

How to Note



Parliamentary Strengthening

1. PREFACE

The promotion of freedom, democracy and respect for human rights are key priorities in Danish development cooperation. Denmark's strategic priorities for support to democratisation and human rights identify the deepening of democracy and the realisation of human rights, as the two thematic focus areas for Danish engagement.

The purpose of this How to Note is to provide hands-on guidance and inspiration on how to put these strategic priorities into practice in Danish development cooperation.

This How to Note focuses on one particular aspect of the support to deepening democracy – the promotion of democratic political processes through parliamentary strengthening.

Support for parliamentary strengthening alone will rarely be sufficient to achieve and sustain democratic governance. It should

complement other related governance efforts such as electoral reform, constitutional reform, political parties, judicial and legislative reform, and strengthening of the media and of civil society. Further guidance on support to some of these areas is provided in separate How to Notes.

This Note introduces the purpose of Danish support to parliamentary strengthening (section 2); identifies key questions to consider prior to initiating such support (section 3); suggests a number of possible entry points for supporting parliamentary strengthening (section 4); identifies elements common to support for parliamentary strengthening (section 5); provides guidance on how to monitor and evaluate support for parliamentary strengthening (section 6); and concludes with suggestions for further reading (section 7).

Danida's How to Notes provide brief technical guidance and inspiration for programming choices in Danish development cooperation. This and other How to Notes are available at www.danidadevforum.um.dk.

Contributions aimed at enhancing the content of this Note can be sent by email to the Technical Advisory Service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark at devforum@um.dk.

Key Messages

Danish support for parliamentary strengthening should be:

- Aligned with wider governance objectives and provided as one element among others in support for democratic governance.
- Aligned to nationally owned strategic or institutional plans and processes of parliaments.

2. THE PURPOSE OF SUPPORT

The purpose of Danish support to parliamentary strengthening is to promote democratic political processes through the strengthening of key democratic institutions and accountability mechanisms.¹

Parliaments are a pillar of democracy and ideally provide the principal forum for articulating public concern, influencing government policy and overseeing key governance processes. They also provide a potentially valuable partner in pursuing development objectives and the promotion of poverty reduction strategies. An effective parliament is therefore vital in securing a stable political settlement and system of governance which is responsive to the people.

The role and function of parliaments vary substantially among different political and government systems. However, they all perform three main functions to a varying degree: Oversight, legislating and representing.

- **Scrutiny and oversight.** The extent to which ministers are formally accountable to parliament for the formulation and implementation of policy depends on the political system. However, parliaments ideally perform an important oversight and scrutiny function – for example, in relation to budgets, accounts and audits. In this capacity, they are key to ensuring that resource allocations and expenditures are in the public interest, that they are free from corruption, and that services are efficiently delivered, providing value for money.
- **Legislation.** Legislation provides the main framework for the enactment of policy. Although the role and functions of parliaments

in lawmaking differ between political systems, parliaments must ensure that laws will deliver on the agreed policy objectives and that they are coherent, consistent and workable.

- **Representation.** Parliaments provide the buckle that links government to the people. Parliament should provide a channel for public concern so that issues of national importance are discussed and debated. Members of parliament must be responsive to voters, and challenge government when it fails to reflect or protect the public interest.

The extent to which parliaments carry out these functions will have a much wider impact on the overall quality of governance. Parliamentary support programmes should therefore take as their starting point the need to enhance the performance of the institution in delivering its core tasks.

3. KEY QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

Support to parliamentary strengthening can be surrounded by political sensitivities as it may entail a redistribution of power. Depending on the parliamentary situation, a more effective parliament may make life more challenging for the government. Legislation may take longer to approve, ministers may face stronger questioning of their policies, and ministries may be called to account more regularly for their activities.

Parliamentary effectiveness depends on the behaviour of Members of Parliament (MPs) themselves. Support programmes should therefore aim at ensuring that MPs can - and do - effectively carry out their parliamentary functions. However, a well-resourced parliament will be as ineffective as one with limited resources if politicians are not willing to change their behaviour. The design of support programmes must therefore be based on an understanding of, and engagement with, the political factors that shape behaviour. Across the different parliamentary systems and contexts, the sorts of questions which support programmes should consider include:

What is the legal and institutional framework of parliaments? The starting point for a parliamentary support programme rests in understanding the role and functions of parliament in the specific context in which it is embedded, and the structure and dynamics within the institution. Key issues include:

¹ The term 'parliament' is used throughout this How to Note but is interchangeable with the terms 'assemblies', 'legislatures' and 'congress'.

