male respondents who held these powerful positions at varying levels;

I can call the prime minister if I have a problem .. if something is not being done

I was able to call up people here ... people from Budget office, from everywhere, they come here, we have a meeting, and I say, can you prepare me this, can you look this up, and they were able to give me this information, which was very good²²⁵.

I was the chairperson of Bingiⁱⁱⁱ Parliamentary group You are at the center of information, at least I know everything that is there, I'll have to be involved at one point or the other. So I had time to get issues, that are not concerning my constituency but for different districts within Bingi. At least I could have that extra hand to get that information.²²⁶

ⁱ The Resident District commissioner is a senior civil servant appointed by the President and charged constitutionally with co-ordinating the administration of Government services in the district, thus a link between the district and the Government. (Constitution of the republic of Uganda, Ch. 11, Local Government, Cap 203 (1, 2 .a,b,c)

ⁱⁱ Other ordinary Mps shared offices as per constituencies in a district, for example if a district consists of four constituencies, the office will be shared with five Mps including the woman.

ⁱⁱⁱ Bingi is a pseudonym for a particular region and this respondent was a chair to that caucus within that region.

Other benefits include taking vital decision concerning the agenda, what information takes priority and how this is practically dispensed. But according to the female respondent women had to exact dual effort in realizing this goal and this is expressed in this quote;

So you suggest that having a head as a woman can help you push...?ⁱ Why not, because a leader takes decisions, a leader will determine what the agenda of the day will be ... I have chaired so many [meetings] ... and I have seen myself push the issue by the fact that I am the chair However, you have to know how to steer the decisions and take into consideration, because when you are a woman leader, you are required to have some sort of double authority ... because you have to prove you are better than men, even when they know that you are better than them, but you have to go practically and do double work²²⁷

The perception of ‘proving themselves worth of acceptance into the club’ was emphasized by Kabonesa (2001, pg 38) in her inaugural training for the women in the 7th Parliament, since they could be reminded that their (the women’s) place was after all still at home, taking care of the family which includes the husband, children, uncles, in-laws and orphans, and that they had forsaken those roles. It was also pointed out in Burke’s (2001) study on the information behavior of women in a corporate organization, in which they attempted to utilize all available information in order to prove their ‘worth’.

Yet on another front, the chair/vice chair ship is viewed as bestowing considerable visibility upon the bearer, especially since it is the chair or the vice chair who presents committee reports to Parliament and this is expressed in this quote;

... as a politician, you always want to be seen that you work ... actually women call you a dull Mp if they do not hear about you ... and one way where you can do some work, do some talking is when you have leadership in Parliament because you have an opportunity to stand before Parliament and talk about your report you get attention because all the media is focusing on you as you present your report²²⁸

Thus with this respondent, the information overtones embedded within this position and its attendant responsibilities and media consequences would in turn inform her constituents that she is an active legislator and not an idle one, thus visibility is also informative. Her assertions are consistent with the findings of an evaluation report conducted on the Ugandan legislators in the first year of the 8th Parliament, 2006 - 2007. Among the top ten performing legislators listed for the plenary session in the study, seven (7) held positions

ⁱ Interviewer/Researcher

of responsibility amongst which included chairs of committees (4) and ministerial level appointments (3). In evaluation performance in committees, the study also indicates that six (6) out of ten (10) slots were occupied by chairpersons (AFLI, 2007, pg 8).

7.3.5 Documentation

There was an expression of the need to document UWOPA's achievements through a respondent's rhetorical inquisition "how can you build an institution without documentation?" She asserted that maintaining written records denoting their milestones and achievements would both be crucial in the evaluation of the affirmative action policy as well as serving as learning experiences. This second point is significant in its connection to my classification of women as previous outsiders. Their underrepresentation revealed a glaring gap as there was no memory which would have taken form of an accumulation of information about experiences to learn from, since the documentation of political theory and practice is alleged to have reflected a masculine and male stance. Therefore preserving information about women's mainstream activities in permanent form presents some form of national record.

7.3.6 Networking

This section involved international networking and presenting papers. With the case of national and international assignments, respondents indicated that the powers for these decisions lay with the Speaker, but nevertheless, they professed to having benefitted from these opportunities of being part of delegationsⁱ, either through their committees or outright through the plenary.

7.3.7 Challenges in the women networking with specific focus on information acquisition

There are several challenges for women legislators, but I will concentrate on those aspects connected to information.

The women had agitated for several provisions, for example introduction of crèches, information assistants and in trying to improve relationships with the women councils in order to open up the information channels. However, findings suggest that these propositions have not taken off. There are indications that even leadership positions have not been forthcoming. This creates an impression about the commitment of the government to the real

ⁱ Most of them had traveled out of the country on national/parliamentary duties.

transformation of the political space. The subsection below about ministerial appointments reveals a rather absurd trend.

Leadership positions - Ministerial Appointments

The ministerial appointments of the 8th Parliament (2006-2011) exposed the women's lobby as toothless in the scramble for executive positions. The ministerial representation of women dropped from 24% to 19% (14/72). UWOPA later petitioned the President regarding this outcome (Ato, 2006). This could also be construed that the women only networks may not necessarily carry the same political weight as the purported male groups or networks where such decisions or lobbying are negotiated. The presumption is that decisions on which names get to the Cabinet list are negotiated either in spaces where women do not have much access or where their bargaining power and influence is restricted and as such they clearly do not carry the day. This was partly projected earlier on by Molyneux (2002)'s observation that women tend to find themselves in groups that do not carry much political power. With male majority, the likelihood of women influencing the agenda of the top most Executive structures remain limited, especially with the crucial role of cabinet in determining what information takes precedence in one of the highest decision making structures, as exemplified;

Cabinet has to take a decision on which bills come to the floor of Parliament and the majority of the Cabinet are men ²²⁹

However, a respondent also nostalgically points to lost chances which would have prevented this anomaly. She felt that this moment passed since by that time their (the women) main concentration appeared to be accessing the political space and taking part.

.. you know NRM was very friendly to us, I always think we missed an opportunity, when NRM still needed us, we didn't move, now they don't need us, they are [just] using us ... they can't listen to us If you look here at women in decision making you find that there is a third in the council, but that provision is not in the Executive ... we did not lobby for women in the Executive that was an oversight ²³⁰

This was stated, allegedly in consideration of the favorable political circumstances for women at that time, which would possibly have made it easier to define, at least constitutionally, the hierarchies of participation and inclusion.

When I sought views on women who had held ministerial positions to find out the mitigating factors, the findings indicate that these appointments reflected more or less decisions made as political bargains and to appear to

be balancing regional representation, rather than as protracted struggles through the women lobby to increase their numbers in the inner insider club. This is portrayed in the account of the first such respondent;

It came (*her appointment*) from dropping Hon Nickⁱ, when they dropped Nick, you know we come from the same constituency, they could not leave [the] district empty... it was a political bargain That is what I think. ²³⁴

The second respondent's perception is also similar to the first one;

My understanding is ... and then Museveni has said it more or less... it is out of political expedience, when he looks and says if I get this person, then I will get less opposition from their constituency or I will get more support, or these people gave me votes and therefore I am going to reward them by appointing their person as the Minister or whatever. It is not really that organizations lobby ... ²³⁵

While these responses do not symbolize the political strength of UWOPA, there were information advantages that could be accrued from a ministerial position, in terms of countering the outsider status. Among the former ministers interviewed, who had also been in charge of affirmative constituencies and one indicated that;

I could easily travel to the constituency as a minister more than I used to when I was an Mp.

If we compare the disadvantages created by the vast distance with the grassroots, my inference would be that an affirmative woman Mp who was also favorably situated with a ministerial position had added information acquisition advantages and visibility over a vast constituency.

Conclusion to the women's network

In conclusion, the analysis of the women network indicates that it served roughly three purposes. The first concerned addressing their outsider status and initiating them for integration into the mainstream environment. This was achieved through consciousness raising workshops to transform their mindsets; skills training in public speaking and expression; skills in influencing decision making. The second aspect concerned inculcating their specific concerns into the national debate. Examples include the constitution making process which stressed equality and restitution through affirmative action; engendering laws, for instance the discussions on maternity leave. The third was connected with information acquisition. Examples include a

ⁱ Nick is a pseudonym for a male constituency Mp from that district.

motion to introduce crèchesⁱ, so that breastfeeding legislators do not miss out on crucial meetings; an increase in mileage allowance for district representatives to enable them traverse and gather information from their large constituencies; lobbying for leadership positions within the legislature in order to advance politically as well as accessing inner insider information networks. However, the transformation of domestic arrangements to equally distribute responsibilities and spare time for female legislators, has not featured as a point of discussion in the network. Yet another aspect that directly affects women is the parliamentary working time schedules which also does not appear anywhere as a rallying point that ought to warrant transformation.

ⁱ Although the demand was acknowledged, the crèches have not been put in place.

8 Information challenges and possibilities

This chapter highlights the major findings from the investigation and makes suggestions for prospects that could be of use for women in improving access to information. It also accentuates theoretical and professional contributions.

The central quest addressed in this study has been to explore possible information implications when social positions and locations shift. In particular the study sought to find out the information challenges that could be encountered when a group, in this case women, which had been previously marginalized seeks a more central place in a male dominated society of mainstream politics. Within Library and Information science, this investigation falls within the general framework of information behavior research and specifically, the study sought to broaden our understanding on the influences of context and precisely how the social context of politics, which incorporates both legislation at the national level and representation at the constituency level, influences access to information for women legislators. Previous studies of the information behavior of legislators in the Africa context have been conducted at a more general level and have been silent on the gender perspective. There is thus a cosmetic impression of equality, yet feminist researchers in the political context have argued that modern political theory and practice which defines interactions in the public sphere of mainstream politics has been built around male and masculine attributes and that this context imposes specific challenges for women (Frazer, 1998; Tamale, 1999).

In selecting women as a focal point for the study, I was drawing on the broader discussion on how the transition from the periphery to mainstream politics could be made conducive and beneficial for women, what would be the pre-conditions for this change? Affirmative action or legislative quotas have been some of the measures adopted as first track measures to bring about equality in representation and in the Ugandan context this policy has been applied over a period of time which creates a reasonable context for observation and analysis for this study. Therefore, in this regard a study on access and use of information, although focusing at the micro level of society, is directly connected and contributing to an understanding of one of those prerequisites for the transformation of the social and political landscape. Information is not only connected to power, but it forms an integral component for full participation and adaptation. The discussion on

the profile of the 'thriving cosmopolitan' will highlight another dimension on what kind of information behavior could be necessary and considered transformational.

The investigation has been situated within the theoretical postulations of Insiders and outsiders, adopted from Merton and later Chatman in a way of marking possible distinctions in the approach to information. The significance of the analytical distinctions both to the study as well as in LIS lies in their inherent emphasis on access to information. The proponents, Merton and Chatman concur that access is situational. This is a stand also espoused by Patrick Wilson (1983 pp 5) that what you see depends on where you are standing. In this study I sought to find out the implications for women legislators in light of their previous absence and the subsequent integration. The status of outsiders has been ascribed to women due to reasons of history, political processes and tradition through the socialization process. In Merton's postulation of insiders, you have to be one in order to understand one, thus one's social positioning and standing determines what information can be accessed. Women were not occupying the same position in public life as their male counterparts, which imply that they were excluded from particular information from the public sphere of mainstream politics. However, within this study, the social location of women in parliament has been transposed from the periphery, implying that the boundaries have mutated and therefore access is presumed to be plausible for both genders, but its relative proportionality will form the basis of the discussion.

8.1 National/Parliamentary level

The findings suggest that while access to information at the national level appears to be open and expansive, since both male and female participants proclaimed to have been relatively integrated into parliamentary structures of choice and in addition exposed to the massive inflows of information through the parliamentary information system, there seems to be other conditions which impinged on what would be considered as complete access and use of information. These circumstances comprised of the inadequacy of library services, technology challenges and competencies, the timing of information, gender and possibly legislative experience. An analysis of the findings, however, reveals that the approach and reaction to these impediments differed between the genders and provided some clues on the determinants of 'real' access. The inadequacy of the technological infrastructure in terms of equipment numbers and connectivity, for example

was obvious and burdensome, but it was more elucidated in the accounts of female legislators than the male. Women legislators appeared more reliant and at the same time constrained by the information infrastructures in place.

The emphasis of male legislators on the other hand seemed to vary. While they expressed reservations on the information services provision, their emphasis differed, for example on the timing of the information provision which presumably left little room for adequate preparations for national issues, in terms of conducting research and internalizing issues. An example is the late release of the order paper against their stipulated procedural regulations, which made it difficult to predict what would be on the agenda of parliament and prepare accordingly. Another complaint reflected the quality of information generated from some of the information services (the research unit) as inadequate. However, despite these criticisms, the male respondents appeared to be more adaptive to the inconsistencies and were taking additional steps in acquiring information and also in advancing their political careers. Some of the measures involved investing in information acquisition through privately hiring personal information assistants.

All the information assistants were alleged to be university graduates. Mps indicated different ways of maintaining them and they included actual salary payments through the Mp's earnings or through specific allocated funds lobbied from the Mp's other networks and connections. The second approach was through taking them on as apprentices where Mps parted with a 'small allowance', just like the case described of the affirmative male Mp described above as well as a few others (male). The apprenticeships were regarded as a transition to full time employment, where the graduate would supposedly benefit from the exposure and connections of the legislator and the Mps boasted of a number of former apprentices who had been eventually placed into fulltime gainful employment. In addition to information assistance, there were more male legislators who subscribed to information sources related to their political pursuits.

Thus these arrangements, which can also be regarded as financial and strategic investments in information acquisition increased possibilities for male legislators to access and utilize information, while the women respondents were less likely to devote their resources and approaches to expand and improve their access. This raises two broad questions; Are they in charge of their legislative priorities or are they in control of their purse? Instead women agitated through their network, UWOPA (2001) to be availed with information assistance, but there has not been much evidence to suggest that this appeal was ever honored. However, the stratagem to induce

other people to offer a service, which in this case is of an information benefit, through apprenticeship, provides a real possibility for female legislators in handling information and consequently improving access and use. It exemplifies what is possible with minimal investment. It can also be deduced that differences in strategies create disparities in access with the inference that male legislators were likely to be better prepared and informed for parliamentary undertakings than their female counterparts.

Although these maneuvers were more predominant within the male domain, there is not much evidence adduced on possible explanations for example, differences in emoluments. I would however presume that as a gender that had been accustomed and conditioned to public roles, they could have been more cognizant on the role and importance of information and of being informed as ideal attributes in influencing others (persuasive power), in decision making and in policy formulation, which would subsequently necessitate an investment. This is construed from the observation that it was the male legislators who complained about the late release of the legislative agenda (order paper), had been more emphatic on the need to prepare and at the same time they were more likely to engage information assistants. The thriving cosmopolitan was the only female who stood out with the male legislators in her accentuation of the need to study, “to do research and to be in charge of what you are going to say”²³⁷.

8.1.1 Social positioning

While hard work and individual strategies influence access and use of information, the findings further point to positioning within the political bureaucracy as another expediting factor, since various opportunities for information acquisition and exchange are embedded in leadership positions. The pedestal of chair, vice chairperson, or a ministerial placement draws benefits like office space, technological facilities close at hand and paid for personnel in charge of information assistance. Yet another attraction in these portfolios is the privileging of information acquisition through the subtle authority imposed on others by virtue of these offices and a vivid example was exemplified through the political entrepreneur in his affirmation that ‘he could call the prime minister if he had a problem or any minister in case something was not being done’ and a male respondent who chaired a powerful committee attested to the same sway in ‘summoning’ various officials to avail pertinent information to accomplish his committee tasks.

Leadership positions had been a preserve of men, but interviews with the leadership of the women’s network, UWOPA revealed concerted maneuvers to influence the appointment of women to positions of power and influence,

both in parliamentary committees and in cabinet. The findings however, show fluctuating levels of 'success' over the years with the period 2009 -- registering 5/25 (20 %) chairpersons and 10/25 (40%) vice chairpersons. However, the representation in ministerial appointments is dismal with women occupying only seven (7/28) full cabinet positions (including that of head of state and the vice president) and eight (8/44) deputy positions or ministers of state. While these portfolios expand access to centers of power and information, which enhances insider positioning, women have been less successful in influencing and holding on to these positions. There have been expressions of disappointment, which featured in press reports published on both 13th Mayⁱ and 23rd May 2009ⁱⁱ through which it was reported that women parliamentarians and other women groups were demanding for equal representation from the highest office.

One of the remedies that featured as a missed opportunity invoked a further extension of the institutional supporting mechanism of affirmative action to executive positions. However, the women's complaints point to the wider disenchantment with regards to the government's commitment to women's empowerment and the deep rooted tendencies of male authority and female submissiveness that constantly challenge and impede any advancement (Kyomuhendo and McIntosh, 2006, pp 195). The loss of the slot of the vice presidency previously occupied by a woman (1994-2003) to a man was perceived by some women respondents in the study as one of those examples of an orchestrated campaign by the dominant forces to hinder a favorable insider positioning of women in the mainstream environment and depriving them of a powerful constituency. Yet other cited instances include the scrapping of the women ministry and the stagnation at deputy levels. Could it be that the 'empowerment' was merely ornamental and once the make up fades, the patriarch pulls the strings once again? This discussion is extended to the section on the background and highlights propositions on a long term transformation strategy of the political landscape.

ⁱ This is through an article by Joyce Namutebi published in a daily, the New Vision newspaper, in which it was reported that women Mps had resolved to meet the president over appointments, allegedly to 'increase women in Parliament, Cabinet and other decision making positions'.

ⁱⁱ A similar article appeared later in another daily, The monitor, reporting on the demand by women for equal representation in government positions, by Mercy Nalugo.

8.2 Constituencies – organizational challenges

The findings indicate that access to information at the constituency level appeared dependant on proximity with the constituency and personal organizational factors. Among the personal factors included spreading presence in the constituency through maintaining several offices or inadvertently information acquisition centers and regular constituency visits. However, findings suggest that male and female legislators on the non affirmative constituency seat were more likely to sustain offices in all sub-counties that constituted their constituencies and among the affirmative district representatives, only one woman operated in the same way. Other women on the district seat allegedly maintained presence in one central location. The implications drawn from these arrangements reflected that the wider a legislator spreads out, the closer to their electorate and the possibilities of better access to information from the constituency. Women on the district seat were much more likely to be regarded as aloof and distant from constituents, the further their contact point was from the ordinary constituents.

Another organizational factor would imply working collectively with other constituency representatives and benefits to be accrued would include minimal duplication of scarce services and resources, better networking, communication and information acquisition strategies. However, findings revealed situations of distrust, personal differences and political competition as hindrances to cooperation and baring information flows, irrespective of ideological orientation. Although the collaboration would have been mutually beneficial to the district women representatives, there were no differences amongst male and female legislators. Any cooperation mentioned was superficial and limited to macro affairs of the district or region, for instance in cases of strife or natural calamities which invoked ethnic affinities and action at a higher (regional) level.

Once again, similar to issues observed at the national level, there were differences in strategies for information acquisition that involved additional expenses, but this time it was not just a difference between men and women but a difference in organizational arrangements between ordinary constituency Mps and affirmative Mps. While there were remedies negotiated through UWOPA in form of additional mileage allowances to compensate for the vast jurisdiction for women district Mps, the responses from the local councils/village leadership implied that the extra mileage has not necessarily translated into visibility and closeness to constituency information. Perhaps women legislators would benefit more from

negotiations towards expanding constituency contact points or alternatively through concerted networking with other non affirmative constituency Mps.

