

# Youth participation in national parliaments: 2018



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# **Key findings**

- Young people under age 30 constitute just over 2 per cent of the world's parliamentarians.
- The global proportion of MPs under age 30 has increased by only 0.3 percentage points since 2016 (from 1.9% to 2.2%).
- Just over 30 per cent of the world's single and lower chambers of parliament have no MPs under age 30. Approximately 3 per cent have no MPs under 40.
- Seventy-six per cent of upper chambers of parliament have no MPs under age 30. More than 20 per cent have none under age 40.
- MPs under age 45 have been elected to all but five chambers the upper chambers of parliament in the Congo and Kazakhstan and the single or lower chambers in the Federated States of Micronesia, Thailand and Tuvalu.
- Europe and the Americas, in that order, lead other world regions in the share of young MPs under all three age thresholds (30, 40 and 45 years of age).

## Trends across age groups

- 2.2 per cent of the world's MPs are under age 30 up from 1.9 per cent in 2016, a slight increase of 0.3 percentage points.
- 15.5 per cent of the world's MPs are under age 40 up from 14.2 per cent in 2016, an increase of 1.3 percentage points.
- 28.1 per cent of the world's MPs are under age 45 up from 26 per cent in 2016, a 2.1 percentage point increase.

## Trends disaggregated by gender

- Male MPs continue to outnumber their female counterparts in every age group.
- The share of young parliamentarians has risen faster among young men since 2016 than among young women.
- The gender imbalance is less pronounced among the youngest MPs in each parliament, for whom the male/female ratio is approximately 60:40.

## **Encouraging signs**

- The share of young parliamentarians has continued to increase across all age categories.
- A growing number of international organizations are focusing their efforts on promoting the political representation of youth, by means of their reporting, resolutions, action plans, etc.
- The collection and analysis of data on youth representation in national parliaments has increased substantially in recent years.
- Political quotas have been established for young people in a small but growing number of countries worldwide.

# **Best performers**

#### Young MPs under age 30

- The Nordic countries lead much of the world in electing younger MPs: the share of MPs under age 30 exceeds 10 per cent in Norway, Sweden and Finland.
- Their share is also around 10 per cent in the single or lower chambers of San Marino, the Republic of the Gambia, Montenegro and Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of). The only upper chamber approaching that level is Bhutan, at 9.1 per cent.

#### Young MPs under age 40

- The single and lower chambers of Denmark, Ukraine and Andorra have the highest proportion of MPs under age 40: nearing or exceeding 40 per cent.
- Their share of upper chambers is highest in Bhutan, Kenya and Somalia, at 54.6, 26.9 and 20.4 per cent, respectively.

# Young MPs under age 45

- Over 60 per cent of MPs are under age 45 in the single and lower chambers of Ukraine, Ethiopia and Andorra.
- Their share of the upper chamber exceeds 80 per cent in Bhutan and 40 per cent in Kenya and Afghanistan.

# Enhancing access: towards a youth target

- The IPU Forum of Young MPs has initiated discussions and consultations to establish a target for youth participation in parliament, which could be used to assess country-level progress.
- Initial recommendations are for separate targets by age group (under age 30, under age 40 and under age 45), also taking into account such country-level features as the size of the youth population.
- Youth quotas provide one possible way of achieving such a target. Existing quotas take a variety of forms, including reserved seats, legislated quotas and party quotas.
- Where youth quotas have been adopted, they tend to have followed the introduction of gender quotas suggesting that the many countries with quotas for women may provide fertile ground for youth quotas.
- Because young women are the least represented of all age/gender groups, each target should be accompanied by a provision for gender parity.

#### Youth and parliamentary work

- Networks of young MPs, as well as caucuses promoting youth issues, are being established in a growing number of parliaments and exist in 16.7 per cent of the parliaments covered in this report. Networks or caucuses of young MPs have recently been established in Pakistan, the United Republic of Tanzania and the Russian Federation.
- Parliamentary committees dealing with youth issues exist in more than 40 per cent of countries, similar to the share observed in 2016. Most take the form of standing committees.
- Seventy-two countries organize youth parliaments as a means to educate and engage greater numbers of young people in parliamentary work.

# Introduction

Promoting the participation of young people in political life is becoming a higher priority worldwide. Over one third of the 169 targets established as part of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) relate to young people and the importance of their empowerment, participation and well-being. Twenty targets across six SDGs – relating to hunger, education, gender equality, decent work, inequality and climate change – specifically focus on youth. Young people's participation is also vital to the achievement of two additional SDGs: on peaceful, just and inclusive societies and on partnerships and implementation.<sup>1</sup>

In 2010, IPU member parliaments passed a resolution on *Youth participation in the democratic process*, calling for efforts to increase the participation of young people in parliament and other representative bodies.<sup>2</sup> To spearhead this work, the IPU established a Forum of Young Parliamentarians in 2013, which is steered by a 12 person board composed of one man and one woman from each

of the IPU's six geopolitical groups.<sup>3</sup>The Forum has since organized four global conferences for young MPs – held in Switzerland in 2014, Japan in 2015, Zambia in 2016, and Canada in 2017 – with the aim of inspiring efforts to enhance inclusivity in politics, empower young men and women MPs and enrich parliamentary work with the perspectives of young people.

Since 2014, the IPU has collected information and produced reports on youth participation in national parliaments. The statistics generated show youth to be severely underrepresented in political life: people under age 30 account for more than half of the world's population but only around 2 per cent of its MPs. Progress has been very slow: standing at 1.6 per cent in 2014, the share of MPs under age 30 rose to only 1.9 per cent in 2016 and 2.2 per cent in 2018. Moreover, approximately one third of single and lower chambers and more than three-quarters of the upper chambers have no members under age 30, proportions that have decreased only slightly since 2016.

Young people take part in the March For Our Lives rally against gun violence in the United States of America. (©Emily Kask/AFP)



Previous IPU reports recommended that parliaments pursue strategies to increase the share of young MPs, including the adoption of youth quotas and the alignment of the minimum age required to run for political office with the voting age. Positive changes are being made in this direction. The parliaments of Costa Rica and Liberia have considered proposals to introduce youth quotas. The Parliament of Nigeria enacted a constitutional amendment in May 2018 to lower the age requirement for candidates running for President, the House of Representatives and the State Houses of Assembly. The ruling party in Japan is also considering a reduction of the eligibility age of 20 years for all public offices, following a 2015 reform that lowered the voting age from 20 age to age 18.

In 2017, to accelerate this progress, the Forum of Young Parliamentarians tasked the IPU Secretariat and young MPs around the world with deepening reflection on the idea of establishing an international target for the proportion of young people represented in parliaments. The Forum acknowledged that efforts to promote women's representation had benefited from the 30 per cent target for women in decision-making positions, which was set by the global community in the 1990s. The Forum proposed that a target for youth could serve two purposes: (i) provide a benchmark for self-assessment by parliaments; and (ii) unify the efforts of the international community towards a common goal. The specifics of such a target, the Forum suggested, should be the subject of collective debate among a range of different stakeholders around the globe.

In 2018, the IPU became the first international organization to adopt statutory measures aimed at enhancing youth participation. The IPU Statutes and Rules now encourage members of the Organization (178 parliaments<sup>4</sup>) to include at least one young man or woman parliamentarian in their official delegation to the statutory assemblies. Incentives are provided, including one that entitles delegations to additional speaking time if they allocate that slot to a young parliamentarian. This incentive promotes both youth presence and substantive contributions to policy deliberations.

# Growing global momentum

Over the last several years, other international organizations have also turned their focus on promoting young people's political participation. In 2015, the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 2250 on youth, peace and security. A key provision urges Member States "to consider ways to increase inclusive representation of youth in decision-making at all levels in local, national, regional, and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention and resolution of conflict".

In 2016, inspired by Nigeria's campaign to lower the candidate eligibility age,<sup>5</sup> the United Nations Youth Envoy partnered with the IPU, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, YIAGA Africa, and the European Youth Forum to launch an international version of the Not Too Young to Run campaign.<sup>6</sup> The International Institute for Democracy

and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), in 2016, and the European Commission and UNDP, in 2017, published handbooks on how electoral management bodies can encourage youth participation in electoral processes.<sup>7</sup>

# More research is ongoing

Academic research on young MPs, virtually non-existent five years ago, is also expanding rapidly. Recent contributions have yielded normative arguments for enhancing youth participation<sup>8</sup> and explored the factors leading to youth quotas in countries.<sup>9</sup> Longitudinal comparative analyses provide the first insights into patterns of youth representation over time and across countries.<sup>10</sup> New studies also examine how young politicians perceive their role<sup>11</sup> and how gender and age interact to shape opportunities for elected political office.<sup>12</sup>

# About this study

In 2014, recognizing the absence of systematic data and information on youth representation in parliaments, the IPU designed a first-of-its-kind database on the subject, to collect the relevant data through parliaments. The result was the first report on youth participation in national parliaments, which was published in October 2014 and updated in 2016. This 2018 report provides updated information on the percentages and genders of parliamentarians under the ages of 30, 40 and 45, as well as the latest information on special mechanisms designed to encourage or enhance the participation of young people in national parliaments.

The report is divided into four sections: *(i) Young parliamentarians worldwide*, presenting a snapshot of the situation in national parliaments currently; *(ii) Towards a target for youth representation*, which identifies barriers to political participation by youth and calls for a target figure to measure countries' progress in this area; *(iii) Electing more young parliamentarians*, which assesses the impact of different factors that might contribute to the election of more young MPs; and *(iv) Promoting youth in parliamentary work*, which analyses data collected on existing parliamentary bodies that promote youth participation. Recommendations on ways to enhance the presence of young people in parliament and eliminate barriers to their participation in politics and to the representation of youth are interspersed throughout the text.

# Methodology

In 2014, the IPU designed a questionnaire to gather data from its Member Parliaments (see Annex 5). The survey requested data on the age distribution of male and female MPs across nine age categories: 18–20, 21–30, 31–40, 41–50, 51–60, 61–70, 71–80, 81–90, and 91+. It also requested data on legal requirements and measures to promote youth participation. Surveys were conducted again in 2015 and 2017, and were supplemented by online data collection from parliamentary websites. The present data set encompasses 202 parliamentary chambers in 150 countries. Data corresponding to multiple points in time are also available for a growing number of countries (for a full list of countries, see Annex 6).

The current report also includes three other sources of qualitative data. The first is parliaments and young parliamentarians. Each session of the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians includes a segment for young MPs to report on recent developments affecting youth participation in their respective countries. These reports are captured in summary records that track the measures taken to enhance youth participation at national levels and document challenges youth face in accessing parliament and contributing to its work.

Secondly, interviews were conducted with young MPs spread across different regions of the world, as well as with experts (for a list, see Annex 6). These interviews took place at the 4<sup>th</sup> Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians, in Ottawa, in November 2017, as well as between May and June 2018 via telephone and Skype. The interviews were semi-structured, focusing on five key questions: why greater numbers of young people should be elected to parliament; what age boundaries should apply in defining a young MP; what proportion of parliamentary seats should be allocated to young people; what strategies could help to achieve such a target; and whether youth quotas have been used (or proposed) in the respondent's own parliament or political party. For further insight into how young people get elected, the interviewees were also asked about their own trajectories to political office, yielding further insights and recommendations.

Thirdly, in June 2018, two online consultations were conducted at the request of the Forum of Young Parliamentarians. IPU staff and an academic consultant moderated discussions with young parliamentarians and academics specializing in the study of youth representation (for a list, see Annex 6). The consultations drew on participants' expertise, eliciting recommendations on possible youth targets and ways to facilitate their attainment, through youth quotas, for instance.

# Young parliamentarians worldwide

This section presents the current picture on youth elected to national parliaments worldwide. Countries are ranked according to the share of parliamentarians aged under 30, under 40 and under 45 years, and the data is also disaggregated by chamber (upper and single or lower chambers). Progress and setbacks in promoting greater youth representation in parliament are examined, as well as the question of gender in connection with age.

# **Key findings**

The statistics analysed indicate that there has been slow progress in electing young MPs around the world although the number of chambers with no young parliamentarians has decreased slightly.

The countries that are electing young MPs in greater proportions are diverse across the world, but their share is particularly large in the Nordic countries (single and lower chambers) and Bhutan (upper chamber).

The countries that held elections in 2017 are more or less evenly divided between those making progress and those experiencing setbacks in youth representation. Progress has been greatest among single and lower chambers in San Marino and among upper chambers in Kenya. Male parliamentarians continue to outnumber their female counterparts in every age group, but there is greater gender balance among the youngest parliamentarians: a ratio of approximately 60:40 for single and lower chambers and 70:30 for upper chambers.

- Lower age thresholds correspond to lower levels of youth representation: 2.2 per cent of MPs are under age 30, 15.5 per cent are under age 40 and 28.1 per cent are under age 45.
- Nearly one third of the world's single and lower chambers of parliament and three quarters of upper chambers have no MPs under age 30.
- The share of MPs under age 30 has exceeded (or approached) 10 per cent in six countries, while the share of MPs under age 40 has surpassed 30 per cent in 15 countries.
- Overall, European countries have performed the best in electing young MPs to single and lower chambers of parliament across all age categories, followed by the Americas.

The Forum of Young Parliamentarians defines young parliamentarians as those under age 45, in a bid to be inclusive of all parliaments, recognizing that some chambers – especially upper houses – have relatively high minimum age requirements.<sup>13</sup> This is higher than the thresholds commonly used by international organizations, by the countries responding to the IPU questionnaire and by the young MPs interviewed from around the world, which have ranged from 25 to 40. To be sensitive to cross-national variations in the meaning of "young," the IPU's reports on youth representation refer to three age thresholds: 30, 40, and 45.

# **Global patterns**

The data set for the 202 chambers covered, in 150 countries, indicates a minor improvement in the overall share of young parliamentarians across all three age thresholds: from 1.9 to 2.2 per cent for MPs under age 30; from 14.2 to 15.5 per cent for those under age 40, and from 26 to 27.1 per cent for those under age 45. The proportions for each threshold are significantly higher in single and lower chambers (147 countries) – at 2.4 per cent 16.9 per cent and 30.1 per cent, respectively – than in the upper chambers of parliament (55 countries), where they stand at 0.5 per cent, 7.2 per cent and 16.3 per cent, respectively.

The number of chambers with no young MPs decreased slightly overall, but to varying degrees depending on how "young" is defined. Among single and lower chambers, it dropped from 2.4 to 2 per cent if the threshold is under age 30, from 3.2 to 2.7 per cent if it is under age 40, and from 31 per cent to 28.6 per cent if it is under age 45. Among upper chambers it fell from 4.7 to 3.6 per cent if the threshold is under age 45. However, the proportion of upper chambers with no MPs under age 40 slightly increased, from 20.9 to 21.8 per cent.