- The nature of the political system – parliamentary, semi-presidential, presidential or a hybrid – and the ensuing formal and informal relationship between government and parliament.
- The constitutional and legal framework for the parliament, including the effect of the electoral and party systems on its composition and political organization.
- Other aspects of the country’s governance system that affect parliament, such as the existence of decentralised parliaments at state, provincial and/or local levels and their respective formal and informal powers.
- The formal and informal powers of parliaments in relation to law-making, budget allocations, appropriation and amendments, taxation, and oversight and scrutiny – both at central and decentralised levels.
- By-laws, standing orders or rules of procedure and their implications for the day-to-day work within parliament, formally as well as informally.
- The independence of parliament (in terms of its budget, infrastructure and human resources).

What is the socio-political context? The challenges, opportunities and needs of parliaments are highly context specific. Key issues include: whether the country is emerging from conflict, whether it is transitioning from a one-party system to multiparty democracy, or whether it is moving from central planning to a more open, market based economy. There are specific challenges to the roles, functions and behaviour of parliament related to each specific situation. It is also important to assess the extent to which MPs are seen to represent citizens as well as their level of legitimacy in the eye of the public.

Which needs should a parliamentary strengthening programme address? The rationale behind parliamentary strengthening, and the needs that a parliamentary support programme should respond to must be clear from the outset. Self-assessments carried out by MPs and parliamentary staff members are key to identifying the internal needs. But these should be complemented with wider governance assessments and surveys drawing on the perceptions of representatives of key executive agencies and the judiciary as well as civil society, the media and citizens.

What is the capacity of parliament to address the identified needs?

A parliamentary support programme must be based on a thorough capacity needs assessment related to democratic governance challenges. The factors influencing parliamentary performance will be very context-specific and vary from one country to another. However, they usually fall into four categories:

- Lack of resources – in developing countries parliaments often suffer from limited infrastructure and resources, ranging from lack of IT equipment to few books in the research department, to insufficient office space for MPs.
- Shortage of skills – parliaments require staff and politicians to carry out often highly specialised functions. Tasks such as servicing a committee; drafting and scrutinising legislation, budgets and accounts; and running policy inquiries require a high level of procedural expertise which is often missing.
- Inadequate rules of procedure – By-laws, standing orders and rules of procedure provide the basis for all parliamentary activity. But in many cases these are unclear and contradictory or simply do not give parliament the necessary authority to carry out its tasks.
- Political factors – parliaments are, by definition, political bodies. Yet in many new parliaments there is a limited parliamentary tradition and no common democratic political culture. The extent to which the government dominates parliament, the MPs’ understanding of their role, and the influence of political parties can all work against effective oversight.

How is long-term capacity building and strengthening of key areas of institutional memory best enabled?

One of the biggest problems for new parliaments is the high turnover of MPs at each election. Successful parliamentary assistance programmes may build new patterns of working within a parliament only to find that 80% of those MPs do not return after the vote. If the benefits are not to be lost, programmes must find ways of building institutional memory. At one level this might involve capturing the experience and working practices of MPs at the end of a parliamentary term in short guides. At another level, it is important for support programmes to encourage professional development and career structures within parliaments to retain parliamentary staff and to foster their role as a source of independent advice and guidance for MPs.

Who are the key institutional figures likely to drive change? Parliamentary reform needs to be owned by the politicians who will, ultimately, need to enact it. But a change in the structure or practice of a parliament will often be perceived as creating winners and losers. It is important to understand how change affects those who have influence within parliament and government, as they are likely to have the capacity to block a support programme or weaken its implementation. By the same token, the support of the government, of the presiding officer of parliament, or of a key committee chair will vastly increase the chances of success and improve access to politicians and staff. Similarly, most parliaments will have a rules committee or members affairs committee – or a combination of the two – which has responsibility for parliamentary development and would be a key ally.

What support elements are best suited to the different target groups?