8.3 Gender constraints

The findings furthermore suggest that gender roles and how legislators internalized and acted on these social expectations influenced access to information. Women were adversely affected both at the national and at the constituency levels. Women legislators complained about inadequate time to read and internalize legislative information, missing out on national tasks like committee meetings, prolonged plenary debates and on information exchanges through after hours networking, as well as the seemingly unplanned impromptu assignments. There was an impression of a lack of long-term strategic planning for parliamentary business, but while men could easily adjust to this 'impromptu' environment, women cited significant limitations, thus the parliamentary environment appeared to favor men whose scheduled were more easily adjustable. This is supported by other studies of women in the politics where gender roles as a hindering structure permeate through their other public roles with consequences that their previous marginalization is transferred to a new level and in this case, into a mainstream environment. There are some explanations related to this phenomenon advanced by Frazer (1998) that politics tends to be a contrast between public and private, political and non-political, which translates to a contrast between men and women, their respective forms of life between masculinity and femininity. This relationship is supposedly not one of equals but of superiority and inferiority, of value and disvalue. Thus the likelihood that disadvantage in the private or domestic or personal realms would be spilled over into the public and political worlds.

There were however, few women whom I considered to have liberated themselves, at least in their minds from these role restrictions and expressed some form of self determination and congruity to the legislative schedules. Three of them were occupying non affirmative seats, including a widow, and I could translate their attitude as cessation equal to their choice of an ordinary constituency seat. These examples present a possibility of breaking loose from gender role confinement, more versatility and broader access to information contexts and opportunities.

8.4 Preconditions for change

As discussed earlier in the chapter, the focus on information behavior is situated within the broader context of change and its pre-requisites. I find the discussions on the profiles as providing the clue for information behavior consistent with molding this transformation.

8.4.1 The Affirmative dilemma

Within the background, although legislators were derived from different fields and occupations, the main platform for entry to politics for women came through the affirmative slot within the local councils. Perhaps it could be less surprising that most of these women contested for the affirmative seats in Parliament. It could be interpreted as providing an easier route to the national legislature since the local councils also formed the electoral colleges, thus familiarity with the local system would probably greatly improve one's chances of being elected. On the other hand it can be construed that the platform of local councils was not sufficient to provide an equal ground for competitive politics. This assertion finds support in previous studies involving local councils, for instance Tripp (2000) and Ahikire and Madanda (2002) which revealed that even within the seemingly progressive environment of these councils, women found little expression for their interests, faced challenges in accessing and utilizing information for effective decision making and that business tended to be controlled by powerful men or male elders. Although the mode of voting for district women legislators changed with the 8th Parliament from electoral colleges to adult suffrage, the transformation does not seem to have taken off, for example within the 8th parliament, there are few women who 'graduated' from the affirmative seat to an ordinary constituency seat.

Therefore, while the platform has facilitated women as a gender to access national politics, the mentoring has not been sufficient to facilitate an equal contest within the mainstream terrain and thus in terms of changing status from outsiders to insiders, these women could still be regarded as 'transitional outsiders' at least by description. The rationale for this depiction stems from the observation that women are still stuck in the affirmative institutional platform, which I regard as a transit phase, even though some of them have gained considerable exposure and legislative experience and have even progressed through the bureaucracy to positions of power and leadership, which ought to symbolize political independence¹.

¹ However, most of these positions are deputy positions.

The male participants on the other hand did not exemplify local council participation, which creates the inference that this kind of mentoring was unnecessary, perhaps attributable to their privileged status.

The profiles reveal what it means to occupy an insider position and to be hindered. The first profile that I labeled the insider was born into a political family and took full advantage of his nurturing to further develop traits possibly with a desire to emulate the father figure in his upbringing, who was also the grandfather and subsequently an information behavior that could be consistent with the mainstream. The second portrait of the political entrepreneur was not born into a political dynasty, but invested in politics by actively engaging in the processes that brought about a change of government, thus eventually scooping a position at the center of the political strata. The third portrait classified as the thriving cosmopolitan is a female politician who struggled against tradition and prejudice to secure a position in the political establishment. The fourth profile of the bridled, symbolizes contradiction, disillusionment and apparent inability to fit within the structure. This repressed portrait is a construction of what it implies to remain an outsider in the mainstream. The bridled, never the less reflected a series of traits found more common with female legislators.

8.4.2 The long route - The Cosmopolitan

Within this discussion, I will illuminate the life circumstances of the thriving cosmopolitan and show case for how it can help us understand some of the preconditions for change or what would be a real transformation and corresponding information behavior for women legislators. She was born female, in a pre-feminist era and consequently condemned in a hostile and prejudiced environment. She described her struggles to transgress the restrictive boundaries and her eventual triumph into mainstream positions where she could and indeed eventually influenced decisions. Therefore her stance reveals what Merton (1968, pp 447) and Chatman classified as a 'cosmopolitan or the ecumenical', one whose orientation was of the greater society, the larger world. If I translate this outlook to her circumstances, she certainly maintained a perspective that she was an integral part of the wider world, the corporate realm, the business sphere and the political class and just like the first two male portraits, she pursued information that enabled her connect to both the local and international scene, rather than being preoccupied with information concerning her socially ascribed roles and positions. The pursuit of information pertaining to the larger world guaranteed her a position and common ground with other insiders since they now shared similar interests. She situated herself for more than twenty five

(25) years within the mainstream political elite, and for twelve (12) years she represented a non affirmative constituency, and she asserts that affirmative action found her 'already there', previously exposed and with the stamina to compete on level ground – in an ordinary constituency. Both her social and political positioning dissolved all information barriers.

Therefore in conclusion, while the first two portraits could be considered a privileged gender, she had to fight her way from the periphery to dominant public positions and thus symbolizes as well as demonstrating what it takes a deprived gender to open the way and to convert to an insider position. It is central to believe that you are part of the main, which is a conviction she harbored very early in her life as she took on 'masculine' domains. This understanding appeals to the socialization process, in which the girl child ought to be integrated into a public orientation at an early stage in what can be classified as a bottom up approach to empowerment and eventual equality. This however does not diminish the necessity of the affirmative platform, which is a top-bottom approach or a fast track method (Dahlerup, 2006), but the inherent difficulties in breaking through patriarchal traditions and the deeply ingrained patterns of male authority from the top makes the socialization approach expressed by the cosmopolitan a little more enduring, but as a long term strategy. Thus this respondent, whose background was devoid of any privilege, for instance an innate political nurturing (a political family), demonstrates that it is possible to push through the ranks, by adopting an information behavior similar to the attributes of a 'cosmopolitan'.

8.5 Insider network – collective action

This section discusses some of the theoretical arguments for the presence of an exclusive and gendered network in a mainstream environment and its significance in improving the women's information possibilities.

8.5.1 UWOPA, theoretical and practical perspectives

UWOPA existed as the only visible network exclusive to women. Its presence as sex segregated remains a stark reminder of the gendered society as well as the 'outsider-ness' of women, since there was no evidence of similar corresponding male networks. It could also be regarded as an informal extension of the formal structures of the women councils, but at the arliamentary level. In terms of what this almost exclusive dichotomy could achieve in a way of shedding off the outsider status, a parallel is drawn with Chatman's (1999) study participants, most especially the prisoners, (pp.

215). Their plight admittedly situated them in a position, where it was not possible to change their circumstances. Chatman observed at least three limitations with this confinement; that prisoners were not part of a larger world, that it was being defined by outsiders and that it was also being altered by time, which made them have an imperfect view of it. The instances she cites include when women prisoners received negative news concerning a sick relative or the kids' discomfort in her absence and her reaction would only invoke feelings of sadness, depression and helplessness, since she could do nothing about it. Their inability to change the situation, provoked information behavior like shunning that information from outsiders and from the larger world and focus only on information concerning the day to day patterns, relationships and issues of the prison environment. Thus the prisoners tended to recline to their prisoner networks, whose information and routines were more controllable, in order to survive the present - prison life.

Women legislators on the other hand have traversed their traditionally restricted status by coming to Parliament, they have indeed crossed to the mainstream, which in all respects represents an elite public domain. However, what is similar between these two classes (prisoners and women legislators) is that the women legislators too, find it pertinent to coalesce into their smaller inner worlds like UWOPA, where they are total insiders. The reasons are surprisingly similar and bordering on structural constraints, even though the goals differ. The incarcerated women for example do it out of a lack of control over events in the larger world and therefore shield themselves from information that would depress them. With women in politics, previous studies suggest that the limitations within existing institutions denote that women can only find expression of their interests in their own space through their autonomous organizations (Tripp, 2000; pp 141). Thus unlike in the social context of incarceration or an elderly home, women in a mainstream environment coalesce with the overall objective of gaining ground for challenge and exerting influence in the larger world. This is as well supported by existing literature that women have tended to form their own networks for reasons of accomplishing several roles including reproduction, provision of mutual help and promotion of their social and economic survival and within these networks, collection and dissemination of information has been observed to play a significant role (Women's information services and networks 1999).

In administrative environments, for example within management, these women-only networks have been credited for securing greater equity for women in leadership as indicated in Pini, Brown and Ryan (2004)'s study on

the efficacy of women specific networks. They indicate that these forums provide a source of resistance against the status quo, by according women an environment in which to share gendered experiences of organizational life (pp. 291). In Chatman's terms, this could also be transformed into what she refers to as a grounding of a shared realityⁱ as people of one gender constrained by the same social norms. Through UWOPA, women make attempts to bond amongst themselves as people of the same gender since even as women, they are still insiders to other status sets including those with differing ideological positions, religious, ethnic and other affiliations and beliefs, which could jeopardize any meaningful coalition, thus the bonding is necessary to form a consensus.

Thus the successful impaction of information negotiated through this women caucus appears to be strongly dependant on forging alliances around one common status set, as women. The rationale for UWOPA could also be construed as a tactic deployed by people in less powerful positions, since they are already few in number, which would render it impossible to impose fundamental changes, in matters that have to be determined through a majority vote. Thus the women, fully aware of their numerical limitations thought it more practical to form a common voice, albeit devoid of contradictions, at least during the presentation process, on the floor of the House.

The women network had achieved several strides, some of which have been of benefit to information acquisition. Examples include the motion on introduction of crèches, transport facilitation, dialog with women councils to limit the competitive attitude that derails cooperation and blocks information, agitating for leadership positions and documenting their activities. However, the reality shows that some of the issues raised have not taken center stage, for instance, crèches have never been implemented, the women councils, despite their official status have never received any meaningful facilitation to enable them function. Leadership positions are once again the preserve of men. All these aspects point towards the Executive's real intentions in the veneer of empowerment. However, all aspects towards improving information access are not entirely in the jurisdiction of the government/executive. Women have expressed concern about the impromptu character of legislative tasks and lengthy debates that interfere with their private routines and access to information, however, these issues have not featured in the UWOPA agenda as significant enough

ⁱ This is an idea advanced by Chatman (1999 , pg 207) about how inmates, irrespective of their individual perspectives on how to survive prison term assimilate their private views to the communal view of their [prison] lives.

to necessitate change. There are more expressions of lamentation and powerlessness.

8.6 Theoretical contributions to LIS and to legislative studies

This study is the first to adopt Chatman's approach of the insider and outsider from the context of marginal small worlds to studying information behaviour within a mainstream environment. This has extended the framework and broadened its applicability. Within this new application, one of the major findings that contribute to theoretical advancement was that it was possible within particular circumstances to experience information challenges and marginalization within the context of broader information networks. These findings point to an observation from other feminist studies (Frazer, 1998 pp 58) that inequality in the private, domestic world is exported into the public and political worlds which further results into disadvantage in the public realm.

The second contribution stemmed from a desire to connect LIS information problems to the wider national discussions on women empowerment and integration. Thus an inference drawn from a study on information challenges indicates that transforming formal power, accorded through affirmative action, into real and effective power is an intricate process.

Contributions to legislative studies and professional relevance

As indicated in the literature review, most legislative studies were conducted on a more general level and mostly reflected on the information behaviour exhibited in the legislative role at the national/parliamentary level and mostly focusing on formal information sources through the library research services and ICT facilities. This approach left behind a significant aspect of the legislators' information behaviour understudied and this included their interactions in their role as representatives within constituencies. This study thus focused on both contexts and expounded deeper on the problems encountered in accessing information and the broader challenges of representation for women in developing countries. The focus on the social context of legislation (both parliament and constituencies) has enabled highlighting and illuminating the differences in access to and use of information that would not have been obvious in a general study.

On a more general and practical level, the study further reveals that most of the information generated from constituencies revolves around issues of

social security and income generation. This implies that a significant number of citizens reckon their representative as their social provider. What appears to be missing is information concerning the views of the population that is presumably more secure or the 'middle class', how does this category interact with their representatives? This could imply a gap in information acquisition along the social strata.

Areas for further research

One of the areas that would require further investigation is the impact of timing of information, the overload and the gender burdens on the overall decision making process in the legislature. There were inferences on the possibility that national decisions could be implemented with imperfect information. Examples include the delays in release of the agenda which has implications on legislators' preparedness. So what could be the basis of national decisions? In the same way, women legislators are more often likely to have less time to process information and even acquire it, which also casts doubt on their impact in policy formulation. What are the consequences of all the structural impediments on information acquisition and processing on the effectiveness of women legislators?

9 Conclusion

In this section, I graphically present a general view of the main conclusions accruing from the research project. Fig. 3 provides the broader impression of the study context. Information challenges for women legislators are created through two contextual influences, the social and political context, expressed through the arrows. These limitations have implications at two levels, first in their responsibilities for constituents and in representing them and this spills over at a further level of policy/law making (Fig. 3). In the subsequent figures, these components are further broken down.

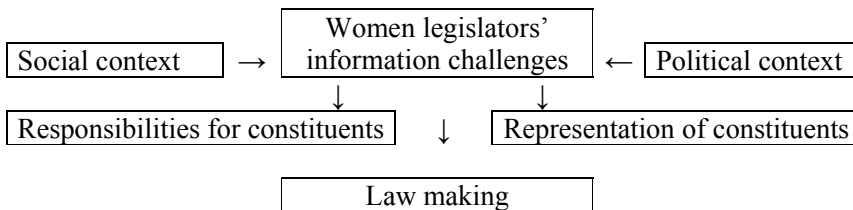


Figure 3 Overview of women legislators' information challenges

9.1 Social context

The social context is derived from the general social environment through which women are situated and the social conventions attached to both genders. Within this social context reflected in Figure 4, the female role is more constrained with a multitude of duties and obligations. In spite of their public duties as legislators and representatives, they must fulfil their socially constructed roles. They have to primarily take charge of domestic duties, their spouse and children. They also ought to appear to be modest and available, a situation which demands obligation to marital responsibilities. As a result, competing demands impose constraints on their time; their networking capabilities are curtailed as they may not fully engage late hour activities; this possibly has an impact on the national decision making.

The male roles on the other hand tend to accord more rights both within the public realm and the private domain. They exert more power, influence and control in marriage/s, partly evident in the arguments against the domestic relations bill and in the propositions for paternity leave (*see* 6.5.4);

can freely engage in after hours networking or boys' clubs, without expecting any hindrance from their spouse/s. In terms of partaking in household chores, they are handicapped as this is regarded as culturally out of their domain, but could support their households and children through other people – by proxy. In this respect, male legislators are classified as a privileged gender, with minimal social barriers, therefore more versatility and time, including leisure time and subsequently more possibilities.

Among the female legislators, there is evidence of breaking loose, exemplified in the profile of a widow and the cosmopolitan. The widow stood out in an almost equal match as there was no spouse, possibly fewer obligations in the private realm, minimal barriers and more autonomy. The thriving cosmopolitan on the other hand fought hard and maintained control over her obligations and barriers, a character trait largely attributed to her outlook and world view that she was an integral part of the larger world and not in the periphery.

Social context

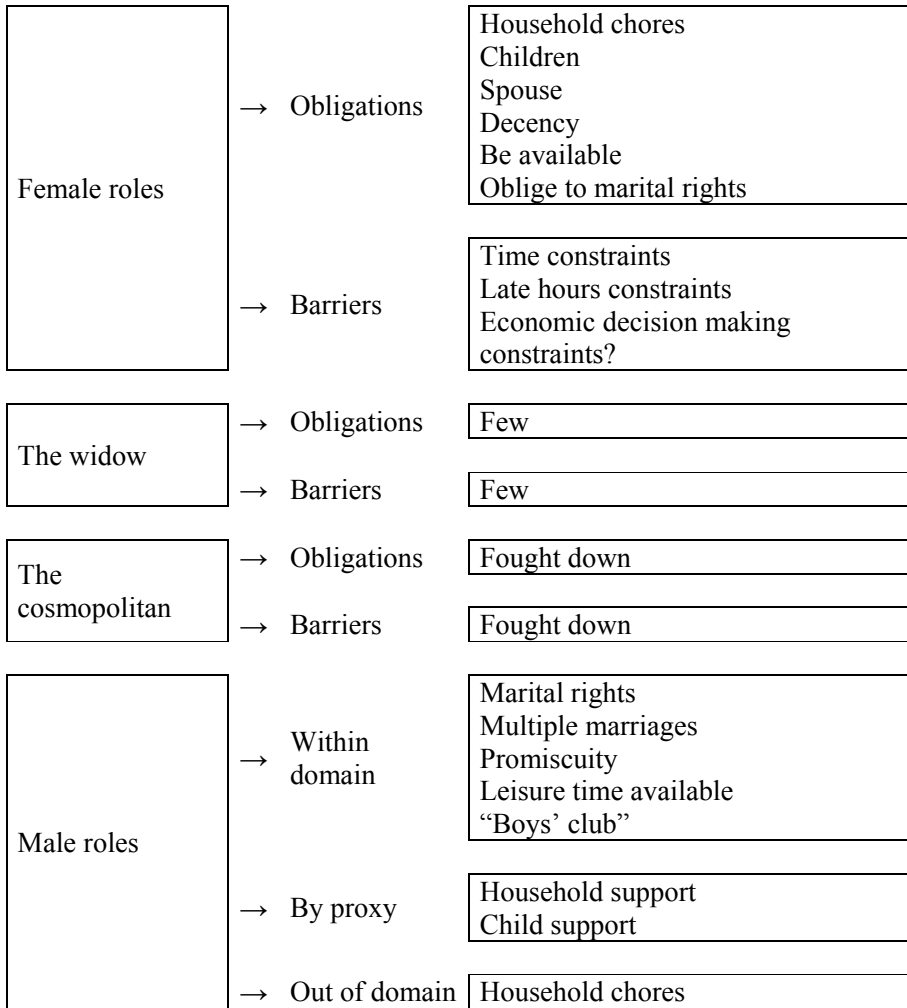


Figure 4 Social contexts of legislators' information challenges

9.2 Political context

The political context reflects the general environment and mode of entry into the public sphere of mainstream politics. While the route for men is mostly through open competition – represented in figure 5 as competitive seat constituencies, for women this has largely been through the platform of affirmative action. The affirmative seat poses several challenges; it accords bigger constituencies and thus limits information acquisition opportunities; it exudes tokenism which could be associated with less self confidence, since women do not stand on their own and consequently less power including persuasive power, since it is closely linked with self confidence and knowledge. Another consequence that could be inferred was the tendency to lament about their challenges, which displayed a sense of incapacity to confront their limitations. This was a distinct difference with their male counterparts who somehow devised several strategies to overcome their limitations. However, there is a degree of empowerment negotiated through UWOPA, but once again this has relegated women to mostly deputy positions.