Young MPs provide innovative proposals to drive greater inclusion at the Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians in 2017, jointly organized by the IPU and the Parliament of Canada. (@Christian Diotte, House of Commons Photo Services/HOC-CDC)

Table 1 shows the top 20 countries across each of the three age thresholds in single and lower chambers (for full country rankings, see Annexes 1-3). This group is quite diverse, including countries from all regions of the world.

Four Nordic countries – Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark – stand out as having particularly large shares of parliamentarians under age 30 and under age 40. They also have large shares of women parliamentarians – 41.4 per cent in Norway, 43.6 per cent in Sweden, 42 per cent in Finland and 37.4 per cent in Denmark<sup>14</sup> – well above the world average of 23.8 per cent.<sup>15</sup> This suggests a broader ethos of inclusiveness within these parliaments and in society in general.

Small countries like Andorra, San Marino and Seychelles also perform quite well in the global rankings. Given the small number of seats in their parliaments, electing a few more young MPs can have a large impact on their total share. Similarly, Ukraine has elected a sizeable share of MPs under age 40 and under age 45 following conscious efforts by pro-European parties to attract young professionals as candidates.<sup>16</sup>

In contrast, Ecuador has fallen quite dramatically in the rankings, especially for MPs under age 30 (previously ranked no. 2 and now ranked no. 19) and under age 45 (previously ranked no. 6 and now ranked no. 23). As shown by the data, this stems largely from a decline in the number of young women parliamentarians, from ten to three in the 21–30 age group and from twelve to six in the 41–45 age group.

Another interesting pattern is that only five African countries – the Gambia, Ethiopia, Seychelles, Cabo Verde and Equatorial Guinea – make the top 20 across all three lists. Yet, according to the United Nations, Africa has the world's youngest population, with 200 million people between 15 and 24 years of age.<sup>17</sup> This points to a sizeable deficit in the political representation of youth in that region, where young people are clearly disengaged from politics. Indeed, according to the 2016–2018 Afrobarometer survey, voter turnout among persons aged 18 to 25 across twelve African countries stood at a mere 50.8 per cent, compared to the overall average of 71.8 per cent for Africa.<sup>18</sup>

# Table 1

# Top-ranking countries for parliamentarians under ages 30, 40 and 45 (single and lower chambers) (see Annexes for detailed breakdown)

Under age 30		Under age 30 Under age 40			Under age 45			
Rank	%	Country	Rank	%	Country	Rank	%	Country
1	13.61	Norway	1	41.34	Denmark	1	64.43	Ukraine
2	12.32	Sweden	2	41.21	Ukraine	2	63.62	Ethiopia
3	11.67	San Marino	3	39.29	Andorra	3	60.71	Andorra
4	10.34	Gambia (the)	4	36.67	San Marino	4	59.38	Seychelles
5	10.00	Finland	5	36.21	Gambia	5	58.33	San Marino
6	9.88	Montenegro	6	36.11	Bhutan	6	56.90	Gambia
7	9.82	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	7	36.00	Finland	7	55.56	Bhutan
8	8.74	Austria	8	35.67	Mexico	8	55.33	Netherlands
9	7.62	Mexico	9	35.37	Ethiopia	9	54.17	Kyrgyzstan
10	7.14	Andorra	10	35.26	Romania	10	54.12	Oman
11	6.59	Italy	11	35.00	Kyrgyzstan	11	53.63	Denmark
12	6.45	Tunisia	12	34.91	Norway	12	53.31	Mexico
13	6.38	Romania	13	34.38	Seychelles	13	52.00	Georgia
14	6.15	Denmark	14	34.31	Ecuador	14	51.67	Romania
15	6.10	Ethiopia	15	34.10	Sweden	15	49.33	Belgium
16	5.97	Malta	16	33.33	Cabo Verde	16	48.57	Afghanistan
17	5.89	Cuba	16	33.33	Netherlands	17	48.33	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
18	5.88	Suriname	18	32.81	Italy	18	48.14	Sweden
19	5.84	Ecuador	19	30.86	Montenegro	19	48.03	Uzbekistan
20	5.83	Chile	20	30.67	Georgia	20	48.00	Equatorial Guinea



Young people continue to be vastly underrepresented in parliaments. IPU statistics show that in 2017 only 2.2 per cent of the world's MPs were aged under 30, from 1.9 per cent in 2015. (©Christian Diotte, House of Commons Photo Services/HOC-CDC) Table 2 reports the same data for upper chambers of parliament (for full country rankings, see Annexes 1–3). It shows that only 15 upper chambers have any MPs under age 30; the others have none at all. Standing out across all three age cut-off points is Bhutan, with roughly twice as many young MPs as the next best performing country. Kenya and Somalia also appear near the top of all three lists.

# Table 2

Under age 30				Under age 40			Under age 45		
Ŭ		Dard	Ŭ		Dent	0/	Ŭ		
Rank	%	Country	Rank	%	Country	Rank	%	Country	
1	9.09	Bhutan	1	54.55	Bhutan	1	81.82	Bhutan	
2	6.67	Slovenia	2	26.87	Kenya	2	41.79	Kenya	
3	3.60	Mexico*	3	21.43	Myanmar	3	41.18	Afghanistan	
4	3.28	Austria	4	20.37	Somalia	4	38.46	Burundi	
5	3.23	Trinidad and Tobago	5	20.00	Belgium	5	36.67	Belgium	
6	3.00	Somalia	6	19.05	Jamaica	6	36.42	Germany	
7	2.99	Kenya	7	18.89	Slovenia	7	34.56	Romania	
8	2.78	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	8	18.50	Germany	8	34.23	Mexico*	
9	2.74	Australia	9	17.12	Mexico*	9	33.33	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	
10	2.67	Netherlands	10	16.83	Colombia	9	33.33	Jamaica	
11	2.08	Ireland	11	16.67	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	11	32.59	Myanmar	
12	1.67	Belgium	12	16.18	Afghanistan	12	32.56	Namibia	
13	1.61	Malaysia	13	15.41	Spain	13	32.22	Slovenia	
14	1.50	Spain	14	14.58	Ireland	14	31.25	Ireland	
15	0.50	Myanmar	15	13.33	Bosnia and Herzegovina	15	29.63	Somalia	
			16	13.11	Austria	16	29.17	Philippines	
			17	12.33	Australia	17	28.95	Spain	
			18	12.00	Netherlands	18	27.72	Colombia	
			19	11.03	Romania	19	23.33	Uruguay	
			20	10.26	Burundi	20	23.29	Australia	

\*Based on preliminary election results as of 20 July 2018.

# **Regional patterns**

Table 3 shows clear regional disparities in the average share of young parliamentarians in single and lower chambers. Europe and to a lesser extent the Americas exceed the global average in all three age categories, and both regions improved relative to 2016.

Africa's single and lower chambers hover around the world average, having remained constant (in the case of MPs under age 30) or decreased slightly since 2016: from 15.8 to 15.1 per cent for MPs under age 40 and from 32.1 to 29.7 per cent for MPs under age 45. Single and lower chambers in Asia and Oceania lag substantially behind. Asian countries marginally improved their averages: from 1.1 to 1.2 per cent for MPs under age 30, from 10.1 to 10.8 per cent for MPs under age 40, and from 10 to 21.6 per cent for MPs under age 45. In contrast, single and lower chambers in Oceania increased their average share of MPs under age 40 (from 10.1% to 12.7%) but stayed roughly the same for MPs under age 30 and under age 45.

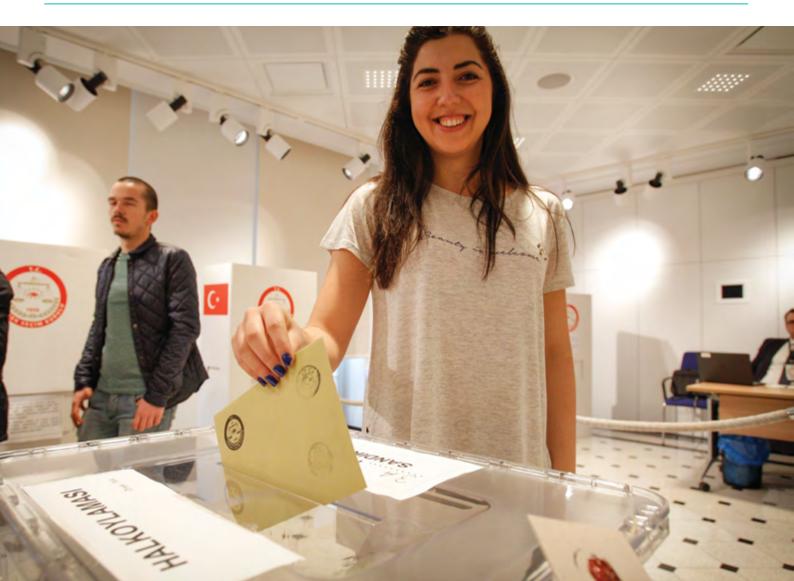
# Table 3

	Under age 3	30		Under age 4	0	Under age 45		
Region	Mean %	Countries	Region	Mean %	Countries	Region	Mean %	Countries
Europe	3.9	47	Europe	23.5	47	Europe	37.5	47
Americas	3.8	23	Americas	19.2	23	Americas	33.8	23
Africa	1.5	36	Africa	15.0	36	Africa	29.4	36
Asia	1.2	33	Oceania	12.7	8	Oceania	27.6	8
Oceania	0.4	8	Asia	10.8	33	Asia	21.6	33
Total	2.2	147	Total	15.5	147	Total	28.1	147

#### Regional rankings for parliamentarians under 30, under 40, and under 45 (single and lower chambers)

Among upper chambers Oceania has performed best, but that result was driven solely by the Australian Senate (New Zealand and the Pacific Island nations are all unicameral). Upper chambers in the Americas and Asia also have above-average levels of parliamentarians under age 40 and under age 45. The Americas have witnessed some of the most notable changes since 2016, with increases in the average share for all three categories: from 0.2 to 0.5 per cent for MPs under age 30, from 2.3 to 8.6 per cent for MPs under age 40 and from 11.8 to 20.2 per cent for MPs under age 45. Europe and Africa performed less well, electing below-average shares of young MPs in all categories. The figures for both regions, however, represent gains in youth representation since 2016, particularly among MPs under age 45: from 12.3 to 15.1 per cent in Europe and from 11.5 to 12.7 per cent in Africa.

Young voters can be decisive in shaping election results. However they are often the age group least likely to cast a ballot. (© Jaap Arriens/NurPhoto)



# Election results in 2016 and 2017

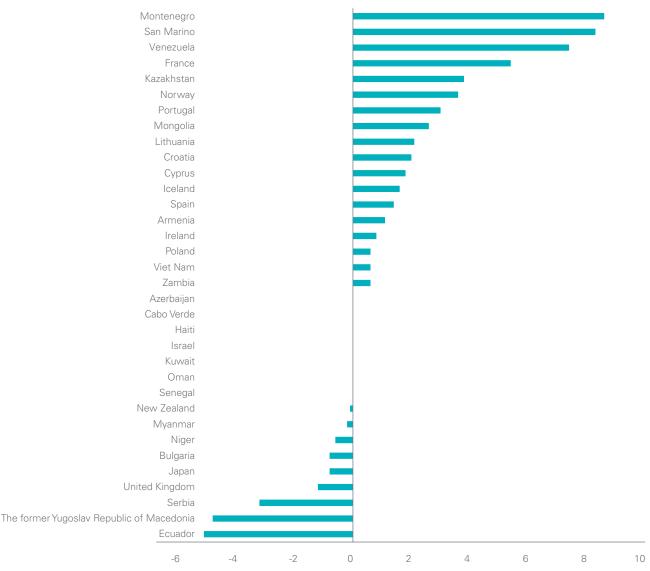
Several countries have held elections since the 2016 IPU report. For 63 chambers (47 lower and 16 upper), 'before-and-after' statistics are provided to permit comparisons (for a full list of countries and percentage point changes, see Annex 4). Most countries have witnessed an increase in the share of young MPs for all three definitions of "young" (see Figures 1–6). Among single and lower chambers (see Figures 1–3), three countries made particularly strong progress in their 2016 and 2017 elections: Montenegro, Venezuela and France.

In Montenegro, this progress was achieved as a result of the creation of a new political party, made up primarily of young men and women, which became the parliament's second largest in 2016.<sup>19</sup> In Venezuela, young parliamentarians have played a key role in the political opposition, having gained popularity through their involvement in street protests against the regime – originally, in some cases, through student political organizations.<sup>20</sup>

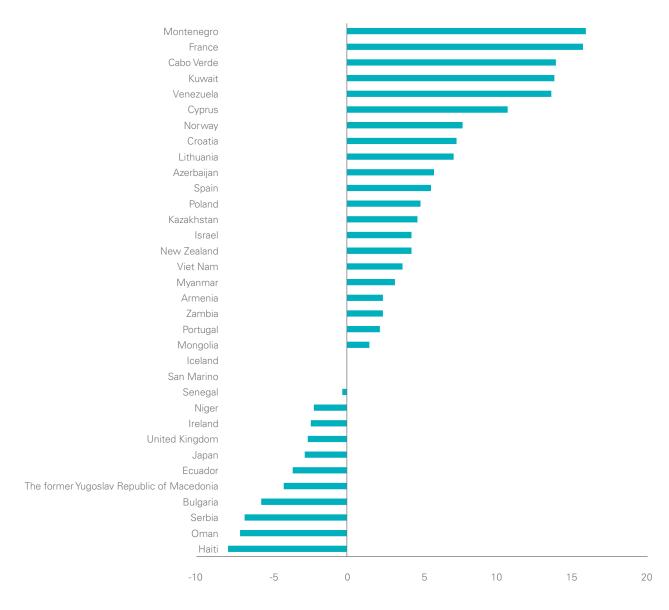
In France, the country's 2017 elections saw the emergence of a new political party, *En Marche!*, which won a majority of seats in the lower chamber. Led by Emmanuel Macron, the French Republic's youngest president ever, this new party recruited less traditional candidates, favouring innovative skills over prior political experience.<sup>21</sup> This served to boost the share of young MPs according to all three age thresholds: from 0.2 to 5.5 per cent for MPs under age 30, from 7.6 to 23.2 per cent for MPs under age 40 and from 15.5 to 36.9 per cent for MPs under age 45. As a result, the average age of MPs in France dropped from 54 in 2012 to 48 years and eight months in 2017.<sup>22</sup>