Formalised training sessions may be better directed at parliamentary staff than politicians. Staff must be equipped with technical skills such as legislative drafting, report writing, and budget and account analysis. Politicians would also benefit from such skills but international experience suggests that they are less likely to attend training sessions, preferring to learn the job by watching and discussing with other politicians. Programmes should therefore also seek to incorporate international experience by drawing in politicians from a variety of other countries, ideally with similar political contexts. The issues around which capacity development is pursued should also appeal directly to politicians. Some areas that can be used as the basis for identifying where parliament can be most effective in shaping the development and implementation of policy include: poverty reduction, budget support, economic growth, natural resource management (for example, in dealing with ‘extractive industries’), security sector concerns and environmental concerns.

The timing of support in relation to the electoral cycle. The best time to establish new ways of working is immediately after an election. At this point, there is likely to be a large number of new MPs, the committees will have a new complexion, and the government is also likely to have changed. Induction programmes should aim to establish new patterns of working and reinforce key principles. By the same token, working with MPs just before an election is likely to have very little effect as most will be thinking about their election campaign – and many will not return.

Which other development partners and institutions provide support to parliamentary strengthening? Development partners may have different understandings about the roles and functions a parliament should perform based on their own political system and traditions. They may also have different views on the priority areas of support. It is, however, vital that development partners align their support to the needs and priorities of the partner country as formulated in strategies or institutional development plans of the parliaments themselves. Where such strategies or plans are not available, development partners should seek to collaborate and coordinate closely to avoid a multiplicity of small project islands within parliaments that are not mutually reinforcing.

4. POSSIBLE ENTRY POINTS FOR SUPPORT

Danish support to parliamentary development and strengthening should preferably be provided to nationally owned strategic or institutional plans and processes of parliaments. However, if such plans are unavailable or unlikely to be developed in the short term, or if existing plans do not comprehensively address the identified needs, support may be provided as an integrated part of other sector-wide or thematic support programmes. This could include, amongst other things, support to justice sector reform, legal reform, public financial management, elections, and gender programmes.

Finding the right entry points for support to parliamentary strengthening depends both on the initial context analyses and needs assessments, and to ongoing reform processes into which such support can be inserted. At least five possible entry points can be identified:²

Institutional and legal framework

Constitutional and legal reform. Constitutional reform processes provide an important entry point for addressing structural issues related to the sharing of power between key democratic institutions, to the role and functions of parliament, and to representation. Electoral and political party legislation is important for the composition and political organisation of parliaments. Laws addressing, for example, rules of procedure of parliament and freedom of information may also provide an entry point for support.

Support for a strategic or institutional development planning process, or for the implementation of existing plans. Support programmes should seek to use existing reform initiatives wherever possible. For example, some parliaments have their own strategic or institutional

2 The overall categorization of entry points is based on UNDP’s Strategy Note for Parliamentary Development (May 2009).

development plans that might include resource requirements, training programmes, procedural reforms and performance indicators.

Strengthening the parliamentary culture. Building a common parliamentary culture that instils certain key values is important.³ The Speaker or Presiding Officer is a key figure in determining how a parliament operates. Programmes may seek to support such functionaries to establish a better understanding of procedure, decorum within the plenary session, and to build a productive parliamentary culture. The work of parliamentary committees is also a good entry point for promoting a democratic parliamentary culture through constructive cross-party working.

Legislative role

Legislative drafting and scrutiny. If parliaments play an important law-drafting role, training staff in legal drafting will build long-term institutional capacity. Where parliaments merely play a scrutinizing role in relation to the passing of new legislation, working with MPs and administrative staff members so that they are better able to analyse and understand legislation will be central to the parliament's effectiveness.

Representative role

Improving engagement between politicians and the public. A key test for a parliamentary institution is how far it articulates and responds to issues of public concern. Support may try to encourage greater reporting and accountability to voters by individual MPs, improve public consultation on legislation or policy, or forge better links between parliament and civil society and the media.

Promoting equality and non-discrimination. Parliaments provide an arena for promoting the representation of minorities and vulnerable groups, including women. Gender equality can be promoted by encouraging a more balanced gender representation among MPs and by sensitising MPs to address inequalities in all aspects of their work – legislative, oversight and representative. Increased knowledge about human rights standards and norms in this regard may be a good starting point.