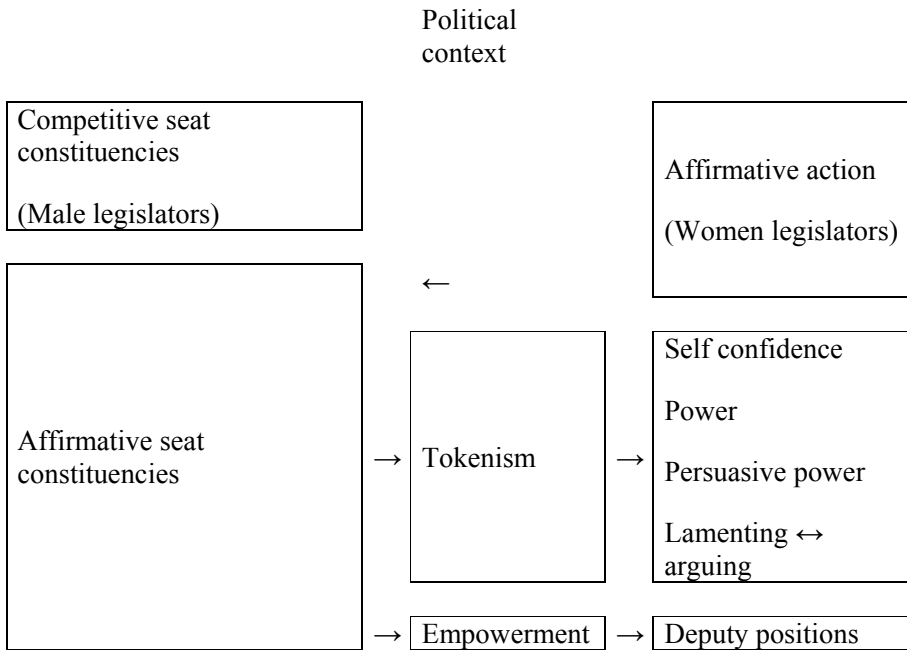


Figure 5 Political contexts of women legislators' information challenges

9.3 Women legislators' information challenges

Women's limitations are presented in Figure 6 and it indicates that within the information infrastructures at the national level, both legislators are presented with equal opportunities. The information provision through the parliamentary structures also reflects similar prospects. However access to information at the constituency level does not reflect equal opportunities, due to various factors. The context of legislation presents more barriers to women legislators than their male counterparts. These barriers are both from the cultural/social context through gender roles and politically through the affirmative platform. Nevertheless, there are possibilities of breaking the barriers and women have utilized their own inclusive network. While the affirmative platform provided the initial platform for women to cross to the mainstream, and for previous outsiders to become part of the public sphere, UWOPA presents the second forum through which women vie to occupy more central positions and fight their information challenges.

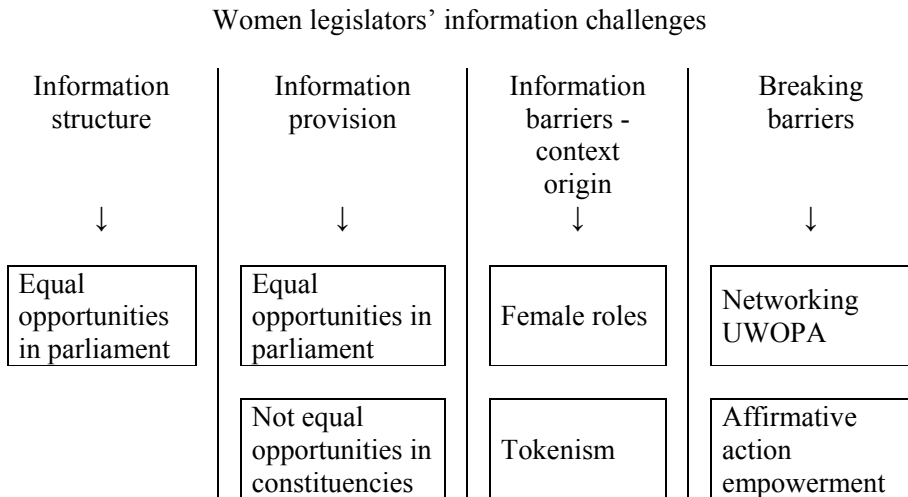


Figure 6 Women legislators' information challenges

9.4 Handling Information barriers

The study shows that both the social and political contexts presented more barriers to women than their male counterparts. While the social context assigns female roles, within the political environment, the affirmative seats accorded women larger constituencies. The consequences of these

substantial entities manifested in challenges to their resources and capacity to maintain visibility and contact with the electorate. The alternative information structures of the women councils, were beset by inadequate funding which rendered them deficient and of little use to female legislators. The social and political context on the other hand presented fewer barriers to male legislators. They had smaller constituencies, do not carry the social burden of domestic labor, were more likely to pull resources and strategies to acquire information – by proxy - through hiring personal/information assistants and subscriptions to additional information sources. These tactics boosted their knowledge base and the same could argued for their persuasive power in form of proof of agitations and presentations and possibly effectiveness in law making and representation. Male legislators also tended to sustain multiple offices, contacts and diverse channels of communication to counter information challenges.

The only option of addressing women's challenges appeared through their sex segregated network, UWOPA, but at the same time they displayed a sense of powerlessness which could be attributed to their unequal status in accessing power in relation to the ordinary constituency seats and thus a token spirit. These issues are illustrated in Figure 7.

Handling information barriers

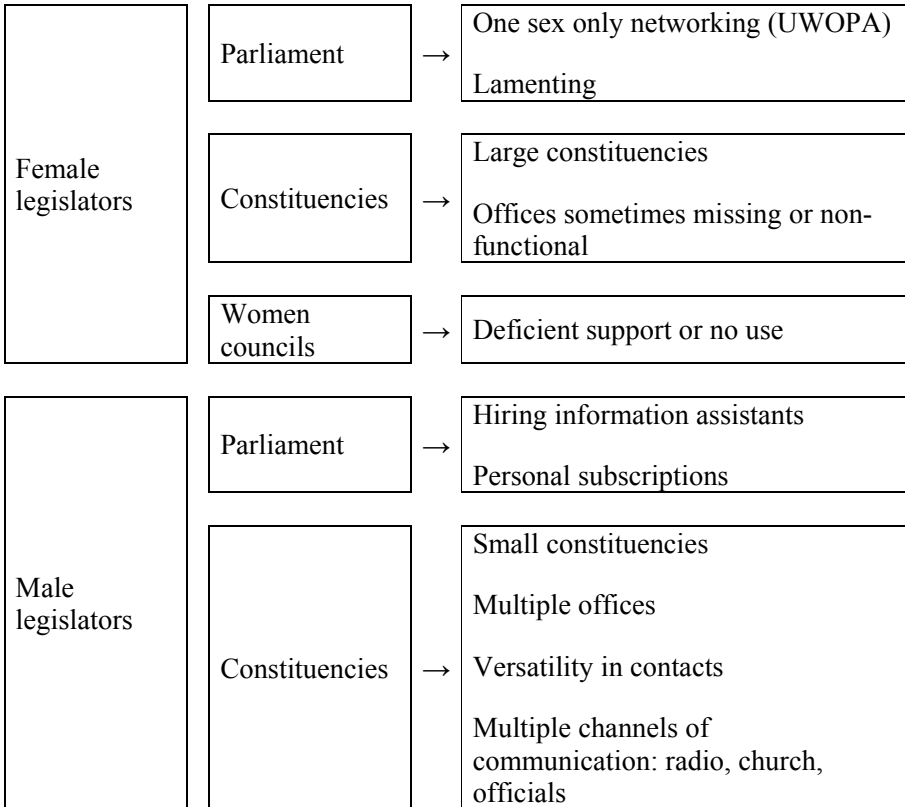


Figure 7 Handling information barriers

Sammanfattning på svenska

Från periferi till centrum: utmaningar och möjligheter ifråga om information för kvinnliga ledamöter av Ugandas parlament

Studien undersöker informationssvårigheter som kvinnor i Uganda stöter på som lagstiftare och folkvalda representanter. Kvinnor uppfattas i tidigare studier ha haft en mindre framträdande och särskilt i det offentliga livet en marginell och undanskymd ställning. Kvinnors marginalisering placeras i ett historiskt sammanhang av imperialism och post-kolonialism. Koloniseringsprocessen anses ha medfört nya former av dominans, vilka internaliserades och fördes vidare av post-koloniala regeringar (Byanyima, 1992; Tamale 1999). Kolonialtiden orsakade de 'småskaliga personliga strukturernas' sammanbrott i Ugandas stater, vilket slutgiltigt berövade kvinnorna makten. Detta uppnåddes genom centralisering av makten via en brittisk guvernör, vilket i sin tur ledde till det sammanbrott och slutliga övertagande av den politiska och legala makt som tidigare funnits hos klan-äldste och kungar. Nya administrativa strukturer upprättades, nästan alltid ledda av män, och detta grundlade föreställningen om den offentliga sfären som var regeringen närstående och den privata sfären som var familjen.

De brittiska strukturerna och principerna återspeglade en klar ideologi som såg män som offentliga aktörer och kvinnor som privata. Postkoloniala regimer karakteriseras också av sin brutalitet, speciellt beträffande kvinnors föreningsliv. De flesta autonoma grupper drevs under jorden, medan andra övertogs med tvång och kontrollerades av de auktoritära härskarna. År 1986 blev det emellertid regeringsskifte i Uganda och de nya maktinnehavarna tycktes ha en progressiv plan för kvinnor, förmodligen för att rätta till historiska oförrätter. Därför lanserades 1989 ett program för positiv särbehandling. Detta program beredde vägen för att vissa platser för distriktsrepresentation i den lagstiftande församlingen, som då kallades the National Resistance Council (NRC), skulle reserveras för kvinnor. Antalet distrikt var då trettionio vilket innebar trettionio kvinnliga representanter. De ursprungliga distrikten har senare delats upp och i juni 2009 uppgick antalet nya distrikt till åttio, vilket motsvarar lika många kvinnliga parlaments-

ledamöterⁱ. Ledamöterna från distriktsvalkretsarna tillkommer utöver ledamöterna från de ordinarie valkretsarna; alltså kan kvinnor konkurrera med män till de ordinarie valkretsarna, medan endast kvinnor konkurrerar om distriktsplatserna. Tillgången till de sistnämnda platserna fastställdes i 1995 år grundlag och till idag har antalet kvinnliga ledamöter ökat och för närvarande är det etthundratvå (102) av trehundra-trettio-tre (333) (30%) lagstiftare. Den positiva särbehandlingen har bidragit med nära 80% av de kvinnliga deltagarna i den nationella lagstiftande församlingen.

Även om kvinnorna i Uganda har nått FN:s från Beijing-konferensen 1995 uppsatta mål på 30% av parlamentets platser, så visar studier att de fortfarande stöter på strukturella hinder i den traditionella miljön, vilka hindrar deras effektivitet som lagstiftare och regeringsledamöter. Tamale (1999) hävdar att när kvinnor placeras i ledar- och auktoritetsställning utan att praktiska och strukturella hindren för deras effektivitet undanröjs, så motarbetar detta förhållande inte tidigare ojämlikhet, utan istället förstärks helt enkelt det rådande tillståndet. Studierna pekar på hinder i regelverket, hinder som införts i den sociala strukturen genom könsroller och det faktum att kvinnor införlivas på ett oregelbundet sätt. Positiv särbehandling har fört kvinnor från politikens periferi till dess centrum. Trots att särbehandlingen har ökat antalet kvinnliga politiker tenderar den att undergräva kvinnornas självförtroende som jämlika deltagare och pådyvlar dem en form av livegenskap och kontroll som motverkar deras allmänna effektivitet.

Min studie tillhör disciplinmässigt biblioteks- och informationsvetenskap (B&I), men hör också till politikens dagsfrågor på toppnivå. Jag har särskilt försökt undersöka ett perspektiv av i debatt och i undersökningar mindre uppmärksammade informationsbeteenden på lagstiftningens område. Vilka är informationskonsekvenserna? Vilka informationssvårigheter kan man förvänta sig att möta när denna tidigare marginaliserade grupp blir en del av huvudfåran? För att stödja min empiriska undersökning, antog jag det ramverk i *Insiders and Outsiders* som Chatman och Merton tillämpade i sina studier av informationsbeteende hos marginaliserade befolkningsgrupper. Mertons (1972) knapphändig beskrivning av insiders och outsiders omfattar den åsikten att "man måste vara en för att förstå en" och informationskonsekvenserna för vardera kategorin tyder på en "monopolistisk" och privilegierad tillgång eller utestängning från kunskap, i kraft av "medlemskap i en grupp eller social position". I Chatmans fall, när kvinnor placerades i periferin, fick det konsekvenser för deras kunskap och informa-

ⁱ Trots att några av distrikten blev godkända, har några kvinnliga ledamöter inte valts.

tion om den naturliga miljön. Chatman studerade populationer som fanns i periferin och där uppdelningen mellan insiders och outsiders var tydlig.

Chatman (2001) anger att det var möjligt att anpassa detta ramverk till en större värld, vilket i mitt fall är det offentliga rummet för politikens huvudfåra. På detta sätt gör jag mig en föreställning om kvinnor som tidigare politiska outsiders på antagandet om skillnader i kulturell socialisation och möjligen om skillnader i syn på världen. Män, däremot, betraktas som organisatoriska och politiska insiders.

Ur ett B&I-perspektiv har denna ansats varit explorativ, men stödjer sig på resultat från studier av kvinnor och politik som har utförts inom andra samhällsvetenskapliga discipliner. Jag har undersökt de utmaningar som kvinnor kan stöta på i den sociala kontexten som lagstiftare och folkvalda och som kan inkräkta på deras möjligheter att få tillgång till eller använda information. Studien har utförts i det ugandiska parlamentet och totalt deltog trettiofem (35) ledamöter, av vilka tjugotvå (22) var kvinnliga och tretton (13) manliga. Andra respondenter (icke-lagstiftare) som har haft betydelse för de aktuella frågorna, har inlemmats i undersökningen och de omfattar personal från parlamentets bibliotek, utredningstjänst och administration (5), från den kvinnliga parlamentarikerföreningen Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association (UWOPA) (1), från kvinnorråd (3), från lokala råd (3) och kontakter från valkretsbesök (4). Datainsamlingen genomfördes före ett större val (2005-2006) och fortsatte efter valet. Undersökningens miljöer har begränsats till två nivåer: aktiviteter på den nationella nivån (inom parlamentet) och på valkrets nivå.

Forskningsfrågor

Följande forskningsfrågor styrde undersökningen:

- Vilka begränsningar i den nationella kontexten av lagstiftning och folkvald representation innebär utmaningar när det gäller att få tillgång till information för kvinnliga lagstiftare, ett kön som tidigare varit underrepresenterat.
- Hur påverkar begränsningar i tillgång till information kvinnornas informationsbeteende?
- Hur kan studien om informationstillgång påverka den övergripande acklimatiseringsprocessen och integreringen av kvinnor i politikens huvudfåra?

Syfte

Det övergripande syftet med undersökningen är att ta reda på hur parlamentets sociala kontext av lagstiftning och folkvald representation påverkar kvinnliga ledamöters informationsbeteende och hur den påverkar deras tillgång till information och deras möjligheter att helt och hållet anpassa sig till miljön i politikens huvudfåra.

Metod

De metodologiska teknikerna är delvis inspirerade av den teoretiska strukturen och består av djupintervjuer och åtskilliga observationer i sammanhang som har identifierats hänföra sig till lagstiftares verksamhet. Liksom Chatman tillbringade jag många timmar i parlamentsmiljön, speciellt i biblioteket. Chatman tillämpade en teknik som hon kallar deltagande observation och engagerade sig i sina respondenters verksamhet som hon förutsatte var relevant för hennes datainsamling. Detta gjordes delvis som en dubbelkontroll med avsikten att lägga märke till de diskreta drivkrafter som kan bidra till att påverka de fenomen som hon studerade (Chatman, 1992) och som hon följde upp i intervjuer. Denna teknik medförde dock ett par problem för min studie. Ett av dem förklaras av den parlamentariska organisationen i sig, vilken tenderar att förstärka vissa hierarkiska gränser och begränsar möjligheter för forskare och utomstående till interaktion och deltagande. Det andra är att ledamöternas tidsscheman uppvisade en sådan grad av oberäknelighet att jag valde att helt och hållet agera som observatör medan jag noterade varje relevant detalj som jag kunde följa upp med en intervju. De huvudsakliga verktygen i den här studien har följaktligen varit djupintervjuer, kompletterade med data från observationer och lagstiftningsdokument (parlamentstryck, parlamentsbeslut, olika rapporter, tidningar).

Jag genomförde omfattande djupintervjuer med hjälp av en intervjuguide för att samla data om lagstiftarnas verksamhet och erfarenhet i olika sammanhang; deras interna organisation, informationsalternativ och val och hur de antar informationsutmaningar, tydliga eller antydda. Andra intervjuer handlade om kontakter med valkretskontor, liksom med ledningen på gräsrotsnivå (bystyrelse) för att utröna samspel mellan väljarna och deras representanter. Intervjuer med tjänstemän från parlamentsbiblioteket och från utredningstjänsten styrdes också mot att få fram bakgrundsinformation om dessa tjänster och om hur parlamentsledamöterna använde tjänsterna och sökte information ur mellanhandens perspektiv. Jag utförde tre intervjuer inom parlamentets administrativa tjänster och en var att samla in data om

den övergripande organisationen av parlamentet som också gällde den organisation som fanns i det åttonde flerpartiparlamentet (2006-2011). Två intervjuer gjordes med parlamentsanställda som ansvarar för ledamöter i ledningsfunktioner för att undersöka vad jag antar vara informationsfördelar/privilegier som medföljer vissa ämbeten inom den legislativa byråkratin. Jag försökte utröna vilken roll administratörerna spelar i dessa befattningar och vilka frågor de handlägger som kan ge fördelar avseende på tillgång eller hantering av information. Dessa ämbeten är också tecken på en social ställning inom den mainstream miljön.

Jag intervjuade en tjänsteman från den kvinnliga parlamentarikerföreningen (UWOPA) för att ta reda på vilken organisation och administrativ struktur de har och den allmänna arbetsmiljön där och vilka frågor som är viktiga för de kvinnliga lagstiftarna. Andra intervjuer hölls med tjänstemän från kvinnoråden för att samla data om hur kvinnliga parlamentsledamöter samspelade med dessa organisationer, eftersom de skulle vara både informationskällor och kanaler för de kvinnliga lagstiftarna från distriktsvalkretsarna. Därför försökte jag undersöka detta samband. Andra tekniker för datainsamling var observationer i plenum, i biblioteket, i UWOPA, valmöten, kommittémöten och på presskonferenser.

Ur dessa källor utvanns mycket data; det var mestadels ostrukturerade data och jag konstruerade ett analysverktyg baserat på de empiriska data och tidigare forskning om informationsklassifikation. Analysen av de formella och informella kategorierna ledde till insikter, även om lagstiftarnas informationsbeteende avslöjade en blandning av dessa klassifikationer och kategorier.