# Figure 1

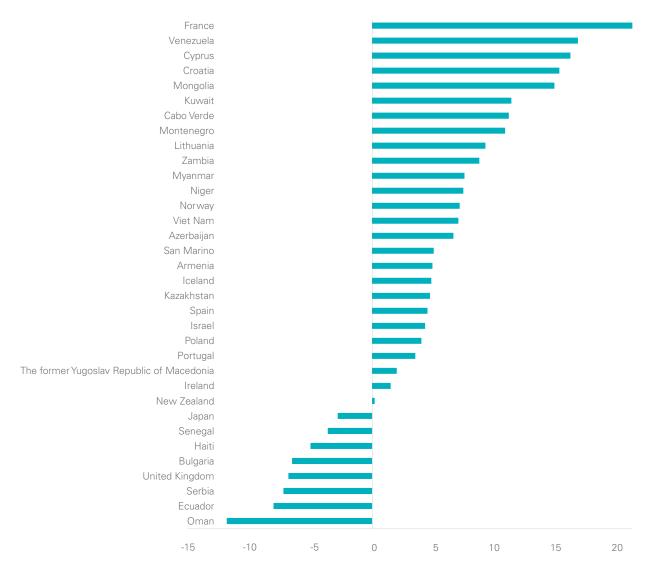
Progress and setbacks in the proportion of parliamentarians under age 30, in single and lower chambers, after elections in 2016/2017 (percentage points)



Progress and setbacks in the proportion of parliamentarians under age 40, in single and lower chambers, after elections in 2016/2017 (percentage points)



Progress and setbacks in the proportion of parliamentarians under age 45, in single and lower chambers, after elections in 2016/2017 (percentage points)

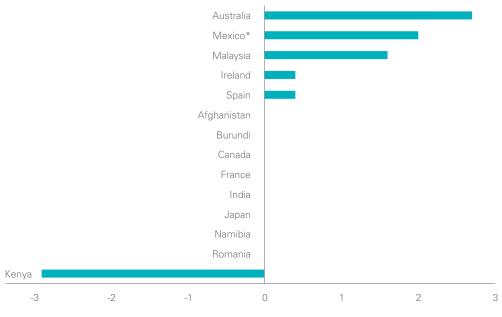


Figures 4–6 show progress and setbacks in the upper chambers. On balance, most chambers saw improvements in the share of young parliamentarians after the most recent elections. But preliminary data from Mexico, where elections were held on 1 July 2018, mark a notable exception. Although the share of MPs under age 30 increased by two percentage points, the proportions of parliamentarians under age 40 and under age 45 both dropped by more than seven points.

For MPs under age 30, the most notable increase was in Australia: from 0 in 2016 to 2.7 per cent in 2017. This resulted from the election of two new young MPs, one of whom was a disability rights activist and the youngest MP ever in Australia's upper chamber. He replaced a sitting member who had been forced to resign.<sup>23</sup>

Kenya, in turn, stands out among countries making progress in electing greater numbers of MPs under the ages of 40 and 45. Young candidates made historic gains at various levels of government during the last elections, mainly by employing non-traditional campaign strategies, including travelling to meet voters by bicycle and by foot.<sup>24</sup> Additionally, the Kenyan Constitution reserves two seats in the upper chamber for youth aged under age 35, amounting to 2.9 per cent of the total seats.

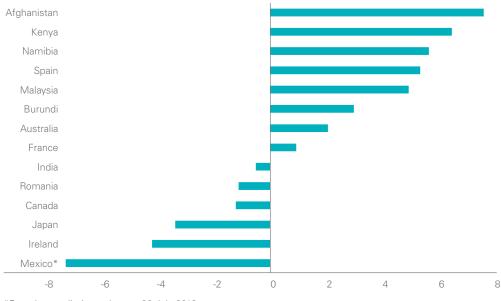
# **Progress and setbacks in the proportion of parliamentarians under age 30, in upper chambers, after renewals in 2016/2017 (percentage points)**



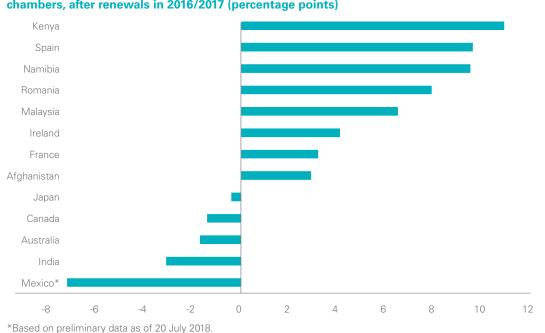
\*Based on preliminary data as of 20 July 2018.

#### Figure 5

Progress and setbacks in the proportion of parliamentarians under age 40, in upper chambers, after renewals in 2016/2017 (percentage points)



\*Based on preliminary data on 20 July 2018.



Progress and setbacks in the proportion of parliamentarians under age 45, in upper chambers, after renewals in 2016/2017 (percentage points)

# How age correlates with gender

The data set includes information on the age of parliamentarians disaggregated by gender. Figure 7 charts the share of each 10-year age cohort across all of the 193 chambers studied. Strikingly, more than one third of all the MPs are between 51 and 60 years of age. Parliamentarians aged between 41 and 50 form the second largest cohort, at just under 30 per cent, followed by the 61–70 age group, at just under 20 per cent. The numbers for the youngest and oldest cohorts are far smaller. This overall pattern has remained unchanged for at least five years, based on a comparison with data reported in the IPU/UNDP *Global Parliamentary Report*, in 2012.<sup>25</sup>

Also evident from this figure is the fact that, across all age groups, the proportion of men far exceeds that of women, but to varying degrees. Looking at the three largest age cohorts, men



The IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians is the voice of the world's young MPs. Its President rotates between a young man and a young woman parliamentarian after each term. (©Russian Parliament) outnumber women nearly threefold in the 41–50 cohort; more than threefold in the 51–60 cohort; and nearly fivefold in the 61–70 cohort. In the younger cohorts (31–40) and (21–30), there are about twice as many men as women.

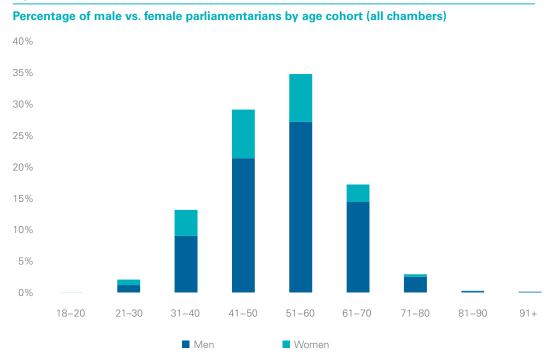
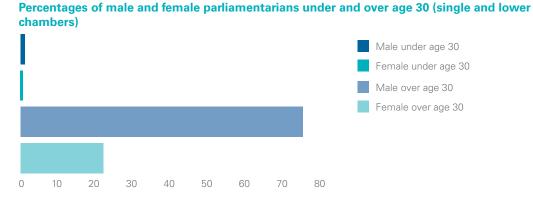


Figure 7

Looking more closely at the correlation between age and gender representation, Figures 8 to 10 compare the percentages of male and female parliamentarians, in single and lower chambers, above and below the three age thresholds. The disparities are clear. Nearly three quarters (74.9%) of parliamentarians worldwide are men over age 30. Women over age 30 account for 23 per cent. Among MPs under age 30, young men (1.2%) slightly outnumber young women (0.9%).

These disparities decreased somewhat as the age threshold is increased but remain highly uneven. The share for men over age 40 is slightly less than two thirds (64.9%), and the gap between older women (18.2%) and younger men (11.3%) has narrowed. Women under age 40 still occupy only 5 per cent of the seats.

Even when "young" is generously defined as under 45, men older than that still predominate (55.1%). The gap between younger men and older women, on the other hand, is reversed (21.1% and 14.8%, respectively), while the share of younger women increases only slightly (to a mere 9%).



# Figure 8

# Percentages of male and female parliamentarians under and over age 40 (single and lower chambers)

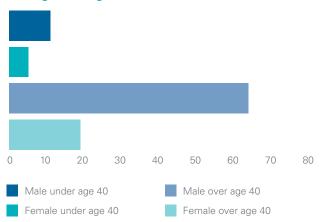
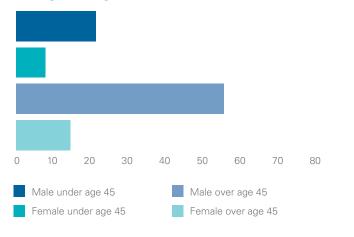


Figure 10

Percentages of male and female parliamentarians under and over age 45 (single and lower chambers)

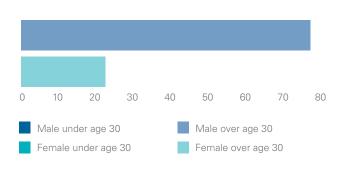


Figures 11 to 13 show these percentages for the upper chambers, where the age-gender differences are even more dramatic than those for the single and lower chambers. More than three quarters (75.9%) of all parliamentarians are men over age 30; just under a quarter (23.9%) are women over age 30; and the shares of men and women under age 30 (0.4% and 0.1%, respectively) are negligible by comparison.

With age 40 as the threshold, the very high representation of older men declines only slightly, to 71.1 per cent. Women over age 40 also hold strong at 21.7 per cent. The biggest change concerns the younger men who hold twice as many seats (4.9%) as younger women (2.3%). These patterns are more or less repeated with age 45 as the threshold. Men older than that still occupy nearly two thirds of all seats in parliament (64.7%). They are followed by older women (19%), younger men (11.3%) and, finally, younger women (5%).

## Figure 11

Percentages of male and female parliamentarians under and over age 30 (upper chambers)





IPU statistics show that, although male MPs outnumber their female counterparts in every age category, there is greater gender balance among younger MPs. (©Christian Diotte, House of Commons Photo Services/HOC-CDC)

# Percentages of male and female parliamentarians under and over age 40 (upper chambers)

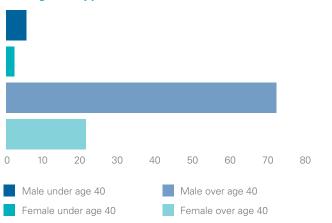
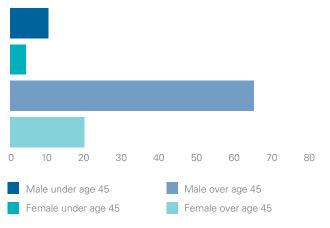


Figure 13

Percentages of male and female parliamentarians under and over age 45 (upper chambers)



# Recommendation

Governments, parliaments and political parties seeking to expand the presence of young people in parliament should make it a priority to address the double discrimination young women suffer.

# Youngest parliamentarians

Survey respondents were asked to identify the youngest parliamentarian in each chamber, providing that person's name, gender, year of birth, and year of election, appointment or nomination. The data set includes this information for 120 single and lower chambers and 45 upper chambers. Overall, 102 of the youngest parliamentarians are male (61.8%) and 63 are female (38.2%).

In single and lower chambers, 70 of the youngest MPs are male (58.4%) and 50 are female (41.6%). Their average age when first elected was 27. In the upper chambers, 32 of the youngest MPs are male (71.7%) and 13 are female (28.9%). Their average age when first elected was 33.2.

# **Towards a target for youth representation**

This section identifies barriers to youth participation, drawing on the results of the IPU's consultation process. It also examines the possibility of establishing an internationally agreed-upon youth target to be implemented at the national level, and underscores the need to provide for gender parity as part of any strategy to reach that target.

# **Key findings**

- Improved youth representation can strengthen the legitimacy of parliament, achieve greater fairness in access to political decision-making, contribute to better policymaking and generate important symbolic effects for youth and the political process.
- While the exact nature of an international youth target has yet to be determined, all the persons consulted and interviewed considered a target necessary to measure country progress and encourage youth participation.
- The consultation yielded further consensus on the need to: (i) take context into account, particularly in relation to the size of the youth population; and (ii) include a requirement for gender parity, ensuring that young women are not left behind.

# **Barriers to youth participation**

Young parliamentarians interviewed for this and earlier IPU reports<sup>26</sup> have cited a number of barriers to the election of young people in greater numbers. One is their perceived inexperience, with older politicians suggesting that they wait for their turn to run for political office. Young politicians may also lack the name recognition and the access to crucial networks needed to gain attention, be nominated by political parties and become viable candidates. Finally, many young people – because they are just beginning their professional careers or because unemployment among youth is high – simply lack the financial resources required to run a traditional political campaign.

Political parties, however, can help overcome all of these barriers by actively raising awareness about the benefits of electing young representatives, recruiting more young aspiring parliamentarians and supporting their campaigns. Emerging academic research suggests that a latent core of young people could be encouraged to run for political office.

A mass survey conducted across Europe has found that a sizeable minority of young party members have long wished to enter politics.<sup>27</sup>According to a survey of highly educated university students in the United States, about 15 per cent had previously considered running for office. A far greater proportion (69%) appeared "moveable" towards running if conditions were right. Moreover, young elected officials in Norway say that being in office has given them a taste for political work, with many planning to run again.<sup>28</sup>

# The case for greater youth participation

The persons interviewed and consulted suggested numerous reasons for increasing youth representation in national parliaments, as echoed in the growing academic literature on this topic.

First, as a question of fairness, youth make up a substantial share of the population and should therefore participate wherever political decisions are being taken. A parliament that is significantly unrepresentative will be less able to reflect public opinion on the important issues of the day and may have its legitimacy called into question. This is essentially the point of the global Not Too Young to Run campaign, and its observation that "51% of the world's population is under 30, but only 2% are members of parliaments".<sup>29</sup> This approach suggests that stereotypes and biases impose barriers for youth in the candidate selection processes, 30 undermining fair treatment and equality among citizens. The Plurinational State of Bolivia's 2009 Constitution addresses these barriers by guaranteeing the active participation of young men and women in productive, political, social, economic and cultural development, without discrimination (Article 59).

Second, enhancing youth participation can contribute to better policymaking. Young people are disproportionately affected by policies on education, employment, housing, gun control, and new technologies, among others. Young people will be more affected by decisions taken on longer-term issues like climate change, environmental sustainability or war. Without their active participation, the laws passed may be detrimental to their interests, both today and in the future. Greater numbers of young people can also invigorate policy deliberations. They can bring newness and freshness to political debates, being perhaps more anxious to resolve problems than longer-serving MPs.<sup>31</sup> They may also be more open to new ideas and policy solutions – and more likely to "come and break old paradigms", in the words of one young Mexican MP. Greater intergenerational diversity among parliamentarians could also produce innovative solutions to complex problems.<sup>32</sup> "We want to work together with older MPs for a better future", as a young MP from Kuwait put it.