Oversight role

Financial oversight and budget scrutiny. Parliamentary oversight of finance is an important way of ensuring government probity and tackling corruption. Programmes may seek to work with finance and public accounts committees to improve their analysis of govern-

ment expenditure, interrogation of ministers and amendment of the budget.

In Ghana, the Parliamentary Centre of Canada and the World Bank Institute worked with Ghana's parliament to improve the capacity of the Public Accounts Committee and Finance Committee. The project operated at two levels: with individual MPs, to improve their understanding of budget analysis; and at the institutional level, to build cross-partisan trust within the committees, develop a strategic workplan with them, and provide them with greater research and analytical support.

The key to the success of the programme was its multi-faceted approach. It drew on a combination of training, expert advice, international experience, and ongoing support to both individuals and the institution. Significantly, the project was specifically tailored to the needs of the Ghanaian Parliament and built around the local political context. The effect of all these measures was that the programme built internal expertise, reduced partisanship, and enhanced the quality of parliamentary oversight.

Improving the effectiveness of committees and the committee system.

Parliamentary committees are a crucial part of ensuring government oversight. They provide a space where MPs work on a cross-party basis to investigate, analyse and test legislation, policy, budgets and public accounts. Programmes may seek to strengthen the staffing and organisation of these committees. MPs and parliament staff must be clear about their priorities and committee objectives – and have the skills to achieve them.

Administration

Improving staff organisation and management. Support programmes should encourage recruitment as well as staff management policies and guidelines. Professional development and career structures within parliaments to retain staff, and to foster their role as a source of independent advice and guidance for MPs, are important in ensuring some degree of continuity and institutional memory in parliaments.

Improving the infrastructure of parliaments. Parliaments require adequate office space, information technology and documentation facilities (including archives) for them to function properly.

³ The Inter-Parliamentary Union has produced a guide to good practices that includes five key principles for democratic parliamentary institutions: To be representative, transparent, accessible, accountable and effective (Inter-Parliamentary Union, (2006), Parliament and Democracy in the Twenty-First Century: a guide to good practice, Geneva: IPU).

5. KEY SUPPORT ELEMENTS

The initial context and stakeholder analysis and capacity needs assessments, must guide decisions on whether to support parliamentary strengthening; whether to direct the support to the central and/or decentralised levels (if applicable and relevant); which specific objectives to pursue and which elements to include in the support; the sequencing of the different support elements; and the exact combination of technical and financial support with elements of policy dialogue.

Guiding principles for support to parliamentary strengthening include that it should be:

- **Aligned with wider governance objectives.** Parliaments are only part of the chain of accountability. Support to parliamentary development should be complementary to other governance efforts such as constitutional reform, electoral reform, political parties, justice sector reform, public financial management, anti-corruption programmes, civic education, the media, and gender programmes.
- **Locally owned.** Programmes must be owned by the parliament. This implies that initial context analysis and needs assessments should be carried out by, or in close collaboration with, the parliaments themselves – and that the support should seek to be aligned to strategic and operational plans elaborated by them too.
- **Providing long-term support and seeking lasting effects.** Because political change happens slowly, support for parliament must be based on a multi-year commitment. Although elements of a parliamentary support programme might be focused on a particular committee or staff section, projects should seek to have a wider impact. For example, working with one committee to improve its internal organisation and the quality of its scrutiny should embed new ways of working, ensuring an effect beyond the lifetime of the support. In addition, establishing a model of good practice should be accompanied by dissemination and incentives for emulation by other committees.
- Where relevant, **support to parliamentary strengthening should be integrated with peace and state building processes.** For instance, in post-conflict situations it is important that the roles, functions and structure of parliament are conducive to consensus-building – for example, by featuring committees in which

smaller groups meet to reach compromises – and that MPs have an oversight function in relation to the security sector.

- **Harmonised with the support of other development partners.** Danish support to parliamentary strengthening should be provided in collaboration with, in close coordination with, or through other relevant multilateral and bilateral development partners and actors.

There is no single template for designing a programme for parliamentary support, but *possible elements* include:

Training for specific skills. A dominant feature of support for parliamentary development has been the provision of training for both staff and MPs. Such training can be useful and effective, provided it is focussed on building specific skills linked to the specific role and functions of the parliament. Training built on abstract principles such as ‘how to be an MP’ will have only a limited effect unless it is part of wider reform initiatives – training should, ultimately, help people in their day to day work. It is important that training is provided by trainers who understand the political and institutional context.