Resultat

På den nationella nivån tyder resultaten på att medan tillgången på information från parlamentsorganisationen visserligen verkar vara jämlik, så uppvisade lagstiftarna olika strategier. Fler manliga ledamöter än kvinnliga använde extra resurser för att skaffa information genom att prenumerera på ytterligare informationsresurser samt anlita personal som informationsassistenter eller förmedlare, liksom även för informationsbehandling, till exempel sammanfatta dokument. Det var dessa strategiska olikheter som skapade skillnaden i tillgången på information, såtillvida att de manliga lagstiftarna är bättre förberedda på parlamentariska åtaganden än kvinnor.

Olikheterna syntes även på valkretsnivån. Såväl manliga som kvinnliga ledamöter med vanliga valkretsmandat upprätthöll många kontakter på flera platser inom valkretsen. Kvinnliga lagstiftare som hade mandat på grund av

positiv särbehandling tenderade att underhålla enbart ett centralt beläget kontor i den stora distriktsvalkretsen. Två ledamöter hävdade att de inte hade råd att underhålla någon permanent närvaro alls.

Slutsatsen av dessa praktiker var att lagstiftarna från ordinarie valkretsar förmodligen var mer tillgängliga för och mer välinformerade om sin valmanskår än kvinnorna på mandat utifrån positiv särbehandling. Denna tillgänglighet kan likställas med synlighet, följaktligen torde män vara mer framträdande i sin valkrets än kvinnor. Den positiva särbehandlingen inkräktar på ledamotens möjligheter i en så stor valkrets som ett distrikt. Det blir en börda att sprida information och möjligheten att motta information blir mindre.

Vidare pekar resultaten på att de sociala förväntningarna på kvinnor även i politikens centrum förblir desamma, oavsett förändringarna i deras status. De förväntas fortfarande ombesörja markservicen för sin familj och släkt samt ta på sig ansvar som minskar den tid de kan ägna åt informationsförberedelser och ibland gör att de missar viktiga tillfällen. En slutsats som kan dras är att dessa ogynnsamma omständigheter på den sociala arenan medför att marginaliseringseffekterna kan överföras till en ny nivå i den centrala politiska miljön och som storligen påverkar informationstillgång och informationsförmedling.

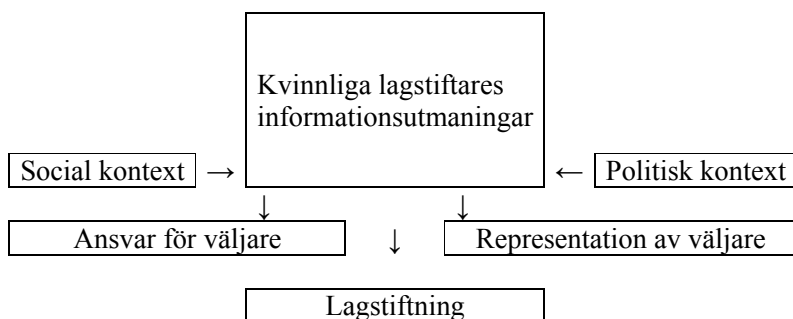
Resultaten visar att kvinnor bildar sin egen enkönade sammanslutning, Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association (UWOPA). Genom den kan de utbyta information om hur man påverkar den politiska strukturen, gör den relevant och optimerar sina informationstillfällen. Detta är skillnaden gentemot deltagarna i Chatmans studier, särskilt fångarna och de åldrande kvinnorna, vilkas världar var stängda och vilka inte kunde påverka sina omständigheter. Teoretiskt, när insiders blir en del av ett stort nätverk, får de möjlighet att ändra på omständigheterna; när det inte alltid lyckas, kan det i fallet med de kvinnliga lagstiftarna tillskrivas djupt förankrade patriarkala värderingar. Jag har beskrivit ett fall med en kvinnlig kosmopolit, som ger insikter om långsiktiga strategier för att omvandla det politiska och sociala landskapet. Hon upprätthöll en bild av att hon var en del av en större värld, vilket underlättade för henne att kämpa och hålla balansen och att försätta sig i en framträdande ställning i den större sociala och politiska världen.

Figur 8 sammanfattar de faktorer som påverkar informationsbeteendet hos kvinnliga lagstiftare. Både de sociala och politiska sammanhangen medför svårigheter som påverkar deras förmåga till både väljarrepresentation och lagstiftning. Den sociala kontexten definierar kvinno-roller och att hushållsarbetet är det viktigaste åtagandet för kvinnor, vilket följaktligen påverkar både deras tid och flexibilitet i nätverksbyggande. En

slutsats som kan dras är att beslutsfattandet blir onaturligt och ansträngt. Manliga lagstiftare å andra sidan tenderar att vara mer flexibla och fria att engagera sig eftersom de inte är uppbundna av några hushållsförpliktelser.

Positiv särbehandling i det politiska sammanhanget tilldelar kvinnliga parlamentsledamöter en stor valkrets och berövar dem samtidigt deras oberoende.

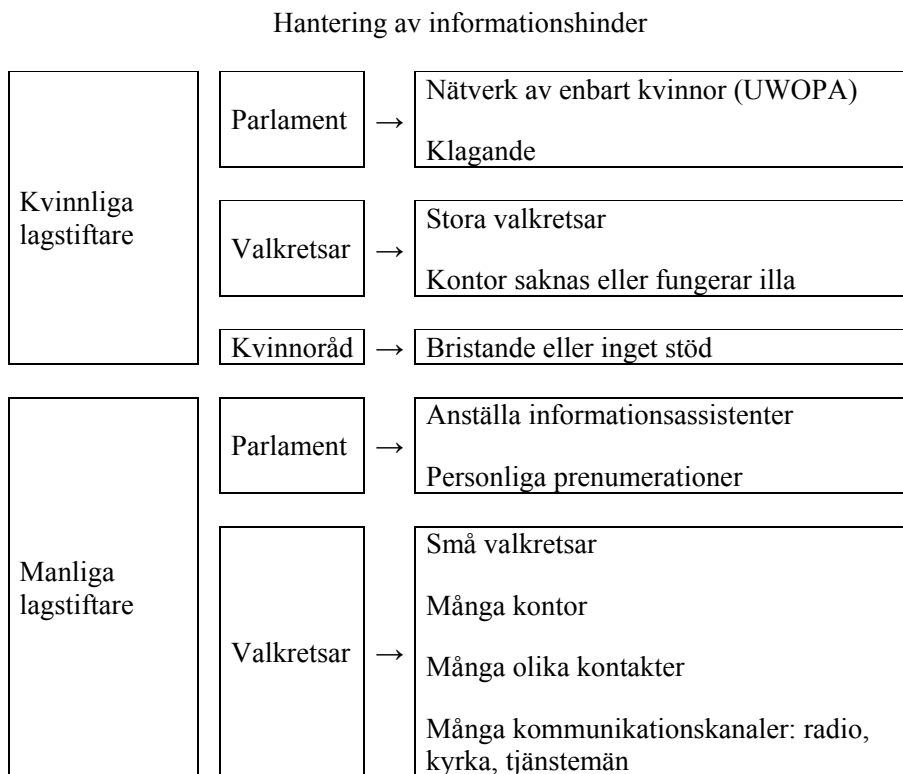
Figur 8. Översikt över kvinnliga lagstiftares informationsutmaningar



Figur 9 visar en bild av hinder och olika sätt att övervinna begränsningar. Medan både sociala och politiska sammanhang medför svårigheter, så använder kvinnor sina könsbundna nätverk för att bemöta sina problem med en viss framgång – ibland med det näst bästa alternativet; t ex som vice ordförande, men bildar också vägspärrar, särskilt för att bryta ned patriarkala traditioner.

Manliga lagstiftare som har med mer tid, flexibilitet och eventuellt erfarenhet av beslutsfattande tenderar att underhålla fler konto, kontakter och olika kommunikationskällor för att möta informationsproblem. De hålls inte tillbaka av institutionella brister eller fel.

Figur 9. Hantering av informationsproblem



Studien om tillgång till information belyser några av förutsättningarna för jämlikhet mellan könen och dess relevans ligger i att förbinda ett B&I-problem avseende informationsbeteende med en vidare nationell debatt om förändring och social omvandling.

Undersökningens teoretiska bidrag ligger i att överföra ett begreppsligt ramverk från att ha använts i en marginaliserad miljö till att belysa en central politisk miljö. Användningen av begreppet social kontext har visat på skillnader i informationstillgång för kvinnliga parlamentariker.

Ojämlikhet i sociala och politiska sammanhang medför informationsproblem för kvinnor. De informationshinder som finns inom både de sociala och de politiska kontexterna avslöjar svårigheterna att överföra formell makt till verklig makt. Positiv särbehandling ger inte i sig verklig makt.

Kvinnor har visats i min studie ha en ogynnsam ställning i politiskt centrum, vilket påverkar deras tillgång till tid och deras effektivitet i att samla in och hantera information.

Vilken påverkan har detta på den övergripande beslutfattningsprocessen? Detta är en av de frågor jag skulle vilja föreslå för vidare forskning.

Sources and references

Documentary Sources

- (2002). The Hansard. Kampala, Uganda Parliament: 17th April 2002 (Communication from the chair)
- (2002). The Hansard. Kampala, Uganda Parliament: 11th September 2002. (National Library bill)
- (2002). The Hansard. Kampala, Uganda Parliament: 12th September, 2002. (National Library bill)
- (2003). The Hansard. Kampala, Uganda Parliament: 12th January 2003 (National Women's Council debate)
- (2004). The Hansard. Kampala, Uganda Parliament: 1st April 2004 (Sarah Ntiro honour)
- (2004). The Hansard. Kampala : 6th October 2004 (UPDF Bill).
- (2004). The Hansard. Kampala : 21st December 2004 (Labour laws, paternity leave)
- (2005). The Hansard. Kampala : 4th May 2005 (Referendum)
- (2005) The Hansard. Kampala, Uganda Parliament: Friday 9th September 2005 (Constituency development fund, CDF)
- (2005). New districts created. The August House. 7: 11-12.
- (2006) Rules of procedure of the Parliament of Uganda
- The Parliament Public relations and Information office, (2008). How Parliament works: committees and Plenary of Parliament. Kampala, The Parliament public relations and information office.
- (1994). Women news: a quarterly newsletter of WID 3(4 (October - December)).

Reports:

- Kabonesa, C. (2001). Social awareness and social skills for effective legislative representation. Capacity building workshop for effective

legislative representation. Nile Hotel, International conference centre, Kampala, UWOPA.

Kittony, Z. (2001). Keynote address. Capacity building workshop in effective legislative representation. Kampala, Uganda, UWOPA.

National Women's Council. (2005?). National women's council strategic plan 2005 - 2008. Kampala, National Women's Council secretariat, Ministry of Gender, Labour and social development.

Nsibambi, A. (2001). Self awareness, self management for effective representation. Capacity building workshop for effective legislative representation. Kampala, UWOPA.

The Parliamentary Commission Report, 2004

The Parliamentary Strategic and Investment Plan, 2002

The PSIDP Action Plan, 2004/5 – 2006/7

Tumwesigye, G. O. (2001). Information and communication skills development. Capacity building workshop in effective legislative representation. Kampala, Uganda, UWOPA.

Uganda. Ministry of women in development (WID) (1994). Restructuring Report

Uganda Women Parliamentary Association, UWOPA. (2001). Report on the capacity building workshop in effective legislative representation. Kampala, UWOPA: 60.

UWOPA (2002 - 1). Uganda women parliamentary association (UWOPA) : concept paper & work plan; advancing women's issues in the politics of Uganda, 2002 - 2006. Kampala, Uganda women parliamentary association (UWOPA): 26 [3].

UWOPA (2002 - 2). Effective representation, leadership skills and good governance: Report on the capacity building workshop for district women councillors held at Colline Hotel, 9th – 11th May. Mukono, Uganda Women Parliamentary Association: 41p.

UWOPA (2002-3). Report on the seminar of women Parliamentarians on the Beijing platform of action and other international conventions and treaties, 16th August 2002. Kampala, UWOPA: 1v (various pagings).

UWOPA (2003). Capacity building workshop for women members of the district councils : report of the Mid western region. Hotel Margharita, Kasese district, Uganda women Parliamentary Association: iv, 31p, [16].

UWOPA. (2007 - 1). Final workshop report on the common women's legislative agenda, 8th - 10th February 2007. Imperial Beach Resort Hotel, Entebbe, Uganda, UWOPA: 28p.

UWOPA (2007 - 2). UWOPA pre - 8WAMM workshop on "influencing the outcome of 8WAMM on women and leadership in a democracy", 10th - 12th May 2007 Speke resort Hotel, Munyonyo, UWOPA: 46p.

Uganda Women's Parliamentary Association, UWOPA brochures [2003?, 2006]

UWOPA (2008?). Women in decision making. Kampala, Uganda women parliamentary association.

Unpublished sources:

Research Notes

Bills / Acts

(1964). The Kalema report: report on the commission on marriage, divorce and the status of women. Kampala. Legal notice no. 2 of 1964.

(1988). Uganda Constitutional Commission Act

(1988). The Executive Committees (Judicial powers) Act. Chapter 8.

(1995). Constitution of the Republic of Uganda

(1997). The Administration of Parliament Act: 5619-5633.

(1997). The Local Governments Act, 1997. Republic of Uganda: 1 - 174 ; pp 41, 42.

(1997). The Movement Act: 5655-5677.

(2002). The National Women's council (Amendment) Act. Uganda: 1 - 12.

(2003). The Domestic Relations Bill, 2003: 48.

(2005). The Parliamentary Elections Act, 2005. Acts Supplement No. 9.

(2005). The Uganda Peoples' Defence Forces Act, 2005.

(2007). The prevention of trafficking in persons bill, 2007: 16.

Published literature

(2005). Lack of quorum dogs House through 2004. The New Vision. Kampala.

ACFODE (200?). Women in political leadership: challenges and opportunities. Kampala, ACFODE (Action for development).

African Leadership Institute, (AFLI) (2006). Holding members accountable : Mps performance report card of the 7th Parliament of Uganda [June 2004 to May 2005]. Kampala, African Leadership Institute (AFLI).

Africa Leadership Institute (AFLI), (2007). Parliamentary scorecard 2006 - 2007 : assessing the performance of Uganda's legislators. Kampala, African Leadership institute.

Ahikire, J. (2003). Gender equity and local democracy in contemporary Uganda: addressing the challenge of women's political effectiveness in local government. No shortcuts to power: African women in politics and policy making. A. M. Goetz and S. Hassim. London, Zed books: 213 - 239.

Ahikire, J. (2004). "Towards women's effective participation in electoral processes : a review of the Ugandan experience." Feminist Africa(3): 13.

Ahikire, J. (2007). Localised or localising democracy: gender and the politics of decentralization in contemporary Uganda. Kampala, Fountain publishers.

Alemna, A. A., & Skouby, K. E. (2000). An investigation into the information needs and information seeking behavior of members of Ghana's legislature. *Library management*, 21(no 5), 235-240.

Amaza, O. O. (1998). *Museveni's long march*. Kampala: Fountain publishers,

Antrobus, P. (1989). The empowerment of women: making a world of difference. *Women and International development*, 1, 189-207.

Antrobus, Peggy (2005). The global women's movement: origins, issues and strategies, Dhaka, Dhaka University press.

Armitage, S. (1983). "The next step." Frontiers : a journal of women's studies vii(1): 3-8.

Arise: A women development magazine, (1996). Kampala, ACFODE, No. 18.

- Asiimwe Mwesige, J. (2006). Women's political participation, in Conference report: Post elections (induction) seminar for members of the 8th Parliament of Uganda, 19-23 June, pg. 40.
- Atkinson, P. and M. Hammersley (1994). Ethnography and participant observation. Handbook of qualitative research. N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks, Sage publications: 248-261.
- Atoo, C. P. (2006). Women not happy with ministerial numbers, Parliamentary – executive relations in the run up to the 2006 elections in Uganda, Monthly report.
- Kaye (1986). "Informal sources of information and communication." Management decision 24(2): 6-7.
- Babbie, E. (2007). The practice of social research. Belmont, Thomson & Wadsworth.
- BBC (2002). Uganda tackles wife-beating taboo. the BBC. London, Tuesday 19 March 2002. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1881472.stm>
- Bevir, Mark and Rhodes, R.A.W. 1999, Studying British government: reconstructing the research agenda, In *British journal of Politics and International relations*, Vol.1, no. 2, June 1999, pp. 215-239.
- Blau, P. M. (1964, 1996 printing). Exchange and power in social life. New Brunswick, Transaction publishers.
- Boahen, A. A. (1987). African perspectives on colonialism. Baltimore, John Hopkins University press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990, reprinted in 1995). The logic of practice. Cambridge, Polity press.
- Bratton, M., & Lambright, G. (2001). Uganda's referendum 2000 : the silent boycott. *African Affairs*, 100, 429-452.
- Brian, R. (2004). "Informing Parliament." Library Management 25(1/2): 22-27.
- Bryman, A. (2004). Social research methods. Oxford, Oxford university press.
- Bryson, V. (1999). *Feminist debates : issues of theory and political practice*. London, Macmillan press.
- Buckland, M. K. (1991). "Information as thing." *Journal of the American society for information science* 42(5): 351-360.

- Burke, R. J. (2001). "Information sources : Is there a gender issue?" Corporate communications : an international Journal 6(1): 7-11.
- Buwembo, J. and J. Maseruka (2002). I slapped the VP only twice. Sunday Vision. Kampala. 11, No. 11: 1 - 2.
- Byamukama, D. (2001). The Gender dimension and result oriented leadership. Capacity building workshop in effective legislative representation. Nile hotel International, Kampala, Uganda, UWOPA.
- Byanyima, W. K. (1992). Women in political struggle in Uganda. In J. M. Bystydzienski (Ed.), *Women transforming politics : world-wide strategies for empowerment* (pp. 129 - 136). Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana university press.
- Byanyima, W. (1996). Women in political decision making: a minority presence (interview with Nite Baza Tanzarn), Arise: A women development magazine, (1996). Kampala, ACFODE, No. 18. pg. 4
- Byanyima, W. (2004). Perils and promises ; living feminist politics in Uganda. African Gender institute panel discussion on international women's day, Addis Ababa?
- Byaruhanga-Akiiki, A. B. T. (1987, 1-3 May). *The status of women in Africa*. Paper presented at the Mawazo workshop, Makerere University, Kampala.
- Cammack, P., Pool, D., & Tordoff, W. (1993). *Third World politics : a comparative introduction* (2nd rev. updated and expanded ed.). Houndsmill: Macmillan.
- Carbone, G. M. (2001). No-Party democracy? Political organization under Movement democracy in Uganda, 1994-2000. London School of Economics and Political Science. London, University of London. Doctor of Philosophy.
- Case, D. O. (2002). Looking for information: a survey on information seeking, needs and behavior. Amsterdam, Academic press.
- Case, D. O. (2007). Looking for information: a survey of research on Information seeking, needs and behavior. Amsterdam, Elsevier.
- Chatman, E. A. (1990). "Alienation theory: application of a conceptual framework to a study of information among janitors." RQ 29: 355-368.
- Chatman, E. A. (1992). The information world of retired women. Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood press.