Third, the increased presence of young people in parliament and other elected positions can have crucial symbolic importance. At a time when youth are largely alienated from formal politics, and thus less likely to vote or to join political parties, electing young people to office may help restore trust in political institutions. This possibility was recognized by the IPU Assembly in Lusaka in March 2016, where the general debate focused on "Rejuvenating democracy, giving voice to youth". Delegates endorsed the notion that "rejuvenating democracy" means "adapting our parliaments to our time"," modernizing the functioning of our institutions", and 'changing the way politics is done.'

Young parliamentarians can also provide important role models for politically interested youth. While less involved in electoral politics, young people around the world are highly engaged in political activism of various kinds. They have played a pivotal role in protests that have toppled undemocratic regimes, as during the Arab Spring of 2011. They are active participants in promoting peace and reconciliation in post-conflict societies like Somalia.<sup>33</sup> In the United States, young people have also become engaged in tackling the issue of gun control, following a series of school shootings.

The increased presence of young elected leaders may in turn encourage more citizens to recognize young people as willing and able to lead – not just in the future, but now. In the words of one young MP, "to show them that youth can be the leaders of tomorrow...and of today".

# **Determining a target figure**

The persons interviewed and consulted endorsed the concept of a youth target as a means of measuring countries' progress towards enhanced youth representation. Rather than impose an arbitrary figure on all countries, respondents preferred to see a target adjustable according to country context. In particular, participants supported the idea of tying the target to the share of the youth population at each age threshold, which could be done, for example, by: (i) establishing distinct goals for countries with small, medium and large youth populations; or (ii) setting a minimum goal of half the proportion of the youth population in each age category (e.g. if 30% of a country's population is under age 30, the goal would be to elect 15% of its parliamentarians from that age group).

In 2018, the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians' initiated a consultation process for an internationally agreed-upon target for youth representation. (©Christian Diotte, House of Commons Photo Services/HOC-CDC) Most participants also felt it was important to establish distinct targets for MPs at different age cut-offs, recognizing the greater difficulty, for a variety of reasons, of raising the share of MPs under 30 than those under age 40.

A second point of consensus was on the need to provide for gender parity as part of the target. Such a provision would avoid contributing to the further underrepresentation of women in parliament and could realistically be achieved. Indeed, the data collected by the IPU has revealed greater gender balance among the younger cohorts of MPs. Participants in the consultation cautioned, however, against the double counting of young women as possibly counterproductive: squeezing out older women and younger men and thereby consolidating the position of older male MPs.

Other points raised during the consultations and interviews include the following: the need to cultivate the buy-in of older MPs for this project, so that they support – rather than feel threatened by – greater youth participation; the importance of allowing countries to decide themselves how to achieve the targets, whether through youth quotas or other types of institutional reform; and the value of developing strategies to empower young MPs and other office holders once elected. It was also proposed that the youth target not be limited to parliamentary seats but expanded to cover parliamentary leadership positions, committee assignments, and party and special interest caucuses.

# Recommendation

Take into account a country's context, especially the size of its youth population, when establishing an internationally agreed-upon youth target. Two possible approaches include: (i) setting targets suitable for small, medium and large youth populations; or (ii) providing a formula for countries to set their own targets – e.g. half the proportion of the youth population in each age group.

## Recommendation

Incorporate a gender parity provision as part of any internationally agreed-upon youth target.



# **Electing more young parliamentarians**

This section assesses the impact of various factors on young people's access to parliament, such as the kind of electoral system in place, the eligibility age for electoral candidates, the existence of youth quotas and party youth wings, the political financing systems and the importance attached to the work-life balance.

## **Key findings**

- List-based proportional representation (PR) and mixed electoral systems, as well as lower eligibility ages, are conducive to higher levels of youth representation across all three age categories and at least partly explain differences in youth representation across single/lower and upper chambers.
- There is an inverse relationship between the size of the youth population and the share of young MPs, exacerbating the democracy deficit.
- Youth quotas are on the rise around the world and a growing number provide for gender parity as well.
- Additional strategies, including party youth wings, campaign finance regulations, and the empowerment of young voters, could be used to recruit and elect more young MPs.

Quantitative analysis in this and the previous IPU report indicate that electoral systems, eligibility requirements, population age and quotas all shape the patterns of youth representation. Qualitative evidence gathered through the interviews and consultations points to additional variables that could be leveraged to recruit young candidates and enable them to succeed, such as the creation of party youth wings, campaign financing limits (or assistance), the promotion of youth in local political races, and measures to enhance the influence of young party members, including awareness-raising about the need for greater youth participation.

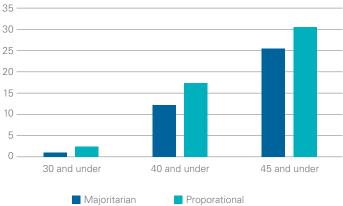
# **Electoral systems**

Electoral systems affect patterns of political representation by creating distinct incentives for the nomination of candidates. PR systems often prompt political parties to balance their lists with candidates from a variety of backgrounds. In contrast, majoritarian or plurality-based systems focus attention on individual candidates, such that party elites tend to nominate candidates like those already in office: overwhelmingly male and middle-aged.

Based on analysis of the 202 chambers in the data set, Figure 14 compares the average rates of representation observed in majoritarian/plurality versus PR/mixed systems for the three age categories of young parliamentarians. For each of the categories, the share of young MPs is significantly higher among chambers with PR/mixed systems.

#### Figure 14





# Age of eligibility

The age at which citizens are eligible to run for parliamentary office is rarely the same as the legal voting age. Among chambers for which full data is available, 65 per cent impose a waiting time between voting age and age of eligibility for office (compared to 73 per cent from the earlier IPU data set, with fewer chambers). Table 4 presents an overview of the lowest and highest minimum age requirements for citizens to vote and run for office, the waiting time between the two, and the mean for each.

# Table 4

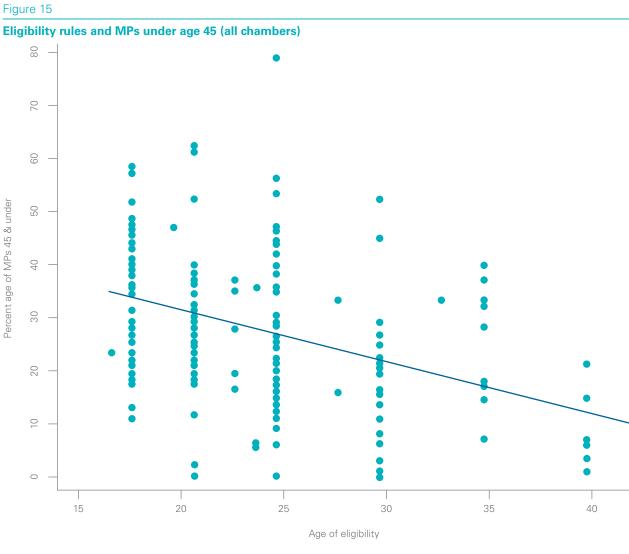
Global overview of political minimum age requirements						
	Lowest	Highest	Mean			
Age for voting	16	25	18.1			
Age for candidacy/eligibility	17	40	23			
Waiting time (years)	0	27	4.9			

Although the minimum voting age of age 18 is nearly universal, citizens must be age 20 to 25 to run for seats in more than half of all chambers for which full data is available. The waiting time is generally longer for upper than for single or lower chambers.

# The age requirements for upper chambers range from 18 to 45, with an average of 27.9; the average waiting time is 9.7 years. The age requirements for single and lower chambers range from 17 to 40 with an average of 21.4; the average waiting time is 3.4 years.

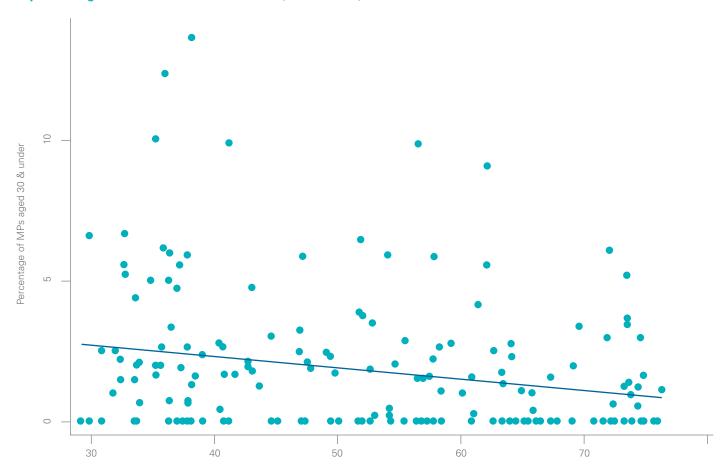
In upper as well as single and lower chambers, and for all age groups, eligibility age requirements correlate strongly, and to statistically significant degrees, with the share of young MPs: the later citizens must wait to run as candidates, the lower the proportion of young MPs. Figure 15 illustrates this trend for parliamentarians under age 45.

45



# Age demographics

Most respondents recommended during the interviews and consultations that youth targets be tied to the share of young people in the population. Statistical analysis highlights why such an approach is needed, as there is an inverse relationship between the presence of MPs under age 30 and the proportion of the population under that age, a pattern that is statistically significant (see Figure 16). Countries with large young populations thus suffer an even more dramatic democracy deficit than other countries as a result of youth underrepresentation.



Population age and the share of MPs under 30 (all chambers)

Percentage of population aged 30 under



The Young Parliamentarians' Forum of Nigeria partnered with civil society for the NotToo Young to Run campaign. In 2018, constitutional amendments were passed in the country, lowering the ages of eligibility to run for office. (©AFP)

# Youth quotas

Political quotas for young people have been established in a small but growing and diverse number of countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East. Table 5 provides an overview.

Seats can be reserved to guarantee a youth presence in parliament, but the proportion set is often very low. Quotas can also apply to the number of political candidates – whether imposed by law on all parties (legislated quotas) or adopted by one or more parties (party quotas). The percentages established by the latter quotas tend to be higher but do not ensure young candidates will actually be elected. Because they are not established by constitution or electoral law, data on party quotas is very difficult to collect, so the list in the table below is far from exhaustive.<sup>34</sup>

The table reveals wide variations in quota design in terms of the type of quota, the age group specified, and the percentage applicable. Some quotas are accompanied by requirements for gender equality. All of the reserved seat provisions have a gender requirement embedded within the youth quota, mandating that a woman occupy at least one of the seats reserved for youth. Gender parity is required in two countries: Rwanda and Kenya.

Two policies – legislated quotas in the Philippines and a party quota in Nicaragua – took a mixed approach, establishing a single quota for women and youth together. Elsewhere, youth and gender quotas apply in parallel but separate fashion. The electoral law in Mexico requires gender parity among candidates, but apart from that, quotas for youth have also been adopted by two political parties. Only in Gabon are there measures for youth in the absence of quotas for women.

Regarding the numerical effects of these measures, as can be seen in the table, many of the quotas appear to have a largely negligible impact on the share of MPs fewer than 30, with only about a third electing more than the average proportion of young MPs: El Salvador, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Mexico, Montenegro, Romania, Tunisia, Sweden, and Ukraine. These countries elect a far greater share of parliamentarians under age 40, suggesting that the individuals benefitting from these quotas are most likely to be near the upper limits of their age groups.

## Table 5

#### Youth quotas and youth representation in parliament

Country	Quota type	Age group	Quota %	Gender	% under age 30	% under age 40
Rwanda	Reserved	Under 35	7.7	Embedded	1.3	22.5
Morocco	Reserved	Under 40	7.6	Embedded	1.6	14.7
Kenya:						
Lower H	Reserved	Under 35	3.4	Embedded	No data	No data
Upper H	Reserved	Under 35	2.9	Embedded	3.0	26.9
Uganda	Reserved	Under 30	1.3	Embedded	1.1	22.9
Philippines	Legislated	Unknown	50*	Mixed	1.7	15.8
Tunisia	Legislated	Under 35	25**	Separate	6.5	22.6
Gabon	Legislated	Under 40	20	No	0.0	8.6
Kyrgyzstan	Legislated	Under 36	15	Separate	4.2	35.0
Egypt	Legislated	Under 35	Varied****	Separate	1.0	11.8
Nicaragua	Party	Unknown	40,*** 15	Mixed	1.1	14.1
Romania	Party	Unknown	30	Separate	6.4	35.3
Mexico	Party	Under 30	30, 20	Separate	7.6	35.7
Montenegro	Party	Under 30	30, 20	Separate	9.9	30.9
Viet nam	Party	Under 40	26.5	Separate	1.8	12.3
El Salvador	Party	Under 31	25	Separate	2.4	14.3
Sweden	Party	Under 35	25	Separate	12.3	34.1
Mozambique	Party	Under 35	20	Separate	0.0	17.2
Cyprus	Party	Under 45, 35	20	Separate	1.8	12.5
Lithuania	Party	Under 35	Unknown	Separate	2.8	19.2
Hungary	Party	Unknown	20	Separate	2.0	29.4
Senegal	Party	Unknown	20	Separate	0.0	11.0
Angola	Party	Unknown	15	Separate	0.6	11.1
Turkey	Party	Unknown	10	Separate	0.2	8.8
Croatia	Party	Unknown	Unknown	Separate	2.7	21.9
Ukraine	Party	Unknown	Unknown	Separate	5.0	41.2

# Recommendation

Governments, parliaments and political parties in countries with large youth populations should pursue institutional reforms to correct this democracy deficit, such as lowering the eligibility age, designing new recruitment strategies, establishing youth quotas and empowering party youth wings.

Policies apply to single and lower chambers of parliament (except in Kenya, as noted).

\*50% of PR lists must come from different sectors, including youth.

\*\*In districts with four or more seats, one young candidate should be placed in one of the top four list positions.
\*\*\*Women and youth together.

\*\*\*\*Minimum of 16 young candidates must be nominated across 4 electoral districts.

#### Table 6

Youth quotas for local elections							
Country	Quota type	Age group	Quota Policy	Gender parity			
Uganda	Reserved seats	Under 30	4 seats in local assemblies	2 of 4 seats to be filled by women			
Timor-Leste	Reserved seats	Under 30	2 seats on each village council	1 male and 1 female			
Sri Lanka	Legislated quota	Under 35	25% quota combined for women and youth	25% quota combined for women and youth			
Tunisia	Legislated quota	Under 35	1 of first 3 candidates; 1 more in every set of 6 candidates	Law mandates gender parity and alternation throughout the list			
Peru	Legislated quota	Under 30	20% of candidates on all party lists	30% gender quota as separate law			

#### Recommendation

Governments, parliaments and political parties should consider introducing youth quotas to enhance the selection and promotion of young candidates and adopting lower age thresholds to help more politicians in their 20s and 30s get elected.