Induction and orientation for new MPs. Induction and orientation programmes can be an effective part of shaping the parliamentary culture immediately after an election. The process could start by working with parliamentary authorities months before an election to anticipate the needs of new MPs. The appeal of such an approach is that it can range very widely-dealing with the practicalities of the job, the rules of procedure, the structure of the parliament and the expectations of MPs. It is a way of establishing patterns of behaviour early in the parliament.

Mentoring and support to key committees. Committees will sometimes lack internal organisation and strategic focus. Although the rules of procedure will shape committee activity, the staff and members will need to develop their own internal practices, procedures and working methods. Providing long-term support and access to expert advice can help the committee to develop work plans and priorities for legislative scrutiny and oversight of government.

Parliamentary exchanges, knowledge communities and networking. A prominent feature of donor support to parliaments has been funding exchange visits between groups of parliamentarians from developing democracies to counterparts in Western Europe or North America, and vice versa. Some programmes also promote regional

exchange visits between parliaments and participation in regional networks of parliaments, or networks targeting specific groups such as (women) or themes in politics. Exchange visits can indeed be useful, but only when tied to specific objectives and where the MPs are obliged to share and apply their experience upon return. For example, in post-conflict environments multi-party delegations have been used to overcome inter-ethnic, tribal or religious differences because of the common experience of their travel. However, without clearly identified objectives and output, such visits can descend merely into parliamentary tourism.

Developing communication and outreach programmes. The development and implementation of communication and outreach programmes towards the public – including constituencies, the private sector, the media, civil society organisations and the public in general – can promote several key aspects of the work of well-functioning and effective parliaments, including representation, transparency, accountability and accessibility. The content of such programmes may vary but can, for instance, focus on publishing and disseminating the outcome of legislative, oversight and scrutiny processes.

The ‘Linkages’ programme in Uganda was designed to promote parliamentary outreach by linking parliamentary committees with local government, civil society and the public. Supported by USAID, the programme takes policy committees outside of parliament to follow up on the implementation of legislation and budget allocations to specific projects, regions and policy areas. Through such field visits, committees gain a better understanding of how government decisions affect people at grassroots level and provide the evidence on which the committees can call government ministers to account. But, at the same time, the project creates connections between decision-makers and stakeholders in the different layers of government and society, building capacity at a number of levels. The committees and policy areas covered include health, education, local government, HIV/AIDS, natural resources, peace, recovery and development in northern Uganda.

Working with political parties in parliament. Political parties are key to the development of parliamentary support projects. Parliament needs well-organised and effective parties to organise parliamentary business and negotiate over policy and legislation. Parties are also critical in shaping the behaviour of politicians – they provide the principal route for the dissemination of information about issues to MPs, and politicians look to political parties for guidance on how to do their job inside and outside parliament. Ultimately, MPs rely

on their party to get re-elected and to develop their political career. Providing forums for multi-party dialogue or developing cross-party policy initiatives are likely to have a wider benefit on the quality of parliamentary scrutiny.

6. MONITORING AND EVALUATION

Many development partners are wrestling with the difficulties of measuring the impact of support to parliament. Challenges exist at various levels: In defining what constitutes meaningful political change, in identifying realistic ways of measuring it and in proving that a particular project contributed to observable change.

The results of external support may also not be apparent for a number of years – especially at the impact level. Still, monitoring and evaluation is critically important to learn lessons and continuously improve the relevance, effectiveness and sustainability of external support to parliaments.⁴

Measuring the impact of a parliamentary support programme presupposes the establishment up-front of clear and realistic objectives. Secondly, reliable and valid indicators must be agreed with parliaments at the output, outcome and impact level. The data should be aligned as far as possible to sources already being collected by the parliaments. Examples of output and outcome level indicators include quantitative measures such as the number of bills passed, the number of committee reports published, the amount of public evidence compiled, or the number of questions asked of ministers. However, these indicators do not capture the quality of scrutiny or legislation and other impact level indicators. Some of this may be seen by post-legislative impact – for example, did government alter policy because of a committee inquiry or parliamentary question or, as a negative example, did a law need to be revised because it was poorly drafted?