- Chatman, E. A. (1996). "The impoverished life-world of outsiders." Journal of the American society for information science 47(3): 193-206.
- Chatman, E. A. (1999). "A theory of life in the round." Journal of the American society for information science 50(3): 207-217.
- Chatman, E. A. (2001). Keynote address: An insider/outsider approach to libraries, change and marginalized populations. Alteration of generations. Borås, Sweden.
- Chatman, E. A. (2000). Framing social life in theory and research. *New Review of Information Behaviour Research; 1 2000, p.3-17*
- Coleman, S., J. Taylor, et al., Eds. (1999). Parliament in the age of the Internet. Oxford, Oxford University press.
- Das, A. K. (1999). The reluctant democrat: Museveni and the future of democracy in Uganda. *African Quarterly*, 39(4), 61-78.
- Deniva. (2002). Towards effective political participation and decision making for women councillors in decentralized local governments and the role of NGOs in Uganda: report of a study commissioned by Deniva, with financial support of Action Aid, Uganda, Nairobi, Ford Foundation.
- Dahlerup, D. (2006). Introduction. *Women, quotas and politics*
- D. Dahlerup. London, Routledge: 3-31.
- Duncan, L. E. (2001). Political behavior. Encyclopedia of women and gender: sex similarities and differences and the impact of society on gender. J. Worell. San Diego, Academic press. II, L-Z: 817-826.
- Ehrich, L. C. (1994). "Mentoring and networking for women educators." Women in management review 9(3): 4-10.
- Electoral Commission (2006). Report on the 2005/2006 general elections. Kampala, The Electoral Commission.
- Etyang, J. and M. Nalunkuuma (2005). Muslims insist on polygamy. The New Vision (30th March 2005)
- Finch, J. (1999). 'Its great to have someone to talk to' : the ethics and politics of interviewing women. Qualitative research. A. Bryman and R. G. Burgess. London, Sage publications. II: 68-80.
- Fisher, K. E., S. Erdelez, et al., Eds. (2005). Theories of information behavior. Medford, New Jersey, Information today.

- Frazer, E. (1998). Feminist political theory. Contemporary feminist theories. S. Jackson and J. Jones. Edinburgh, Edinburgh university press: 50 - 61.
- Freire, P. (1970, 1996). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*; translated by Myra Bergman Ramos. London, Penguin.
- Furley, O., & Katalikawe, J. (1997). Constitutional reform in Uganda : the new approach. *African Affairs*, 96, 243-260.
- Gans, H. (1976). The west end: an urban village. In M.P. Golden (Ed.), *The research experience* (pp. 44 – 59). Otasca, Ill.: F.E. Peacock.
- Gasarasi, C. (2004). The general environment in which the members of Parliament work. People's representatives : theory and practice of Parliamentary democracy in Tanzania. R. S. Mukandala, S. S. Mushi and C. Rubagumya. Kampala, Fountain publishers: 73 - 92.
- Ghai, Y. (1996). The theory of the state in the Third world and the problematics of constitutionalism. In J. Steiner & P. Alston (Eds.), *International human rights in context : law, politics, morals*. Oxford: Clarendon press.
- Goetz, A. M. (2003). The problem with patronage: constraints on women's political effectiveness in Uganda. No shortcuts to power: African women in politics and policy making. A. M. Goetz and S. Hassim. London, Zed books: 110 - 139.
- Hanson, E. (2002). Queen mothers and good government in Buganda : The loss of women's political power in nineteenth-century East Africa. In J. Allman, S. Geiger & N. Musisi (Eds.), *Women in African colonial histories* (pp. 219-236). Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana university press.
- Hartman, R. L. and J. D. Johnson (1990). "Formal and informal group communication structures: an examination of their relationship to role ambiguity." Social networks 12: 127-151.
- Hennesy, Rosemary, 1995, Women's lives/feminist standpoint as ideology critique, adapted from the materialist feminist archives at: <http://cfs.colorado.edu/mail/matfem/95/0337.html>
- Herman, V. and M. Françoise (1976). Parliaments of the World : a reference compendium. London and Basingstoke, Macmillan.
- Höglund, L. and O. Persson (1985). *Information och kunskap: Informationsförjning - forskning och policyfrågor = Information and knowledge : Information provision - research and policy issues*. Umeå, INUM AB publishing division.

- Ikoja-Odongo, R. (2002). Insights into the information needs of women in the informal sector of Uganda. *South African Journal of Library and information science*, 68(1).
- Ikoja-Odongo, R. and D. N. Ocholla (2003). "Information needs and information seeking behavior of artisan fisherfolk of Uganda." Library and Information Science Research 25: 89-105.
- Ikoja-Odongo, R. and D. N. Ocholla (2004). "Information seeking behavior of the informal sector entrepreneurs: The Uganda experience." Libri 11(1): 54-66.
- Ikoja-Odongo, J. R. (2004). "Public library politics: the Ugandan perspective." Information development 20(3): 169-180.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union. (2007). "Women in National Parliaments." Retrieved 2007-12-14, 2007.
- Jiyane, V. and D. N. Ocholla (2003). "An exploratory study of information availability and exploitation by the rural women of Melmoth, KwaZulu-Natal." South African Journal of Library and Information science 70(1): 1 - 8.
- Jourard, S. M. (1971). *Self-disclosure : an experimental analysis of the transparent self*. New York, NY: Wiley-Interscience.
- Johnson, J. M. (2001). In-depth interviewing. Handbook of interview research: context & method. J. F. Gubrium and J. A. Holstein. Thousand Oaks, Sage publications.
- Johnson, J. D., W. A. Donohue, et al. (1994). "Differences between formal and informal communication channels." The Journal of business communication 31(2): 111-122.
- Kabajun, A. (2005). Women position in parties unclear. The New Vision. Kampala.
- Kadaga, A. R. (2001). Report on the capacity building workshop in effective legislative representation, 26-27 October, Kampala, UWOPA, p.15.
- Kakwenzire, J. (1996). Preconditions for demarginalizing women and youth in Ugandan politics. Law and the struggle for democracy in East Africa. J. Oloka-Onyango, C. M. Peter and K. Kibwana. Nairobi, Clari press.
- Karugaba, M. (2009). NRM drafts tough rules for Mps. The New Vision. Kampala, New Vision.

- Kasfir, N. (1994?). Ugandan politics and the constituent assembly elections of March 1994. In H. B. Hansen & M. Twaddle (Eds.), *From chaos to order : the Politics of Constitution-making in Uganda* (pp. xv, 192). Kampala: Fountain publishers.
- Kasfir, N. (1998). No-party democracy in Uganda. *Journal of Democracy*, 9(2), 49-63.
- Kasper, A. S. (2003). A feminist, qualitative methodology : a study of women with breast cancer. In N. Fielding (Ed.), *Interviewing* (Vol. II, pp. 168-184). London: Sage publications.
- Kato, J. (2008). Battle of women lights up Samia Bugwe Mp by-elections. The New Vision. Kampala. (6th January 2008)
- Katorobo, J. (1995). Electoral choices in the Constituent assembly elections of March 1994. In H. B. Hansen & M. Twaddle (Eds.), *From chaos to order : the politics of Constitution-making in Uganda* (pp. xv, 192.). Kampala: Fountain Publishers.
- Kaye, D. K., F. Mirembe, et al. (2005). "Implications of bride price on domestic violence and reproductive health in Wakiso district, Uganda." African health sciences 5(4): 300 - 303.
- Kaye, D. (1995). "Sources of information, formal and informal." Management decision 33(5): 13-15.
- Kharono, E. (2003). Review of affirmative action in Uganda. Kampala, UWONET, Uganda women's network: 16.
- Kibirige, D. (2002). Eng. Kazibwe lies low after VP says he's a wife beater. Sunday Monitor. Kampala. No. 076: 1 - 2.
- Kimbunga, T. M. (1996). "The role of parliamentary library and research services in multi-party Tanzania." Library Review 45(6): 18 - 24.
- Kiwanuka, M. S. M. (1972). A history of Buganda from the foundation of the kingdom to 1900. New York, Africana.
- Kiwuuwa, P. (2008). Parliament to take debates upcountry. The New Vision. Kampala.
- Konde, E. (2005). African women and politics: knowledge, gender and power in male -dominated Cameroon (Vol. 77). Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen press.

Kuhlthau, C. C. (1993, 1994). *Seeking meaning: a process approach to library and information services*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex. Kuhlthau, C. C. (2005).

Kuhlthau's information search process. Theories of information behavior. K. E. Fisher, S. Erdelez and L. E. F. McKechnie. Medford, New Jersey, Information today: 230-234.

Kwesiga, Joy C., 2002, Women's access to higher education in Africa: Uganda's experience, Kampala: Fountain publishers.

Kyomuhendo, G. B. and M. K. McIntosh (2006). Women, work & domestic virtue. Oxford, James Currey.

Lather, P. (2003). Feminist perspectives on empowering research methodologies Interviewing. N. Fielding. London, Sage publications. II: 149-167.

Layder, D. (1998). Sociological practice: linking theory and social research. London, Sage publications.

Levant, R. F. (2001). Men and masculinity. Encyclopaedia of women and gender. J. Worell. San Diego, California, Academic press. II: 717-727.

Lofman, P., M. Pelkonen, et al. (2004). "Ethical issues in participatory action research." Scandinavian journal of caring science 18: 333-340.

Longino, H. E. (1990). Science as social knowledge: values and objectivity in scientific inquiry. Princeton, NJ, Princeton University press.

Lyons, C. and T. Lyons (1999). Challenges posed by Information and communications technologies for Parliamentary democracy in South Africa. Parliament in the age of the Internet. J. Coleman, J. Taylor and W. Van de Donk. Oxford, Oxford university press: 80-88.

Magambo, E. M. and B. M. Mugombe (2007). The case for National Women's council (NWC) of Uganda. Decentralization and transformation of governance in Uganda. D. Asiimwe and N. B. Musisi. Kampala, Fountain publishers: 246 - 260.

Magara, E. and C. Batambuze (2005). "Towards a reading culture for Uganda." African Journal of Library, Archives and Information Science 15(1): 35-42.

Magara, E. and J. B. Nyumba (2004). "Towards a school library development policy for Uganda." Library Review 53(6): 313-322.

Mama, A. (1995). "Feminism or femocracy? : State feminism and democratization in Nigeria." Africa development xx(1): 37-58.

- Marcella, R., G. Baxter, et al. (2001). "Theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of information need in the context of the impact of new information and communications technologies on the communication of parliamentary information." Journal of Documentation 58(2): 185 - 210.
- Marcella, R., G. Baxter, et al. (2007). "The information needs and information-seeking behavior of the users of the European Parliamentary documentation center: a customer knowledge study." Journal of Documentation 63(6): 920 - 934.
- Matembe, M. (2003?). Matembe tells the story of the women's movement in Uganda. Impact: an annual publication [of] Isis-Wiccee – Uganda. Vol. no. 4, pg 31-36.
- Matembe, M., R.K. (1995). Women in the constituent assembly. In *Visible at last: NGO contribution to women's recognition in Uganda*. Kampala: ACFODE.
- Mazrui, A. A. (2002). "Who killed democracy in Africa? : clues of the past, concerns of the future." Retrieved 6th April, 2006, from http://igcs.binghamton.edu/igcs_site/dirton9.htm.
- Merton, R. K. (1968). Social theory and social structure. New York, The free press.
- Merton, R. K. (1972). "Insiders and outsiders: a chapter in the sociology of knowledge." American Journal of Sociology 78(1): 9-47.
- Merton, R.K. (1996). On social structure and Science. Chicago. University of Chicago press.
- Mies, M. (1999). Toward a methodology for feminist research. In A. Bryman & R. G. Burgess (Eds.), *Qualitative research* (Vol. IV). London: Sage publications.
- Molyneux, M. (2002). "Gender and the silences of Social capital: lessons from Latin America." Development and Change 33(2): 167-188.
- Mostert, Janneke (2004). Diffusing information for democracy: an insight of the South African Parliament. *Library Management*, 25(1/2), 28-38
- Mostert, B. J. and D. N. Ocholla (2004). "Information needs and information seeking behavior of parliamentarians in South Africa." SA Journal of Library and information science 71(2): 136-150.
- Morris, R. C. T. (1994). Toward a user-centered information service. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science*, 45(1), 20-30.

- Musisi, Nakanyike. B. (1999). "Morality as identity : the missionary moral agenda in Buganda, 1877-1945." The Journal of religious history 23(1): 51-74.
- Musoke, M. G. N. (2005). "Access and use of information by primary health care providers in rural Uganda: an interaction-value model." University of Dar es Saalam Library Journal 7(1): 1-19.
- Mutua-Kombo, E. (2001). Women's groups and information provision in rural Kenya. *Library Review*, 50(4), 193-196.
- Mutumba, R. (2006, Friday, January 27th). Nakwang defends self over worst MP status. *Daily Monitor*, p. 8.
- Nalugo, M. (2009). Women lobby president for major government positions. Monitor online. Kampala.
- Nalumaga, R. E. (2004). From library skills to information literacy: considerations for Makerere university library and faculty. Universities: taking a leading role in ICT enabled human development, Kampala, Uganda, Phantom solutions.
- Namutebi, J. (2009). Women Mps to meet Museveni over appointments. New Vision. Kampala, New Vision.
- Nankinga, J. (2002). Spe leaves husband over beating. The New Vision. Kampala. 17: No. 65: 1 - 2.
- Neuman, W. L. (2003). Social methods : qualitative and quantitative approaches. Boston, Allyn and Bacon.
- Neuman, W. L. (2006). Social research methods: qualitative and quantitative approaches. Boston, Pearson and AB.
- Nkuuhe, J. (2001). Advocacy and lobbying - tools for women Parliamentarians. Capacity building workshop for effective legislative representation Nile Hotel International, Kampala, Uganda, UWOPA.
- Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing women : a contradiction in terms. Doing feminist research. H. Roberts. London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Oakley, A. (1999). Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms. Qualitative research. A. Bryman and R. G. Burgess. London, Sage publications. IV: 44-66.
- Obbo, C. (1980). African women: their struggle for economic independence. London: Zed books.

- Ochieng, H. (2002). Kazibwe says husband used to beat her up. The Monitor. Kampala. No. 075: 1 - 2.
- Ochwada, H. (1997). "Politics and gender relations in Kenya: a historical perspective." Africa development xxii (no 1): 123-139.
- Okech, A., R. A. Carr-Hill, et al. (1999). Report of evaluation of the functional adult literacy programme in Uganda, 1999. Kampala, Uganda Government. Ministry of Gender, labour and Social development
Worldbank mission in Uganda: xix, 325p.
- Onyango-Obbo, C. (1999). The perils of being VP Kazibwe. The East African. Nairobi.
- Okonjo, K. (1976). The dual sex political system in operation : Igbo women and community politics in midwestern Nigeria. Women in Africa: studies in social and economic change. N. Hafkin and E. Bay. Stanford CA, Stanford university press.
- Ogong, O. (2008). Mps should be allowed to debate freely. The New Vision. Kampala, New Vision.
- Okech, A., R. A. Carr-Hill, et al. (1999). Report of evaluation of the functional adult literacy programme in Uganda. Kampala
Uganda. Ministry of gender, labour and community development: Pg xii, pg 2.
- Oloka-Onyango, J. (1998). "Uganda's benevolent dictatorship." Retrieved 22th March 2006, from
<http://www.udayton.edu/~rwanda/articles/uganda/html>.
- Olupot, M. (2007). Youth Mp's association revived. The New Vision. Kampala, New Vision.
- Orton, R., R. Marcella, et al. (2000). "An observational study of the information seeking behavior of members of Parliament in the United Kingdom." Aslib proceedings 52(6): 207 - 217.
- Ottemoeller, D. (1999). "The politics of gender in Uganda : symbolism in the service of pragmatism. " African studies review 42(2): 87-104.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). Qualitative research and evaluation methods. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.
- Parliament of the Republic of Uganda (2007). A directory of the eighth Parliament of Uganda, 2006 - 2011. Kampala, The Parliament of Uganda.

- Parpart, J. (1988). Women and state in Africa. The precarious balance: state and society in Africa. D. Rothchild and N. Chazan. Boulder, Colorado, Westview: 208-230.
- Pettigrew, K. E., F. Raya, et al. (2001). Conceptual frameworks in information behavior. Annual review of Information Science and technology (ARIST) 35: 43 - 78.
- Pini, B., K. Brown, et al. (2004). "Women-only networks as a strategy for change? : A case study from the local government." Women in management review 19(6): 286-292.
- Radecki, C. M., & Jaccard, J. (1995). Perceptions of knowledge, actual knowledge and information search behavior. *Journal of experimental social psychology*, 31, 107-138.
- Scheier, R. (2003). In Uganda, a woman can be VP but have few rights. The Christian Science Monitor. (December 26th 2003)
- Selden, L. (1999). Kapital och karriär: Informationssökning i forskningens vardagspraktik = Capital and career: Information seeking in the everyday practice of research. Göteborg, Valfrid.
- Serema, B. C. (1999). "Matching Mp's information needs and information services in the House of Commons." Library Management 20(3): 179 -189.
- Silverman, D. (2007). Interpreting qualitative data. Los Angeles, Sage.
- Silverman, D. (1997). Discourses of counselling: HIV counselling as social interaction. London. Sage
- Sismondo, S. (2005). An introduction to Science and technology studies. Malden, MA (USA), Blackwell publishing.
- Ssali, N. S. E. (1998). Gender differentials in the accessibility and utilization of primary health care information: a case of diarrhoea. Women and Gender Studies. Kampala, Makerere University. Master of Arts Degree in Women and Gender Studies.
- Staudt, K. (1980). The Umoja federation : women's cooptation into a local power structure. *Western political science quarterly*, 33(2), 278-290.
- Stephenson, M.-A. (2004). Gender and democracy : what works? strategies to increase women's representation, The British Council.
- Tamale, S. (1999). When hens begin to crow : Gender and parliamentary politics in Uganda. Kampala - Uganda: Fountain publishers

- Tamale, S. (2000). “‘Point of order, Mr Speaker’ : African women claiming their space in parliament.” Gender and development 8(3): 8-15.
- Tamale, Sylvia, 2003, “Introducing quotas in Africa : Discourse and legal reform in Uganda” Paper presented at the international institute for democracy and electoral assistance (IDEA)/ Electoral institute of Southern Africa (EISA) / Southern African Development Community (SADC) Parliamentary forum conference
- Tanfield, J. (1995). The role of assessment of services in planning future developments in Parliamentary libraries. 61st IFLA general conference and council. Istanbul, Turkey.
- Tanzarn, N. B. (1996). “Women in political decision making: a minority presence.” Arise: A woman development magazine(No. 18): 4.
- Thapisa, A.P.N. (1996). Legislative information needs of indigenous Parliamentarians in Botswana and impact on effective decision-making. International Information and Library Review, 28, 203-232.
- Therkildsen, O. (2002). Uganda’s referendum 2000: the silent boycott : a comment. African Affairs, 101, 231-241.
- Tripp, A. M. (2000). Women and politics in Uganda. Oxford, James Currey.
- Tumusiime, J. (2003). A multipronged approach to promoting a reading culture: The East African experience. Reading for all in Africa. E. A. Arua. Newark, International reading association: 52-56.
- Uganda Government : Bureau of Statistics. (2007). Uganda demographic and health survey 2006. Kampala : Calverton Maryland, Uganda bureau of statistics ; Macro international, p. 85 (xxxii, 465 p.)
- Uganda Government. Bureau of statistics. (2006). 2002 Uganda population and housing census: analytical report, abridged version. Kampala, Uganda bureau of statistics.
- UNCST (2007). National guidelines for research involving humans as research participants. Uganda National Council for Science and Technology. Kampala: 50.
- Vision reporters. (2002). Should the VP have remained silent? The New Vision. Kampala: 17.
- Vision-reporters (2008). Parliament holds special sitting in Masaka. The New Vision. Kampala, New Vision.