Additional countries have considered proposals for youth quotas, suggesting that a growing number of parliaments and political parties may adopt such provisions in the future. In Liberia, the upper chamber passed an affirmative action bill in 2015 to establish 21 new seats: 15 for women, 3 for youth (at least 1 to be allocated to a young woman), and 3 for people with disabilities. However upon consideration by the upper chamber, the Senate later envisaged only 7 new seats: 5 for women, 1 for youth, and 1 for people with disabilities. The two versions of the bill could not be reconciled prior to the 2017 elections and parliamentary renewals, so the bill lapsed before it could become law.

In 2017, a bill in Costa Rica proposed to require that at least 20 per cent of the candidates that parties nominate for parliamentary and local elections be between 18 and 35 years of age. The Supreme Electoral Tribunal rejected this legislation as "too complicated" to reconcile with the existing gender parity law and because of the sheer number of local offices in play, given that elections were imminent. It also suggested, however, that such a reform would be possible if proposed earlier in the next legislative cycle.

A growing number of countries, as listed in Table 6, are also implementing quotas for youth in local elections. While not comprehensive, since the IPU does not collect data for elections at the subnational level, the list does indicate which countries have taken concrete steps to involve more youth in local politics. Local politics, as mentioned by many of the young MPs interviewed, can also serve as a way into national office, since such experience is often seen as a prerequisite for parliamentary service.

#### Recommendation

Governments, parliaments and political parties should consider instituting youth quotas for local elections, to give young people political experience before pursuing higher office.

While some of the young MPs interviewed for this report hesitated to endorse quotas as a strategy for stimulating youth participation, others did so strongly, considering quotas the only way to compel parties to rethink their recruitment strategies and give higher priority to youth candidates. Evidence from Morocco, moreover, reveals important differences between young people elected to open seats versus those taking reserved seats. The latter are often highly educated and devoted to public service but lack the social connections needed to be nominated as candidates were it not for the reserved seat provision. Among the 30 MPs occupying such seats after the 2011 elections, only three succeeded in making the transition to open seats in the 2016 elections, having gained the networks and resources that made them more viable candidates.<sup>35</sup>

The countries that have adopted youth quotas have followed different paths in doing so, based on proposals from many sources, including civil society, political parties and prominent political leaders. The solutions adopted in Uganda, Rwanda and Kenya, and the proposal in Liberia, surfaced after these countries emerged from armed conflict. Tunisia, Morocco and Egypt adopted youth quotas as part of constitutional reforms enacted after the Arab Spring. These cases show that quotas can contribute to greater inclusivity and thus stability in the wake of political upheavals.<sup>36</sup> Young social activists in Morocco and Peru have been strong advocates for youth quotas, framed in Peru as an alternative to a "gerontocratic" political system.<sup>37</sup>

Quotas for youth are often adopted together with, or subsequent to, quotas for women.<sup>38</sup> Many countries now have some form of gender quota, opening possibilities to extend the logic of quotas beyond gender, to youth. Such a strategy was consciously adopted by young people in the Swedish Social Democrat Party, reaching out to the women in their party who had won adoption of the gender quota years earlier, to learn from their experience.





Young male MPs outnumber their female counterparts in every age group.

# **ENCOURAGING SIGN**

The gender imbalance is less pronounced among younger MPs where the ratio is:



Youth participation in national parliaments 2018



# **UNDER 40**

# **UNDER 30**

As in 2016, in countries where youth quotas exist, the proportion of parliamentarians under 30 is much smaller than of the under-40 age group.

# ELIGIBILITY

The average

waiting time

is 3.4 years.

The age at which citizens are eligible to run for parliamentary office rarely coincides with the legal voting age.



QUOTAS

65 per cent of chambers impose a 'waiting time' between voting age and age of eligibility for office.

The waiting time is generally longer for upper than for single or lower chambers.



The age requirements The average waiting time for upper chambers range from 18 to 45, is 9.7 years. with an average of 27.9.



The age requirements for single and lower chambers range from 17 to 40 with an average of 21.4.

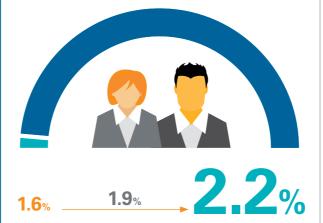
UNDER

Just over 30 per cent of the world's single and lower chambers of parliament have no MPs aged under 30 as in 2016.

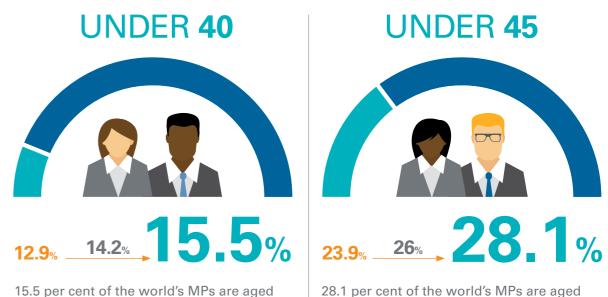


GENDER

**UNDER 30** 



2.2 per cent of the world's MPs are aged under 30 - up from 1.6 per cent in 2014 and 1.9 per cent in 2016.



under 40 - up from 12.9 per cent in 2014 and 14.2 per cent in 2016.





Young people under 30 make up only 2.2 per cent of the world's 45,000 MPs, up from 1.9% in 2016.



76 per cent of the world's upper chambers of parliament have no MPs aged under 30 down from 80% in 2016.

> under 45 – up from 23.9 per cent in 2014 and 26 per cent in 2016.

# 40.7%

Less than half of the chambers analyzed have a **committee** or parliamentary body whose name explicitly refers to 'youth'.



Youth parliaments exist in 72 per cent of the countries surveyed, some with formal ties to the national parliament but most coordinated by **non-governmental** organizations, government ministries, schools or other local authorities.

national parljaments 2018 / v150 countries (147 šingle ar nbers of parljamenti irce: Youth participation in n ed on data gathered from n mbers and 55 upper chamb Young MPs have also gained inspiration from IPU measures to promote gender equality and to include women in the composition of member delegations, structures, and decisionmaking bodies. Their recommendations for enhancing youth participation at the IPU were forwarded to its Governing Council, which approved several amendments to the IPU Statutes and Rules in March 2018 (see Box 1). Those amendments provide encouragement for parliaments and establish new incentives with the aim of gradually reaching an overall minimum proportion of 25 per cent young MPs at future IPU Assemblies.

# Box 1

#### Amendments to the IPU Statutes and Rules

## Statutes

Article 10.2: "A Member Parliament may register one additional delegate if at least one young parliamentarian is part of the delegation, on condition that the delegation is composed of both sexes."

#### Rules

Rule 22.1: "Two representatives of each delegation may speak during the General Debate. They shall share speaking time as they deem fit. An additional MP from each delegation may address the General Debate, provided he/ she is a young parliamentarian."

With leadership from the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians, the Statutes of the organization were amended in 2018 to encourage greater participation of young parliamentarians at IPU Assemblies. (©Russian Parliament)

# Recommendation

In countries where gender quotas have already been adopted, supporters of youth representation should leverage this fact in developing campaigns for youth quotas, learning from the experience gained in advancing women's political participation.

The simultaneous introduction of gender and youth quotas does, however, pose a dilemma for proponents of greater diversity in political representation. On the one hand, the double counting of young women under both sets of quota requirements serves to promote young female candidates, counteracting the double discrimination they face. On the other hand, such policies are susceptible to abuse by elites (mainly older men), who can thus limit the number of seats they might otherwise have to give up to newcomers. After the 2014 elections in Tunisia, for example, women under 45 occupied more than 80 per cent of the seats held by that age group. The share of older men stayed roughly the same while those of younger men and older women went down.<sup>39</sup>

A growing share of youth quotas have provisions for gender parity embedded within them, which encourages the election of young men as well as young women. Side-by-side quotas that allow double counting, however, should be approached with caution.

One possible solution has been tried in Morocco. The country used to reserve 60 seats for women (of all ages) and 30 seats for men under age 40, which favoured the election of older women



and younger men to the detriment of younger women. Following a 2016 reform, however, at least one person of each gender must now appear on the youth lists presented by political parties.

## Recommendation

Governments, parliaments and parties should consider how youth quotas and gender quotas might work together, or in parallel, to influence positively the representation of different age-gender groups. In particular, the double counting of young women may undermine the broader goals of such reforms by deepening disparities within underrepresented groups – young women, young men and older women – while leaving overrepresented groups – older men – secure in their positions.

# Party youth wings

Strengthening party youth wings – and especially their role in recruiting younger candidates – emerged in many of the more qualitative discussions as a potentially effective way to elect more young parliamentarians.

A study in Belgium illustrates that potential. It found that 41 per cent of city councillors had started their political careers as young party activists,<sup>40</sup> and that youth wing membership had played an important role in their subsequent political trajectories. On average, the former youth wing members had first been nominated as local candidates at age 31 and first held office at age 34. The other respondents, without that background, had first become candidates at age 39 and office holders at age 42. Because opportunities to advance in politics are limited by electoral cycles, this eight-year difference can significantly alter the prospects of ever being elected, to any office. The importance of an early start in politics is corroborated in the United States, where more than half of the top political leaders – presidents, representatives, senators and governors – first held elective office before the age of 35.<sup>41</sup>

The importance of party youth wings for purposes of recruitment stems from the political networks they foster, which in turn increase their members' chances of gaining political leadership positions. They also provide training opportunities and can boost their members' political self-confidence. Further, in some parties, a member of the youth wing may sit on candidate nomination committees, which can help the party's relevant bodies in identifying and selecting younger candidates. It was clear from the interviews, however, that parties can do in this area, such as allocating central party resources to support the work of youth wings, establishing rules regarding youth participation on party leadership bodies, and using youth wings more actively as a resource in recruiting younger candidates. Parties have a clear incentive to do so: in Romania and Spain, youth left the established political parties to form their own parties, most of whose elected members were under age 45.

# Recommendation

Political parties should establish youth wings. Where these already exist, parties should devote greater energy and resources to them

as they can serve as prime recruiting pools for younger candidates. Spaces for young representatives in party leadership bodies, including their candidate nomination panels, could also contribute to greater youth engagement and influence. Care should be taken to ensure these efforts are gender inclusive.

# **Political financing**

A second major factor is access to political financing. In many countries, campaigning effectively for political office requires vast sums of money. A study in the United States found that the need to raise funds for political campaigns was the single greatest deterrent to becoming a political candidate (which some respondents described as "selling your soul").<sup>42</sup> Young MPs in Malawi and Niger explained that inadequate funding was a particularly acute problem for young people, who experience high unemployment or may just be finishing school. The incumbents they may seek to challenge, however, have abundant access to cash, stemming from their political connections, personal wealth and resources from parliament for constituency work.

Some of the young parliamentarians interviewed, however, said they had needed little personal money to run for office in their countries. Campaigns in Canada, for instance, cost far less than in the United States because of strict spending limits and limited opportunities for corporate donations. Political parties in Sweden cover all campaign expenses, so candidates do not need to invest their own personal resources. Such features make politics more accessible for a broad range of groups, including youth.

In some countries, young candidates have found creative ways around these financial barriers. In the United Arab Emirates, a young parliamentarian was elected after running his electoral campaign exclusively on social media platforms, reaching wide audiences cost-free.

# Recommendation

Limits should be placed on campaign spending to level the playing field for young newcomers facing older, better funded incumbents. Such an approach can also improve the situation for other underrepresented groups, including women of all ages. As an alternative, parties could allocate more funding to young candidates and thus encourage them to run.

# **Empowering young voters**

Most of the discussion above focuses on political and institutional reforms as a means to advance the recruitment and election of young MPs. Another means is to empower young people themselves to take part in the candidate selection process. Since youth tend to be excluded from the circles of power, they typically lack the networks needed to influence candidate selection, which is often a centralized decision process. Opening up those processes, through primaries for instance, could help to break this cycle by encouraging more youth to run and enabling young party members to throw their support behind young candidates. A study of the 2011 local elections in Norway shows how empowering young voters might positively affect the election of young candidates. Local elections that year were unusual because the voting age was lowered from 18 to 16, on a trial basis, in 20 municipalities around the country. That measure, accompanied by only limited change in party selection practices, led to a doubling of local councillors aged 18 to 24. Preferential voting resulted in youth being elected over older candidates placed higher on party lists. Young candidates were elected at higher rates in the trial municipalities. A larger share also gained office as a result of preference votes: 37.7 per cent of those aged 18 to 25 and a stunning 46.2 per cent of those aged 18 to 21.<sup>43</sup>

Public discussions on the topic of youth participation can also stimulate interest amongst youth in both voting and running for office. In 2011, Norwegian State television arranged the first debate ever between the leaders of youth party organizations. In Canada, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's call for generational change inspired larger numbers of young people to stand as candidates. Trudeau also created the Prime Minister's Youth Council, a body comprised of around 20 youth who provide advice to the Prime Minister and Government. In a growing trend, many MPs in the country have also established their own youth councils within their constituencies. In Nigeria, the Not Too Young to Run campaign to lower the eligibility age for many political positions has led a number of currently underaged aspirants to begin preparing their campaigns in anticipation of the reform. Many even adopted the Not Too Young to Run slogan in their campaign materials.

# Recommendation

Governments, parliaments and political parties should adopt strategies to raise awareness about the importance of youth participation in politics. These can include expressions of support from parliamentary leaders for more youth voices in politics, as well as institutional changes enabling youth to exert greater influence on candidate selection. The IPU should also campaign internationally to raise awareness about, and garner support for, youth participation in politics, inspiring country-level debates and actions.

# Facilitating work-life balance

A final concern raised by many respondents during the consultations was that work-life balance considerations might be stopping young people from aspiring to political office. The possible solutions discussed were very similar to those outlined in the IPU *Plan of Action for Gender-Sensitive Parliaments*<sup>44</sup> and its 2011 publication, *Gender-Sensitive Parliaments: A Global Review of Best Practice*.<sup>45</sup> They included holding political meetings at family-friendly times and in venues equally accessible to a broad range of participants.

To adapt to the needs of younger generations, parliamentary institutions are increasingly offering day-care facilities and parental leave – issues of particular importance for younger parliamentarians, both male and female. Without such provisions, young MPs may succeed in getting elected – but then see their political careers hindered by constraints in that area.

# Recommendation

Parliaments should explore the feasibility of adopting recommendations set out in the IPU Plan of Action for Gender-Sensitive Parliaments, including changes to working hours and the provision of day care and parental leave. Political parties should also aim to limit political meetings to times and spaces that are accessible to all members.



There was a sharp increase in the number of young people who voted in the 2017 United Kingdom general election. (©Ray Tang/Anadolu Agency)

# Promoting youth in parliamentary work

The IPU supports parliaments in their efforts to facilitate access for youth to political decision-making, empower young MPs and young people generally and include a youth perspective in legislation, policies and processes. One of the ways of promoting youth in parliamentary work is through the creation of youth-related parliamentary structures. This section analyses data collected on existing parliamentary bodies that promote youth participation in national parliaments.

# **Key findings**

- Youth networks and caucuses in parliament, both formal and informal, are growing in number around the world. Such bodies exist in 16.7 per cent of the parliaments included in this report.
- Slightly less than half (40.7%) of the 193 chambers analysed have a committee or parliamentary body dealing with youth issues.

The questionnaire requested information on bodies established within parliaments to promote youth participation. According to the data collected, such bodies focus on two broad goals: (i) capacity-building for young parliamentarians; and (ii) the coordination of work on youth policies. These aims are related but not totally overlapping: capacity-building enables young MPs to address a broad range of policy issues while, conversely, concerns of particular relevance to youth can be addressed by parliamentarians of all ages, working together.

# **Networks and caucuses**

The IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians was established in 2013 as an international youth-led platform for young MPs around the world. Its purpose is to enhance youth participation, empower young parliamentarians, strengthen their influence and bring the perspectives of youth to policymaking in the world's parliaments.

A growing number of parliaments have established similar bodies. Some are networks of young parliamentarians, and focus on bringing together young MPs for purposes of networking and capacity-building. Others are caucuses for youth issues, and engage parliamentarians of all ages to work on policy reforms and other initiatives for young people.

Table 7 presents the growing list of countries with youth networks and caucuses in one or both of their chambers of parliament. Since the last IPU report (2016) new networks have been set up in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Pakistan, the Russian Federation, Somalia, South Africa and the United Republic of Tanzania. Additional networks are being set up – or are largely informal with no official name – in such countries as the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Chile, Ghana, Japan, Malawi and the United Kingdom. New youth caucuses have been set up in Australia, Poland, the Republic of Korea, the Russian Federation and Rwanda.

#### Table 7

#### Youth networks and caucuses in parliament

#### Networks of young parliamentarians

Network of Young Parliamentarians, Cameroon Network of Young Parliamentarians, Democratic Republic of the Congo Network of Young Parliamentarians, Ecuador International Network of YMPs in the Parliament, Finland Intergroup of Youth in the Chamber of Deputies, Italy Young Parliamentarians Association, Kenya Young Parliamentarians Forum, Nigeria Young Parliamentarians Forum, Pakistan Chamber of Young Legislators, Russian Federation Parliament Youth Caucus, Somalia Parliamentary Group for Young MPs, South Africa Young Parliamentary Caucus, United Republic of Tanzania

# In the process of being set up (Ghana and Malawi)

No name given, Plurinational State of Bolivia, Chile, Japan, United Kingdom

#### **Caucuses for youth issues**

Parliamentary Friends of Youth Mental Health, Australia Parliamentary Forum on Youth, India Caucus to Promote Youth Policies, Israel Grouping on the Education of the Young Generation, Poland Parliamentary Forum for the Development of Human Resources/Youth Plan 2.0, Republic of Korea Parliamentary Group for Consultation with Young People, **Russian Federation** Network of Parliamentarians for Population and Development, Rwanda Parliamentary Intergroup on Childhood and Youth, Switzerland Association of Parliamentarians for Children and Youth, Suriname Parliamentary Network for Youth Perspective in Politics, Sweden All-Party Parliamentary Group on Youth Affairs, United Kingdom

# Recommendation

Parliaments and young MPs themselves should explore the possibility of creating a network of young parliamentarians and/or consider if there are issues affecting youth in their countries that might benefit from collective advocacy in parliament.

# **Parliamentary committees**

The IPU questionnaire asked whether countries had parliamentary bodies dealing with youth issues. Some respondents answered yes, but then named committees on education, for example, which are found in all countries and whose remit is not limited specifically to young people.

The analysis found that slightly less than half (40.7%) of the 193 chambers analysed have a committee or parliamentary body whose name explicitly refers to youth, or to such related terms as children, adolescents or teenagers. The bodies referred to by most respondents (69) are standing committees. Youth committees are slightly more common among single and lower chambers (43.4%).



There are a growing number of youth caucuses and networks of young parliamentarians around the world. (©Christian Diotte, House of Commons Photo Services/HOC-CDC)

# Recommendations

## Make youth participation a priority

- Governments, parliaments and political parties in countries with large youth populations should pursue institutional reforms to correct the democracy deficit of youth representation, such as lowering the eligibility age, designing new recruitment strategies, establishing youth quotas and empowering party youth wings.
- Governments, parliaments and political parties seeking to expand the presence of young people in parliament should make it a priority to address the double discrimination young women suffer.

# Institute effective youth quotas

- Governments, parliaments and political parties should consider introducing youth quotas to enhance the selection and promotion of young candidates and adopting lower age thresholds to help more politicians in their 20s and 30s get elected.
- Governments, parliaments and political parties should consider instituting youth quotas for local elections, to give young people political experience before pursuing higher office.
- In countries where gender quotas have already been adopted, supporters of youth representation should leverage this fact in developing campaigns for youth quotas, learning from the experience gained in advancing women's political participation.
- Governments, parliaments and parties should consider how youth quotas and gender quotas might work together, or in parallel, to improve the representation of different age-gender groups. In particular, the double counting of young women may undermine the broader goals of such reforms by deepening disparities within underrepresented groups – young women, young men and older women – while leaving over-represented groups – older men – secure in their positions.

#### Open up to youth at the party and local levels

- Political parties should establish youth wings. Where these already exist, parties should devote greater energy and resources to them as they can serve as prime recruiting pools for younger candidates. Spaces for young representatives in party leadership bodies, including their candidate nomination panels, could also contribute to greater youth engagement and influence. Care should be taken to ensure these efforts are gender inclusive.
- Limits should be placed on campaign spending to level the playing field for young newcomers facing older, better funded incumbents. Such an approach can also improve the situation for other underrepresented groups, including women of all ages. As an alternative, parties could allocate more funding to young candidates and thus encourage them to run.
- Governments, parliaments and political parties should adopt strategies to raise awareness about the importance of youth

participation in politics. These can include expressions of support from parliamentary leaders for more youth voices in politics, as well as institutional changes enabling youth to exert greater influence on candidate selection.

#### **Empowering young MPs**

- Parliaments should explore the feasibility of adopting recommendations set out in the IPU Plan of Action for Gender-Sensitive Parliaments, including changes to working hours and the provision of day care and parental leave.
   Political parties should also aim to limit political meetings to times and spaces that are accessible to all members.
- Parliaments and young MPs themselves should explore the possibility of creating a network of young parliamentarians and/or consider if there are issues affecting youth in their countries that might benefit from collective advocacy in parliament.

#### For the IPU:

# Establish an internationally agreed-upon youth target

- An internationally agreed-upon youth target should be established which takes into account a country's context, especially the size of its youth population. Two possible approaches include:
  - 1. setting variable targets suitable for small, medium and large youth populations respectively; or
  - 2. providing a formula for countries to set their own targets e.g. half the proportion of the youth population in each age group.
- Incorporate a gender parity provision as part of any internationally agreed-upon youth target.

#### Campaign and continue raising awareness

• The IPU should continue campaigning internationally to raise awareness about, and garner support for, youth participation in politics, inspiring country-level debates and actions.

# ANNEX 1 Members of parliament under age 30 in 150 countries (percentage)

Single and lower chambers of parliament (147 chambers)			
Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 30	
1	Norway	13.61	
2	Sweden	12.32	
3	San Marino	11.67	
4	Gambia	10.34	
5	Finland	10.00	
6	Montenegro	9.88	
7	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	9.82	
8	Austria	8.74	
9	Mexico	7.62	
10	Andorra	7.14	
11	Italy	6.59	
12	Tunisia	6.45	
13	Romania	6.38	
14	Denmark	6.15	
15	Ethiopia	6.10	
16	Malta	5.97	
17	Cuba	5.89	
18	Suriname	5.88	
19	Ecuador	5.84	
20	Chile	5.83	
21	Bhutan	5.56	
21	Slovenia	5.56	
23	France	5.55	
24	Portugal	5.22	
25	Somalia	5.21	
26	Czech Republic	5.03	
27	Latvia	5.00	
28	Ukraine	4.99	
29	Colombia	4.82	
30	Iceland	4.76	
31	Kyrgyzstan	4.17	
32	Brazil	3.90	
33	Kazakhstan	3.77	

Single a	Single and lower chambers of parliament (147 chambers)			
Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 30		
34	Costa Rica	3.51		
35	Guatemala	3.38		
36	Luxembourg	3.33		
37	Uruguay	3.03		
37	Zimbabwe	3.03		
39	Republic of Moldova	3.00		
40	Canada	2.96		
41	Indonesia	2.86		
42	Lithuania	2.84		
43	South Africa	2.75		
44	Croatia	2.65		
45	Mongolia	2.63		
45	India	2.63		
47	Poland	2.61		
48	Germany	2.54		
49	Bulgaria	2.51		
50	Paraguay	2.50		
50	United Arab Emirates	2.50		
52	Trinidad and Tobago	2.44		
53	Sri Lanka	2.39		
54	Bosnia and Herzegovina	2.38		
54	El Salvador	2.38		
56	Argentina	2.33		
57	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	2.31		
58	Spain	2.24		
59	Albania	2.13		
60	Sudan	2.04		
61	Hungary	2.03		
62	Belgium	2.00		
62	Netherlands	2.00		
62	Switzerland	2.00		
65	Congo	1.99		
65	Ireland	1.99		

Single and lower chambers of parliament (147 chambers)			
Ranking	Country	% of MPs	
nanking		under age 30	
67	Estonia	1.98	
68	United Kingdom	1.91	
69	Armenia	1.90	
70	Viet Nam	1.81	
71	Cyprus	1.79	
72	Israel	1.74	
73	Philippines	1.71	
74	New Zealand	1.67	
74	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	1.67	
76	Afghanistan	1.63	
77	Serbia	1.60	
78	Uzbekistan	1.57	
79	Botswana	1.56	
80	Morocco	1.55	
81	Mali	1.36	
82	Maldives	1.33	
82	Russian Federation	1.33	
84	Rwanda	1.25	
85	China	1.24	
86	Zambia	1.22	
87	Niger	1.20	
88	Pakistan	1.18	
89	Uganda	1.11	
90	Algeria	1.09	
90	Nicaragua	1.09	
92	Egypt	1.01	
93	Equatorial Guinea	1.00	
93	Greece	1.00	
95	Burundi	0.94	
96	Guinea	0.88	
97	Jordan	0.76	
98	Georgia	0.67	
98	Slovakia	0.67	
100	United Republic of Tanzania	0.62	
101	Angola	0.56	
102	Syrian Arab Republic	0.38	
103	Bangladesh	0.29	
104	Myanmar	0.23	
105	Turkey	0.19	
106	Australia	0.00	
106	Azerbaijan	0.00	
106	Bahrain	0.00	
106	Belarus	0.00	

Single and lower chambers of parliament (147 chambers)			
Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 30	
106	Benin	0.00	
106	Cabo Verde	0.00	
106	Cambodia	0.00	
106	Cameroon	0.00	
106	Chad	0.00	
106	Côte d'Ivoire	0.00	
106	Democratic Republic of the Congo	0.00	
106	Dominican Republic	0.00	
106	Fiji	0.00	
106	Gabon	0.00	
106	Ghana	0.00	
106	Haiti	0.00	
106	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	0.00	
106	Iraq	0.00	
106	Jamaica	0.00	
106	Japan	0.00	
106	Kuwait	0.00	
106	Lebanon	0.00	
106	Malaysia	0.00	
106	Micronesia (Federated States of)	0.00	
106	Monaco	0.00	
106	Mozambique	0.00	
106	Namibia	0.00	
106	Nigeria	0.00	
106	Oman	0.00	
106	Papua New Guinea	0.00	
106	Peru	0.00	
106	Qatar	0.00	
106	Republic of Korea	0.00	
106	Sao Tome and Principe	0.00	
106	Senegal	0.00	
106	Seychelles	0.00	
106	Singapore	0.00	
106	Solomon Islands	0.00	
106	Thailand	0.00	
106	Timor-Leste	0.00	
106	Tuvalu	0.00	
106	United States of America	0.00	

Upper chambers of parliament (55 chambers)			
Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 30	
1	Bhutan	9.09	
2	Slovenia	6.67	
3	Mexico*	3.60	
4	Austria	3.28	
5	Trinidad and Tobago	3.23	
6	Somalia	3.0	
7	Kenya	2.99	
8	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	2.78	
9	Australia	2.74	
10	Netherlands	2.67	
11	Ireland	2.08	
12	Belgium	1.67	
13	Malaysia	1.61	
14	Spain	1.50	
15	Myanmar	0.5	
16	Afghanistan	0.0	
16	Algeria	0.0	
16	Argentina	0.0	
16	Austria	0.0	
16	Bahrain	0.0	
16	Belarus	0.0	
16	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.0	
16	Brazil	0.0	
16	Burundi	0.0	
16	Cambodia	0.0	
16	Canada	0.0	
16	Chile	0.0	
16	Colombia	0.0	
16	Congo	0.0	
16	Czech Republic	0.0	
16	Democratic Republic of the Congo	0.0	
16	Equatorial Guinea	0.0	
16	France	0.0	
16	Gabon	0.0	
16	Germany	0.0	
16	Haiti	0.0	
16	India	0.0	
16	Italy	0.0	
16	Jamaica	0.0	
16	Japan	0.0	
16	Kazakhstan	0.0	
16	Namibia	0.0	
16	Nigeria	0.0	

Up	Upper chambers of parliament (55 chambers)		
Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 30	
16	Pakistan	0.0	
16	Paraguay	0.0	
16	Philippines	0.0	
16	Poland	0.0	
16	Romania	0.0	
16	Russian Federation	0.0	
16	Rwanda	0.0	
16	Switzerland	0.0	
16	United Kingdom	0.0	
16	United States of America	0.0	
16	Uruguay	0.0	
16	Uzbekistan	0.0	
16	Zimbabwe	0.0	

\*Based on preliminary results as of 20 July 2018.

## ANNEX 2 **Members of parliament under age 40 in 150 countries (percentage)**

### Single and lower chambers of parliament (147 chambers)

	LOWER			LOWER	
Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 40	Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 40
1	Denmark	41.34	34	Burundi	25.47
2	Ukraine	41.21	35	Portugal	25.22
3	Andorra	39.29	36	Oman	24.71
4	San Marino	36.67	37	Serbia	24.40
5	Gambia	36.21	38	Maldives	24.00
6	Bhutan	36.11	39	Armenia	23.81
7	Finland	36.00	40	Estonia	23.76
8	Mexico	35.67	41	Suriname	23.53
9	Ethiopia	35.37	42	France	23.22
10	Romania	35.26	43	Bulgaria	23.01
11	Kyrgyzstan	35.00	44	Tunisia	22.58
12	Norway	34.91	45	Rwanda	22.50
13	Seychelles	34.38	46	Moldova	22.00
14	Ecuador	34.31	47	Botswana	21.88
15	Sweden	34.10	47	Uganda	21.88
16	Cabo Verde	33.33	49	Croatia	21.85
16	Netherlands	33.33	50	Singapore	21.74
18	Italy	32.81	51	New Zealand	21.67
19	Montenegro	30.86	52	Paraguay	21.25
20	Georgia	30.67	53	Uruguay	21.21
21	Colombia	29.52	54	Iceland	20.63
22	Hungary	29.44	55	Israel	20.00
23	Czech Republic	29.15	55	United Arab Emirates	20.00
24	Belgium	28.67	57	Spain	19.61
25	Uzbekistan	28.35	58	Costa Rica	19.30
26	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	28.33	59	Lithuania	19.15
27	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	27.61	60	Poland	19.13
27	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	26.92	61	Bosnia and Herzegovina	19.05
			62	Latvia	19.00
29	Malta	26.87	62	Switzerland	19.00
30	Chile	26.67	64	Somalia	18.96
31	Afghanistan	25.71	65	Brazil	18.91
32 33	Austria Slovenia	25.68	66	Guatemala	18.24

LOWER			
Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 40	
67	Kuwait	18.00	
68	Indonesia	17.86	
69	Germany	17.59	
70	United Kingdom	17.38	
71	Mozambique	17.20	
72	Canada	17.11	
73	Algeria	16.74	
74	Slovakia	16.67	
75	Cuba	16.53	
76	Sao Tome and Principe	16.36	
77	Albania	16.31	
78	Ireland	15.89	
79	Mongolia	15.79	
80	Zimbabwe	15.76	
81	Philippines	15.75	
82	South Africa	15.50	
83	India	15.01	
84	Morocco	14.73	
85	Haiti	14.53	
86	El Salvador	14.29	
87	Australia	14.19	
88	Nicaragua	14.13	
89	Fiji	14.00	
90	Russian Federation	13.56	
91	Myanmar	13.36	
92	Iraq	13.25	
93	Ghana	13.09	
94	Zambia	12.80	
95	Bahrain	12.50	
95	Cyprus	12.50	
97	Argentina	12.45	
98	Sri Lanka	12.44	
99	Peru	12.31	
100	Viet Nam	12.30	
101	Malaysia	12.16	
102	Chad	12.02	
103	Greece	12.00	
104	Congo	11.92	
105	Egypt	11.76	
106	Luxembourg	11.67	
107	Pakistan	11.54	
108	Cambodia	11.48	
109	Angola	11.11	
109	Nigeria	11.11	

	LOWER	
Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 40
111	Senegal	11.04
112	United Republic of Tanzania	10.84
113	Namibia	10.58
114	Azerbaijan	10.00
115	Jordan	9.92
116	Democratic Republic of the Congo	9.80
117	Sudan	9.52
118	Papua New Guinea	9.21
119	Syrian Arab Republic	9.20
120	Côte d'Ivoire	8.84
120	Mali	8.84
122	Turkey	8.75
123	Gabon	8.62
124	Dominican Republic	8.60
125	Japan	8.39
126	Equatorial Guinea	8.00
127	Kazakhstan	7.55
128	Trinidad and Tobago	7.32
129	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	7.02
130	United States of America	6.67
131	Niger	6.63
132	Timor-Leste	6.45
133	Lebanon	6.25
134	Bangladesh	5.71
134	Qatar	5.71
136	China	5.61
137	Belarus	5.50
138	Jamaica	5.38
139	Guinea	5.26
140	Solomon Islands	4.88
141	Cameroon	3.89
142	Benin	2.41
143	Republic of Korea	2.33
144	Micronesia (Federated States of)	0.00
144	Monaco	0.00
144	Thailand	0.00
144	Tuvalu	0.00

Upper chambers of parliament (55 chambers)			
Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 40	
1	Bhutan	54.55	
2	Kenya	26.87	
3	Myanmar	21.43	
4	Somalia	20.37	
5	Belgium	20.00	
6	Jamaica	19.05	
7	Slovenia	18.89	
8	Germany	18.50	
9	Mexico*	17.12	
10	Colombia	16.83	
11	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	16.67	
12	Afghanistan	16.18	
13	Spain	15.41	
14	Ireland	14.58	
15	Bosnia and Herzegovina	13.33	
16	Austria	13.11	
17	Australia	12.33	
18	Netherlands	12.00	
19	Romania	11.03	
20	Burundi	10.26	
21	Malaysia	9.68	
22	Pakistan	9.62	
23	Namibia	9.30	
24	Switzerland	8.70	
25	Russian Federation	8.59	
26	Trinidad and Tobago	6.45	
27	Japan	6.20	
28	Equatorial Guinea	6.10	
29	Chile	5.26	
30	Belarus	5.17	
31	Bahrain	5.00	
32	Algeria	4.29	
33	Philippines	4.17	
34	Poland	3.09	
35	Argentina	2.78	
36	India	2.51	
37	Brazil	2.47	
37	Czech Republic	2.47	
39	Paraguay	2.17	
40	United States of America	2.00	
41	France	1.74	
42	United Kingdom	0.58	
43	Italy	0.31	
44	Cambodia	0.00	

Upper chambers of parliament (55 chambers)			
Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 40	
44	Canada	0.00	
44	Congo	0.00	
44	Democratic Republic of the Congo	0.00	
44	Gabon	0.00	
44	Haiti	0.00	
44	Kazakhstan	0.00	
44	Nigeria	0.00	
44	Rwanda	0.00	
44	Uruguay	0.00	
44	Uzbekistan	0.00	
44	Zimbabwe	0.00	

\*Based on preliminary results as of 20 July 2018.

# ANNEX 3 **Members of parliament under age 45 in 150 countries (percentage)**

Single and lower chambers of parliament (147 chambers)			
Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 45	
1	Ukraine	64.43	
2	Ethiopia	63.62	
3	Andorra	60.71	
4	Seychelles	59.38	
5	San Marino	58.33	
6	Gambia	56.90	
7	Bhutan	55.56	
8	Netherlands	55.33	
9	Kyrgyzstan	54.17	
10	Oman	54.12	
11	Denmark	53.63	
12	Mexico	53.31	
13	Georgia	52.00	
14	Romania	51.67	
15	Belgium	49.33	
16	Afghanistan	48.57	
17	The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	48.33	
18	Sweden	48.14	
19	Uzbekistan	48.03	
20	Equatorial Guinea	48.00	
21	Finland	47.00	
22	Colombia	46.99	
23	Ecuador	46.72	
24	Malta	46.27	
25	Paraguay	46.25	
26	Cabo Verde	45.83	
27	Norway	45.56	
28	Portugal	45.22	
29	Italy	45.21	
30	Slovenia	44.44	
31	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	43.85	
32	Mongolia	43.42	

Single ar	nd lower chambers of parliament (1	47 chambers)
Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 45
33	Croatia	43.05
34	Czech Republic	42.71
35	Maldives	42.67
36	Jamaica	41.94
37	Bulgaria	41.42
38	Haiti	41.03
39	Uganda	41.00
40	Hungary	40.61
41	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	40.49
42	Rwanda	40.00
42	United Arab Emirates	40.00
44	Burundi	39.62
45	Cuba	39.28
46	Suriname	39.22
47	Chile	38.33
48	Singapore	38.04
49	Latvia	38.00
50	Indonesia	37.68
51	Serbia	37.60
52	Albania	37.59
53	Botswana	37.50
54	Guatemala	37.16
55	Montenegro	37.04
56	France	36.92
57	Iceland	36.51
58	Tunisia	36.41
59	Armenia	36.19
60	Austria	36.07
61	Moldova	36.00
62	Zambia	35.98
63	New Zealand	35.83
64	Estonia	35.64
65	Algeria	34.35

Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 45	Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 4
66	Ireland	33.77	110	Japan	22.15
67	Costa Rica	33.33	111	Trinidad and Tobago	21.95
68	Australia	33.11	112	Syrian Arab Republic	21.84
69	Israel	33.04	113	Luxembourg	21.67
70	Sao Tome and Principe	32.73	114	Turkey	21.60
71	Solomon Islands	31.71	115	Egypt	21.51
72	Slovakia	31.33	116	Mali	21.09
73	Somalia	31.28	117	Greece	21.00
74	Spain	30.53	118	Congo	20.53
75	Poland	30.43	119	Côte d'Ivoire	20.08
76	United Kingdom	30.30	120	Fiji	20.00
77	Bahrain	30.00	121	Papua New Guinea	19.74
77	Kuwait	30.00	122	Bosnia and Herzegovina	19.05
77	Switzerland	30.00	122	Sudan	19.05
80	El Salvador	29.76	124	Cambodia	18.85
81	Sri Lanka	29.67	125	Nicaragua	18.48
82	Brazil	29.43	126	Senegal	18.40
83	Germany	29.16	127	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	18.25
84	Zimbabwe	29.09	128	Angola	17.78
85	Morocco	28.68	129	Azerbaijan	17.50
86	Lithuania	28.37	130	Cameroon	17.22
87	Ghana	28.00	131	Gabon	16.38
88	Niger	27.71	132	Dominican Republic	16.13
89	Uruguay	27.27	133	Bangladesh	15.14
90	Myanmar	27.19	134	United States of America	14.25
91	Iraq	27.13	135	Namibia	13.46
92	Democratic Republic of the Congo	26.60	136	Monaco	12.50
93	Pakistan	26.33	137	Belarus	11.93
94	South Africa	26.25	138	China	11.56
95	Peru	26.15	139	Kazakhstan	11.32
96	Philippines	26.03	140	Guinea	9.65
97	Nigeria	25.83	141	Benin	9.64
98	Canada	25.33	142	Lebanon	9.38
99	India	25.14	143	Republic of Korea	6.33
100	Russian Federation	25.11	144	Qatar	5.71
101	Cyprus	25.00	145	Micronesia (Federated States of)	0.00
102	Jordan	24.43	145	Thailand	0.00
103	Mozambique	24.40	145	Tuvalu	0.00
104	Timor-Leste	24.19			
105	United Republic of Tanzania	24.15			
106	Chad	22.95			
107	Malaysia	22.52			
108	Argentina	22.18			
108	Viet Nam	22.18			

Up	oper chambers of parliament (55 c	hambers)
Ranking	Country	% of MPs
		under age 45
1	Bhutan	81.82
2	Kenya	41.79
3	Afghanistan	41.18
4	Burundi	38.46
5	Belgium	36.67
6	Germany	36.42
7	Romania	34.56
8	Mexico*	34.23
9	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	33.33
9	Jamaica	33.33
11	Myanmar	32.59
12	Namibia	32.56
13	Slovenia	32.22
14	Ireland	31.25
15	Somalia	29.63
16	Philippines	29.17
17	Spain	28.95
18	Colombia	27.72
19	Uruguay	23.33
20	Australia	23.29
21	Trinidad and Tobago	22.58
22	Italy	21.88
23	Austria	21.31
24	Pakistan	21.15
25	Haiti	20.00
26	Netherlands	18.67
27	Chile	18.42
28	Argentina	16.67
29	Japan	16.53
30	Malaysia	16.13
31	Paraguay	15.22
32	Bahrain	15.00
33	Belarus	13.79
34	Bosnia and Herzegovina	13.33
35	Russian Federation	12.27
36	Equatorial Guinea	12.10
37	Rwanda	11.54
38	United States of America	11.00
39	Switzerland	8.70
40	Poland	8.25
41	Brazil	7.41
42	Nigeria	7.34
43	Algeria	7.14
44	France	6.38

Up	per chambers of parliament (55 cha	ambers)
Ranking	Country	% of MPs under age 45
45	India	6.28
46	Zimbabwe	6.25
47	Czech Republic	6.17
48	Uzbekistan	4.82
49	Cambodia	3.39
50	Democratic Republic of the Congo	2.94
51	United Kingdom	2.21
52	Canada	1.01
53	Gabon	1.00
54	Congo	0.00
54	Kazakhstan	0.00

\*Based on preliminary results as of 20 July 2018.

## ANNEX 4 Elections and parliamentary renewals results in 2017

Country	Chamber	Percentage point change for MPs under age 45	Percentage point change for MPs under age 40	point change for	Country	Chamber	Percentage point change for MPs under age 45	Percentage point change for MPs under age 40	point change for
Armenia	Lower	4.9	2.4	1.1	Poland	Lower	4.0	4.9	0.6
Australia	Lower	3.5	0.0	-0.4	Portugal	Lower	3.5	2.2	3.0
Austria	Lower	9.8	7.7	4.4	Romania	Lower	7.9	-1.1	0.0
Azerbaijan	Lower	6.6	5.8	0.0	San Marino	Lower	5.0	0.0	8.3
Bahrain	Lower	-18.7	-10.6	0.0	Senegal	Lower	-3.6	-0.3	0.0
Bulgaria	Lower	-6.5	-5.7	-0.8	Serbia	Lower	-7.2	-6.8	-3.2
Cabo Verde	Lower	11.1	13.9	0.0	Spain	Lower	4.5	5.6	1.4
Canada	Lower	1.1	3.0	-1.8	Switzerland	Lower	6.0	4.0	0.5
Croatia	Lower	15.2	7.3	2.0	The former	Lower	2.0	-4.2	-4.8
Cyprus	Lower	16.1	10.7	1.8	Yugoslav Republic of				
Czech Republic	Lower	13.2	12.1	3.0	Macedonia				
Ecuador	Lower	-8.0	-3.6	-5.1	United	Lower	-6.8	-2.6	-1.2
France	Lower	21.4	15.7	5.4	Kingdom				
Gambia	Lower	22.4	29.3	6.9	Venezuela	Lower	16.7	13.6	7.4
Georgia	Lower	14.8	10.4	-2.0	(Bolivarian Republic of)				
Haiti	Lower	-5.0	-7.9	0.0	Viet Nam	Lower	7.0	3.7	0.6
lceland	Lower	4.8	0.0	1.6	Zambia	Lower	8.7	2.4	0.6
India	Lower	2.2	2.4	0.4	Afghanistan	Upper	2.9	7.4	0.0
Ireland	Lower	1.5	-2.4	0.8	Australia	Upper	-1.7	2.0	2.7
Israel	Lower	4.3	2.6	0.0	Austria	Upper	3.3	4.9	3.3
Japan	Lower	-2.8	-4.3	-0.8	Burundi	Upper	9.2	2.9	0.0
Kazakhstan	Lower	4.7	5.7	3.8	Canada	Upper	-1.4	-1.2	0.0
Kuwait	Lower	11.3	13.8	0.0	France	Upper	3.2	0.9	0.0
Lithuania	Lower	9.2	7.1	2.1	India	Upper	-3.1	-0.5	0.0
Malaysia	Lower	2.7	1.4	0.0	Ireland	Upper	4.1	-4.1	0.0
Malta	Single	9.1	6.9	3.1	Japan	Upper	-0.4	-3.3	0.0
Mongolia	Lower	14.8	1.5	2.6	Kenya	Upper	10.9	6.3	-2.9
Montenegro	Lower	10.8	15.9	8.6	Malaysia		6.5	4.8	1.6
Myanmar	Lower	7.5	3.2	-0.2	Myanmar	Upper Upper	10.5	9.9	-0.5
Netherlands	Lower	4.7	6.7	-0.7	Namibia	Upper	9.5	5.5	0.0
New Zealand	Lower	0.2	4.3	-0.1	Romania		7.9		
Niger	Lower	7.4	-2.2	-0.6	Spain	Upper Upper	9.6	-1.1	0.0
Norway	Lower	7.1	7.7	3.6					
Oman	Lower	-11.8	-7.1	0.0	Switzerland	Upper	0.0	4.3	0.0

## ANNEX 5 Survey questions

## Questionnaire on youth participation in national parliaments

The survey is designed to establish the number of parliamentarians below the age of 45. It will also gather information on special mechanisms that exist to encourage or enhance the participation of young people in national parliaments.

The survey is on young members of national parliaments, as opposed to members of youth parliaments.<sup>1</sup> Please note that only question 9 deals with youth parliaments.

The survey findings will be used for the forthcoming 2018 IPU report on Youth Participation in National Parliaments.

Country
Parliament/Chamber
[For bicameral systems, please complete a separate questionnaire for each chamber]
Completed by [name/title]
Contact e-mail
Date

Please complete and return this form by 15 November 2017 to the IPU Secretariat by e-mail to postbox@ipu.org or by fax to +41 22 919 41 60. Questions can be directed to postbox@ipu.org.

#### 1. Please indicate the number of parliamentarians per age group (at the time of their election):

Age Group (Year of birth)	Total	Male	Female
18-20 <i>(1999-1997)</i>			
21-30 <i>(1996-1987)</i>			
31-40 <i>(1986-1977)</i>			
41-45 (1976-1972)			
46-50 (1971-1967)			
51-60 <i>(1966-1957)</i>			
61-70 (1956-1947)			
71-80 (1946-1937)			
81-90 <i>(1936-1927)</i>			
91 and over (1926 and before)			

### 2. Please provide the name and contact details of the youngest member of parliament:

Name
Year of birth/ age at the time of his/her election
Year of election/appointment/nomination
Phone number
e-mail

#### 3. Please confirm, correct or complete the following data:

Age of eligibility for voting	
Age of eligibility for running for parliament _	

#### Supplementary: Has either age requirement been changed recently?

Yes 🗌 No 🗌

<u>If yes:</u> What was the previous requirement? Please explain (for example, if the required age for running for parliament was lowered, what was it previously?)

### 4. Do any measures exist to ensure or facilitate the election/appointment/nomination of young parliamentarians? Yes □ No □

#### If yes, please answer the following questions:

How is "young" or "youth" defined (for example, if the measure is a legislated quota for young people, what is the age limit that it sets out)?

Age or age-group:

#### Which of the following special measures are in use?

Measure	Yes	No	Do Not Know
Reserved seats <sup>2</sup>			
Legal candidate quotas <sup>3</sup>			
Political party quotas <sup>4</sup>			
Other measures			
If other, please specify:			

2 Policies/legislation that require all political parties to nominate a minimum percentage of young candidates

3 Policies/legislation that require all political parties to nominate a minimum percentage of young candidates

4 Policies adopted by individual political parties to ensure a certain proportion of young candidates

	<u>If yes:</u> Please provide details on the measure(s) in place. Number of seats and/or percentage of candidates:
	(if multiple measures are in place, please describe them separately)
	Year adopted (if known):
	Year modified (if applicable):
	Mechanism for selection:
	(separate election, similar to other candidates, chosen by youth organization; please provide full details, if possible)
	Source:
	(constitutional provision, electoral law, party constitution; please provide full details, if possible)
	Any additional information:
5.	Are there any other initiatives taken in the country to promote youth representation in parliament? Yes $\hfill\square$ No $\hfill\square$
	If yes: Please provide details.
6.	Is there a caucus or network of young parliamentarians within parliament? Yes $\hfill\square$ No $\hfill\square$
	<u>If yes</u> : Please provide details on the caucus or network of young parliamentarians. Name of group:
	Formal <sup>₅</sup> or informal <sup>6</sup> :
	Year established (if known):
7.	Is there a caucus or network dealing with youth issues within parliament? Yes $\hfill\square$ No $\hfill\square$
	If yes: Please provide details:
	Name of group:
	Formal <sup>7</sup> or informal <sup>8</sup> :
	Year established (if known):

7 Formal being affiliated to parliament

<sup>5</sup> Formal being affiliated to parliament

<sup>6</sup> Informal being not affiliated to parliament

<sup>8</sup> Informal being not affiliated to parliament

8. Are there any parliamentary bodies dealing with youth issues? (These may deal with other issues simultaneously – like a Committee/Commission on Women, Youth, and Sports)

Yes 🗌 No 🗌

9.

If yes, please answer the following questions:

#### What is the nature of the parliamentary body or bodies?

Туре	Yes	No
Standing committee <sup>9</sup>		
Ad hoc committee		
Other body		
<u>If other</u> , please specify:		
Please provide details on the parliament	ary body or bodies.	
Name of body:		
Chairperson (name, sex, age):		
Size (number of members):		
Number of men members:		
Number of women members:		
Number of members below the age of 4	5:	
Is there a youth parliament in your count	ry?	
Yes No		
<u>If yes</u> : Please provide details.		
Name:		
Formal <sup>10</sup> or informal <sup>11</sup> (please explain):		
picase expiditi).		
Targeted age group (for example, "under		
	25" or "ages 18-30"):	
Targeted age group (for example, "under	r 25" or "ages 18-30"):	
Targeted age group (for example, "under Size (number of members):	r 25" or "ages 18-30"):	
Targeted age group (for example, "under Size (number of members): Number of boys/young men members: Number of girls/young women members	r 25" or "ages 18-30"):	
Targeted age group (for example, "under Size (number of members): Number of boys/young men members: Number of girls/young women members Process for selecting members (open vo	25" or "ages 18-30"): 3: ote, nomination, etc.):	
Targeted age group (for example, "under Size (number of members): Number of boys/young men members: Number of girls/young women members Process for selecting members (open vo Purpose (stated goals):	r 25" or "ages 18-30"): s: te, nomination, etc.):	
Targeted age group (for example, "under Size (number of members): Number of boys/young men members: Number of girls/young women members Process for selecting members (open vo Purpose (stated goals): Activities and frequency:	25" or "ages 18-30"):	

9 Parliamentary commission/committee or sub-commission/sub-committee, etc.

10 Formal being affiliated to parliament

11 Informal being not affiliated to parliament

## ANNEX 6 List of respondents

### Questionnaires

Afghanistan*	Upper
Albania	Lower
Algeria	Upper
Algeria	Lower
Andorra	Lower
Angola*	Lower
Argentina	Lower
Argentina	Upper
Armenia*	Lower
Australia*	Lower
Australia*	Upper
Austria*	Lower
Austria*	Upper
Azerbaijan*	Lower
Bahrain*	Lower
Bahrain*	Upper
Bangladesh	Lower
Belarus	Upper
Belgium	Lower
Belgium	Upper
Benin*	Lower
Bhutan	Lower
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Upper
Botswana*	Lower
Brazil	Lower
Brazil	Upper
Bulgaria*	Lower
Burundi	Lower
Burundi*	Upper
Cabo Verde*	Lower
Cambodia	Lower
Cameroon	Lower
Canada*	Lower
Canada*	Upper
Chad	Lower
Chile	Lower

China	Lower
Colombia*	Lower
Colombia*	Upper
Congo*	Lower
Congo*	Upper
Costa Rica	Lower
Côte D'Ivoire	Lower
Croatia	Lower
Cuba	Lower
Cyprus*	Lower
Czech Republic*	Lower
Czech Republic	Upper
Democratic Republic of the Congo*	Upper
Denmark	Lower
Ecuador*	Lower
Egypt*	Lower
El Salvador*	Lower
Equatorial Guinea	Lower
Equatorial Guinea*	Upper
Estonia	Lower
Fiji*	Lower
Finland	Lower
France*	Lower
France*	Upper
Gabon	Lower
Gambia*	Lower
Georgia*	Lower
Germany	Lower
Germany	Upper
Greece	Lower
Guinea	Lower
Haiti*	Lower
Hungary	Lower
Iceland*	Lower
India*	Lower
India*	Upper
Indonesia	Lower

Ireland*	Lower	Philippines	Lower
Ireland*	Upper	Philippines	Upper
lsrael*	Lower	Poland*	Lower
Jamaica*	Lower	Poland*	Lower
Jamaica*	Upper	Poland	Upper
Japan*	Lower	Portugal*	Lower
Japan*	Upper	Qatar	Lower
Jordan*	Lower	Republic of Korea	Lower
Kazakhstan*	Lower	Romania*	Lower
Kenya*	Upper	Romania*	Upper
Kuwait*	Lower	Russian Federation	Upper
Kyrgyzstan	Lower	Rwanda	Lower
Latvia	Lower	Rwanda	Upper
Lebanon	Lower	San Marino*	Lower
Lithuania*	Lower	Sao Tome and Principe	Lower
Luxembourg	Lower	Senegal*	Lower
Malaysia*	Lower	Serbia*	Lower
Malaysia*	Upper	Singapore	Lower
Maldives*	Lower	Slovenia*	Lower
Mali*	Lower	Slovenia*	Upper
Malta*	Lower	Somalia*	Upper
Mexico*	Lower	Somalia	Lower
Mexico*	Upper	South Africa	Lower
Monaco	Lower	Spain*	Lower
Mongolia*	Lower	Spain*	Upper
Montenegro*	Lower	Sri Lanka	Lower
Morocco	Lower	Sudan	Lower
Mozambique	Lower	Suriname	Lower
Myanmar*	Upper	Sweden	Lower
Myanmar*	Lower	Switzerland*	Lower
Namibia	Lower	Switzerland*	Upper
Namibia*	Upper	Thailand	Lower
Netherlands*	Lower	The former Yugoslav Republic	Lower
Netherlands	Upper	of Macedonia*	
New Zealand*	Lower	Trinidad and Tobago	Lower
Nicaragua	Lower	Trinidad and Tobago	Upper
Niger*	Lower	Tunisia	Lower
Nigeria	Lower	Turkey**	Lower
Nigeria	Upper	Tuvalu	Lower
Norway*	Lower	Uganda	Lower
Oman*	Lower	Ukraine*	Lower
Pakistan*	Lower	United Arab Emirates	Lower
Pakistan*	Upper	United Kingdom*	Lower
Papua New Guinea*	Lower	United Kingdom	Upper
Paraguay	Lower	Uruguay	Lower
- 0 /		Uruguay	Upper
Paraguay	Upper	Oluguay	opper

Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)*	Lower
Viet Nam*	Lower
Zambia*	Lower
Zimbabwe	Lower
Zimbabwe	Upper

### Data collected from parliamentary websites

Afghanistan	Lower
Belarus	Lower
Bhutan	Upper
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)*	Lower
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)*	Upper
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Lower
Cambodia	Upper
Chile	Upper
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Lower
Dominican Republic	Lower
Ethiopia	Lower
Gabon	Upper
Georgia	Lower
Ghana	Lower
Guatemala	Lower
Haiti	Upper
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	Lower
Iraq	Lower
Italy*	Lower
Kazakhstan	Upper
Micronesia (Federated States of)	Lower
Russian Federation	Lower
Seychelles	Lower
Slovakia	Lower
Solomon Islands	Lower
Syrian Arab Republic	Lower
Timor-Leste	Lower
United Republic of Tanzania	Lower
United States of America	Lower
United States of America	Upper
Uzbekistan*	Lower
Uzbekistan*	Upper

\*New data since the IPU 2016 report, *Youth participation in national parliaments* 

\*\*Supplemented by data via parliamentary website

#### Interviews

#### **Members of Parliament**

Fatuma Ali, Kenya Malik Alkassoum, Niger Omar Altabtabaee, Kuwait Ruth Betsaida, Bolivia (Plurinational State of) Silvia Dinica, Romania Nathaniel Erskine-Smith, Canada Andrea García, Mexico Sharren Haskel, Israel Johannes Hasler, Liechtenstein Caroline Janvier, France Pavyuma Kalobo, Zambia Yaumi Mpaweni, Malawi Kanako Otsuji, Japan Joris Poschet, Belgium Danielle Rowley, United Kingdom Alona Shkrum, Ukraine Moussa Timbine, Mali Kilamba Van-Dúnem, Angola

#### **Other Experts**

Ibrahim Faruk, Nigeria Marta González García de Paredes, Spain

#### **Consultation Participants**

Jana Belschner, University of Bergen, Norway Zeina Hilal, IPU Raphael Igbokwe, MP, Nigeria Devin Joshi, Singapore Management University, Singapore Pavyuma Kalobo, MP, Zambia Ulrika Karlsson, MP, Sweden Mona Lena Krook, Rutgers University, USA Jonathan Lang, IPU Elizabeth Matto, Rutgers University, USA Irine Putri, MP, Indonesia Roberto Rodriguez, IPU Daniel Stockemer, University of Ottawa, Canada Jörg Tremmel, Eberhard Karls University Tübingen, Germany

## Endnotes

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