Much is likely to depend on the establishment of a solid baseline and subsequent assessments involving stakeholder perceptions of performance through interviews and opinion polling of the public, civil society, members of parliament and party officials, parliament staff, the media, special interest groups, and other relevant public bodies such as election commissions. Other relevant data collection methods include transcripts of parliamentary debates, committee reports and statistical data – for example, on the number of laws passed and the number of representations received by parliament.

⁴ A recent research report of the Governance and Social Development Resource Centre (2008) lists a number of examples and references that may prove useful when designing and implementing results frameworks for legislative support programmes.

How to Note on Parliamentary Strengthening
June 2010

Publisher

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
of Denmark
Asiatisk Plads 2
DK-1448 Copenhagen K
Denmark

Phone: +45 33 92 00 00
Fax: +45 32 54 05 33
E-mail: um@um.dk
Internet: www.um.dk

Design: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark
Print: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark
Photo: Jørgen Schytte

The publication can be downloaded or ordered from:
www.danida-publikationer.dk

The text of this publication can be freely quoted

ISBN -978-87-7087-383-3 (print version)
ISBN -978-87-7087-384-0 (internet version)

PARLIAMENTARY STRENGTHENING

In some cases the development of indexes (such as an index measuring the quality of budgetary oversight) may also be relevant. In any case, monitoring and evaluation should be a regular and on-going feature of parliamentary support programmes and the timing of data collection exercises should take legislative cycles into account.

Finally, evaluations should focus on the achievement of results as well as on processes – with a view to assessing whether contextual factors (including those identified in the initial context analysis) have had a bearing on the results.

7. FURTHER READING

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre (2008), *Monitoring and Evaluation of Parliamentary Strengthening and Electoral Support Programmes*, Helpdesk Research Report, GSDRC, Birmingham. Available at <http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/HD556.pdf>

Hudson, A., & Wren, C. (2007), *Parliamentary Strengthening in Developing Countries*, ODI. Available at: www.odi.org.uk/resources/download/103.pdf

Inter-Parliamentary Union, (2006), *Parliament and Democracy in the Twenty-First Century: a guide to good practice*, Geneva: IPU

IPU/UNDP/WBI, (2005), *Parliament, the Budget and Gender*. Available at: www.undp.org/governance/docs/ParlGuide_parlbudgen.pdf

Power, G., (2008), *Donor Support to Parliaments and Political Parties: An analysis prepared for DANIDA*. Available at: www.um.dk/NR/rdonlyres/000AF191-7B72-4789-AFoF-A1A6933D7A8C/0/DanidaReportSupporttoParliamentsandParties.pdf

Power, G., (2010), *The politics of parliamentary strengthening: Understanding the role of political incentives and institutional behaviour in parliamentary support strategies*, Westminster Foundation for Democracy, Westminster Foundation for Democracy.

UNDP (2009), *Parliamentary Development – UNDP Strategy Note*.

USAID, (2001), *Handbook on Legislative Strengthening*, http://www.usaid.gov/our_work/democracy_and_governance/publications/pdfs/pnac632.pdf

WBI, (2007), *Strengthening Parliaments - Strengthening Accountability: the WBI's Parliamentary Strengthening Programme Retrospective*. Available at: siteresources.worldbank.org/PSGLP/Resources/RetrospectiveSTRENGTHENINGPARLIAMENTS.pdf AGORA – <http://www.agora-parl-org/node/471>

AWEPA - Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa - www.awepa.org

Bureau pour la Promotion de la Démocratie Parlementaire – Parlement Européen – <http://europaparl.europa.eu/oppd>

IPU - Inter-Parliamentary Union - <http://www.ipu.org/english/home.htm>

IRI - International Republican Institute - <http://www.iri.org>

NDI - National Democratic Institute - http://www.ndi.org/democratic_governance?page=0%2C1

PCC - Parliamentary Centre of Canada - www.parlcent.ca

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme - www.undp.org/governance/sl-parliaments.htm or www.undp.org/governance/docs/parl_other/index.htm

WBI - World Bank Institute (Parliamentary Strengthening Programme)

web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/WBI/WBIPROGRAMS/PSGLP/0,,contentMDK:20282841~menuPK:461615~pagePK:64156158~piPK:64152884~theSitePK:461606,00.html