- Wilson, P. (1983). Second-hand knowledge: an inquiry into cognitive authority. Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood press.
- Wilson, T. D. (1990). "Object or participant - the information user in information research." Swedish library research(Special issue for the occasion of the IFLA conference in Stockholm 1990): 5-16.
- Wilson, T. D. (1997). Information behavior: an interdisciplinary perspective. *Information processing & Management*, 33(4), 551-572.
- Wilson, T. D. (2000). Human information behavior. *Special issue on information science research*, 3(2), 49-55.
- Whip, R. (1991). "Representing women: Australian female parliamentarians on the horns of a dilemma." Women and politics 11(3): 1-22.
- Wolff, J. (1996) An introduction to political philosophy. Oxford. Oxford university press: 196-221
- Women's Information services and networks: a global sourcebook: critical reviews and annotated bibliographies series. (1999) Oxfam GB, Royal tropical institute, the Netherlands, pp. 15-20
- Xue, S. (2005). "China's legislative system and information: an overview." Government information quarterly 22: 322 - 341.

Appendices

1 Acronyms

ACFODE:	Action for development
APNAC:	African parliamentary networks against corruption.
CPA:	Commonwealth parliamentary association
DENIVA:	Development Networks of Indigenous Voluntary Associations, a Ugandan network of Non Governmental and Community Based Organizations (NGOs/CBOs) – (http://www.deniva.or.ug).
DP:	Democratic party
DRB:	Domestic Relation Bill
FDC:	Forum for democratic change
JEEMA:	Justice, education, economy, morality and African unity (political party)
LC:	Local council
LC1:	Local council 1 or the village chairman
MP:	Member of Parliament
MSGD:	Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social development
NAWOU:	National Association of Women Organizations in Uganda
NAWMP:	Network of African women ministers and parliamentarians.
NRM:	National Resistance Movement
NRMO:	National Resistance movement organization
PRMS:	Parliamentary records management services
RC:	Resistance Council
UPC:	Uganda People's congress
UPFC:	Uganda parliamentary forum for children
UWOPA:	Uganda Women Parliamentary Association

YPA:

Young Parliamentary Association

2 Glossary

Affirmative constituencies:

Refers to the district woman seat, seats for people with disabilities (PWD), Workers, the Youth and the Army.

Amani forum: Amani is a Swahili term implying peace, thus Amani forum is a network for parliamentarians in the great lakes region aiming at peaceful conflict resolution.

The Kabaka: The Kabaka or King is the cultural head of the Kingdom of Buganda, which is located in the Central region of Uganda. The 1995 Constitution of Uganda under Article 246 (1) provides for the restoration of traditional or Cultural leaders in regions that have expressed interest and Buganda is one of the regions where this demand was highest and the institution of the Kabaka was restored in 1993, twenty seven (27) years, after its abolition in 1966, by the then President, Apollo Milton Obote.

Lukiiko: The Lukiiko is the Parliament of the Buganda Kingdom and its seat is at a place called Mengo, also located in the central region of Uganda.

Mukungu: This was could have been one of the 20 Saza (County) chiefs who were representatives or delegates or legislators in the Lukiiko, or he could have been a Minister in the Kabaka's Government.

NRM Historical: Usually used to refer to an original member of the National Resistance Movement

Omwami Omutongole:

This person, usually a man, could either be a chosen representative of the Kabaka charged with the day to day administration of a particular village, or he could have been charged with the task of looking after the Kabaka's land in that particular village.

Ordinary constituency:

Refers to a county or a non affirmative/open competition seat.

2.1 Parliamentary terminology

Order Paper: This is a list of issues/items for discussion for a particular day's Parliamentary sitting.

Order: This instruction, mostly applied in the plenary implies that there is something in the debate that needs to be ruled or put right.

Plenary: This is where elected and ex-officio members of Parliament meet as a whole to deliberate on issues of national importance, make laws and carry out other functions/duties conferred upon Parliament by the Constitution. The Speaker or Deputy Speaker chairs the Plenary of the House. All new bills are introduced to the Plenary, then assigned respective relevant committees. Committees too present their findings and recommendations on bills, petitions and business before them to the Plenary of Parliament. The Plenary also approves Uganda's representatives to other legislative bodies, for example the East African Legislative assembly and the Pan African Parliament. The Plenary sits ordinarily in the Parliament Chamber at Parliament House, or other venues that the Speaker may designate and the times are between 2.00 pm to 7.00 pm on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, however, these times and days can be changed by the Speaker according to the Parliamentary rules [extracted from the information booklet entitled; 'How Parliament works, June 2008]

Point of information: refers to interference when a member of parliament wants to give information either to support a submission from another member on the floor or to discredit it.

Procedure: means that members are not following the right procedure and there is a rule or regulation where somebody raising the point will quote.

Rules of Procedure: Regulations governing the operations of Parliament

3 Notes. Polygamy

Ref: Uganda demographic and health survey, 2006

The questions below provided the basis on which the Demographic and health survey estimated the prevalence of polygamy in Uganda.

3.1 Women questionnaire; Section 6: Marriage and sexual activity – Appendix F/ pp. 407

- 606: Does your husband/partner have other wives or does he live with other women as if married?
- 607: Including yourself, in total, how many wives or partners does your husband live with now as if married?
- 608: Are you the first, second, ... wife?

3.2 Men questionnaire; Section 4: Marriage and sexual activity, Appendix F/ pp. 444

- 404: Is your wife/partner living with you now or is she staying elsewhere?
- 405: Do you have more than one wife or woman you live with as if married?
- 406: Altogether, how many wives do you have or other partners do you live with as if married?

My interpretation of the structure of these questions is that there is a presumption that men more than women are more likely to carry on with plural marriages, possibly from the cultural and social background of the country. The questions however do not reveal the legal status of these unions, but I would presume that since this information was through a health survey, they were probably more concerned with the health implications, than the legal questions. Nevertheless, on pp 35 of the report, the term marriage was taken to apply to both categories of formal or official marriage and those who are living together (ie formal and informal unions). In the subsection below, I am describing situations with polygamous implications.

3.3 Legal and social situations of polygamy in Uganda

Legal: There are two types of legal marriages which are potentially polygamous. One such union is found in the Islamic faith which allows up to four wives, under 'The Marriage and divorce of the Mohammedan Act'. The second context is through the Customary marriage governed by 'The Customary Marriage (Registration) Act'.

Social: This happens with couples who cohabit, but are not legally married. These unions are recognized by society as people who are married, but there could also be a potential for polygamy, when it involves plural partners.

Other relationships with polygamous connotations include situations where a spouse who is involved in a monogamous marriage simultaneously takes on a 'mistress', potentially a second wife or third or fourth. Technically, this could qualify as promiscuity, but culturally, it falls under polygamy. Polyandry is not a common reference and possibly less known, especially since even this survey did not pose the same questions about multiple partners to the women respondents.

4 Act extracts

4.1 The Local Council 1

Under the Local governments Act, this is considered an administrative unit and the functions of this Parish and Village Executive committee (50) include;

- (50) Overseeing and implementation of policies and decisions made by its council and shall;
- assist in the maintenance of law, order and security.
- Initiate, encourage, support and participate in the self-help projects and mobilize people, material and technical assistance in relation thereto;
- At the Village level vet and recommend persons in the area, who would be recruited into the Uganda People's defense Forces, police force and prisons service and local defense units.
- Serve as the communication channel between the Government, District or higher Local council and people in the area
- Generally monitor the administration in its area and report to the higher or district council;
- Generally monitor projects and other activities undertaken by Governments, and Non-governmental Organizations in their area;
- Carry out other functions which may be imposed by law or incidental to the above.

Specifics for the Chairperson at the Village level

51 The Chairperson shall;

(b) at the Village level

(i) be the political head;

(ii) preside at meetings of the Council

(iii) monitor the general administration of the area under his or her jurisdiction;

(iv) perform other functions that may be necessary for the better functioning of the council, or which may be incidental to the functions of the Chairperson or imposed on the Chairperson by any law. [Local Government Act, 1997; 50 (a – g) ; 51 (2 : i – iv)

4.2 The Executive committees (LC) (Judicial Powers) Act

This Act provides for the establishment of executive committees in every village, parish and sub-county to act as established courts and it establishes jurisdiction for;

5. Jurisdiction

- Causes and matters of a civil nature
- Causes and matters of a civil nature governed only by customary law
- Causes and matters arising out of infringement of byelaws duly made under the Local Government Act.

4.3 Section 8 Objections to jurisdiction

In this section, it provides options in the event of objections

Where a defendant objects to the jurisdiction of the court, the case shall, if the objection is upheld, be referred to a higher court; and if the objection is rejected the court shall record the objection and its reasons for rejecting it, and proceed with the trial of the case.

4.4 Section 9 Powers of Court

The Court may make an order for any one or more of the following reliefs;

- Reconciliation
- Declaration
- Compensation
- Restitution
- Costs
- Apology
- Attachment and sale

5 Respondents' Backgrounds, and Political experience

No.	Academic Background	Other	Employment Prior to Legislation	Legislative Experience	Marital Status ⁱ S, M, W	Sex	Age	Constituency ⁱⁱ
1.	Education - teacher		Gender Officer ⁱⁱⁱ	2001-2006, 2006-2011	S	F	38	A-W
2.	Education - teacher		Speaker, Local Government Council	2001 - 2006	M	F	44	A-W
3.	Education - teacher		Councilor, Local Government Council	2001-2006	M	F	55	A-W
4.	Education - teacher		Teaching, University	2001-2006	M	F	42	A-W
5.	Education - teacher		Youth Representative ^{iv}	1996-2001, 2001-2006, 2006-2011	M	F	40	A-W
6.	Education - Teacher		Teaching - University	1996-2001, 2001-2006	M	F	47	A-W
7.	Education - Teacher		Councilor, Local Government	1992-1994, 1996-2001, 2001-2006	W	F	55	A-W

ⁱ S (Single), M (Married), W (Widowed)

ⁱⁱ Affirmative Action Women (A-W), Affirmative - Workers (A-WO), Affirmative, People with Disabilities, (A-PWD), General constituency (GC), Affirmative - Army

ⁱⁱⁱ Officer positioned at the district level to oversee Gender mainstreaming in all district activities, programs and projects

^{iv} Representative of youth (should be below the age of 30 years at the time of political engagement) for the Western Region

No.	Academic Background	Other	Employment Prior to Legislation	Legislative Experience	Marital Status ⁱ S, M, W	Sex	Age	Constituency ⁱⁱ
8.	Education - Teacher		Women councils	2006 - 2011	M	F	36	GC
9.	Education - Trainer		Trainer	1992-1994, 1996-2001, 2001-2006	M	F	50	A-W
10.	Education - Trainer		Trainer – Gender	1996-2001, 2001-2006, 2006-2011	W	F	53	A-PWD
11.	Legal		Advocate – High Court	1996-2001, 2001-2006, 2006-2011	M	M	59	GC
12.	Legal		Advocate – High Court	2001-2006	M	M	42	GC
13.	Political Science, Environmental Protection		Political Activist	1996-2001, 2001-2006	M	M	55	GC
14.	Economist		Economist/Budget Officer	1996-2001, 2001-2006	S	F	46	A-W
15.	Social Work and Social Administration		Social worker	1996-2001, 2001-2006	M	F	44	GC
16.		Tax Administration	Councilor, Local Council	1992-1994, 1996-2001, 2001-2006	M	F	44	A-W
17.	Social Science		Editor	1992-1994, 1996-2001, 2001-2006, 2006-2011	M	F	45	A-W

No.	Academic Background	Other	Employment Prior to Legislation	Legislative Experience	Marital Status ⁱ S, M, W	Sex	Age	Constituency ⁱⁱ
18.		Personal Assistant	Workers' Activist	1992-1994, 1996-2001, 2001-2006, 2006-2011	M	F	56	A-WO
19.	Economist		Economist	2001-2006	M	M	60-69	A-PWD
20.	Social Science		Political Activist	2001-2006, 2006 - 2011	M	M	34	GC
21.	Agricultural Economics		Presidential Adviser	2001-2006	M	F	51	GC
22.	Social Science		Political activist	1996-2001, 2001-2006, 2006 - 2011	M	F	41	GC
23.	Social Worker		Women Activist	1992-1994, 2001-2006	W	F	61	A-W
24.	Agricultural Economics		Soldiering - Army	1996-2001, 2001-2006, 2006-2011	M	M	51	A-A
25.		Nursing/Midwifery	Administrator	2001-2006, 2006-2011	M	F	43	GC
26.	Management		Corporate Management	2006-2011	W	F	45-50 ⁱⁱ ?	GC
27.	Legal		Advocate – High Court	1994-1995, 1996-2001, 2001-2006, 2006-2011	M	M	64	GC
28.	Sociology		Investigative officer	1996-2001, 2001-2006, 2006-2011	M	M	38	GC

ⁱ The biographical sources missed out her date of birth

No.	Academic Background	Other	Employment Prior to Legislation	Legislative Experience	Marital Status ⁱ S, M, W	Sex	Age	Constituency ⁱⁱ
29.	Sociology		Administrator	2001-2006, 2006-2011	M	M	38	GC
30.	Management/Accounting		Management	2001-2006, 2006-2011	M	M	55	GC
31.	Social Administration		Program Officer	2001-2006	M	M	39	GC
32	International relations		Army	2006-2011	S	F	42	A-A
33	Education		Teacher	2001-2006; 2006-2011	M	F	43	A-A
34	Management		Manager	1992-1994; 1996-2001; 2001-2006; 2006-2011	M	F	62	A-A
35	Economics		Senior planner	2001-2006	S	M	38	GC

Table 13 Demographic characteristics of respondents

Notes:

- 1992-94 Constituent Assembly (CA) (Body elected to debate what became the 'new' constitution, promulgated in 1995)
- 1996-2001 6th Parliament
- 2001-2006 7th Parliament
- 2006-2011 8th Parliament (Respondent was elected to the 8th Parliament)

6 Mp's detailed use of formal information sources

6.1 Women Mps

Slot	Parliamentary Library	Other Resources	Own sub-criptions	Email	Internet	Research Services	Academic program
AF – W -	Not very useful for her information needs ¹	British council – occasionally for legislative tasks	None	Not a regular user	No interest (but computer literate)	Very useful for her workshop presentations but inadequate number of researchers	None
AF – D –	Useful –with assistance of guides	None	None	Use for corresponding with donors, friends and people outside Parliament – with guides	Specialized infrastructure not in place for personal access, but computer literate		Yes
AF - W	Useful (but mostly for the internet service)			Uses regularly to communicate with colleagues	Regular user (Computer literate)		

¹ This legislator preferred to directly communicate with the people whom she believed had the information she required.

Slot	Parliamentary Library	Other Resources	Own subscriptions	Email	Internet	Research Services	Academic program
AF – WO – NA -	Useful for committee and research work					Mostly uses research services for her specialized constituency related issues	Undertaking a degree course by the time of the interview
AF – W -	Used for reading newspapers			Uses regularly ⁱ	Inadequate infrastructure	Utilized research services, but complained about their inadequate numbers	None
AF - W	Useful for committee work			Uses regularly	Uses regularly		
AF – W -	Useful mainly for paper presentation, plenary discussions			Uses regularly	Internet searches time consuming and inadequate infrastructure ⁱⁱ but computer literate	Utilized research services for her paper presentations, but also complained about the inadequate numbers.	None

ⁱ This respondent also replied to my email interview request.

ⁱⁱ The legislator affirms that the computers are not enough to cater for the 300 or so Mps, so she only uses the Internet lab to check and send mails, ie for quick stuff, but not to sit there, since there are always others waiting in the queue.

Slot	Parliamentary Library	Other Resources	Own sub- scriptions	Email	Internet	Research Services	Academic program
AF – W -	Perceived library not yet to their standard – not much information on her interests – prefers academic information – research papers not available ⁱ	Identified Makerere Univerity Library	None	User	Uses Internet but also complains that it consumes a lot of time, so prefers documents - books ⁱⁱ	Uses for paper presentations	Yes
AF - W ⁱⁱⁱ				User	Uses Internet		

ⁱ The legislator gave an example of what i was writing about, a research report that such documents are not available in their library yet she would like to have them in order to prepare for her plenary or other sessions. She would prefer to cite research articles.

ⁱⁱ She also mentions trying out the Google search but at some point cannot access the real information, as it comes at a cost. Some of this information could also be for her academic manoeuvres, but she points a need for Parliament to have some form of document delivery.

ⁱⁱⁱ The legislator was not very cooperative, so the interview did not yield a lot of information.

Slot	Parliamentary Library	Other Resources	Own sub- scriptions	Email	Internet	Research Services	Academic program
AF - W -	Used the library for her Masters' degree program in her field (of international relations) Also used it for Parliamentary paper presentations locally and Internationally and fully appreciates their services ⁱ	Identified Makerere University		Uses e-mail to connect to colleagues in relation to particular parliamentary issues	Regularly uses Internet everyday for at least 20 minutes, also for lobbying – easier access because she is connected both at home and in her constituency office	Utilizes services for presentation of Parliamentary papers	Yes
C -	Uses the library to consult reference books, reports and the Internet	None (just the library and the Net)	Indicated that it was not necessary since Information obtained through the pigeon hole is a 'bank'.		Uses Internet for her presentations		None

ⁱ She also indicates that her area of research for her Masters' thesis was closely linked to an issue she had worked with in her constituency. So perhaps it was easier for the library to provide pertinent information.

Slot	Parliamentary Library	Other Resources	Own sub- scriptions	Email	Internet	Research Services	Academic program
AF – W -	Uses the library for personal things			User	Uses Internet	Utilizes research services for parliamentary business	Yes
AF – W -	Regular user of library to consult newspapers and the Hansard to reflect on other opinions on an issue and also catching up on missed sittings	Also consults own library developed from her Parliamentary mail	Yes, e-mail sub- scription	Regular user		Utilized these services for preparation of motions.	No
AF – W -	Consults library to read about other laws and policies and the Computer section		None	Regular user	Regular use specifically for information on women and children's welfare, but at times restrained by time		No

Slot	Parliamentary Library	Other Resources	Own sub- scriptions	Email	Internet	Research Services	Academic program
C –	Consults the library to read newspapers	British council for information on her Masters program, consults pertinent government units for information on legislative duties		Regular user of e-mail allegedly for communication, but also uses the computers for word processing her documents.	Occasionally for specific searches on Parliamentary information, for example National budgets		Yes

Table 14 Formal structures of information – Female MPs

6.2 Male Mps

Slot	Parliamentary Library	Other Resource centres	Own subscription	Email	Internet	Research Services	Academic Program
C -	Uses library for his academic	Own library, ¹ prepared own Newspaper	Listed the Economist, Newsweek,	Uses e-mail to communicate with fellow Mps	User ¹¹	Used services for specific	Yes, to be used for his Parliamentary

¹ Uses several libraries, - US embassy library – for activities of Congress and Senate, British council Library, Human rights commission library, Foundation for human rights initiative library, Makerere Institute of Social Research Library – for Research papers on topical issues, National Environmental Management Library. Sometimes he goes there by himself and at other times he employs a research assistant.

Slot	Parliamentary Library	Other Resource centres	Own subscription	Email	Internet	Research Services	Academic Program
	presentations, and in preparation for question time and also when he has a motion to bring to the floor of the house	clips, and several other Libraries, also employs research assistants	Spectator, for literature, political satire, economics and the environment	and researchers outside Uganda ⁱ		work related to energy.	career – in legislation and public advocacy. ⁱⁱⁱ
C-	Uses library for his research on a particular parliamentary task concerning his constituency	Has a few personal assistants ^{iv} to help him access information		User	Uses it to prepare for his various presentations in Parliament and outside		
C -	Uses library	Does not find	Newspapers	User	Uses Internet	Used	No

ⁱⁱ Through his activism in particular areas, he is able to secure some funding to carry out consultancy tasks and also pay a research assistant who facilitates information seeking tasks.

ⁱ This is one of the MPs who could be presumed to maintain contact with the research community and also carry out consultancies to boost his legislative interests.

ⁱⁱⁱ He asserts that when people come to see their MP, they do not necessarily come on one item, they come and they see you as a judge and as a well informed person.

^{iv} The legislator said he did not pay the personal assistants but gives them a little allowance to help him in his information seeking and research activities. It is like an apprenticeship for them which they are looking for employment elsewhere.

Slot	Parliamentary Library	Other Resource centres	Own subscription	Email	Internet	Research Services	Academic Program
	for committee work, other Parliamentary presentations for informed debate	much need since there is already an overload and 'everything is almost available'			- Google, MSN	research services	
C -	Often utilized the library to consult the Hansard, Research reports	Not really, though acknowledges that Parliamentary library was not well stocked, but was within proximity, easier to consult.	No	Frequent user	Used Internet to access news		Yes, but related to undergraduate degree
C -	Frequently utilized the library while preparing for the plenary ⁱ , also	Not indicated	Purchase personal books of interest	Frequent user for communicating with friends in Parliament - professes to have a network of	Uses Internet but sometimes through the assistance of other people,	Used research services for conference presentations and also	No

ⁱ The legislator also affirmed that the Parliamentary system does not inform them well in advance in order to prepare themselves, in terms of doing research.]

Slot	Parliamentary Library	Other Resource centres	Own subscription	Email	Internet	Research Services	Academic Program
	maintains mini library of personal books			colleagues with whom they regularly share information online	not necessarily librarians, prefers friends, colleagues – professes limited Internet literacy	when writing a political magazine paper – research services for him take form of literature searches	
C – D -	Has used library for information on Parliamentary practices and procedures ¹	Not mentioned	Subscribes to documents (literature) in his private professional area	Uses email		Uses research department for his presentations	
C -	Uses library for textbooks and bound newspapers				Utilizes the Internet - Google		
C -	Has officers in charge of his		Subscribes to Ugandan and Kenyan newspapers				

¹ The legislator also employs an assistant to help him sort out his documentation and utilize student apprentices as a think tank for their specialized interest group.

Slot	Parliamentary Library	Other Resource centres	Own subscription	Email	Internet	Research Services	Academic Program
	information issues		to inform him on current issues – what is going on				
C -	Picks on texts in the library for various issues to do with his work as a legislator and for also for personal interests. In addition, he also relies on institutions within his specialized interest group for information	Also utilizes libraries located within his special group institution	No deliberate subscriptions, but receives unsolicited information/literature on e-mail, presumes it gets to all legislators	Utilizes e-mail	Not indicated	Utilizes research services to help him understand and comprehend pertinent bills in order to prepare for his contributions	None
C -	Utilizes library occasionally for Parliamentary issues and at one time to	Makerere Library – for information on his political interests	Subscribes to a Nordic African newsgroup	Utilizes e-mail to access information on his online news subscriptions	Utilizes the internet for news – CNN, BBC— current affairs	Also utilizes research services	None, but planned to go back and pursue a course that would bolster his political

Slot	Parliamentary Library	Other Resource centres	Own subscription	Email	Internet	Research Services	Academic Program
	sort out a constituency (land) issue, but affirms that for bills and regulations .. don't need the library						career
C -	Uses Library for Internet appr. 70% of his time	Sometimes utilizes other institutions	Subscribes to a periodical related to issues pertinent to his constituency	Has 3 active e-mail accounts, utilizes them to communicate to Donors, NGOs, agencies, other Parliamentarians, congressmen for lobbying.	Uses Internet for legislative work as he finds it easier than using books. He also utilizes it for private research not related to Parliamentary activities ¹	Sometimes uses the research services but admits less trust for their work so he does a lot himself – he is also lobbying donors to support his specialized research assistance	None

Table 15 Formal structures of information – Male MPs

¹ This is one example of a legislator who is also involved in what would be described as some form of contractual/consultancy tasks.

The first two respondents have found ways of sustaining research assistants from their own manoeuvres, one through his advocacy group and the second one through some form of arrangement of apprenticeship where he pays them a small allowance as they try to find permanent work.

7 Conspectus of collected data

This section includes schedules of Interviews, documents and observations

7.1 Interviews

Year	Legislators		Women Councils		Parliamentary Library and Research		Parliamentary administration		Local Councils			UWOPA ⁱ		Constituency offices	
	M	F	M	F	M	F		M	F	M	M	F	M	F	
2004	1	1													
2005	4	10			3			2				1	1		
2006	5	6	1	1										1	
2007	3	4		1						2		2		1	
2008		1						1					1		
Total	13	22	1	2	3			3		2		1	2	2	

Table 16 Interviews

7.2 Documents

Document type	Year/s
Hansard	1993; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006
Parliamentary Reports	2003, 2004, 2006, 2008
UWOPA Reports	2001, 2002, 2003, 2007

Table 17 Documents

7.3 Observations

Year	Plenary	UWOPA	Rallies	Committee meetings	Press conferences	Radio shows	Library Visits
2004							4
2005	10	2					
2006	15		10				

ⁱ The three interviews with UWOPA actually involved two people, one official who was not a legislator and the other two were conducted with one legislator, one in 2005 and the additional one in 2007. This legislator is included among the twenty two (22) women although the interviews with UWOPA were more focused with her lead position in that organization.

Year	Plenary	UWOPA	Rallies	Committee meetings	Press conferences	Radio shows	Library Visits
2007				4	2		
2008						1	
Total	25	2	10	4	2	1	Numerous

Table 18 Observations

7.4 Cross section of Mp respondents

Type of Ascension	Male	Female
Affirmative	Youth	--
	Army	1
	PWD	1
	Workers	1
	District	--
Ordinary Constituency	11	5
Total	13	22
Grand Total	35	

Table 19 Cross section of Legislators interviewed

7.5 Demographic characteristics

Age Range	No.
31-35	1
36-40	8
41-45	8
46-50	6
51-55	7
56-60	2
61-65	2
66-70	1
Total	35

Table 20 Age bracket as of 2006

7.6 Research notes:

Research notes have been maintained on a continuous basis since the onset of fieldwork in 2004 and they are contained in several notebooks, approximately ten (10).

8 Permissions

8.1 Parliamentary permission

25th September 2005

Mr. ...ⁱ

Office of the to Parliament,
Parliament House,
P.O. Box 7178,
Kampala

Dear Sir,

RE: REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE

I am pursuing a Doctoral degree (PHD) at the University of Gothenburg Sweden, under the broad framework of the Swedish Government's Program to build capacity for Makerere University staff. My study is in the field of Library and Information science and specifically the topic is information use by legislators.

My study therefore particularly involves close interaction with Members of Parliament, observing Parliamentary debates, interacting with staff in both the library and research unit and accessing Parliamentary records.

I will be very grateful for your assistance in making this study successful.

Yours Sincerely,

Ruth Nalumaga

(Senior Librarian, Makerere University and Doctoral student)

ⁱ Name removed for confidentiality.

8.2 UWOPA AFFILIATION

Hon ...ⁱ

Uganda Women Parliamentary Association

Dear ...ⁱⁱ

RE: REQUEST FOR AFFILIATION

I am pursuing a research project leading to an award of a Doctoral degree (PHD) at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, under the Swedish Government's Program (SIDA/Sarec) to support capacity building for research at Makerere University. The study is in the field of Library and Information Science and specifically on 'Information use' by Legislators.

The practical aspects of the study incorporate close interaction with Members of Parliament, observing Parliamentary procedures and debates. Other perspectives include affiliation with Women self-organizing associations in Parliament for example the Women Parliamentary Association (UWOPA).

I am therefore kindly requesting to be affiliated to UWOPA to be able to follow and observe closely women's activities, within their network.

I will be very grateful for your assistance in facilitating this access.

Yours Sincerely,

Ruth E.L. Nalumaga

ⁱ Confidential

ⁱⁱ Confidential

8.3 Interview request

Hon.

Constituency:

5th November 2005

Dear Hon.

RE: REQUEST FOR AN INTERVIEW

I highly appreciate the legislative responsibilities you are engaged in and your invaluable contribution to the Nation. I wish to request to schedule an interview with you. As for my background, I am a Senior Librarian within Makerere University Library Services and I am currently pursuing a research project leading to an award of a Doctoral degree (PhD) at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden, under the Swedish Government's Program (SIDA/Sarec) to support capacity building for research at Makerere University. The study is in the field of Library and Information Science and specifically on 'Information access and use' by Legislators. I wish to explore the various relations including gender and how they impact on information access and use to effect legislation. I do acknowledge your very tight program, but I am kindly requesting to arrange for an interview, at your convenience, estimated to last between 40 – 50 minutes.

I also wish to state that records will be treated with the utmost ethical considerations for scientific discourse, therefore confidentiality will be guaranteed, and I pledge to offer to you a summary of my findings.

The duration of the fieldwork for the current (first) phase is October 2005 to February 2006.

I will be very grateful for your valuable assistance in making this study successful and in contributing to advancement of knowledge.

Yours Sincerely,

Ruth E.L. Nalumaga

8.4 Additional consent

Hon.
..... (Constituency)
..... (District)

2nd August 2007

Dear Hon.

RE: REQUEST FOR CONSENT

As you may recall my previous interviews with you for my Doctoral thesis on the information habits of Ugandan legislators, with special emphasis on women, I am currently in the final phase of writing up my thesis and as part of my data presentation; I have selected some respondents to feature specifically in portraying Ugandan Legislators.

You have been selected as one of them and your portrait will illustrate the workings of a typical male/female Legislator in an urban constituency, who has occupied several positions including that of and who has been in Parliament for at least two terms (10) years. Although I am undertaking all the ethical research considerations in removing possible descriptors and identifiers, there are pertinent difficulties in attempting to conceal the identities of very public persons, thus it may still be possible for someone to identify you as a person. I am kindly seeking your permission and consent to utilize your information in this format.

I will be grateful for your response and do wish to discuss this a little further with you.

Yours Sincerely,

Ruth E.L. Nalumaga

8.5 Interview Themes

8.5.1 Mp respondents

1. Background
 - Includes background to Political career
 - Occupations prior to legislative position
 - earlier responsibilities for instance in schools
 - engagement in leadership positions
 - Conviction in joining politics.
 - Level of education, current education pursuits
2. Perception of legislative responsibilities and tasks
 - What Mp considers as official duties
 - any unofficial tasks
 - any time allotments for these responsibilities or kind of rating
3. Information preparations for each of those tasks, depending on the contexts elaborated
 - what kind of information do they seek or look out for in handling those tasks
4. Information accessed through legislator's mailbox and its usage (this question was a direct consequence of responses from question 3) and retrospectively pointed to the real information needs of legislators.
5. Networks in Parliament – committee and other organizational membership
 - committee and network membership
 - tasks/activities involved and information preparations
 - frequency of meetings
 - choices of membership
 - any barriers to membership
6. Social Networks/Networking within and outside Parliament—Caucuses
 - Whether Mp belongs to any social group/network within and outside parliament
 - Why did he/she opt for that group/organization
 - Activities performed, sequence and form of meetings (formally or informally)

7. Use of formal information structures – Parliamentary libraries and other libraries

- use of parliamentary library and for purposes
- use of other libraries or resource centers
- any personal (own) subscriptions to information
- use of research unit
- assistance in information tasks (research assistants, personal assistants, etc, information intermediaries)

8. Electronic information

- use of email and purposes
- use of internet
- competence to utilize these resources
- any personal equipment, computers

9. International networking – information value of networking

- Whether Mp has organized or attended any seminars in the past year or previous years?
- Whether Mp has ever been selected to be part of a visiting delegation.
- Whether Mp has had any opportunities to travel or visit other places as a result of her position as a legislator or in any other capacity.
- How are those opportunities accessed?
- Does the Mp perceive that he/she has equal opportunities in partaking in these activities?
- Any benefits accrued from such opportunities

10. Constituency matters

How the Mp gets in touch with constituency

- whether an Mp has a constituency office/s
- their location and management
- frequency of visits
- activities carried out in the constituency
- channels of communication
- information/issues brought in the office and sources of information
- how information from constituencies is used

- how information is disseminated
- Where does a constituency Mp stop (in terms of jurisdiction) and where does the Woman Mp start or come in?
- are there issues designated to the woman Mp?
- relationship with other constituency Mps

How information from constituencies is handled and consequent actions

11. Gender concerns

- ability to attend meetings that go beyond stipulated time
- ability to network with other Mps after ordinary working hours/sessions
- support of spouse
- any domestic or other issues that take up a legislator's time
- constituents' interactions at area of residence
- other concerns

12. Opportunities of expression in the legislative contexts, in the plenary, committees or any other forum of information exchange

13. Any aspect of significance to the Mp in his/her career/ piece of legislation, etc.
14. Involvement with the Domestic relations bill, concerns, etc
15. Areas of personal growth, education, etc.
16. What would you consider to be your personal achievements in this house, institutional achievements?
17. What would you consider to be your losses?

18. Leadership positions

Additional questions addressed to Mp respondents who held leadership positions

Advantages accrued from leadership positions, information assistance, functional office

8.5.2 Non Mp respondents – Interview questions

The questions incorporated the following categories

- Questions for library staff
- Questions for research staff
- Questions for Administrative staff
- Question for Women councils
- Questions for the village leadership

1. Questions for library staff
 - How and when the library was established
 - Staffing levels and qualifications
 - Collections and equipment
 - Resources and services offered
 - Collection characteristics
 - Types of users and characteristics
 - Level of interaction with Mps, types of information and other requests
 - Gender differences
2. Questions for research staff:
 - Background to establishment
 - Staffing levels and areas of competence
 - Operational procedures
 - Services provided to legislators
 - Interactions with Mps
3. Questions for Administrative staff
 - Background information on the general running of Parliament
 - Administrative structure and parliamentary procedure
4. Administrative staff attached to leadership positions
 - Administrative structure
 - Academic proficiency
 - Duties and responsibilities, type of information handled and level of assistance rendered to legislator
5. Question for Women councils
 - How women councils came into being and how they have evolved over the years
 - Organizational and operational structure.
 - How they are positioned within the governance structure (local government).
 - How they relate with women legislators and other women
 - Information exchanges within the process

- Challenges encountered and at what level

6. Questions for the village leadership

These questions concentrated on the general interactions with the Mps.

- Whether the chairperson ever interacts with any of the legislators and on what issues?
- What Mp does the chairperson approach?
- Has the chairperson had any interactions with the woman Mp and at what level?

7. Questions for Constituents offices

- What kind of activities the constituency contact is involved in with the Mp.
- How often the Mp visits the constituency.
- What kind of activities are carried out by the Mp with constituents?
- How does the Mp traverse the constituency, are there any outreach programs?
- Number of offices and accessibility to offices.
- What kind of issues are brought to the office, by whom, and how does the Mp respond to them
- Any connections and interactions with the woman Mp or other Mps in the area, is there any sort of task distribution?

Endnotes

-
- ¹ Outsiders [B]
 - ² Outsiders [B]
 - ³ Outsiders [JB, pp 3].
 - ⁴ Outsiders [BM, pp 3]
 - ⁵ Outsiders
 - ⁶ Outsiders [BM, pp 1]
 - ⁷ Outsiders
 - ⁸ Outsiders [NK, pp. 1, 1st paragraph]
 - ⁹ Outsiders [NK, pp.1 3rd paragraph]
 - ¹⁰ Outsiders [NWG, pp]
 - ¹¹ Outsiders [VK, pp 1]
 - ¹² Outsiders [BK newspaper]
 - ¹³ Male Profile [LL, pp 1]
 - ¹⁴ Male profile [WO, pp 5 cont'd]
 - ¹⁵ 2nd Male Profile [SM, pp 1]
 - ¹⁶ 3rd Profile, female [A pp. 2-3].
 - ¹⁷ 3rd Profile 2 [KM, pp 8]
 - ¹⁸ Networks [HN, additional interview]
 - ¹⁹ Networks [IM, pp 7]
 - ²⁰ Networks [NO, pp 12]
 - ²¹ Networks [NI, pp 3]
 - ²² Networks [K, pp 2]
 - ²³ Networks [RS, pp 7]
 - ²⁴ Networks [SA, pp 5, 1st interview]
 - ²⁵ Networks [MT, pp 7]
 - ²⁶ Networks [AI, pp 4, 1st interview]
 - ²⁷ Networks [AB, pp 10]
 - ²⁸ Networks [NE, pp 9]
 - ²⁹ Networks [CK, pp 2]
 - ³⁰ Information infrastructure [BN, pp 8]
 - ³¹ Information infrastructure 1 [HK, pp 9, 1st int]
 - ³² Information infrastructure 2 [KM, pp 8]
 - ³³ Information infrastructure 3 [KU, pp 2]
 - ³⁴ Information infrastructure 5 [SS, pp.8, 9]
 - ³⁵ Information infrastructure [MN, pp 6-7]
 - ³⁶ Information infrastructure [HM, pp 10-11]
 - ³⁷ Information infrastructure [MD PP 10,11]
 - ³⁹ Information infrastructure [KU, pp 2]
 - ⁴⁰ Information infrastructure [TS, pp 6]
 - ⁴¹ Information infrastructure [OO, pp 10]

-
- 42 Information infrastructure [WW, pp 9, 10]
43 Information infrastructure [HK, pp 9, 1st int.]
44 Information infrastructure [BK, pp 4]
45 Information infrastructure [AA, pp 6]
46 Information infrastructure [NG pp 5]
47 Information infrastructure [KB, pp 9]
48 Information infrastructure [VK, pp, 4 – 5, 1st int.]
49 Information infrastructure [KE, pg 7]
50 Information infrastructure [SA, pg 5, 6]
51 Information sources [B pp 16]
52 Information sources [RO, pp 18]
53 Information sources [CC, pp 18]
54 Information sources [BA, pp 9]
55 Information sources [SS, pp 3]
56 Information sources [AO, 1st interview pp 9]
57 Information sources [AB, 1st interview pp 5]
58 Information sources [SL, pp 3]
59 Information sources [RN, pp2]
60 Information sources [LA, pp 5]
61 Information sources [AB, pp 5]
62 Library [Research notes]
63 Library [BN]
64 Library [B]
65 Library [CC]
66 Library [S, pp 10, 1st int]
67 Constituency information [MN, pp 4]
68 Constituency information [SK, 1st interview, pp 4]
69 Constituency information [ER, pp 3]
70 Constituency information [AL pp 11, 1st interview]
71 Constituency information [RA, pp 5-6]
72 Constituency information [SA]
73 Constituency information [RA, pp 5]
74 Constituency information [SC]
75 Constituency information [NM pp 4]
76 Constituency information [SL, pp 6]
77 Constituency information [SA pp]]
78 Constituency information [SL pp 6]
79 Constituency information [RE pp6]
80 Constituency information [SS, pp 6]
81 Constituency information [AL , pp 4, second interview]
82 Constituency information [SA, pp 4]
83 Constituency information [KH, pp 4 1st int.].
84 Constituency information [B, pp 3].
85 Constituency information [W]
86 Constituency information [KI, pp 1 – 2]
87 Constituency information [SR, pp 7, 1st int.]
88 Constituency information [KR, pp 1]
89 Constituency information [NW, 1st int. pp 4]

-
- ⁹⁰ Constituency information [KI, pg 1 - 2; HT, 1st int. pp 4)].
- ⁹¹ Constituency information [SE, pp 3]
- ⁹² Constituency information [NN, pp 3]
- ⁹³ Constituency information [H, pp 4]
- ⁹⁴ Constituency information [A, pp 6]
- ⁹⁵ Constituency information [KP, pp 3]
- ⁹⁶ Constituency information [SL, pp 3].
- ⁹⁷ Constituency information [PC, pp 11]
- ⁹⁸ Constituency information [SG, 1st interview, pp 4].
- ⁹⁹ Constituency information [YN, pp 4]
- ¹⁰⁰ Constituency information [NU pp 3 – 4, 1st interview]
- ¹⁰¹ Constituency information [SB, pp. 4]
- ¹⁰² Constituency information [KP, pp 3]
- ¹⁰³ Constituency information [pg 3]
- ¹⁰⁴ Constituency information [AN pp 4]
- ¹⁰⁵ Constituency information [O, pp 4 – 5]
- ¹⁰⁶ Constituency information [OY, pp. 4]
- ¹⁰⁷ Constituency information [AS, pp 4, 2nd interview]
- ¹⁰⁸ Constituency information [KA, pp 1]
- ¹⁰⁹ Constituency information [SA, pp 4]
- ¹¹⁰ Constituency information [SY, pp 7]
- ¹¹¹ Constituency information [AY. pp 6]
- ¹¹² Constituency information [MO. pp 5].
- ¹¹³ Constituency information [AD]
- ¹¹⁴ Constituency information [RR]
- ¹¹⁵ Constituency information [SK, RR, pp. 7].
- ¹¹⁶ Constituency information [NY, pp 2].
- ¹¹⁷ Constituency information [OA, pp. 4]
- ¹¹⁸ Constituency information [KA, pp 1]
- ¹¹⁹ Constituency information [AR, pp 17],
- ¹²⁰ Constituency information [BH, pp 5, 1st int.]
- ¹²¹ Constituency information [MA, pp]
- ¹²² Constituency information [NS, pp 1].
- ¹²³ Constituency information [NJ.]
- ¹²⁴ Constituency information [SY]
- ¹²⁵ Constituency information [AN, pp 2]
- ¹²⁶ Constituency information [RY, pp 2]
- ¹²⁷ Constituency information [YN, pp 4].
- ¹²⁸ Constituency information [G, pp. 2, 9]
- ¹²⁹ Constituency information [K, pp. 2, 9]
- ¹³⁰ Constituency information [KC, pp 2].
- ¹³¹ Constituency information [RS].
- ¹³² Constituency information [BM, pp 6]
- ¹³³ Constituency visit [AM, pp 1]
- ¹³⁴ Constituency visit MG, pp 1].
- ¹³⁵ Constituency visit [G, pp 1]
- ¹³⁶ Constituency visit [M, pp 1]
- ¹³⁷ Constituency visit [K pp. 17],

-
- 138 Local Council visit [RN]
139 Local council visit .[KK, field notes]
140 Local council visit [KN, field notes]
141 Local council visit [CB, notes, notebook 2]
143 Local council visit [BC notes]
144 Local council visit [BW notes].
145 Constituency visit [KM, pp. 11]
146 Women council [BH add. int, pp. 3]
147 Women council [AH add. int, pp 2]
148 Women councils [GN pg. 1]
149 Women councils [SN add. Int., pp.8-9]
150 Women councils [NS, 2nd int., pp. 2 – 3]
151 Women councils [BY, 2nd int, pp 1]
152 Women councils [MK pp 9]
153 Women councils [MK pp. 10]
154 Women councils (BH pp 4)
155 Women councils [NH, pp 6 - 7]
156 Gender roles [NG pp 2]
157 Gender roles [WN pp 5]
158 Gender roles [BM, pp 17],
159 Gender roles [NH 1st Int. pp 5]
160 Gender roles [WT, pp 13]
161 Gender roles [AT pp 19].
162 Gender roles DRB [OW, pp 3 cont'd]
163 Gender roles DRB [AS, pp 11].
164 Gender roles DRB (AO pp 11)
165 Gender roles [NH, pp 10, 1st int.]
166 Gender roles [AD. pp 19]
167 Gender roles [KA. pp 7 - 9]
168 Gender roles [A pp 10]
169 Gender roles [NG pp 5 - 6]
170 Gender roles [GO. pp 3]
171 Gender roles [NM pp 5 & 6].
172 Gender roles [BH, pp 6]
173 Gender roles [JM, pp 8]
174 Gender roles [SM, pp 3].
175 Gender roles [NK, pp 6]
176 Gender roles [SR, pp 5 – 6]
177 Gender roles [GK, pp. 10]
178 Gender roles widow [BL, pp 10]
179 Gender roles, widow [BLK pp.]
180 Gender roles, widow [BK, pp 5]
181 Gender roles [KS, pp 1 - 2, 1st int]
182 Gender roles [NR, pp 9, 2nd int]
183 Gender roles [NG pp 6]
184 Gender roles, men [NN, pp 12, 1st int.]
185 Gender roles, men [OW, pp 4, 8 cont'd int]
186 Gender roles, men [MD, pp 9]

-
- 187 Gender roles, men [SL, pp 4]
188 Gender roles, men [PM, pp 7]
189 Gender roles, men [SM]
190 Gender roles, men [MP]
191 Gender roles, men [KL, pp 14]
192 Gender roles, men [HN, pp 6, 2nd int.]
193 Gender roles [SN, pp 5]
194 Gender roles [SN, pp 5]
196 UWOPA [BK, 2nd interview, pp 1]
197 UWOPA [KL 1, add. int]
198 UWOPA [KL, ppg 1 additional interview]
199 UWOPA [BA, pp. 2]
200 UWOPA [KL, pp. 2, add. int]
201 UWOPA [SL pg 2 -3]
202 UWOPA [KS]
203 UWOPA [BK pp 6]
204 UWOPA [LBK ad, pp 4]
205 UWOPA [BH pg. 6].
206 UWOPA [BK, add. Int, pp 5]
207 UWOPA [JA, pp 7]
208 UWOPA [KN, pp 7]
209 UWOPA [RR]
210 UWOPA [RRM, 20th Sept. 05].
211 UWOPA [Ruth research notes]
212 UWOPA [BD, pp 5].
213 UWOPA [KJ]
214 UWOPA [BL. pp. 16]
215 UWOPA [L pp 9]
216 UWOPA [BK, pp 8 original interview].
217 UWOPA [N pp 8]
218 UWOPA [P, pp 8 - 9]
219 UWOPA [Pac pp. 9]
220 UWOPA [B pp 11 1st int.; V, pp 4 1st int.]
221 UWOPA [BN 1st interview pp 7]
222 UWOPA [BK add. int, pp. 6]
223 UWOPA [KB pp 8 ori. Int.]
224 UWOPA [BK]
225 Discussion [OP, pp 10-11]
226 UWOPA [SS, pp 14]
227 UWOPA [KB 1st int. pp 3]
228 UWOPA [N]
229 UWOPA [K 1st Int., pp 3]
230 Discussion [BA, 2nd interview, pp 2]
234 UWOPA [KO add. Int pp. 3].
235 UWOPA [KR add. int, pp. 4]
237 Discussion [CT, pp 19]

Publikationer i serien Skrifter från Valfrid

Enmark, Romulo: Defining the Library's Activities (ISBN 91-971457-1-X) International Publications; 1

Biblioteksstudier. Folkbibliotek i flervetenskaplig belysning. Red. Romulo Enmark. (ISBN 91-971457-0-X) Skriftserien ; 1

Biblioteken och framtiden, del I. Red. Romulo Enmark. (ISBN 91-971457-1-8) Skriftserien ; 2

Biblioteken och framtiden, del II. Red. Lars Seldén. (ISBN 91-971457-2-6) Skriftserien ; 3

Hjørland, Birger: Emnerepræsentation og informationssøgning. (ISBN 91-971457-3-4) Slut

Hjørland, Birger: Emnerepræsentation og informationssøgning. 2. uppl. med register. (ISBN 91-971457-4-2) Skriftserien ; 4

Biblioteken, kulturen och den sociala intelligensen. Red. Lars Höglund. (ISBN 91-971457-5-0) Skriftserien ; 5

Hjørland, Birger: Faglitteratur. Kvalitet, vurdering og selektion. (ISBN 91-971457-6-9) Skriftserien ; 6

Limberg, Louise: Skolbiblioteksmodeller. Utvärdering av ett utvecklingsprojekt i Örebro län. (ISBN 91-971457-7-7) Skriftserien ; 7 Slut

Hjørland, Birger: Faglitteratur. Kvalitet, vurdering og selektion. 2. rev.udgave. (ISBN 91-971457-8-5) Skriftserien ; 8

Pettersson, Rune: Verbo-visual Communication – Presentation of Clear Messages for Information and Learning. (ISBN 91-971457-9-3) Skriftserien ; 9

Pettersson, Rune: Verbo-visual Communication – 12 Selected Papers (ISBN 91-973090-0-1) Skriftserien ; 10

Limberg, Louise: Skolbiblioteksmodeller. Utvärdering av ett utvecklingsprojekt i Örebro län. (ISBN 91-973090-1-X) Skriftserien ; 11 (nytryck av nr 7, bilaga inne i boken)

Barnbibliotek och informationsteknik. Elektroniska medier för barn och ungdomar på folkbibliotek. Red. Anette Eliasson, Staffan Lööf, Kerstin Rydsjö. (ISBN 91-973090-2-8) Skriftserien ; 12

Folkbildning och bibliotek? På spaning efter spår av folkbildning och livslångt lärande i biblioteksvärlden. Red. Maj Klasson. (ISBN 91-973090-3-6) Skriftserien ; 13

Zetterlund, Angela: Utvärdering och folkbibliotek : En studie av utvärderingens teori och praktik med exempel från folkbibliotekens förändrings- och utvecklingsprojekt (ISBN 91-973090-4-4) Slut

Myrstener, Mats: På väg mot ett stadsbibliotek. Folkbiblioteksväsendets framväxt i Stockholm t o m 1927. (ISBN 91-973090-5-2) Skriftserien ; 15

Limberg, Louise: Att söka information för att lära. En studie av samspel mellan informationssökning och lärande (ISBN 91-973090-6-0, Slut) (ISBN 91-89416-04-X, nytryck 2001 och 2003) Skriftserien ; 16

Hansson, Joacim: Om folkbibliotekens ideologiska identitet. En diskursstudie (ISBN 91-973090-7-9) Slut

Gram, Magdalena: Konstbiblioteket : en krönika och en fallstudie (ISBN 91-973090-8-7) Skriftserien ; 18

Hansson, Joacim: Klassifikation, bibliotek och samhälle. En kritisk hermeneutisk studie av "Klassifikationssystem för svenska bibliotek" (ISBN 91-973090-9-5) Skriftserien ; 19

Seldén, Lars: Kapital och karriär. Informationssökning i forskningens vardagspraktik. (ISBN 91-89416-00-7 Slut) (ISBN 91-89416-08-2, nytryck 2004) Skriftserien ; 20

Edström, Göte: Filter, raster, mönster. Litteraturguide i teori- och metodlitteratur för biblioteks- och informationsvetenskap och angränsande ämnen inom humaniora och samhällsvetenskap. (ISBN 91-89416-01-5) Slut

Röster. Biblioteksbranden i Linköping. Red. Maj Klasson (ISBN 91-89416-02-3) Skriftserien ; 22

Stenberg, Catharina: Litteraturpolitik och bibliotek. En kulturpolitisk analys av bibliotekens litteraturförvärv speglad i Litteraturutredningen L 68 och Folkbiblioteksutredningen FB 80. (ISBN 91-89416-03-1) Skriftserien ; 23

Edström, Göte: Filter, raster, mönster. Litteraturguide i teori- och metodlitteratur för biblioteks- och informationsvetenskap och angränsande ämnen inom humaniora och samhällsvetenskap. Andra aktualiserade och utökade upplagan. (ISBN 91-89416-05-8) Skriftserien ; 24

Sundin, Olof: Informationsstrategier och yrkesidentiteter - en studie av sjuksköterskors relation till fackinformation vid arbetsplatsen. (ISBN 91-89416-06-6) Skriftserien ; 25

Hessler, Gunnel: Identitet och förändring - en studie av ett universitetsbibliotek och dess självproduktion. (ISBN 91-89416-07-4) Skriftserien ; 26

Zetterlund, Angela: Att utvärdera i praktiken - en retrospektiv fallstudie av tre program för lokal folkbiblioteksutveckling. (ISBN 91-89416-09-0) Skriftserien ; 27

Ahlgren, Per: The Effects on Indexing Strategy-Query Term Combination on Retrieval Effectiveness in a Swedish Full Text Database. (ISBN 91-89416-10-4) Skriftserien ; 28

Thórsteinsdóttir, Gudrun: The Information Seeking Behaviour of Distance Students. A Study of Twenty Swedish Library and Information Science Students. (ISBN 91-89416-11-2) Skriftserien ; 29

Jarneving, Bo: The Combined Application of Bibliographic Coupling and the Complete Link Cluster Method in Bibliometric Science Mapping. (ISBN 91-89416-12-0) Skriftserien ; 30

Limberg, Louise, Folkesson, Lena: Undervisning i informationssökning : Slutrapport från projektet Informationssökning, didaktik och lärande (IDOL). (ISBN 91-89416-13-9) Skriftserien ; 31

Johannisson, Jenny: Det lokala möter världen : Kulturpolitiskt förändringsarbete i 1990-talets Göteborg. (ISBN 91-89416-14-7) Skriftserien ; 32

Gärdén, Cecilia, Eliasson, Anette, Flöög, Eva-Maria, Persson, Christina, Zetterlund, Angela: Folkbibliotek och vuxnas lärande : Förutsättningar, dilemman och möjligheter i utvecklingsprojekt. (ISBN 91-89416-15-5) Skriftserien ; 33

Dahlström, Mats, Under utgivning. (ISBN 91-89416-16-3) Skriftserien ; 34

Nowé, Karen, Tensions and Contradictions in Information Management: An Activitytheoretical Approach to Information Activities in a Swedish Youth/Peace Organisations. (ISBN 978-91-85659-08-1), Skriftserien ; 35

Francke, Helena, (Re)creations of Scholarly Journals. Document and Information Architecture in Open Access Journals. (ISBN 978-91-85659-16-6), Skriftserien ; 36

Frances Hultgren, Approaching the future: a study of Swedish school leavers' information related activities. ISBN 978-91-89416-18-5), Skriftserien , 37

Söderlind, Åsa. Personlig integritet som informationspolitik: debatt och diskussion i samband med tillkomsten av Datalag (1973:289) (ISBN 978-91-89416-20-8), Skriftserien , 38

Errors in the text

- Pg 132 : The reference to chapter 6 should instead read Chapter 7

Missing references

Bainomugisha, A. (1999). The empowerment of women. Uganda's age of reforms. J. Mugaju. Kampala, Fountain publishers: viii, 122p.

Heywood, A. (1992, 1998). Political ideologies : an introduction. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Macmillan.

Mabawonku, I. (2006). "The information environment of women in Nigeria's public service." Journal of Documentation **62**(1): 73-90.

Miller, R., R. Pelizzo, et al. (2004). Parliamentary Libraries, institutes and offices : The Sources of Parliamentary Information. Washington, D.C.: v, 16.

Muhumuza, William, 2004, The empowerment of women in Museveni's Uganda : Who benefits? In The Australasian review of African studies, vol. xxvi, No. 2, Dec. 2004

Museveni, Y. (1985). The Ten-Point program : Selected articles on the Uganda Resistance war. Kampala: NRM Publications.

Museveni, Y. K. (1997). Sowing the mustard seed : the struggle for freedom and democracy in Uganda. Oxford: Macmillan.

Museveni, Y. (2005). Yoweri Museveni in his own words (1986 - 2005) : Presidential, philosophical, readable and quotable quotes (1st. ed.). Kampala: Logik Media.

Okwalanga, R. B. (1990). The participation of women in the Uganda armed forces. Faculty of Law. Kampala, Makerere University.

Phillips, A. (1995). The politics of presence. Oxford, Oxford University press.
Shepherd, C. (1991). The member's need for information. In D. Englefield (Ed.), Workings of Westminster: essays in the honor of David Menhennet, Librarian of the house of Commons, 1976-1991 (pp. 25-30). Dartmouth: Aldershot.

Wijesekera, P., & Reynolds, D. (1999). Parliaments and Governments in the next millenium. London: Cavendish publishing.

Women in the Ugandan legislature, as well as in other national Parliaments have increased in numbers in recent years, owing to the introduction of the affirmative action policy, which has in some instances taken form of legislative quotas. The rationale was to counter previous historical injustices and imbalances. However, this transposition in the social location of women, from a restricted and possibly parochial view of the world, to a broader and public position in the larger world, has come with challenges. Thus the question is: what happens when this previously less represented group becomes part of the mainstream? What are the implications in information access, information communication and information use? How can this inform us about the overall process of integration? One of the assumptions is that access and use of information is an integral prerequisite to full integration and occupation of a more central position in mainstream politics.

The study bases its inquiries on qualitative in-depth interviews and observation of legislators and non legislators who have strong connections with Parliamentarians' tasks. The findings reveal that a legislator's versatility, world outlook and social positioning within the bureaucracy of the Parliamentary environment greatly improves ability to acquire and use information and possibly in a legislator's capability to influence national policy formulation. Women face challenges at two levels. The social context imposes burdens in form of gender roles which present competing interests on their time and networking capabilities. There are consequences for both acquiring and using information. Within the political context, the affirmative platform imposes larger constituencies and impacts on their independence and self confidence in addressing their challenges. The male position devoid of sex roles and with smaller constituencies still prevails as a privileged position in information possibilities.

Ruth Nalumaga works with Makerere University Library Services. *Crossing to the mainstream* is the title of her doctoral thesis. This project is a culmination of an initiative by Makerere University Library and the Swedish School of Library and Information Science, Borås, to posit library staff within the same scholarly terrain as the academic establishment.



Swedish School of Library and Information Science
University of Borås and Gothenburg University

ISBN: 91-89416-20-1

ISSN: 1103-6990



HÖGSKOLAN I BORÅS



GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET