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Youth participation in national parliaments: 2023



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Foreword

Our world is grappling with unprecedented challenges and the ripples of today's decisions will undeniably shape the contours of tomorrow. Climate change, new technologies and geopolitical shifts are not mere buzzwords, but realities that promise to redefine our futures.

It is the young, and the generations yet to come, who will have to navigate the consequences of today's choices. It is essential, therefore, that they are not just spectators but active participants in these decisions. Harnessing their lived experiences, innovative perspectives and boundless energy is vital if we are to surmount the complexities ahead.

Recognizing this imperative, the IPU has been a steadfast advocate for greater youth participation in parliaments. This youth movement began in 2010, with the adoption of a Resolution entitled *Youth Participation in the Democratic Process*. Through the years, this Resolution has led to milestones such as the establishing of the Forum of Young Parliamentarians, the annual Global Conferences of Young Parliamentarians, and continuous work to empower young MPs at global, regional and national levels.

Another flagship of the IPU youth movement is our biennial report *Youth Participation in National Parliaments*. Since its debut in 2014, the report's data and information has become an authoritative reference point on young people in parliament. It is used as an official source for tracking progress of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and by parliaments, academics and practitioners around the world.

This report is the first since the setting of another IPU milestone in 2021, when the IPU launched the *I Say Yes to Youth in Parliament!* campaign. The campaign is mobilizing parliamentarians, political leaders and civil society advocates of all ages to take transformative action for youth through the implementation of key pledges. I am pleased that the campaign has already begun contributing to change, including through the creation of new youth caucuses in parliaments, the lowering of ages of eligibility to run for public office, and more. I am grateful to the over 600 members of parliament from over 130 countries that have signed up, including almost 60 speakers of parliament and three heads of state.

But as this report's data tells us, we cannot rest on our laurels: there is much more to do to bring more youth into parliament and to empower them therein.

In the spirit of the *I Say Yes* campaign's call to action, for this 2023 report our intention is to offer more than an informative document. It is also a pressing invitation to act to implement the key pledges of the campaign. For example, in the section on "Advancing youth participation", you will find "key takeaways" on campaign pledges, such as instituting youth quotas, empowering young parliamentarians, mentoring young aspirants, and more. I hope that these will serve as a valuable resource to current and future Changemakers to help them mobilize the transformative actions we are seeking and to herald a new era of youth participation in parliaments.

To echo our young MPs, the discourse on youth participation has evolved: it is time to transition from dialogue to deeds. May this edition of the report serve as both an inspiration and a blueprint for fostering more inclusive and more youthful parliaments.



Martin Chungong
Secretary General

Key findings

This report is the fifth IPU review of youth participation in national parliaments. The first part maps the presence of young parliamentarians worldwide, providing the most recent data on the proportion of MPs aged 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under, including progress and setbacks in elections taking place since the last IPU report released in 2021.¹ The data comes from 204 parliamentary chambers² in 155 countries and is current as of 15 June 2023. The second part of the report provides insights into good practices for encouraging the participation of young people in national parliaments, focusing on the six pledges of the IPU's *I Say Yes to Youth in Parliament!* campaign. The report is based on quantitative and qualitative information from parliaments, direct contributions from young members of parliament (MPs), and academic research.

Key figures

- Youth participation in national parliaments has grown across all three age categories (30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under).³
- Only 2.8% of the world's parliamentarians are aged 30 and under, but this is an increase of 0.2 percentage points since the 2021 report.
- Some 18.8% of the world's MPs are aged 40 and under, up 1.3 percentage points since 2021.
- The share of MPs aged 45 and under is now 32.1%, up 1.9 points since 2021.
- Similar to 2021, approximately 25% of the world's single⁴ and lower chambers of parliament have no MPs aged 30 and under. Just over 1% have no MPs aged 40 and under.
- About 74% of upper chambers have no MPs aged 30 and under, a slight increase from 73% in 2021. The share without any MPs aged 40 and under has grown dramatically to 24.6%, nearly 10 points higher than in 2021.
- MPs aged 45 and under have been elected or appointed to all chambers of parliament for which data was available. In 2021, the upper chamber in the Republic of Congo had no MPs under age 45.⁵
- Similar to 2021, Europe and the Americas, in that order, have higher shares of young MPs in single and lower chambers across all three age categories (30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under) than any other region.

Trends by gender and youth population

- Male MPs continue to outnumber their female counterparts across all age groups.
- The gender imbalance is greater among older cohorts and smaller among the youngest. In the 21–30 age group, the ratio of male to female MPs is about 60:40.
- No parliaments have achieved the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians' 15% target for parliamentarians aged 30 and under, but 9.3% of chambers have reached the 35% target for MPs aged 40 and under and 21.6% have attained the 45% target for MPs aged 45 and under.
- Around one quarter of chambers have met gender parity targets for parliamentarians aged 30 and under (28.4%) and 40 and under (23.5%), but fewer than 15% have achieved gender parity among parliamentarians aged 45 and under.
- According to the youth representation score, comparing the share of MPs in each age group to the share of the voting age population in the same age bracket (with a score of 100 reflecting full proportionality), no single or lower chambers have attained proportionality for parliamentarians aged 30 and under. However, five have reached or exceeded proportionality for MPs aged 40 and under (Ukraine, Armenia, the Netherlands, Andorra and Latvia) and 20 have done so for MPs aged 45 and under.

¹ The 2021 report presented data as of 14 September 2020.

² The terms "chamber" and "house" are used interchangeably in the text to refer to an assembly within a parliament.

³ To be sensitive to national variations in the meaning of "young", as well as variations in eligibility ages to hold parliamentary office, the IPU reports on youth representation explore trends in relation to three age categories: 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under.

⁴ The terms "single chamber" and "unicameral" are also used interchangeably in the text.

⁵ Data was not available for the upper chamber of the Republic of Congo for this report. However, the minimum age of eligibility for the chamber is 45 years.

- In upper chambers, youth representation scores decline dramatically. No chambers reach proportionality in terms of MPs aged 30 and under. One achieves proportionality for MPs aged 40 and under (Belgium) and only two do so for MPs aged 45 and under (Belgium and Bhutan).

Best performers

MPs aged 30 and under

- In single and lower chambers, Norway (13.6%), Armenia (13.1%), and San Marino (11.7%) have the highest 30-and-under representation.
- San Marino has achieved the greatest degree of proportionality in relation to the size of the voting age population aged 18–30 (youth representation score of 76.4), followed by Norway (64.6), Armenia (55.4) and Germany (50.6).
- In upper chambers, Bhutan (12.5%) and Belgium (10.0%) have the highest share of MPs aged 30 and under. Belgium leads Bhutan, however, when proportionality in relation to the size of the youth population is taken into account.

MPs aged 40 and under

- The single and lower chambers with the highest share of parliamentarians aged 40 and under are Armenia (52.3%), Ethiopia (51.2%), and Ukraine (46.3%).
- Ukraine, with a score of 120.2, leads all countries in terms of proportionality with the size of the population aged 18–40 (a score of 100 reflecting full proportionality), followed by Armenia (115.0) and the Netherlands (109.9).
- In upper chambers, Bhutan (54.2%) and Belgium (41.7%) have the highest percentage of MPs aged 40 and under, although only Belgium surpasses proportionality with the youth population.

MPs aged 45 and under

- Ethiopia (71.1%), Armenia (70.1%), and Colombia (63.5%) have the highest 45-and-under representation in single and lower chambers.
- The leading countries in terms of proportionality with the population aged 18–45 are the Netherlands (144.1), Ukraine (133.6) and Romania (133.0).
- Bhutan (70.8%) and Belgium (48.3%) continue to top the list of upper chambers, and both approximate full proportionality with the size of the population aged 18–45.

I Say Yes to Youth in Parliament! pledges

- As part of the IPU's *I Say Yes to Youth in Parliament!* campaign, young MPs formulated six pledges for promoting youth participation in parliament: promoting youth quotas; aligning the age of eligibility with that of voting; supporting youth channels in parliament; empowering young parliamentarians; mentoring young aspirants; and advocating for youth participation.
- Several countries, including Kazakhstan and Algeria, recently introduced youth quotas, whereas a new electoral law in Tunisia eliminated youth quotas that had been put in place in 2014.
- In Mexico and Gabon, voting age and age at which one can stand as an MP were aligned at age 18. Parliaments in Jordan and Lithuania lowered candidate age requirements by several years.
- Parliaments in Sri Lanka, Thailand and Zambia established youth caucuses, while New Zealand set up a youth reference group to facilitate the integration of youth perspectives into its work.
- Leadership training was offered to young parliamentarians in Eswatini, Nigeria, Pakistan and Morocco.
- Parliaments in Bhutan and Latvia developed internship and shadowing programmes to nurture young political talent.
- Thirty parliaments launched the *I Say Yes* campaign, including those in Paraguay and Uruguay, which created a Spanish language version (*Yo digo sí a la juventud en el parlamento*).

Introduction

Young people form a large share of the global population, but they make up only a small proportion of members of parliament around the world. This disparity is greatest among younger cohorts: while half of people worldwide are under age 30, and 18% of people are between the ages of 20 and 29, this report finds that only 2.8% of parliamentarians are aged 30 or under. The exclusion of youth from these spaces is not only unjust, but also has important policy implications. By virtue of their age, younger generations will live the longest with the consequences of legislation passed today. If young people's voices are not heard, these laws are not likely to reflect their political priorities and perspectives, making it less likely that attention will be paid to issues like education, unemployment and climate change.

For more than ten years, the IPU has been actively engaged in seeking to rectify this disparity. In 2010, 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.⁶ The Resolution aims not only to ensure that young people are consulted in politics, but that their engagement is enhanced both in terms of political representation by including more of them in the decision-making process as MPs, and by ensuring that they participate more broadly in the political arena through a full and meaningful contribution to parliamentary process and work.⁷ To advance this agenda, the IPU established a Forum of Young Parliamentarians, which is led by a 12-person board composed of one woman and one man from each of the IPU's six geopolitical groups.⁸ The Forum seeks to empower young leaders, as well as to promote ways of drawing more young people into the formal democratic process. To this end, it has organized nine Global Conferences of Young Parliamentarians since 2014, the latest being held in Viet Nam in September 2023.

Since 2014, the IPU has collected information on youth participation in parliaments, focusing both on the publication of statistics and the sharing of good practices to advance youth participation. The current report updates the global picture of MPs aged 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under. It finds that, despite these many efforts, the share of young people in parliaments around the world has only slowly increased since the IPU began tracking this data.

Since the IPU report published in 2021, the proportion of MPs aged 30 and under advanced by a mere 0.2 percentage points to 2.8%. Those aged 40 and under increased by 1.3 points to 18.8%, and those aged 45 and under increased by 1.9 points to 32.1%.

Acting for change

Concerned about low numbers and slow rates of change, the Forum of Young Parliamentarians tasked the IPU secretariat and young MPs in 2017 with establishing an international target for the proportion of young people represented in parliaments. The aim was (i) to provide a benchmark for self-assessment by parliaments; and (ii) to unify the efforts of the international community towards a common goal. This report evaluates progress towards three sets of targets: numerical targets for each age threshold, gender parity targets within each age cohort, and targets for proportionality with the share of the youth population. The analysis finds that, despite some notable achievements, much more progress is needed to ensure that young people can participate fully and actively in parliaments worldwide.

In 2021, the IPU launched the *I Say Yes to Youth in Parliament!* campaign to accelerate these efforts by highlighting the need for concrete action.⁹ Young MPs came up with six pledges to generate transformative change in youth participation: (i) implementing youth quotas; (ii) aligning voting and eligibility ages; (iii) supporting youth channels; (iv) empowering young parliamentarians; (v) mentoring young aspirants; and (vi) advocating for *I Say Yes* in parliaments. The report finds significant advances in all six areas during the first two years of the campaign, as parliaments have taken steps to open up spaces for young people to engage with and enter parliaments.

⁶ archive.ipu.org/conf-e/122/Res-3.htm

⁷ In this report, the term "youth representation" refers specifically to young men and women serving as parliamentarians. The term "youth participation" refers more broadly to the engagement of young people (parliamentarians and otherwise) in parliamentary processes, including in between elections or renewals.

⁸ www.ipu.org/about-ipu/structure-and-governance/governing-council/forum-young-parliamentarians

⁹ www.ipu.org/i-say-yes

For example, the Algerian parliament passed a new electoral law mandating that half of all candidates on electoral lists be under the age of 40. In Mexico, MPs lowered the age of eligibility to stand for the lower chamber of parliament from 21 to 18, aligning it with the voting age. Parliaments in several countries, including Sri Lanka, Thailand and Zambia, established youth caucuses, while New Zealand set up a youth reference group to facilitate the integration of youth perspectives into its work. In Pakistan, parliament offered capacity-building programmes to young and first-time MPs. Parliaments in Bhutan and Latvia developed internship and shadowing programmes to nurture young political talent. And MPs in Paraguay and Uruguay launched a Spanish language version of the IPU campaign, *Yo digo sí a la juventud en el parlamento*. In Paraguay, this launch was followed by the adoption of a new law to lower the age of eligibility to stand for elections at the municipal level.

Growing engagement with the *I Say Yes* campaign reveals significant interest among young people and parliaments in bridging gaps in youth participation. However, slow advances in the share of young MPs across all three age thresholds also indicate that progress is not inevitable – and, indeed, reversals are possible. To push forward, parliaments and political parties must assume a more active role, both in recruiting and empowering young MPs and in amplifying the political voice of younger generations.

President of the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians and President of the Board of the IPU Forum of Women Parliamentarians during a meeting of the IPU Executive Committee in Lisbon, Portugal. June 2023
© IPU /Executive Committee



Barriers to youth participation

Interviews with young parliamentarians and discussions at IPU meetings, together with academic research, point to a number of barriers to youth participation. As is shown in the section on advancing youth participation later in this report, young people face legal barriers to assuming political office in many countries, with 69.7% of chambers of parliament having a minimum age to hold office that is higher than the voting age. The idea that formal politics should be left to more senior members of society can also be hard to dispel. Older politicians often suggest that young people lack the required maturity and competence to hold political office.¹⁰ Young people as a group are accused of being politically apathetic, with little interest in engaging in formal politics. Some people suggest that one's age is different from other demographic categories in that it is constantly changing, and thus merits less attention as a political identity.¹¹

Yet older leaders do not in fact perform better in office than younger politicians.¹² Because they tend to have shorter time horizons, they often fail to adequately consider the perspectives and policy priorities of younger citizens.¹³ Moreover, older politicians "will have been young once – but, in almost all cases, in very different conditions from contemporary young people."¹⁴ Such dynamics have led young people to become disillusioned with formal politics – although they are often keenly engaged in more informal forms of political participation, like social movements. Further, against the notion that age is not a political identity, young people express a high level of "generational linked fate" feeling that their identity as a distinct generational cohort is highly salient in their everyday lives.¹⁵

A closer look at candidate nomination processes suggests that there are more practical barriers as well. Many young people are pursuing higher education or undergoing training, often leaving their parents' homes in search of new opportunities. Although these experiences may expose them to important

political issues, a focus on completing university studies or starting a career may leave young people with little time to engage in political activities. At this stage in their lives, they may also seek greater stability and security than is afforded by a political career. The decision to start a family may create further pressures on their time and finances.

As a result of these factors, young politicians who are just starting out may not have the name recognition or the access to crucial networks needed to become viable candidates. They may also lack the financial resources required to run a traditional political campaign, due to being at the beginning of their professional careers or because rates of youth unemployment are often high. And if they manage to overcome these obstacles, young candidates are generally placed in list positions or electoral districts where they are unlikely to win, usually as an "apprenticeship" to gain experience for future campaigns.¹⁶

However, political parties can help overcome these barriers by actively recruiting young aspirants and supporting their campaigns. A mass survey conducted across Europe has found that a sizeable minority of young party members have long wished to enter politics.¹⁷ According to a study of highly educated university students in the United States, about 15% had considered running for office. A far greater proportion (69%) appeared "moveable" towards running if conditions were right.¹⁸ Interviews conducted for our report corroborate this insight. Young MPs often did not start with a plan to run as a candidate for parliament. Their ambitions to do so emerged as circumstances changed and new opportunities presented themselves. Young elected officials in Norway reported that being in office gave them a taste for political work, leading them to make plans to run again in the future.¹⁹

10 Bidadanure, Juliana Uhuru. 2021. *Justice Across Ages: Treating Young and Old as Equals*. New York: Oxford University Press.

11 Sundström, Aksel, and Daniel Stockemer. 2021. "Conceptualizing, Measuring, and Explaining Youths' Relative Absence in Legislatures". *PS: Political Science & Politics* 54(2): 195–201.

12 Magni-Berton, Raul, and Sophie Panel. 2021. "Gerontocracy in a Comparative Perspective: Explaining Why Political Leaders Are (Almost Always) Older Than Their Constituents". *Sociology Compass* 15(1): e12841.

13 Bidadanure 2021 argues that this dynamic creates an "intergenerational democratic deficit".

14 Berry, Craig. 2014. "Young People and the Ageing Electorate: Breaking the Unwritten Rule of Representative Democracy". *Parliamentary Affairs* 67(3): 708–725, 721.

15 Munger, Kevin. 2022. *Generation Gap: Why the Baby Boomers Still Dominate American Politics and Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

16 Sundström, Aksel, and Daniel Stockemer. 2021. "Conceptualizing, Measuring, and Explaining Youths' Relative Absence in Legislatures". *PS: Political Science & Politics* 54(2): 195–201.

17 Bruter, Michael, and Sarah Harrison. 2009. *The Future of Our Democracies: Young Party Members in Europe*. New York: Palgrave.

18 Shames, Shauna L. 2017. *Out of the Running: Why Millennials Reject Political Careers and Why It Matters*. New York: New York University Press.

19 Winsvold, Marte, Guro Ødegård, and Johannes Bergh. 2017. "Young Councillors – Influential Politicians or Youth Alibi?". *Representation* 53 (3–4): 297–311.

Why youth participation matters

Increasing youth participation in parliaments is, first and foremost, an issue of fairness. Young people make up a substantial share of the global population – and, in some countries, they form the vast majority of citizens.²⁰ They should be able to serve as political representatives, as well as to engage more broadly with the work of parliament in their capacity as citizens. The fundamental legitimacy of political bodies is called into question when young people cannot run for office or elect one of their own. Yet as a result of political age discrimination,²¹ young people are unjustly excluded from the places where important decisions affecting them are made.

Taking steps to include more young people in parliament can therefore enhance the legitimacy of political institutions. An analysis of survey data from the Afrobarometer and Arab Barometer shows that young people in countries whose parliaments set quotas to ensure a certain proportion of young MPs are more likely to trust government and to believe the

government listens to them than their peers in countries that do not have such measures.²² Promoting greater access for youth can also spur political interest and engagement among younger generations. Young voters are more likely to identify with younger candidates,²³ as well as to turn out to vote for them in elections.²⁴

Certain policy areas are also particularly important to young people, who may feel that issues vital to their lives are ignored – or are insufficiently addressed – by older politicians. Young people feel the effects of some policies disproportionately, for example those related to education, housing, employment and new technologies. They are also more likely to face the consequences of decisions taken today on topics like climate change, sustainability and conflict. Compared to older generations, they hold more progressive attitudes on equality issues like racial justice and LGBTQ+ rights.²⁵

Young parliamentarians coordinating action on the climate at the Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians in Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt. June 2022
© IPU/8th Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians



- 20 Joshi, Devin K. 2015. "The Inclusion of Excluded Majorities in South Asian Parliaments: Women, Youth, and the Working Class". *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 50(2): 223–238. He used a threshold of age 40.
- 21 Seery, John Evan. 2011. *Too Young to Run? A Proposal for an Age Amendment to the US Constitution*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press: 11.
- 22 Garcia de Paredes, Marta and Thierry Desrués. 2021. "Unravelling the Adoption of Youth Quotas in African Hybrid Regimes: Evidence from Morocco". *Journal of Modern African Studies* 59(1): 41–58.
- 23 Sevi, Semra. 2021. "Do Young Voters Vote for Young Leaders?". *Electoral Studies* 69: 102200.
- 24 Pomante, Michael J., and Scot Schraufnagel. 2015. "Candidate Age and Youth Voter Turnout". *American Politics Research* 43(3): 479–503.
- 25 McDonald, Jared, and Melissa Deckman. 2023. "New Voters, New Attitudes: How Gen Z Americans Rate Candidates with Respect to Generation, Gender, and Race". *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 11(2): 345–365

Addressing climate change: the role of young MPs

Globally, young people have been at the forefront of mobilizing against climate change. They have used their voices to raise awareness among the general population, as well as to pressure governments to act. Because of their age, they are the ones most likely to face the consequences of climate change, including population displacement, natural disasters and decreased biodiversity.

Similar to their counterparts in civil society, young parliamentarians have played a key role in bringing greater attention to the climate emergency. For example, the Zambia Youth Parliamentary Caucus has identified climate change as a priority issue. The Green Economy Caucus, a cross-party network of MPs in Indonesia interested in sustainable development, works closely with advocacy groups to measure air quality and strengthen emissions regulations. While the group includes older colleagues, it includes a disproportionate share of young parliamentarians. In 2022, young MPs focused the Eighth IPU Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians²⁶ on climate action. The Conference outcome document²⁷ served as a call to action for young parliamentarians to address climate change. Taking place in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, the Conference informed the subsequent 2022 United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP27), which was held in the same location later in the year.

Young MPs have also been central in empowering young people to participate in climate discussions. In Tonga, the young parliamentary speaker has advocated for the nomination of young people to take part in climate negotiations. A young cabinet minister and MP in the United Arab Emirates leads the International Youth Climate Delegate Program, a group of 100 delegates selected to embed within the 2023 UN Climate Change Conference (COP28), which will take place in Dubai in late 2023, with priority given to youth from Least Developed Countries, Small Island Developing States, Indigenous Peoples, and other minority groups.

The Board of the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians has also taken a leadership role on involving young people in climate negotiations. In May 2023, an online briefing was organized on how young MPs can support climate negotiators at national, international and regional levels. It led to the production of an IPU roadmap on increasing youth participation and influence at COP28 and on climate action more generally. Some of the recommendations included: overseeing the implementation of the Paris Agreement and Nationally Determined Contributions in their respective countries (for example, by organizing “Question Time” with ministers, arranging hearings and debates, submitting written inquiries, and undertaking budget scrutiny); participating in international climate change meetings; and contributing youth perspectives on the climate emergency.

Alongside these actions, in March 2023 the IPU launched a new campaign, *Parliaments for the Planet*, to mobilize parliaments to act on the climate emergency. The campaign encourages parliamentarians to lead by example, taking steps to address climate change by reducing their own carbon footprint and establishing concrete measures to implement the Paris Agreement to limit global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius

One part of the campaign supports efforts by parliaments to become greener and decarbonize, with the help of a guide, 10 Actions for Greener Parliaments.²⁸ The second part of the campaign seeks to assist parliaments in producing effective legislation and scrutinizing government action on climate change. In parallel, the IPU will serve as a platform to share good parliamentary practices on climate action.

²⁶ www.ipu.org/event/eighth-global-conference-young-parliamentarians

²⁷ www.ipu.org/file/14623/download

²⁸ www.ipu.org/resources/publications/reference/2023-03/10-actions-greener-parliaments

About this report

The IPU has been engaged in collecting data and information on youth representation in parliaments since 2014. Its first report on youth participation in national parliaments was published in October 2014 and updated in 2016, 2018 and 2021. This 2023 report is divided into three sections. The first part maps the presence of young parliamentarians worldwide, providing the most recent data on the proportion of MPs aged 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under, including progress and setbacks in elections taking place between 14 September 2020 (the cut-off for the 2021 report) and 15 June 2023. It also analyses these patterns according to gender.

The second section examines this data according to different benchmarks. In 2018, the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians identified three numerical targets to be reached by 2035, aligned closely with the age breakdown of the global population: 15% of MPs to be aged 30 and under (roughly corresponding to the 18% of the world's population aged between 20 and 29); 35% of MPs to be aged 40 and under (similar to the 38% of the global population aged between 20 and 39); and 45% of MPs to be aged 45 and under (approximating the 48% of the world's population aged between 20 and 44). The Forum also called for gender parity in youth representation, comparing the relative share of women and men in each age group. Incorporating country-level variations, the last measure adapts the indicator for the UN Sustainable Development Goal 16.7.1(a)²⁹ to assess proportionality between the share of young MPs and the share of young people in the voting age population (youth representation score).

The third and final part of the report focuses on the six pledges of the *I Say Yes to Youth in Parliament!* campaign, providing insights into initiatives and emerging good practices around the world for encouraging and enhancing the participation of young people in national parliaments. The six pledges relate to: (i) implementing youth quotas; (ii) aligning voting and eligibility ages; (iii) supporting youth channels; (iv) empowering young parliamentarians; (v) mentoring young aspirants; and (vi) advocating for *I Say Yes* in parliaments.

Methodology

In 2014, the IPU designed a questionnaire to gather data from its Member Parliaments. The survey requested data on the age distribution of male and female MPs across ten age categories: 18–20, 21–30, 31–40, 41–45, 46–50, 51–60, 61–70, 71–80, 81–90, and 91+. It also requested data on legal requirements and measures to promote youth participation in parliaments. Surveys were conducted again in 2015, 2017 and 2021, and were supplemented by online data collection from parliamentary websites. The data set for 2023 encompasses 204 parliamentary chambers in 155 countries (for a full list of parliaments, see Annex 8). Data for multiple elections are now available for a growing number of countries, permitting the tracking of changes over time.

The current report also includes three sources of qualitative data. First, the IPU collects data at each session of the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians, as well as more continuously from parliamentary information offices, on recent developments affecting youth participation in their respective countries. The focus is on measures taken to enhance youth participation in parliament, as well as ongoing challenges young people face in accessing parliament and contributing to its work. This year, data collection also included a questionnaire on actions related to the *I Say Yes* campaign, which was answered by 57 chambers.

Second, in May 2023 the IPU organized an online meeting of young MPs to mark the second anniversary of the *I Say Yes* campaign. The virtual event, Shout Out to Changemakers, was attended by 69 participants from 27 countries, of whom 38.6% were women and 29.6% were under the age of 30. The aims of the event were to take stock of progress in implementing transformative actions, exchange success stories, and provide an opportunity to learn from one another to inspire more action. In addition to the online meeting, in 2023 the IPU sent out surveys to monitor progress to those who had signed up to the campaign. Parliamentary developments were also monitored on an ongoing basis, both online and during a dedicated reporting session with MPs from around the world at each meeting of the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians.

Third, interviews were conducted via WhatsApp and Zoom with 11 young MPs spread across different regions of the world between May and July 2023 (for a list of interviewees, see Annex 9). The interviews were semi-structured and questions focused on four main areas: the role of age in the interviewees' paths to political office; why greater numbers of young people should be elected to parliament; what measures had been – or could be – pursued to advance youth participation in parliament; and efforts to address climate change in their respective parliaments, with a particular interest in the role of young people.

29 Proportions of positions in legislatures compared to national distributions, by sex, age, persons with disabilities and population groups.

Young parliamentarians worldwide

In a bid to be inclusive of all parliaments, the IPU and its Forum of Young Parliamentarians defines young MPs as those under age 45. This age threshold recognizes that some chambers – especially upper chambers – have relatively high minimum age requirements.³⁰ It is higher than the ages used by many international organizations, countries responding to the IPU questionnaire, and young MPs around the world, who may set a threshold ranging anywhere from 25 to 40. To be sensitive to national variations in the meaning of “young”, as well as variations in eligibility ages to hold parliamentary office, the IPU reports on youth representation explore trends in relation to three age categories: 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under.

The section presents global and regional patterns in the proportion of MPs in those three age categories, as well as analysis of progress and setbacks in elections taking place since the 2021 IPU report (which contained data as of 14 September 2020). It also considers the relationship between age and gender. The data comes from 204 parliamentary chambers in 155 countries and is current as of 15 June 2023.

Global patterns

Table 1 reports the total share of young MPs across all chambers, as well as statistics for single and lower chambers and upper chambers. Comparisons with the 2021 report indicate that the global share of young parliamentarians has grown slightly across all three age thresholds.

Only 2.8% of the world’s parliamentarians are aged 30 and under, an increase from 2.6% from the 2021 report (+0.2 points). Similarly, the share of MPs aged 40 and under is now 18.8%, up from 17.5% (+1.3 points), while the proportion of those aged 45 and under is now 32.1%, up from 30.2% (+1.9 points).

Aggregate figures obscure important differences between single/lower and upper chambers, however. As shown in Table 1, the proportion of young MPs in single and lower chambers of parliament is anywhere from three to six times higher than the proportion in upper chambers depending on age threshold: 3.2% versus 0.5% for parliamentarians aged 30 and under; 21.3% versus 6.3% for MPs aged 40 and under; and 35.8% versus 13.3% for those aged 45 and under. This disparity can also be seen in Table 2, which gives the proportion of chambers of each type that have no young MPs. While about one quarter of single and lower chambers have no parliamentarians aged 30 and under, this is true for more than 73% of upper chambers. Likewise, 1.4% of single and lower chambers have no MPs aged 40 and under, but about 25% of upper chambers lack MPs in this age group. In a positive development, all parliamentary chambers included in this report have members aged 45 and under.

Table 1

Proportion of MPs aged 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under, by type of chamber

Criteria	All %	Single and lower chamber %	Upper chamber %
30 and under	2.8	3.2	0.5
40 and under	18.8	21.3	6.3
45 and under	32.1	35.8	13.3

³⁰ archive.ipu.org/strct-e/young-new.htm

Table 2

Proportion of chambers with no MPs aged 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under

Criteria	All %	Single and lower chamber %	Upper chamber %
No under-30 MPs	38.7	25.2	73.7
No under-40 MPs	7.8	1.4	24.6
No under-45 MPs	0.0	0.0	0.0

The best-performing 20 countries across the three age categories in single and lower chambers are listed in Table 3 (for full country rankings, see Annexes 1–3). This group is quite diverse, with countries from all regions of the world.

Armenia stands out for its consistently high level of youth participation across all three age categories, being ranked first for MPs aged 40 and under, and second for parliamentarians aged 30 and under and 45 and under. These remarkable results can be attributed to youth activation through political protests in recent years, as well as widespread efforts by international donors to train youth to participate in politics.

Ukraine also does well across all three age groups, with 7.1% of its MPs aged 30 and under, 46.3% aged 40 and under, and 63.4% aged 45 and under. This may stem from significant youth participation in political protests over the last decade, as well as, before the war, efforts by pro-European parties to attract young professionals as candidates.

Norway (13.6%) tops the list for MPs aged 30 and under, and other countries in the Nordic region also do well in this category: **Iceland** (7.9%), **Denmark** (7.8%) and **Sweden** (6.6%).

As a group, these countries are also well-known for their high representation of women, suggesting a broader ethos of political inclusion.

Ethiopia is the only country other than **Armenia** in which more than 50% of parliamentarians are aged 40 and under (51.2%) and more than 70% are aged 45 and under (71.1%). Young people in this country played a central role in protests leading to the 2018 election of the youngest head of government in Africa. Following upheavals in recent years that have politicized young people, the Latin American countries of **Plurinational State of Bolivia** and **Colombia** also have a large share of MPs aged 40 and under (42.3% and 41.6%) and 45 and under (60.0% and 63.5%, respectively).

Lastly, small countries like **San Marino**, **Malta**, **Andorra** and **Saint Kitts and Nevis** also perform quite well across all three age thresholds 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. However, many of these countries have remained in the top 20 lists from past IPU reports, suggesting firm gains in youth participation that have endured across elections.

Table 3

Top-ranking countries for parliamentarians aged 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under (single and lower chambers)

30 and under			40 and under			45 and under		
Rank	Country	%	Rank	Country	%	Rank	Country	%
1	Norway	13.6	1	Armenia	52.3	1	Ethiopia	71.1
2	Armenia	13.1	2	Ethiopia	51.2	2	Armenia	70.1
3	San Marino	11.7	3	Ukraine	46.3	3	Colombia	63.5
4	Malta	10.0	4	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	42.3	4	Ukraine	63.4
5	Suriname	9.8	5	Colombia	41.6	5	Turkmenistan	63.2
6	Germany	8.8	6	Gambia (The)	41.4	6	Netherlands	62.0
7	Iceland	7.9	7	Netherlands	39.3	7	Gambia (The)	60.3
–	Republic of Moldova	7.9	8	Malta	38.6	8	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	60.0
–	Cuba	7.9	9	Saint Kitts and Nevis	38.5	9	Maldives	59.8
10	Denmark	7.8	10	Republic of Moldova	37.6	10	Romania	59.6
11	Austria	7.7	11	Suriname	37.3	11	Sierra Leone	54.0
12	Ukraine	7.1	12	Montenegro	37.0	–	Ecuador	54.0
13	Costa Rica	7.0	13	Nauru	36.8	–	Belgium	54.0
14	Guatemala	6.9	14	Burkina Faso	36.6	14	North Macedonia	53.3
15	Colombia	6.7	15	Andorra	35.7	15	Montenegro	53.1
16	Sweden	6.6	16	Cuba	35.5	16	Slovakia	52.0
17	Philippines	6.4	17	Turkmenistan	35.2	17	Malawi	51.9
18	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	6.2	18	Romania	34.7	18	Bulgaria	51.5
19	Latvia	6.0	19	Denmark	34.6	19	Malta	51.4
20	Chile	5.8	20	Norway	34.3	20	Suriname	51.0

Table 4 reports the same information for upper chambers of parliament. **Bhutan** and **Belgium** have the highest share of representatives across all three age thresholds, with a majority of parliamentarians in Bhutan's upper chamber being 40 and under (54.2%) and 45 and under (70.8%). The Caribbean nations

of **Antigua and Barbuda** and **Trinidad and Tobago** also stand out for their relatively high share of upper chamber MPs in all three age categories. Conversely, 45 of the 63 upper chambers in the data set have no parliamentarians in the youngest category at all.

Table 4

Top-ranking countries for parliamentarians aged 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under (upper chambers)

30 and under			40 and under			45 and under		
Rank	Country	%	Rank	Country	%	Rank	Country	%
1	Bhutan	12.5	1	Bhutan	54.2	1	Bhutan	70.8
2	Belgium	10.0	2	Belgium	41.7	2	Belgium	48.3
3	Antigua and Barbuda	5.9	3	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	30.6	3	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	47.2
4	Somalia	3.7	4	Antigua and Barbuda	29.4	4	Colombia	44.0
5	Australia	2.9	5	Burundi	28.2	5	Burundi	41.0
6	Slovenia	2.5	6	Colombia	27.0	6	Antigua and Barbuda	35.3
7	Namibia	2.4	7	Somalia	20.4	7	Romania	34.6
8	Mexico	2.0	8	Trinidad and Tobago	19.4	8	Kenya	30.3
–	Malaysia	2.0	–	Tajikistan	19.4	9	Somalia	29.6
10	South Africa	1.9	10	Ireland	18.6	10	Mexico	29.4
–	Spain	1.9	11	Kenya	18.2	11	Trinidad and Tobago	29.0
12	Ireland	1.7	12	South Africa	15.1	12	Ireland	27.1
13	Netherlands	1.3	13	Slovenia	15.0	13	Algeria	26.5
14	United Kingdom	1.2	14	Mexico	14.7	14	Namibia	23.8
15	Uzbekistan	1.1	15	Australia	14.5	15	South Africa	22.6
16	Colombia	1.0	16	Bosnia and Herzegovina	14.3	–	Tajikistan	22.6
17	Democratic Republic of the Congo	0.9	17	Romania	14.0	17	Spain	22.4
			18	Switzerland	13.0	18	Australia	21.7
			19	Spain	11.4	19	Pakistan	21.2
			20	Algeria	11.2	20	Slovenia	20.0
						–	Eswatini	20.0

Regional patterns

Table 5 shows notable regional differences in the average share of young parliamentarians in single and lower chambers. Across all three age groups, **Europe** surpasses all other regions. Its proportion of MPs aged 30 and under (4.6%) is about 50% higher than the global figure (3.2%), and it exceeds the global averages for parliamentarians aged 40 and under and 45 and under by four to five points in each case (25.5% versus 21.3%,

and 40.8% versus 35.8%). The **Americas** also perform well, tying or trailing Europe by less than two percentage points, depending on the age threshold. Single and lower chambers in **Africa** have slightly more MPs aged 45 and under than the world average, but fall slightly below the global average in the younger age groups. **Asia** and **Oceania**, in contrast, trail far behind in all three age groups.

Table 5

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

30 and under			40 and under			45 and under		
Region	%	Countries	Region	%	Countries	Region	%	Countries
Europe	4.6	47	Europe	25.5	47	Europe	40.8	47
Americas	4.0	23	Americas	25.5	23	Americas	39.5	23
Africa	2.3	43	Africa	20.7	43	Africa	36.3	43
Asia	1.8	24	Oceania	15.1	10	Asia	25.1	24
Oceania	1.6	10	Asia	12.7	24	Oceania	24.6	10
Total	3.2	147	Total	21.3	147	Total	35.8	147

Among upper chambers, **Oceania** leads other regions in terms of MPs aged 30 and under and 40 and under. Yet a closer look reveals the two countries behind this average, Australia and Palau, diverge widely in their shares of young MPs: 14.5% versus 8.3% for parliamentarians aged 30 and under and 21.7%

versus 8.3% for MPs aged 40 and under. Apart from Oceania, the **Americas** also do well in terms of youth participation in upper chambers of parliament, with figures at or above the world averages for each age threshold.

Table 6

Regional rankings for parliamentarians aged 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under (upper chambers)

30 and under			40 and under			45 and under		
Region	%	Countries	Region	%	Countries	Region	%	Countries
Oceania	2.5	16	Oceania	13.6	2	Americas	20.0	13
Europe	0.6	14	Americas	10.3	13	Oceania	19.8	2
Africa	0.5	12	Africa	8.0	14	Africa	17.2	14
Americas	0.5	13	Europe	5.2	16	Europe	11.4	16
Asia	0.3	2	Asia	3.9	12	Asia	9.3	12
Total	0.5	57	Total	6.3	57	Total	13.3	57



Thai poll station watchers count votes at a polling station in Bangkok, Thailand. May 2023.
© Lauren Decicca/GETTY IMAGES ASIAPAC/GETTY IMAGES VIA AFP

Election results since the 2021 IPU report

This report tracks changes in youth representation as a result of recent elections. A total of 78 single and lower chambers and 24 upper chambers of parliament held elections between 14 September 2020 and 15 June 2023 (for a full list of countries and percentage point changes, see Annex 4). Among single and lower chambers (see Figures 1–3), three countries stand out for their progress in youth participation across all three age thresholds: **Germany, United Republic of Tanzania and Plurinational State of Bolivia**.

Advances in youth participation in **Germany** were connected to historic gains by left-wing and centrist parties, who were supported to a larger degree by younger voters, who cast their ballots in record numbers in 2021. The Greens, campaigning for more ambitious action to combat climate change, were the most popular party among young voters.³¹ Additionally, many parties in Germany have long had informal quotas for “political newcomers”, which have often led to the selection of more young candidates.³²

In **United Republic of Tanzania**, the Political Parties Act was amended in 2019 to state that parties should promote gender, age and social inclusivity in the nomination of candidates for elections. The impetus in **Plurinational State of Bolivia** came largely from civil society, in the form of a campaign entitled

#Protagonists: Parity-Power-Youth, whose aims included promoting the inclusion of young people aged 30 and under in spaces of political decision-making.³³

Although the timing of when the age data was received did not allow for it to be fully reflected in this report, the number of young parliamentarians in the House of Representatives of **Thailand** also grew significantly following a general election on 14 May 2023. The proportion of MPs aged 45 and under grew by 15.6 percentage points, those 40 and under grew by 12.6 points, and those 30 and under grew by 4.0 points.

The largest overall setbacks, in contrast, were experienced in **Serbia** and **Italy**. **Serbia** dropped the largest number of percentage points for parliamentarians aged 30 and under (-7.2 points), as well as experiencing the same decline (-11.6 points) among MPs in the 40-and-under and 45-and-under groups. **Italy** fell slightly less in the 30-and-under category (-5.6 points), but more dramatically in the two older age thresholds: a decline of 26.5 points for MPs aged 40 and under and 24.5 points for those aged 45 and under. In both countries, snap elections were held in 2022, leaving less time to develop younger candidates. In Italy, a 2020 referendum decision to reduce the number of seats in the lower chamber of parliament from 630 to 400 likely also played a role by increasing competition for seats.

31 www.cleanenergywire.org/news/green-party-fdp-most-popular-parties-among-young-voters-german-election

32 Reiser, Marion. 2014. “The Universe of Group Representation in Germany: Analysing Formal and Informal Party Rules and Quotas in the Process of Candidate Selection”. *International Political Science Review* 35(1): 55–66.

33 www.coordinadoradelamujer.org.bo/protagonistas/index.php

Figure 1

Single and lower chamber renewals, changes in 30-and-under representation between September 2020 and June 2023 (percentage points)



Figure 2

Single and lower chamber renewals, changes in 40-and-under representation between September 2020 and June 2023 (percentage points)

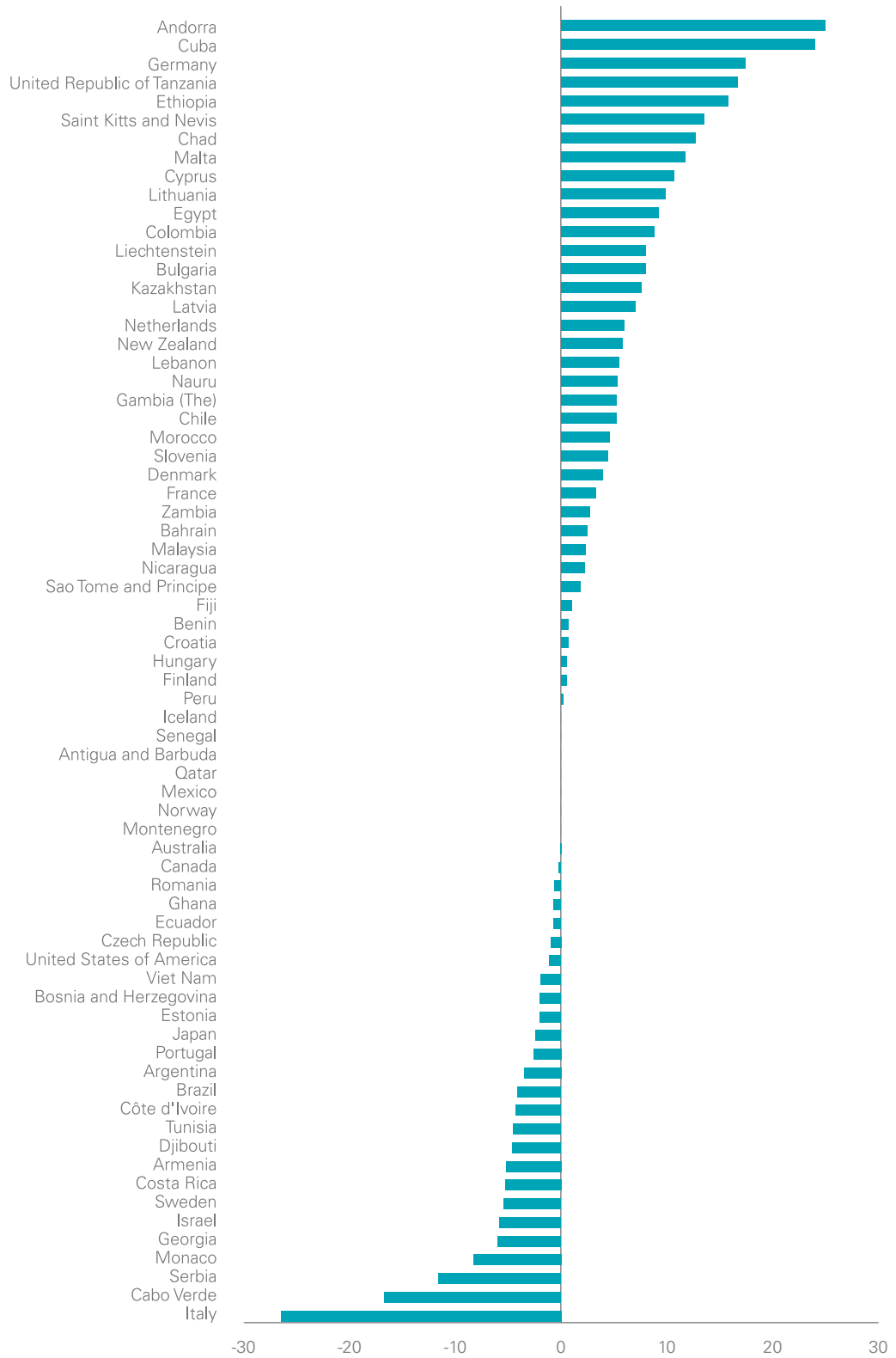
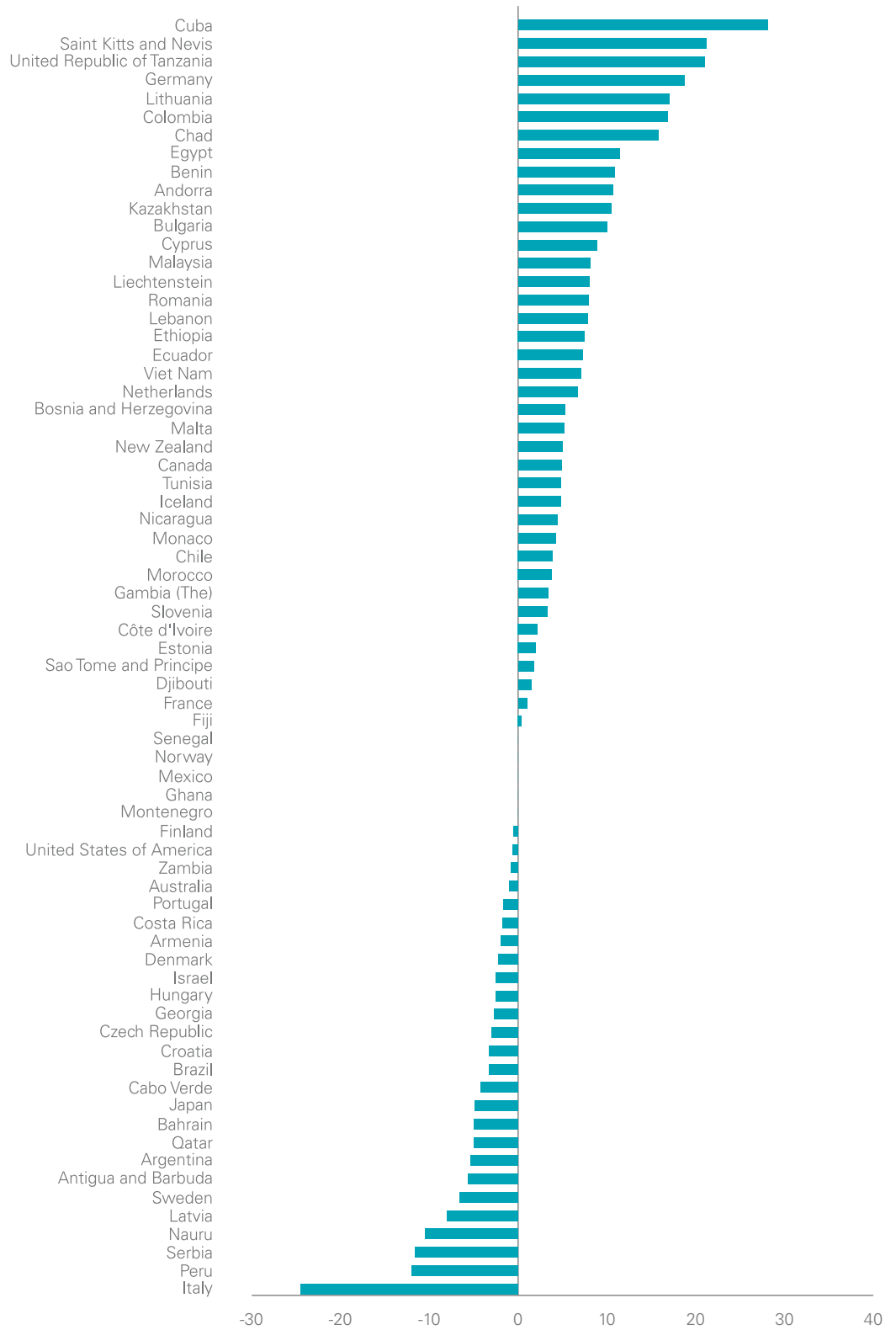


Figure 3

Single and lower chamber renewals, changes in 45-and-under representation between September 2020 and June 2023 (percentage points)



Figures 4–6 show progress and setbacks in youth representation as a result of recent elections to upper chambers of parliament. Changes in the share of parliamentarians aged 30 and under were minimal, increasing or decreasing by only 1 or 2 percentage points. Much greater gains were seen among parliamentarians aged 40 and under and 45 and under. **Algeria**, **Plurinational State of Bolivia** and **Slovenia** appear at the top, increasing representation by double digits in both categories. The Bolivian case is discussed above, in relation to single

and lower chambers. The 2021 elections in **Algeria** followed protests in 2019–2020 that featured large numbers of youths and resulted in a quota for young people in the lower chamber (see more on this policy below). In **Slovenia**, the upper chamber is indirectly elected by representatives of interest organizations, including local groups, employers, employees, farmers and craftsmen. This system, attentive to diversity in representation, has likely increased the participation of intersecting groups like young people.

Figure 4

Upper chamber renewals, changes in 30-and-under representation between September 2020 and June 2023 (percentage points)

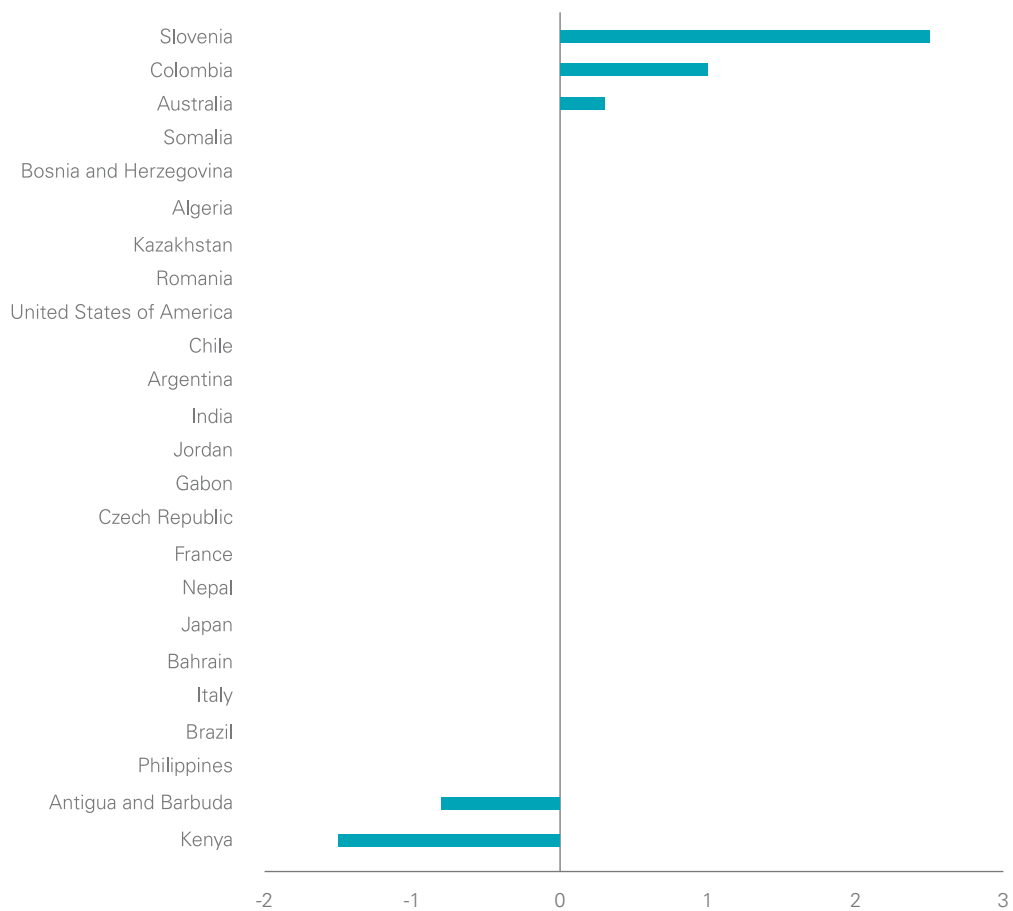


Figure 5

Upper chamber renewals, changes in 40-and-under representation between September 2020 and June 2023 (percentage points)

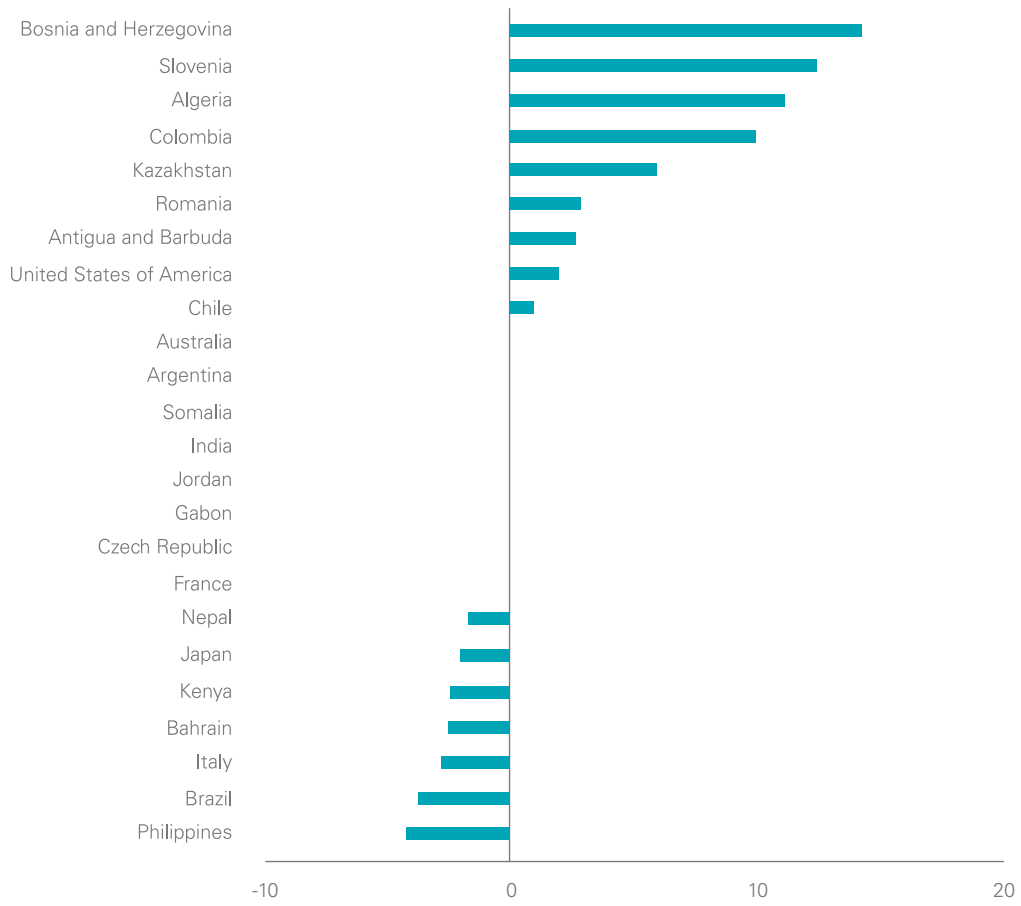
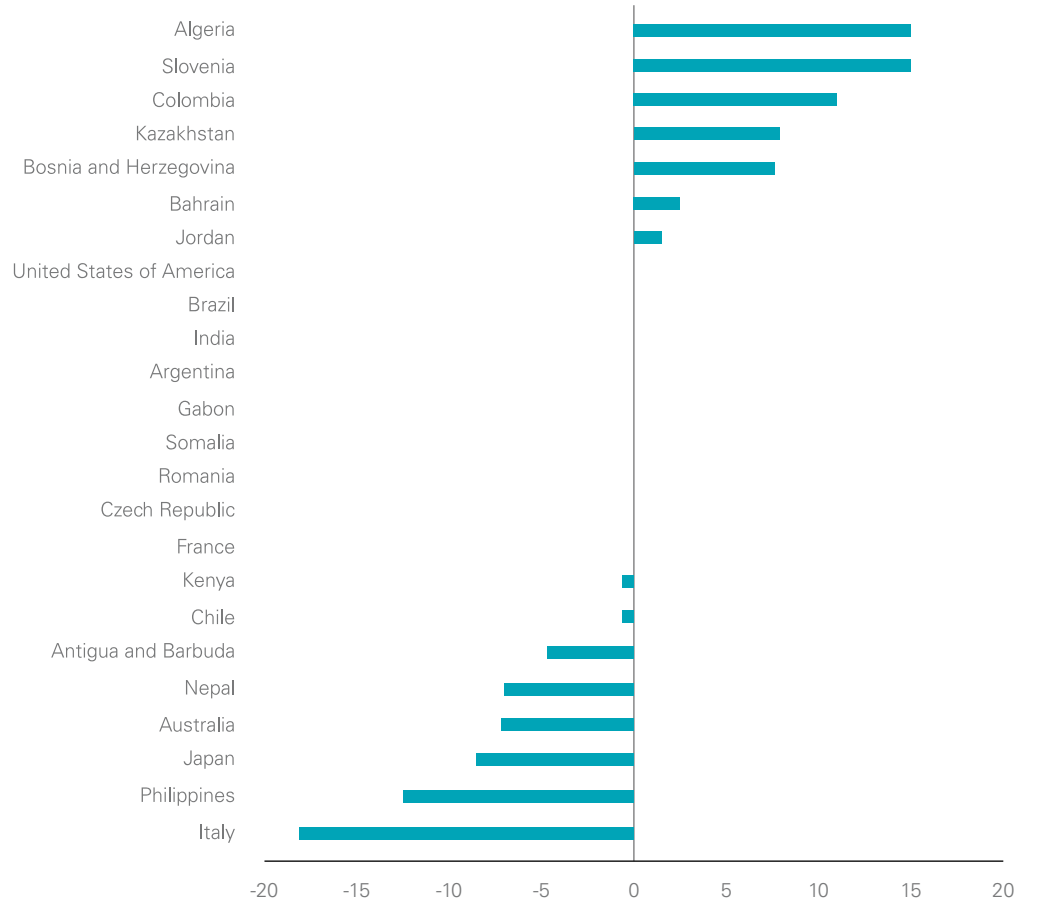


Figure 6

Upper chamber renewals, changes in 45-and-under representation between September 2020 and June 2023 (percentage points)

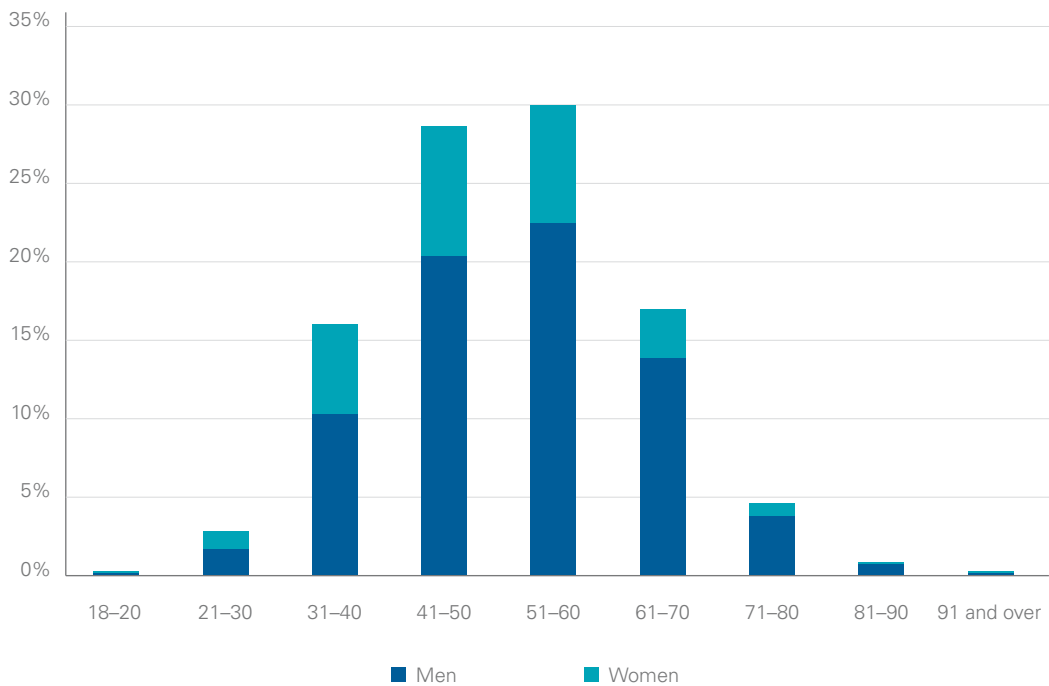


Age and gender patterns

The IPU data set also includes information on the age of parliamentarians disaggregated by gender. Figure 7 illustrates the share of women and men in each ten-year age cohort across all 204 chambers. MPs aged between 51 and 60 make up 30% of parliamentarians worldwide, the largest single ten-year age group, closely followed by the age 41 to 50 cohort. The shares of younger and older cohorts are far less. In each age group, the proportion of men exceeds that of women.

Figure 7

Parliamentarians by age cohort (all chambers)

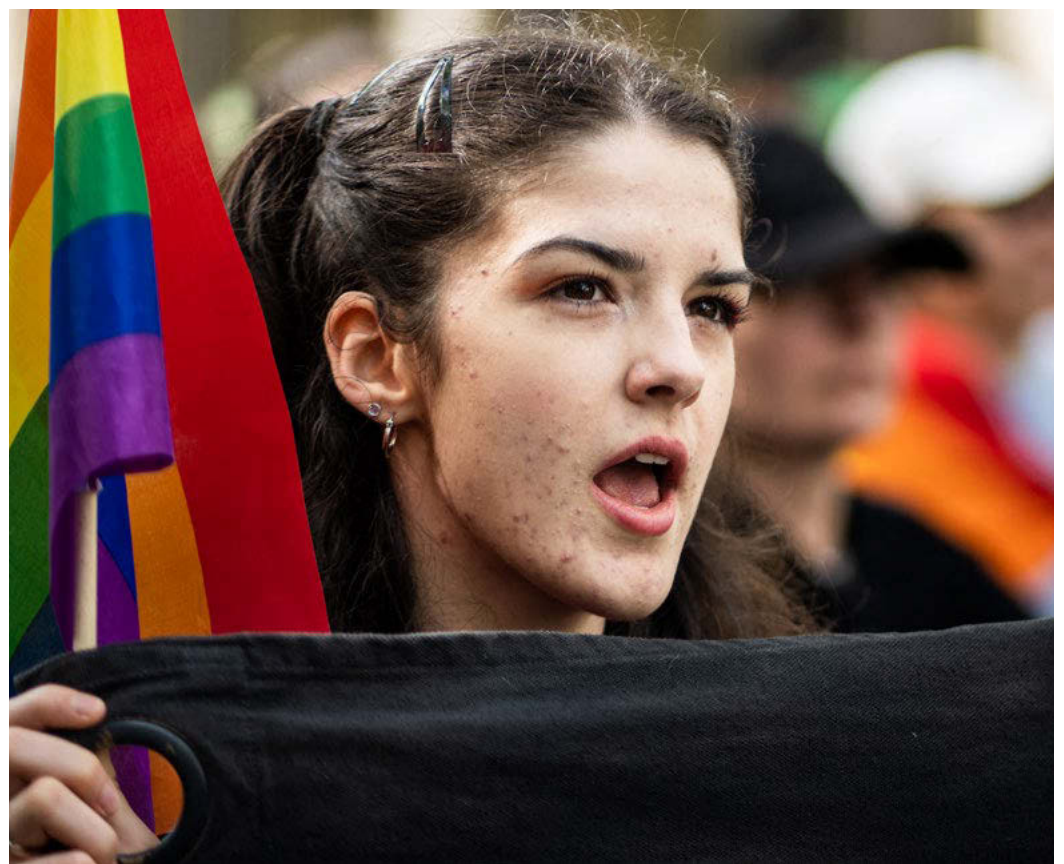
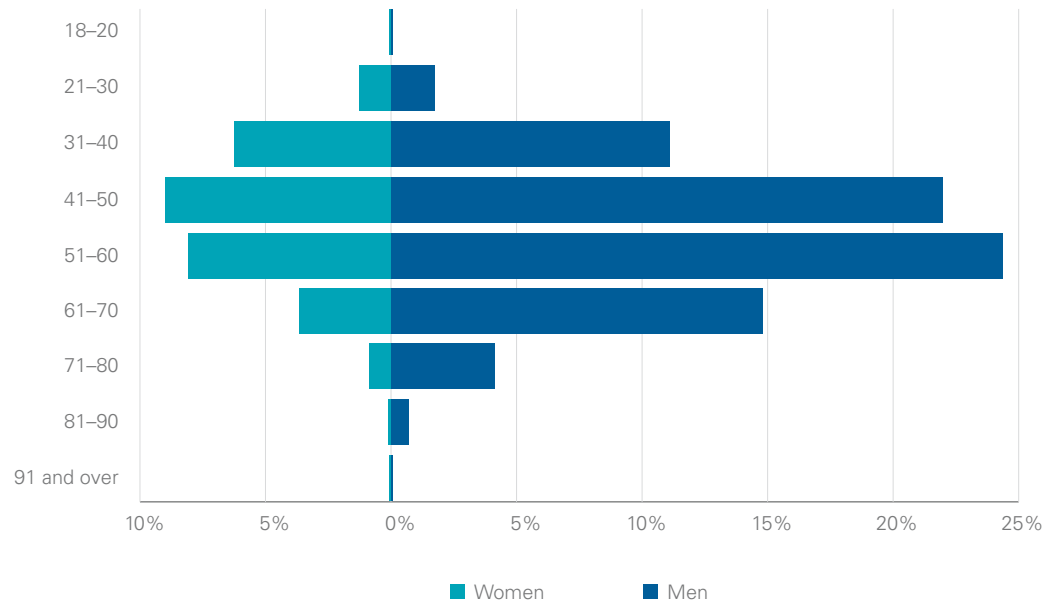


Iranian youth vote in parliamentary elections in Tehran, Iran. April 2008. © Atta Kenare/AFP

Figure 8 shows how these figures compare by age and gender. Nearly one quarter (22.5%) of the MPs are men aged 51 to 60, followed by 20.3% who are men aged 41 to 50 and 13.7% who are men aged 61 to 70. The largest age cohorts among women are MPs aged 41 to 50, followed closely by those aged 51 to 60. Both groups are far smaller than their male counterparts, however, amounting to a mere 8.3 and 7.5%, respectively. The third largest group of women are those aged 31 to 40, who make up 5.8% of all MPs. Viewed another way, there are only slightly more women parliamentarians in total (27.1%) than male MPs aged 51 to 60 (22.5%).

Figure 8

Men vs. women parliamentarians by age cohort (all chambers)



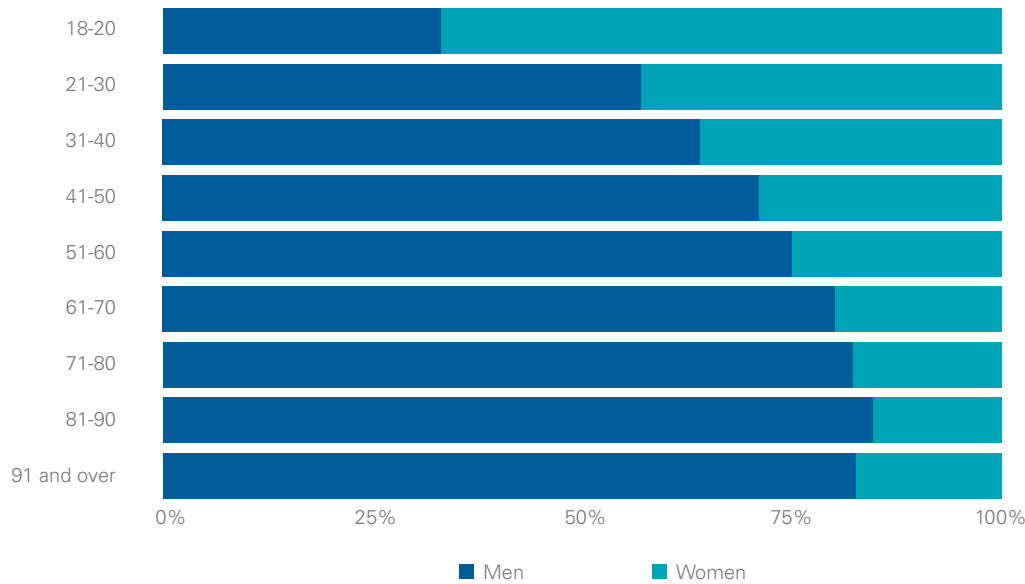
Young woman at a demonstration for LGBTQ2 rights in Paris, France, March 2023.
© Xose Bouzas/Hans Lucas/Hans Lucas VIA AFP

Figure 9 calculates the relative share of men and women in each age cohort.

Although women outnumber men among parliamentarians aged 18–20 by a ratio of 2:1, the 21–30 age group is roughly gender balanced, with 57% men and 43% women. With each successive age cohort (apart from the very small age 91 and over group), however, the gender ratio grows increasingly imbalanced in favour of men.

Figure 9

Gender divide by age group, all chambers



This pattern holds among the individual MPs who are the youngest in their chamber. Of these, 75 are women and 113 are men, a 40:60 ratio. Interestingly, the women in this category are, on average, two years younger than the men. In single and lower chambers, the youngest MPs who are women are aged 25.8 whereas the youngest MPs who are men are aged 27.3. In upper chambers, the youngest MPs who are women have an average age of 32.1, compared to 34.6 among their male counterparts.

The tendency for women parliamentarians to be younger, on average, than their male counterparts suggests that efforts to promote youth participation may have positive effects on the representation of women, and vice versa. This is likely because some of the same factors used to exclude young people, like claims that they lack ‘experience’ to be parliamentarians, are often the same explanations invoked to justify the exclusion of women. Perhaps for similar reasons, the introduction of gender quotas has paved the way for the adoption of youth quotas in a growing number of parliaments, creating stronger cultures of inclusivity and, in turn, enhancing democratic legitimacy.

Further exploring the intersection of age and gender, Figures 10–12 compare the percentages of men and women parliamentarians in single and lower chambers, inside and outside the three age thresholds of 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under. The data highlights that age and gender have compounding effects. Men over age 30 make up nearly three quarters (70.8%) of the world’s MPs, while women over age 30 constitute one quarter of all MPs (26.0%). In the 30-and-under group (3.2%), men hold more seats (1.8%) than women (1.4%).

As the age threshold is increased, the situation remains highly imbalanced. When the line is drawn at 40 and under, almost 60% of all MPs are men over age 40. In contrast, women below the line remain largely excluded, making up only 7.9% of parliamentarians. Women over 40 (19.5%) and men aged 40 and under (13.5%) sit between these two extremes. At the more generous threshold of 45 and under, older men still make up nearly half (49.5%) of the world’s MPs. Notably, however, men aged 45 and under (23.4%) now outnumber women over age 45 (15%) by quite a substantial margin. Women aged 45 and under hold only 12.0% of parliamentary seats, amounting to fewer than 1 in 8 single and lower chamber MPs worldwide.

Figure 10

Percentages of men and women parliamentarians aged 30 and under and over 30 (single and lower chambers)

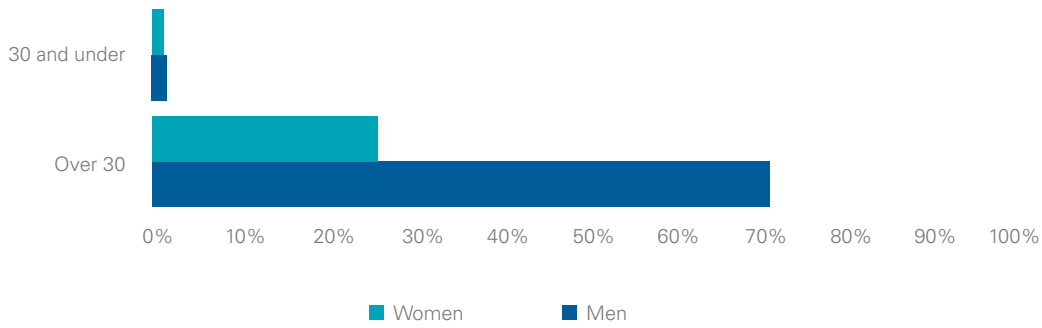


Figure 11

Percentages of men and women parliamentarians aged 40 and under and over 40 (single and lower chambers)

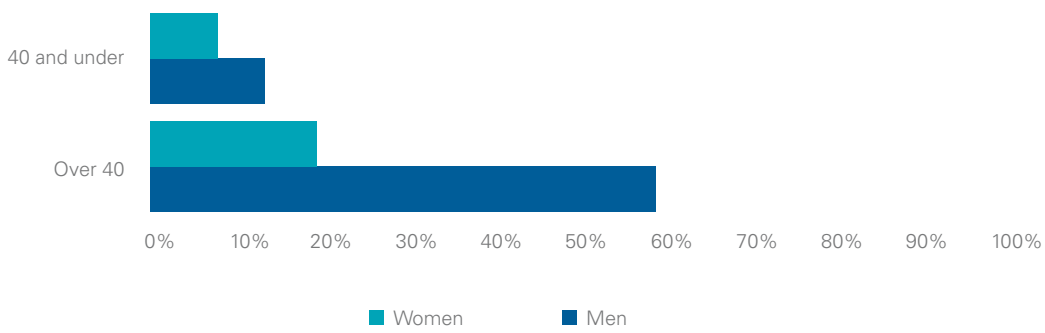
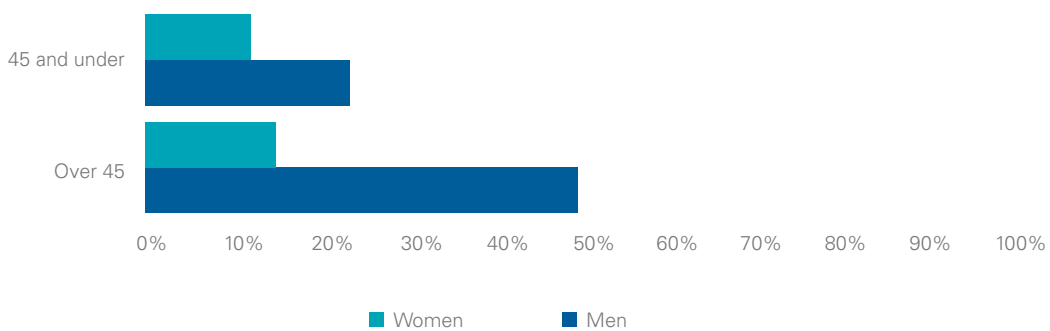


Figure 12

Percentages of men and women parliamentarians aged 45 and under and over 45 (single and lower chambers)



Figures 13 to 15 illustrate the same trends for upper chambers of parliament. The age and gender differences are even more stark than those in single and lower chambers. Nearly three quarters (74.1%) of all MPs are men over age 30, while 25.4% are women over age 30. Parliamentarians below this age threshold, whether men (0.3%) or women (0.2%), are almost completely absent.

These disproportions shift only somewhat when the age threshold is raised to 40 and under. Men over the age of 40 continue to be significantly overrepresented, occupying 70.5% of upper chamber seats. Older women are still a strong presence with 23.2% of seats. At this age threshold, however, men aged 40 and under begin to outpace women, at 3.9% versus 2.3%, respectively. When the age cut-off is increased to 45 and under, men (65.3%) and women (21.4%) over age 45 still predominate, accounting for 86.7% of the world's upper chamber MPs. Men aged 45 and under occupy almost 10% of seats, expanding the gap over women in this age group, who hold only 4.1% of seats.

Figure 13

Percentages of men and women parliamentarians aged 30 and under and over 30 (upper chambers)

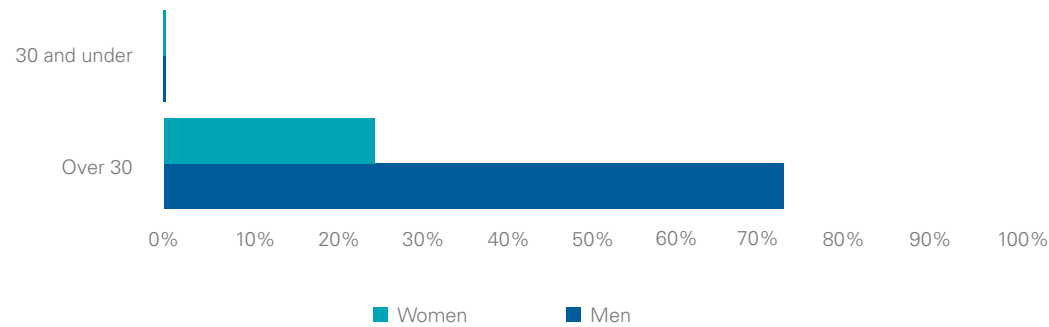


Figure 14

Percentages of men and women parliamentarians aged 40 and under and over 40 (upper chambers)

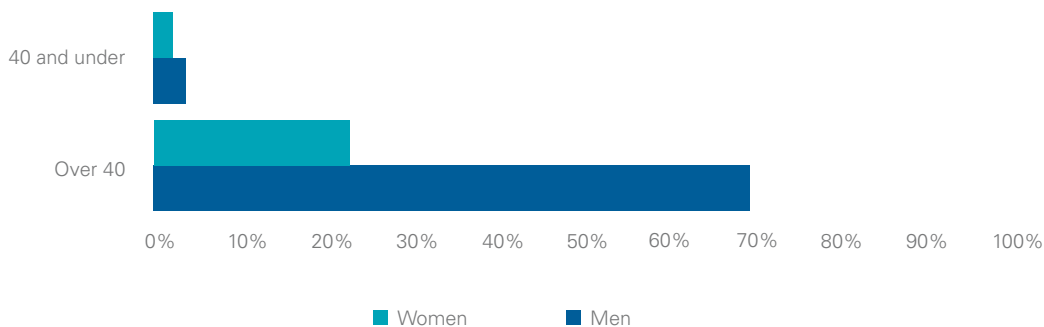
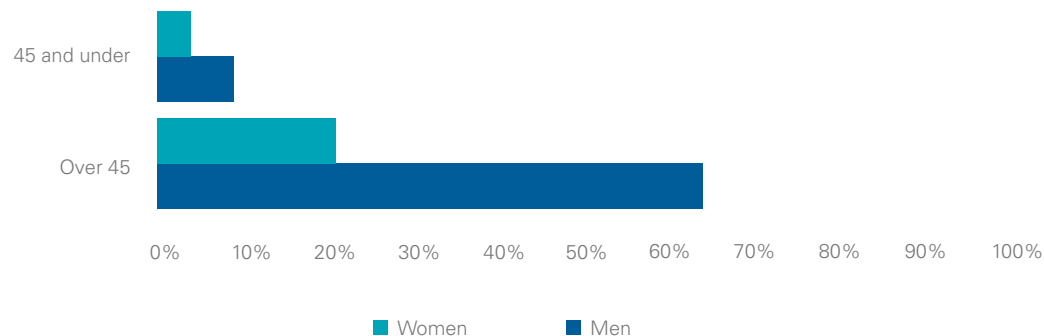


Figure 15

Percentages of men and women parliamentarians aged 45 and under and over 45 (upper chambers)



Representation targets

IPU youth targets

Since 2014, the IPU has measured youth participation in terms of the share of young parliamentarians aged 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under. To encourage states to take active steps to advance youth participation, in 2018 the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians proposed establishing a youth target to help measure countries' progress towards increased youth participation. In a series of online and in-person consultations, young MPs and academic experts endorsed this idea and proposed several methods for determining such a target. This section evaluates progress according to three sets of benchmarks, applied to the three age cut-offs: (i) numerical targets for each age threshold; (ii) gender parity in youth representation within each age group; and (iii) proportionality between the share of young MPs in each cohort and the respective share of the voting age population. Each measure provides a slightly different perspective on youth representation, but together the three metrics contribute to a fuller picture of youth inclusion in (and exclusion from) parliaments around the world.

Figure 16 illustrates progress towards these three age targets across all 204 parliamentary chambers surveyed. It shows that no parliaments have achieved the IPU's 15% target for parliamentarians aged 30 and under. Among single and lower chambers, **Norway** and **Armenia** come the closest at 13.6% and 13.1% respectively. **Bhutan** (12.5%) and **Belgium** (10.0%) perform the best among upper chambers. Results were similar in 2021, except that Bhutan was not in the dataset. It is clear, therefore, that all parliaments need to do more in order to meet the 15% target – including chambers that have been relatively more successful than others in including MPs aged 30 and under.

Thousands of young people gather in Parliament Square in London to call for more climate action. February, 2019
© Wiktor Szymanowicz/NURPHOTO/NURPHOTO VIA AFP

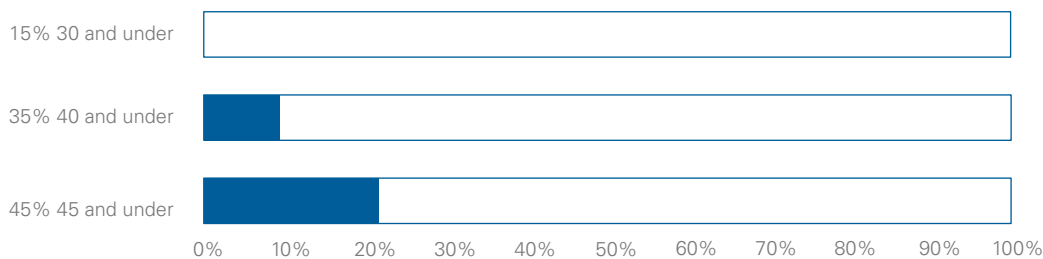


In comparison, the world's parliaments have made greater strides in meeting the IPU targets for MPs aged 40 and under and 45 and under. Nearly 10% of chambers have reached the 35% target for MPs aged 40 and under and 21.6% have attained the 45% target for MPs aged 45 and under. Moreover, the number of chambers achieving these targets jumped dramatically between 2021 and 2023. In 2021, nine single and lower chambers and one upper chamber included 35% MPs aged 40 and under; in 2023, this grew to 17 single and lower

chambers and two upper chambers. Similarly, 28 single and lower chambers and one upper chamber had attained 45% MPs aged 45 and under in 2021; by 2023, this group had expanded to 42 single and lower chambers and three upper chambers. Although the larger number of respondents for this report compared to 2021 may partially explain this growth, these shifts nevertheless indicate that change is possible, even over a relatively short time span.

Figure 16

Progress towards age targets (all chambers)



Gender parity targets

In conjunction with these age-group targets, the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians set a second goal of gender parity in youth representation. This target measures progress towards 50:50 representation of women and men within each age cohort. Importantly, a parliament may achieve gender parity among young MPs even if youth representation is very low. However, gender parity in the parliament appears more likely to occur as the share of young MPs increases, as a greater number of seats held by young people enhances the likelihood of increased diversity among young representatives.

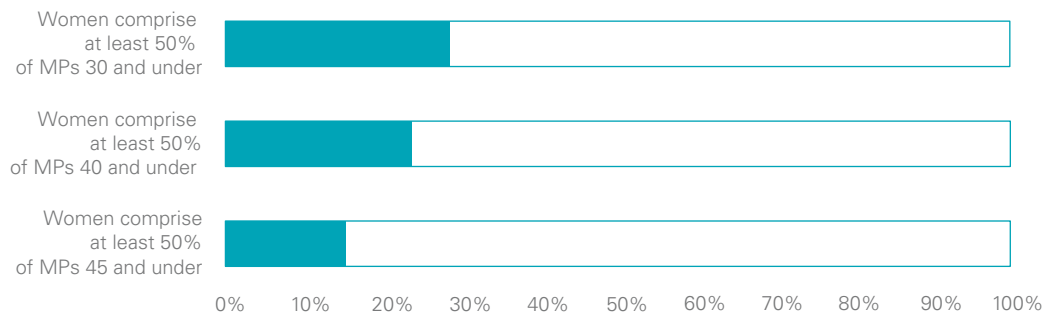
Figure 17 plots the achievement of gender parity within each age group of young MPs. It reveals, notably, that more chambers have met gender parity targets within younger cohorts than in the older age groups. Around one quarter of chambers have met gender parity targets for parliamentarians aged 30 and under (28.4%) and 40 and under (23.5%), but fewer than 15% have achieved gender parity among parliamentarians aged 45 and under. This pattern is consistent, however, with the findings on gender distributions by age cohorts previously discussed – namely, that there tends to be greater gender balance in younger age categories. Promoting youth participation can therefore also have positive implications for the increased representation of women in parliament.

Disaggregating the data reveals striking differences across chamber types and age thresholds. More than 30% of single and lower chambers have attained gender parity among MPs aged 30 and under, compared to only 22.8% of upper chambers. For parliamentarians aged 40 and under, the difference narrows to one percentage point: 23.8% of single and lower chambers versus 22.8% of upper chambers. The gap then reverses for gender parity among MPs aged 45 and under: 19.3% of upper chambers have reached this benchmark, compared to only 12.9% of single and lower chambers.

Similar to the findings for the age targets, notable shifts have taken place in the share of chambers meeting the gender parity target since the last IPU report. Between 2021 and 2023, the number of single and lower chambers reaching gender parity for MPs aged 30 and under grew from 34 to 44, from 19 to 33 for MPs aged 40 and under, and from 13 to 17 for MPs aged 45 and under. The number of upper chambers meeting parity rose from 7 to 13 for MPs aged 30 and under, from 7 to 13 for MPs aged 40 and under, and from 5 to 11 for MPs aged 45 and under. The overall picture is thus quite positive, even if much work remains to be done to ensure that young women and young men are equally represented in parliaments worldwide.

Figure 17

Progress towards gender parity (all chambers)



Youth representation scores

The first two sets of targets establish common goals for all parliaments to achieve. Yet, as previous IPU reports have pointed out, countries vary dramatically in terms of the size of their youth populations. Nearly 50% of the population in Chad (46.7%) and Zambia (46.1%) is aged between 18 and 30.³⁴ This is the case for only about 15% of the population in Japan (14.7%) and Italy (15.5%). While achieving the IPU’s 15% target for MPs aged 30 and under would match the size of the 18–30 population in Japan and Italy, it would severely underrepresent this age category in Chad and Zambia, which is three times larger in proportional terms.

To take these variations into account, the UN outlines a proportion-based indicator for evaluating the representation of various demographic groups in national parliaments. It stipulates that progress towards adequate youth representation under Sustainable Development Goal 16.7.1(a) should be measured in terms of a ratio between the share of parliamentarians aged 45 and under and the proportion of the national population aged 45 and under but over the age of eligibility to stand for parliament. Similar approaches have also been proposed by scholars seeking to measure proportionality between the share of elected representatives and the proportion of the population with certain demographic characteristics.³⁵

As the UN acknowledges in its statistical guidance, however, setting the starting threshold at the age of eligibility for election rather than the age of suffrage has the effect of favouring countries with a higher age of eligibility for election, as it reduces the size of the population to be compared to the share of young MPs. This report adjusts the UN measure in two ways: (i) it calculates the youth representation index for parliamentarians aged 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under; and (ii) it expands the related share of the voting population to the typical age of suffrage rather than the age of

eligibility for election – thus the population aged 18–30, 18–40 and 18–45, respectively.³⁶ This indicator is referred to in this report as a parliament’s youth representation score.

Tables 7 and 8 list the ten best-performing countries in terms of youth representation scores for each age group in single and lower chambers and upper chambers, respectively. A score of 100 represents proportionality in representation (a 1:1 ratio), while a lower score indicates disparity between the size of the youth population and the share of MPs in that age group. For example, a score of 60 reveals that the share of young parliamentarians is only 60% of what it should be, given the size of the youth population. Conversely, a score higher than 100 reveals that the group is overrepresented compared to its corresponding share of the voting age population.

As Table 7 shows, no countries have attained proportionality for parliamentarians aged 30 and under in single and lower chambers of parliament. In **San Marino**, the share of young MPs is 76.4% of what it should be given the size of the population aged 18–30. Besides San Marino, only **Norway** (64.6), **Armenia** (55.4) and **Germany** (50.6) get to within 50% of proportionality in this age group. As seen in Annex 5, only 63 countries have single or lower chambers with a score of 10 or higher, and a full 37 countries have a score of 0.

The picture is more positive when looking at the scores for MPs aged 40 and under in single and lower chambers. Five countries have a score over 100, indicating that parliamentarians are slightly overrepresented in comparison to the share of the population in the 18–40 age bracket: **Ukraine** (120.2), **Armenia** (115.0), the **Netherlands** (109.9), **Andorra** (105.3) and **Latvia** (104.1). Annex 6 shows, further, that 59 countries have proportionality scores above 50 in this age group, while only two countries, **Micronesia** and **Qatar**, have a score of 0.

34 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2022). World Population Prospects 2022, Online Edition.

35 Norris, Pippa and Joni Lovenduski. 1995. *Political Recruitment: Gender, Race, and Class in the British Parliament*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Sundström, Aksel and Daniel Stockemer. 2021. "Conceptualizing, Measuring, and Explaining Youths' Relative Absence in Legislatures". *PS: Political Science & Politics* 54(2): 195–201.

36 The voting age of 18 is near universal. In the few countries with lower voting ages, the share of the population is expanded accordingly. Where parliaments are not elected, the population is still measured from the age of 18.

The youth representation index vastly improves for parliamentarians aged 45 and under. There are 21 countries with scores higher than 100, eight of these more than 120. The **Netherlands** (144.1) tops the list, followed by **Ukraine** (133.6), **Romania** (133.0) and **Armenia** (132.0). Nearly 100 countries (94) have scores above 50, and no countries have a score of 0.

For this age group, at least, parliamentary representation compares relatively favourably to the share of the population – although most countries still have a way to go to attain full proportionality.

Table 7

Top youth representation scores by age thresholds (single and lower chambers)

30 and under			40 and under			45 and under		
Rank	Score	Country	Rank	Score	Country	Rank	Score	Country
1	76.4	San Marino	1	120.2	Ukraine	1	144.1	Netherlands
2	64.6	Norway	2	115.0	Armenia	2	133.6	Ukraine
3	55.4	Armenia	3	109.9	Netherlands	3	133.0	Romania
4	50.6	Germany	4	105.3	Andorra	4	132.0	Armenia
5	45.1	Malta	5	104.1	Latvia	5	128.2	Bulgaria
6	38.4	Latvia	6	99.2	Bulgaria	6	127.4	Monaco
–	38.4	Ukraine	–	99.2	Romania	7	122.5	San Marino
8	37.3	Republic of Moldova	8	96.2	Denmark	8	122.1	Belgium
9	37.2	Denmark	9	95.8	Montenegro	9	111.3	Montenegro
10	35.9	Austria	10	92.5	Cuba	10	109.7	Cuba
–	35.9	Cuba						

Former member of the IPU Board of the Forum of Young Parliamentarians at 144th IPU Assembly in Nusa Dua, Indonesia. March 2022
 © IPU/144th Assembly



Table 8 reports the same figures for upper chambers of parliament. It shows a dramatic decline in the youth representation index for all three age groups. For MPs aged 30 and under, only **Belgium** achieves a score above 50 (50.2), and only three other countries – **Bhutan** (32.3), **Antigua and Barbuda** (23.7) and **Austria** (23.1) – exceed a score of 20. The Belgian result may stem from strong norms of representativity in the Belgian Senate, where seats are reserved for members of various linguistic groups. The story for the majority of countries, in contrast, is quite stark: 43 of the 58 chambers with available data have a score of 0 (see Annex 5).

With regard to parliamentarians aged 40 and under, only one country, **Belgium** (115.0), surpasses proportionality in relation to the voting age population aged 18–40. Four additional countries

have scores higher than 50: **Bhutan** (86.5), **Antigua and Barbuda** (66.6), **Colombia** (52.8) and **Plurinational State of Bolivia** (50.5). However, 14 of the 57 chambers listed still have scores of 0 (see Annex 6).

The picture improves again for MPs aged 45 and under, although the ratios remain lower than those for single and lower chamber of parliaments. **Belgium** is still the only country to exceed a one-to-one proportionality (109.3), although **Bhutan** (99.9) misses out by the narrowest of margins. As shown in Annex 7, a mere 10 countries have scores above 50, but on a positive note, no countries have scores of 0. Across the figures, it is notable that the same group of countries appear as leaders across all three lists.

Table 8

Top youth representation scores by age thresholds (upper chambers)

30 and under			40 and under			45 and under		
Rank	Score	Country	Rank	Score	Country	Rank	Score	Country
1	50.2	Belgium	1	115.0	Belgium	1	109.3	Belgium
2	32.3	Bhutan	2	86.5	Bhutan	2	99.9	Bhutan
3	23.7	Antigua and Barbuda	3	66.6	Antigua and Barbuda	3	77.2	Romania
4	15.6	Slovenia	4	52.8	Colombia	4	73.0	Colombia
5	13.0	Australia	5	50.5	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	5	67.9	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)
6	11.6	Spain	6	46.5	Ireland	6	66.5	Antigua and Barbuda
7	8.1	Ireland	7	46.2	Slovenia	7	53.9	Ireland
8	8.0	Somalia	8	41.6	Trinidad and Tobago	8	52.3	Burundi
9	6.5	Netherlands	9	40.6	Bosnia and Herzegovina	9	51.9	Spain
10	6.2	Mexico	10	40.4	Burundi	10	51.6	Trinidad and Tobago

Tables 9 and 10 aggregate these ratios to compare average scores across regions. In single and lower chambers of parliament, Europe and the Americas consistently and quite substantially outperform other parts of the world. The mean scores for European countries far exceed the global averages for all three age groups: 24.1 compared to 12.0 for MPs aged 30 and under; 72.0 compared to 46.5 for MPs aged 40 and under; and 92.7 compared to 64.4 for MPs aged 45 and under. However, closer proportionality between the share of young MPs and the size of the youth population in Europe is at least partly driven by the fact that populations across this region are ageing. As a result, the relatively small size of the youth population matches more closely to the share of young parliamentarians.

For upper chambers, the pattern is slightly different. The mean scores for the 16 upper chambers in Europe surpass the global average for all three age groups. Oceania performs relatively better, but a closer look reveals that the average is driven largely by the high scores of Australia (13, 33.5, and 50.4), which far exceed those of Palau (0, 19.8, 15.9), the only other Oceanic upper chamber included in the survey. Youth representation scores for the Americas also exceed the global average scores for parliamentarians aged 40 and under and 45 and under. In contrast, Africa and Asia, regions with relatively large youth populations, fall consistently below the global mean.

Table 9

Regional rankings for youth representation scores by age cohort (single and lower chambers)

30 and under			40 and under			45 and under		
Region	Mean score	Countries	Region	Mean score	Countries	Region	Mean score	Countries
Europe	24.1	47	Europe	72.0	47	Europe	92.7	47
Americas	11.7	23	Americas	52.5	23	Americas	67.5	23
Asia	5.1	24	Africa	31.5	43	Africa	49.0	43
Africa	4.8	43	Asia	26.9	24	Asia	45.9	24
Oceania	3.3	10	Oceania	25.0	10	Oceania	35.5	10
Total	12.0	147	Total	46.5	147	Total	64.4	147

Table 10

Regional rankings for youth representation scores by age cohort (upper chambers)

30 and under			40 and under			45 and under		
Region	Mean score	Countries	Region	Mean score	Countries	Region	Mean score	Countries
Europe	5.7	16	Oceania	27.5	2	Europe	38.0	16
Oceania	6.5	2	Europe	26.8	16	Americas	35.6	13
Asia	2.9	12	Americas	23.0	13	Oceania	30.0	2
Americas	2.6	13	Asia	14.0	12	Africa	24.8	14
Africa	1.5	14	Africa	13.1	14	Asia	22.0	12
Total	3.4	57	Total	19.9	57	Total	30.6	57

Advancing youth participation

The Resolution on *Youth Participation in the Democratic Process* adopted by the IPU in 2010, calls for efforts to increase the participation of young people in parliament and other representative bodies.³⁷ To spearhead this work, the IPU established a Forum of Young Parliamentarians in 2013, which is governed by a 12-person board composed of one man and one woman from each of the IPU's six geopolitical groups.³⁸ The Forum has served as a platform to monitor youth participation within the IPU and in parliaments worldwide, as well as to feed youth perspectives into the IPU's work and exchange good practices. Over the last ten years, it has also helped organize a series of Global Conferences of Young Parliamentarians, with

IPU's I Say Yes to Youth in Parliament! campaign

To address these ongoing gaps, the IPU launched the *I Say Yes to Youth in Parliament!* campaign in 2021 referenced above. Over the last two years, *I Say Yes* has seen tangible results. More than 1,400 actors have signed up to serve as Campaign Changemakers, including 660 MPs from 134 countries, 58 speakers of parliament, and 14 heads of state or organizations.³⁹ The campaign has been launched in 30 parliaments, including five supported by the IPU to implement the campaign. Changemakers have implemented more than 30 significant initiatives related to the six pledges. According to a poll of attendees at the May 2023 virtual event Shout Out to Changemakers, the largest share of their efforts had focused on supporting youth channels and mentoring young aspirants, although they had collectively pursued changes in all six areas.

the aim of inspiring commitments to enhance inclusivity in politics, empower young men and women MPs, and enrich parliamentary work with the perspectives of young people.

Despite growing global attention to the issue of youth participation in parliaments, the share of young MPs worldwide remains low. This pattern suggests that youth participation is unlikely to increase steadily over time on its own. Rather, concrete actions by parliaments and political parties are necessary to open up spaces for young people to participate and have a voice in national politics.

This section of the report outlines the six pledges in greater detail and provides examples of emerging good practices in each area to promote and enhance youth participation. Based on their experiences, panellists at the virtual event gave two main pieces of advice with regard to implementing the pledges effectively. First, they highlighted the need for an inclusive approach focusing on multiple pledges at the same time. They suggested this could be achieved by working across party lines, mobilizing support in the media and coordinating with other stakeholders. Second, they noted that it was important to take political considerations into account by being strategic and compromising, when necessary, to build support for these initiatives. Other concerns raised by panellists – including intersectionality, financial barriers and the role of political parties – are addressed, to the extent possible, in the discussion below.



Young MPs of Bahrain host an event to promote the *I Say Yes to Youth in Parliament!* Campaign with the Secretary General of the IPU and President of the IPU Board of the Forum of Young Parliamentarians during the 146th Assembly in Manama, Bahrain. March 2023.
© IPU/146th Assembly

37 archive.ipu.org/conf-e/122/res-3.htm

38 www.ipu.org/about-ipu/structure-and-governance/governing-council/forum-young-parliamentarians

39 To sign up to the campaign, go to www.ipu.org/campaign/pledge-now.

Pledge 1: Accelerating progress using youth quotas

Promoting youth quotas that ensure my parliament is truly representative of the young men and women of the country it serves, and that include a gender parity provision (50:50).

Over the last few decades, quotas for various groups have been introduced by parliaments with the aim of promoting diversity among MPs. The most common measures are quotas for women, now present in some form in more than 140 countries.⁴⁰ However, other groups have also been the subject of such measures, including members of racial, ethnic, linguistic and religious minorities, as well as expatriates, representatives of certain professions, and people with disabilities.⁴¹

Quotas for young people have been established in a small but growing number of countries. Tables 11 and 12 list countries where basic details of policies are mandated by parliament. While these policies share a commitment to youth participation, they may be designed in different ways.

First, they may take one of three forms:

- **Reserved seats:** parliamentary seats reserved by law are set aside to guarantee a specific number of places for young people in parliament.
- **Legislated candidate quotas:** political parties are legally required to nominate a certain number of young people among their candidates, typically as part of party lists.
- **Voluntary political party quotas:** individual parties adopt their own quotas voluntarily for young candidates, without any legal requirement.

Reserved seats guarantee youth presence in parliament, but the designated share is often quite low. Legislated candidate and party quotas, in contrast, usually mandate a higher proportion of young candidates, but do not ensure that they will be elected.

Second, existing policies adopt distinct age thresholds, typically ranging between under 30 and under 40, reflecting different definitions of “youth” across national contexts. They also vary in terms of the percentage specified. Among countries with reserved seats, the smallest share is in **Uganda** (1.2%) and the largest is in **Morocco** (7.6%). In parliaments with legislated candidate and voluntary party quotas, the mandated proportion tends to lie between 20 and 50%. However, as the notes to the tables indicate, many of the higher figures are part of policies mandating the inclusion of multiple groups, with young people being one among several groups included in the quota. For example, in the **Philippines** the policy only applies to the party list component of the mixed electoral system, while in **Egypt** the exact proportion depends on the size of the electoral districts.

Third, many of these measures are accompanied by requirements for gender equality. Three of the five countries with reserved seats – **Kenya**, **Rwanda** and **Uganda** – mandate that a woman occupy at least one of the seats reserved for young people. In **Morocco**, quotas for women and young people were initially separate, with 60 seats reserved for women and 30 for men under age 40. However, in 2016 the law was changed to require alternation of men and women candidates on the youth lists. Quotas for young people and women coexist in all countries with legislated candidate and party quotas. In some countries, both women and young people are included in the same quota regulation, while in others the quotas appear in separate policies.

⁴⁰ www.idea.int/data-tools/data/gender-quotas

⁴¹ Krook, Mona Lena, and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2010. “The Politics of Group Representation: Quotas for Women and Minorities Worldwide.” *Comparative Politics* 42(3): 253–272.

Table 11

Reserved seats and youth representation

Country	Age group	% quota	Gender quota	% 30 and under (all)	% 40 and under (all)	% 30 and under (women)	% 40 and under (women)
Chad (unicameral)	Unknown	3.6 (7 seats)	Uncertain	2.2	24.7	1.1	15.1
Kazakhstan (lower chamber)	Under 35	30*	Mixed	4.1	25.5	1.0	3.1
Kenya (lower chamber)**	Under 35	3.4 (12 seats)***	Embedded	–	–	–	–
Kenya (upper chamber)	Under 35	2.9 (2 seats)	Embedded	0.0	18.2	0.0	9.1
Morocco (lower chamber)	Under 40	7.6 (30 seats)	Embedded	4.6	17.5	3.8	10.1
Rwanda (lower chamber)	Under 35	2.5 (2 seats)	Embedded	2.5	25.0	1.3	13.8
Uganda (unicameral)	Under 30	1.2 (5 seats)	Embedded	3.8	24.3	2.3	9.8

* During the distribution of seats at least 30% of deputies must belong to three categories: women, young people and people with disabilities.

** No data reported for lower chamber following 2022 elections.

*** On PR lists, 50% of candidates must come from different specified sectors, including young people.

A woman wears a Black Lives Matter mask during a demonstration in the US. May 2020
© Ryan M. Kelly/AFP



Table 12

Legislated candidate youth quotas and youth representation

Country	Age group	% quota	Gender quota	% 30 and under (all)	% 40 and under (all)	% 30 and under (women)	% 40 and under (women)
Algeria (lower chamber)	Under 40	50	Mixed	3.7	30.7	1.0	3.4
Ecuador (unicameral)	Under 30	25	Separate*	5.1	33.6	2.9	19.7
Egypt (lower chamber)	Under 35	Varies**	Separate	2.4	20.9	1.9	8.3
Gabon (upper chamber)	Under 40	20	Mixed	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Jordan (lower chamber)	Under 35	20***	Embedded	0.0	11.5	0.0	4.6
Kazakhstan (lower chamber)	Under 35	30****	Mixed	4.1	25.5	1.0	3.1
Kyrgyzstan (lower chamber)	Under 35	15	Separate	1.1	27.8	1.1	4.4
Philippines (lower chamber)	Unknown	50*****	Mixed	6.4	20.3	1.9	6.8

* Provisions for women and young people are distinct, but the law states that the youth quota can be implemented in line with gender parity.

** Electoral lists consisting of 15 seats contain two seats for young people (25–35) and electoral lists consisting of 45 seats contain six seats for young people.

*** A young man or young woman must be included among the first five candidates.

**** At least 30% of the candidates on a party list must belong to at least one of three categories: women, youth and people with disabilities.

***** On PR lists, 50% of candidates must come from different specified sectors, including young people.

Voluntary party quotas are more difficult to document. Political parties and party systems vary widely across countries, making it a challenge to collect systematic data on policies and to judge their impact on outcomes. The voluntary, and often informal, nature of these measures means that their effects are less predictable and identifiable than those of nationally mandated quotas. One well-documented example is **Sweden**, where multiple parties have adopted a target of ensuring that at least 25% of their candidates are aged under 35. The result is above average levels of representation in the 30-and-under (6.6%) and 40-and-under (28.9%) age groups.

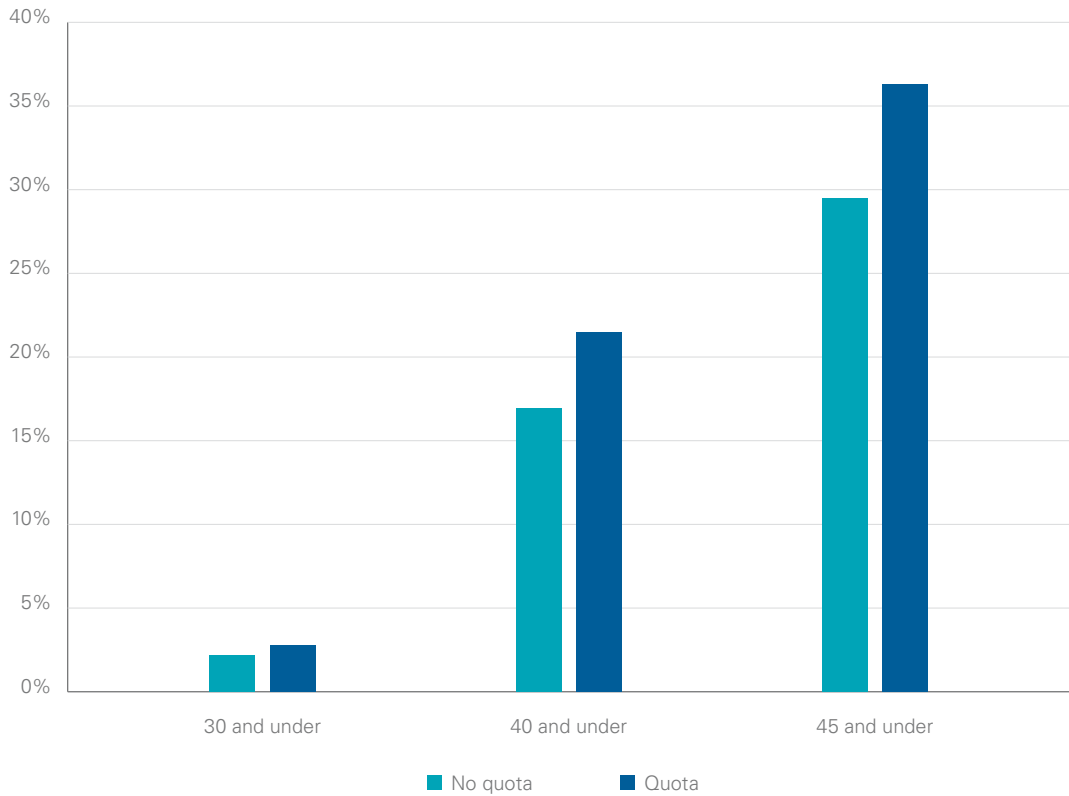
In terms of the numerical effects of these measures, Tables 11 and 12 reveal two trends. First, not all quotas are equally effective in increasing the share of youth in parliament. Only four of the 14 chambers listed across the two tables have an above average share of MPs aged 30 and under: **Algeria**, **Morocco**, the **Philippines** and **Uganda**. Second, quotas tend to have a greater impact on the proportion of parliamentarians

aged 40 and under. Eight of the 13 countries have more MPs aged 40 and under than the global average. Because most policies stipulate ages of under 35 and under 40, this suggests that most MPs elected through quotas are near the top of the age limits for their respective groups.

Figure 16 looks at this data in another way, comparing the percentage of young MPs in countries with and without youth quotas. It shows that, on average, youth quotas have a positive relation to the share of young parliamentarians. Interestingly, it indicates that the participation of MPs aged 45 and under is also higher in the parliaments with youth quotas, although quotas do not apply to most of these MPs. This suggests that quotas may have direct and indirect effects: electing more young parliamentarians, but also placing more young people in the pipeline to a political career. Quotas for young people can also send a signal to youth that parliament is open to, and encourages, their political engagement.

Figure 18

Youth participation in countries with and without youth quotas (all chambers)



The concrete impact of these measures can be seen in **Tunisia**, where youth and gender quotas were recently eliminated. The 2014 electoral law established that, in constituencies with four or more seats, electoral lists should include at least one candidate under the age of 35 in the top four positions. It also stipulated gender parity. In the first elections under these rules, women under 35 occupied more than 80% of seats held by young people, suggesting that the combination of age and gender requirements had opened the way for more young women to enter parliament.⁴² After elections in 2023, these patterns shifted dramatically. The shares of MPs aged 30 and under and 40 and under dropped by 1.7 and 4.5 points respectively, while the 45-and-under share increased by 4.8 points. The proportion of young women declined even further, to one woman aged 30 or under (0.6%) and seven aged 40 and under (4.3%). The corresponding figures for young men were seven aged 30 and under (4.3%) and 27 aged 40 and under (16.8%).

Notwithstanding this one example of regression, youth quotas appear to be gaining ground around the world. Two countries that have recently introduced such measures are **Kazakhstan** and **Algeria**. In **Kazakhstan**, the election law was amended in 2020 to require that at least 30% of candidates on a party list belong to at least one of three categories – women, young people and people with disabilities – and at least 30% of seats be distributed to representatives of these three groups.

In **Algeria**, the 2021 electoral law states that a party’s list of candidates must take gender parity into account, at least half of the list must be reserved for candidates under the age of 40 years old, and at least one third of candidates must be educated to university level. Lists that do not comply will be rejected. Further, when two party lists receive the same number of votes, the law stipulates that the seat will be given to the list where the average age of candidates is the lower.

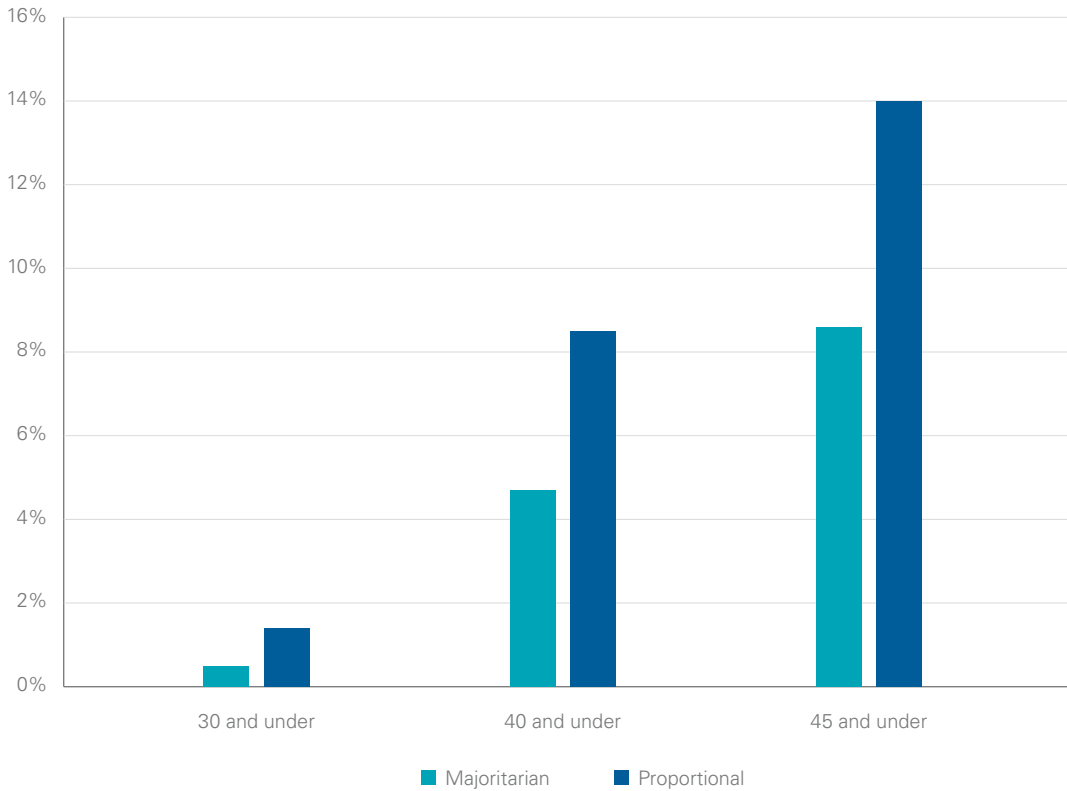
According to participants in the Shout Out to Changemakers event, youth quotas are being considered in other countries, such as **Burkina Faso** and **Indonesia**. The Centre for Young Leaders in Africa has also launched *Zambia for Everyone*, a campaign promoting the introduction of a mixed member electoral system that would include a youth quota.

The question of electoral systems is important in quota discussions. Decades of scholarly research have shown there is less diversity among parliamentarians in countries with single-member district plurality systems (also known as first-past-the-post). Proportional representation (PR) systems perform better. Figure 17 shows this comparison for the 2023 data on youth participation. At each age threshold, there are notable differences in the share of MPs elected according to the electoral system used.

42 Belschner, Jana. 2020. “Empowering Young Women? Gender and Youth Quotas in Tunisia”. In Darhour, Hanane and Drude Dahlerup (eds.). *Double-Edged Politics on Women’s Rights in the MENA Region*. New York: Palgrave: 257–278.

Figure 19

Electoral systems and the share of MPs aged 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under



PR systems tend to elect more young people. This appears to be because the use of electoral lists creates incentives for parties to balance their tickets with nominees from various backgrounds, including younger age groups. Indeed, a study of Asia calculates that countries with PR had three times as many MPs under 30 and four times as many MPs under 35 as countries with majoritarian systems. The use of lists also

makes legislated candidate and party quotas easier to apply, as quota requirements can be integrated in a straightforward manner into the composition of electoral lists. However, having a majoritarian system does not preclude the use of quotas. In these cases, reserved seats are a good option for ensuring the inclusion of young people.

Key takeaways:

- Thirteen countries have quotas in their legal frameworks to ensure the election of young MPs and/or to encourage the selection of younger candidates to parliament, up from nine countries in the last three reports.
- Many youth quotas are accompanied by requirements for gender equality, which may be embedded in the same policy or adopted in parallel. To achieve both youth and gender targets, youth quotas should include a specific gender parity provision.
- Most youth quotas stipulate ages of under 35 and under 40, and, as a result, tend to have a greater impact on shares of MPs aged 40 and under and 45 and under than on the share of MPs aged 30 and under.
- Comparing the percentage of young MPs in countries with and without youth quotas shows that, on average, youth quotas have a positive impact on the share of young parliamentarians.
- Effects of youth quotas may be both direct and indirect: electing more young MPs, but also placing more young people on a pathway towards a political career. Youth quotas can send a signal to young people that parliament is open to, and encourages, their political engagement.
- Different types of quota can be more effective in different electoral systems and so it is important to design quotas with features of the electoral system in mind. Legislated candidate and party quotas fit best in proportional representation systems, while reserved seats can work well in first-past-the-post systems organized around single-member districts.

Pledge 2: Halting age-based discrimination in the law by aligning voting and eligibility ages

Legislating to align the age of eligibility for parliamentary office with voting age, so young people do not have to wait to have a seat at the table.

In a majority of countries, young people old enough to vote face legislative barriers preventing them from taking up public office. Table 13 shows that the average global minimum age to stand as a candidate in elections or to be eligible for appointment is 23.4 years, 5.4 years older than the almost universal minimum

voting age of 18. While a growing number of countries have aligned their voting and eligibility ages in recent years, the average “waiting period” is 3.4 years for single and lower chambers and 10.1 years for upper chambers. Moreover, there is a wait time between the age one can vote and the age one can stand for office in 69.7% of all chambers (63.9% of single and lower chambers, 78.9% of upper chambers). Figures 18–20 show what these gaps in age requirements mean for the presence of young parliamentarians.

Table 13

Age of eligibility for parliamentary office and voting age in different chambers

Criteria	Lowest	Highest	Mean	Median	Mean wait time	Median wait time
Eligibility age (all chambers)	17	40	23.4	21	5.3 years	3.0 years
Voting age (all chambers)	15	40	18.1	18		
Eligibility age (single & lower chambers)	17	30	21.6	21	3.4 years	3.0 years
Voting age (single & lower chambers)	15	21	18.1	18		
Eligibility age (upper chambers)	18	40	28.1	30	10.1 years	12.0 years
Voting age (upper chambers)	16	21	18.1	18		

At all three age thresholds, lower eligibility ages positively affect levels of youth representation. This suggests that, in the short term, lower age limits may encourage potential candidates to run for office at a younger age. For example, in the United Kingdom the eligibility age for parliament was lowered from 21 to 18 in 2006. In 2015, at the age of 20, Mhairi Black became the youngest MP elected since 1667.

The figures also show that the effects are magnified as the age cohort increases: a lower eligibility age enhances the share of parliamentarians aged 30 and under, but even more strongly influences the share of MPs in the 40-and-under and 45-and-under age groups. This pattern points to the longer term effects of age requirements, which may persuade people to begin their careers in local politics at an earlier age, working their way up to a run for parliament some years later.⁴³ An early start is often crucial for later political success: in the United States, more than half of the top political leaders – presidents, representatives, senators and governors – won their first elected office before the age of 35.⁴⁴

43 Krook, Mona Lena, and Mary K. Nugent. 2018. “Not Too Young to Run? Age Requirements and Young People in Elected Office”. *Intergenerational Justice Review* 4(2): 60–67.

44 Mandel, Ruth B., and Katherine E. Kleeman. 2004. *Political Generation Next: America's Young Elected Leaders*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Eagleton Institute of Politics: 7.

Figure 20

Candidate age requirements and share of MPs aged 30 and under

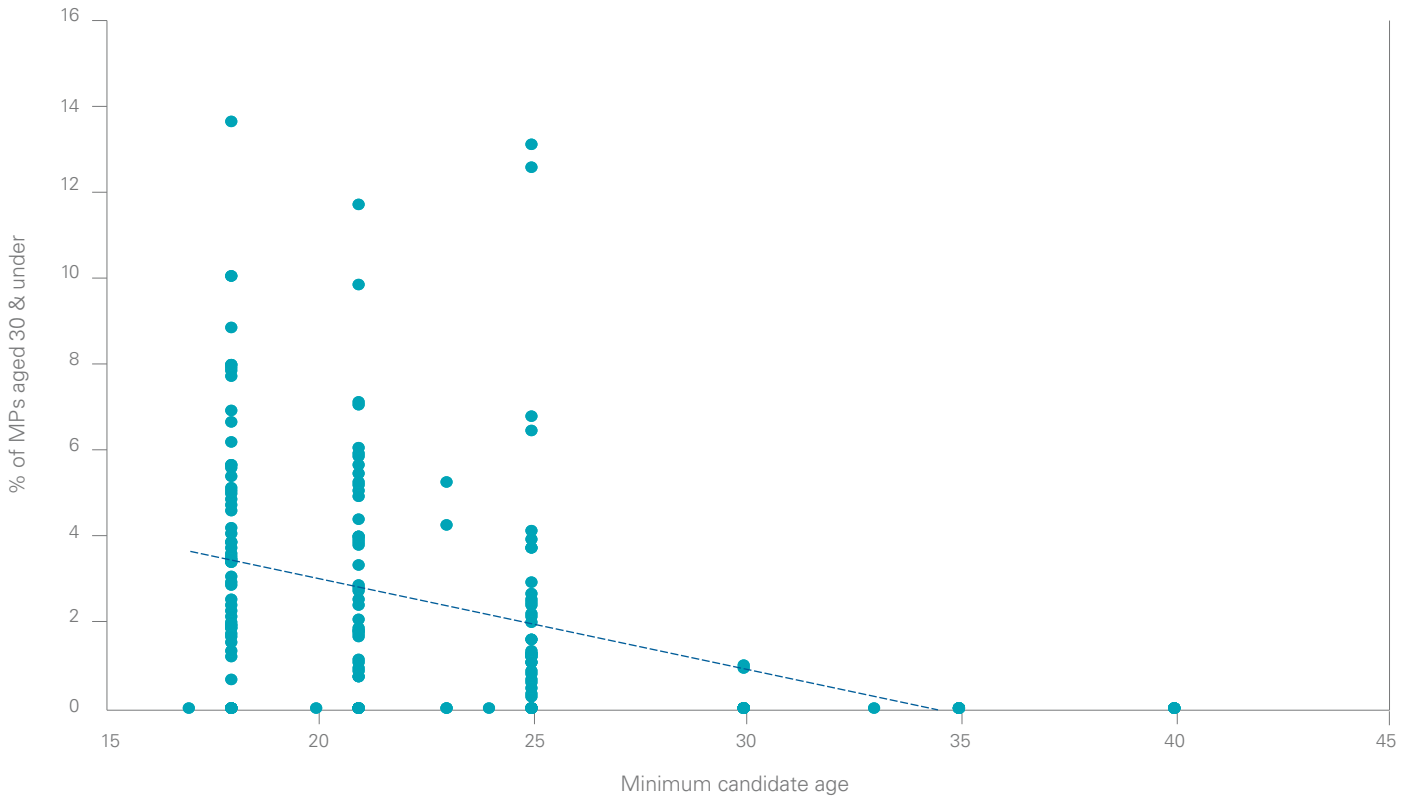


Figure 21

Candidate age requirements and share of MPs aged 40 and under

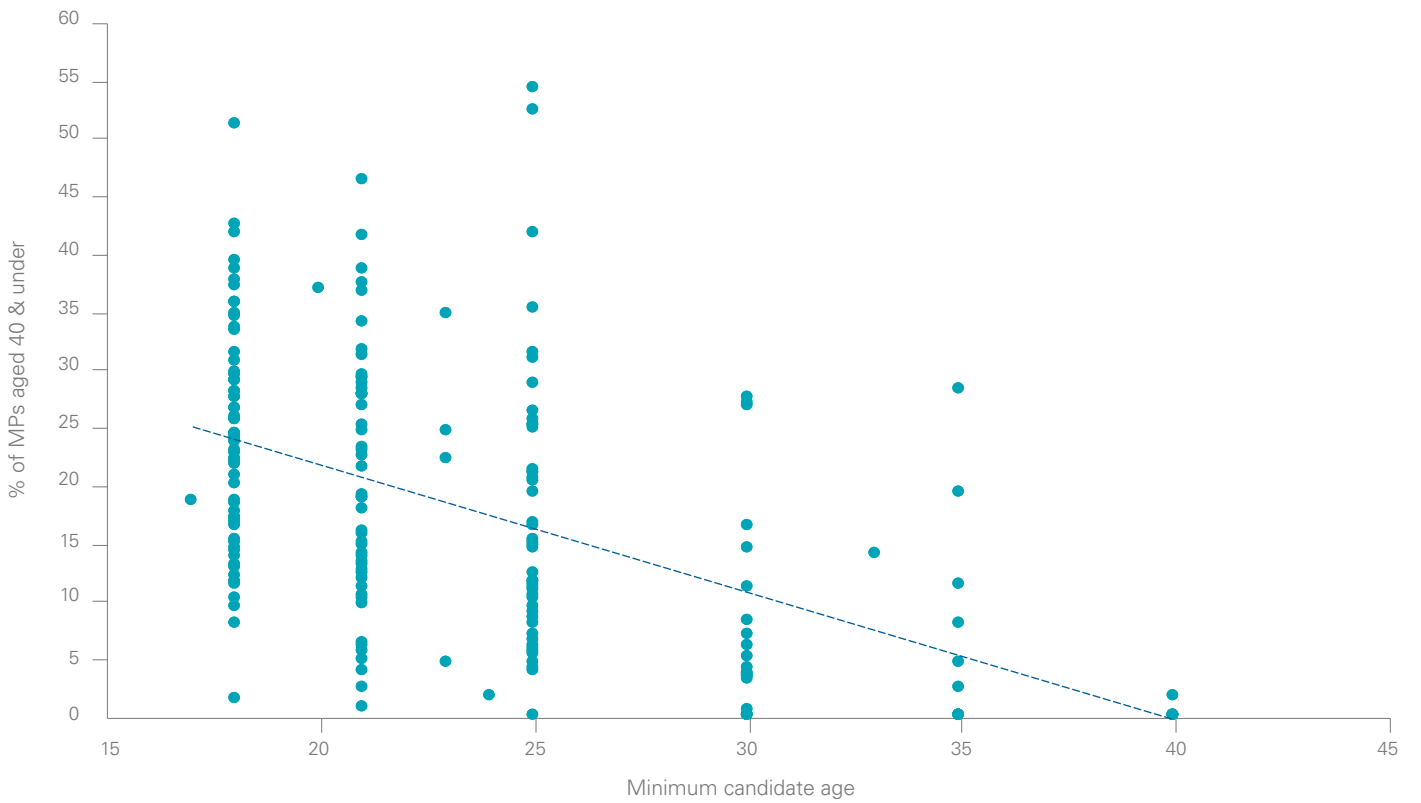
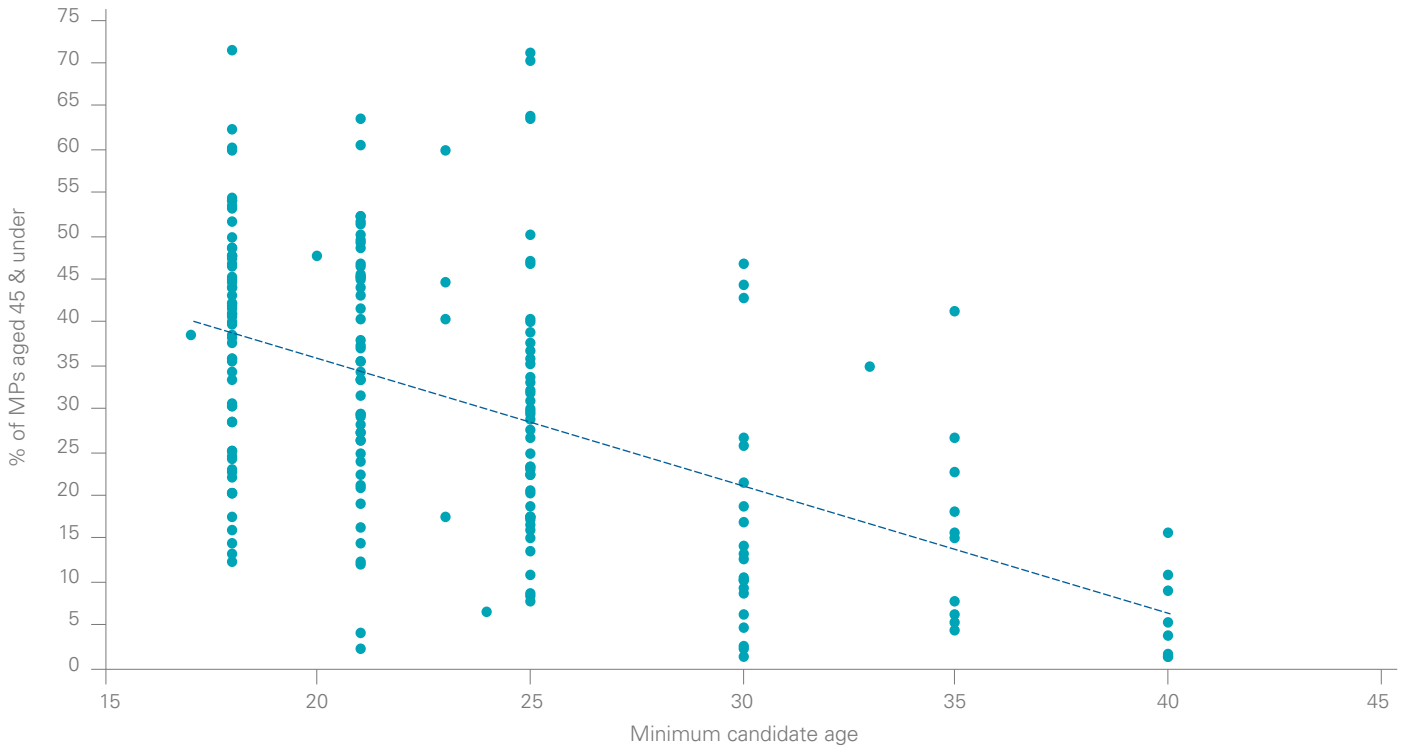


Figure 22

Candidate age requirements and share of MPs aged 45 and under



A number of parliaments have recently made gains in this respect. In 2019, the voting age in **Malaysia** was reduced from 21 to 18, the first constitutional amendment in the country in 12 years. In 2022, two parliaments lowered their age requirement to stand as parliamentary candidates. However, in neither case was it harmonized with the voting age of 18: in **Jordan** the minimum candidate age was reduced from 30 to 25, while in **Lithuania** it was lowered from 25 to 21. A constitutional amendment in **Gabon** in 2023 did achieve harmonization of minimum candidate and voting ages at 18.

Members of the Board of the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians were also involved in pressing for similar reforms in their own parliaments. In **Mexico**, Deputy Cynthia López Castro initiated a law to align the candidate and voting ages in the lower chamber. In 2023, the law was passed unanimously, reducing the minimum candidate age from 21 to 18. At the Changemakers panel marking the second anniversary of the *I Say Yes* campaign, Ms López Castro recounted facing strong resistance to her efforts to expand youth participation. She explained how she overcame this by allying with a member of the government to ensure that the amendment had support from both sides of the political spectrum. She also highlighted the vital role of young people in mobilizing for the reform on social media through their schools and universities.

In **Paraguay**, Senators Blas Llano and Patrick Kemper introduced a draft law to lower the eligibility ages for municipal office. The law promulgated in 2022 reduced the age to be a mayor from 25 to 22 years and the age to be a councillor from 23 to 20 years. At the Changemakers event, Mr Kemper observed that holding press conferences and distributing publicity materials were crucial to the success of the campaign in terms of sensitizing and forming alliances with other MPs. However, he also noted some resistance; he had initially aimed to lower the eligibility age even further, but some MPs felt an age of eligibility under 20 would be too young. Mr Kemper had also hoped to change the age of eligibility for national parliament; however, this requires a constitutional amendment in his country and he judged that this would not have been possible to achieve. Therefore, to ensure political support, he had to compromise by setting a slightly higher age threshold than he would have liked and by limiting the law to the municipal level.



A young woman speaks at a Fridays for Future demonstration near the White House in Washington, D.C. March 2023.
© Bryan Olin Dozier/NURPHOTO/NURPHOTO VIA AFP

Key takeaways:

- More than two-thirds of chambers of parliament (69.7%) impose a “waiting period” between the age at which citizens can vote and the age at which they can run for political office. The average period is 3.4 years for single and lower chambers of parliament and 10.1 years for upper chambers. While some parliaments have lowered their eligibility ages in recent years, these reforms often stop short of full alignment with the voting age.
- Lower minimum candidate ages are associated with higher levels of youth representation. Lower age limits may lead candidates to run for office at an earlier age, including at the local level where they can build the skills and connections needed for a national political career.
- A number of IPU member parliaments have lowered their eligibility ages in recent years, although only in Mexico and Gabon was the minimum candidate age aligned with the voting age. In other cases, the eligibility ages for various offices at the national and local levels were reduced by several years following the active lobbying of young MPs.
- Lowering the age of eligibility for national office may be more feasibly attained in countries where doing so does not require constitutional changes. However, the IPU calls on all countries to align the age of eligibility for political office with the voting age.

Pledge 3: Making parliaments fit for youth participation

Supporting channels for youth perspectives in parliament – including youth caucuses and committees – so that youth empowerment is at the centre of my parliament.

Although all parliamentarians should take young people's views into consideration, youth channels provide a platform for young people to express themselves as a collective. Youth-focused spaces in parliament include youth caucuses and youth committees. Youth caucuses may serve as hubs for young MPs, bringing them together for the purposes of networking and capacity-building. They may also serve as campaign centres for youth issues, with parliamentarians of all ages working together on policy reforms and other initiatives on behalf of young people.

In questionnaires sent out by the IPU for this report, parliaments were asked to indicate whether they had caucuses of young MPs, caucuses dedicated to youth issues, or specialized bodies or committees where youth issues were addressed (see Annex 8 for a complete list of respondents). Among the

138 chambers responding to the survey, 18.1% had a caucus of young MPs. Of these caucuses, 44.0% also operated as the caucus for youth issues. A further 13.0% of chambers had a stand-alone caucus for youth issues that was independent of a caucus for young parliamentarians. In total, 21.0% of chambers reported having a caucus for youth issues, whether stand-alone or in combination with a young MPs' caucus. Tables 14 and 15 summarize this data.

Comparing responses for chambers that answered the questionnaire in both 2021 and 2023 indicates that four chambers – single and lower chambers in **Pakistan, Slovenia, Ukraine** and **Zambia** – gained a young parliamentary caucus, while four chambers – single and lower chambers in **Benin, Italy** and **Latvia** and the upper chamber in the **United Kingdom** – lost their caucuses for young MPs. The number of youth-issue caucuses also increased; seven chambers – single and lower chambers in **Australia, Italy, Lithuania, New Zealand, Nicaragua** and **Rwanda** and upper chambers in **Argentina** and **Australia** – gained a stand-alone caucus for youth issues.

Students chant during a demonstration for more climate action in Kenya, March 2019.
© Yasuyoshi Chiba/AFP



Table 14

Parliaments with a caucus or network for young parliamentarians (2021 and 2023 questionnaire responses)

Country	Name of group	Status	Questionnaire
Benin	APF Young Parliamentarians Network	Formal	2023
Cameroon	Réseau des Jeunes Parlementaires (Network of Young Parliamentarians)	Formal	2023
Colombia	Youth in Congress	Formal	2021
Costa Rica	Parliamentary Youth Group	Formal	2023
Democratic Republic of the Congo	Network of Young Parliamentarians of the Senate	Formal	2021
El Salvador	Youth Parliamentary Group	Formal	2021
Finland	Nuorten Kansanedustajien Kansainvälinen Verkosto (International Network for Young Members of Parliament)	Informal	2021
Indonesia	Kaucus Pemuda Parlemen Indonesia (Indonesian Parliamentary Youth Caucus)	Informal	2021
Italy	Intergruppo Giovani Parlamentari (Group of Young Parliamentarians)*	Informal	2023
Japan (upper and lower)	Various networks for youth issues*	Informal	2023
Kenya	Kenya Young Parliamentarians Association (Youth Desk)*	Formal	2023
Latvia	Group Parliamentarians Under the Age of 40	Informal	2023
Madagascar	Réseau des Jeunes Parlementaires (Network of Young Parliamentarians)	Formal	2023
Mozambique	Youth Parliamentarians Cabinet	Formal	2021
Nigeria (upper and lower)	Young Parliamentarians Forum of the National Assembly*	Formal	2023
North Macedonia	Club on Youth Affairs and Policies*	Informal	2023
Pakistan	Young Parliamentarians Forum*	Formal	2023
São Tomé and Príncipe	Young Parliamentarians Network	Formal	2021
Slovenia	Young Parliamentarians Club*	Formal	2023
Spain	Youth Parliament Network	Formal	2021
Sri Lanka	Parliamentary Caucus on Youth*	Formal	2023
Thailand	Young Parliamentarians Caucus of Thailand	Informal	2023
Ukraine	Caucus for the Development of Youth Policy*	Informal	2023
Viet Nam	Young Parliamentarians Group*	Formal	2023
Zambia	Zambia Youth Parliamentary Caucus*	Informal	2023

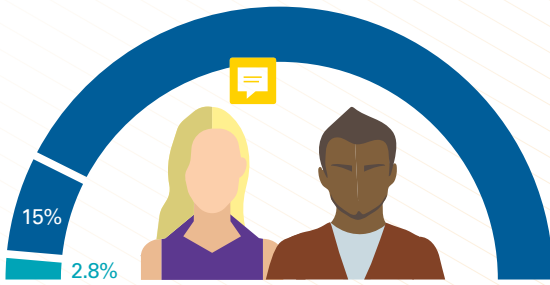
* Additionally serves as the youth network/caucus for youth issues.



Inter-Parliamentary Union
For democracy. For everyone.

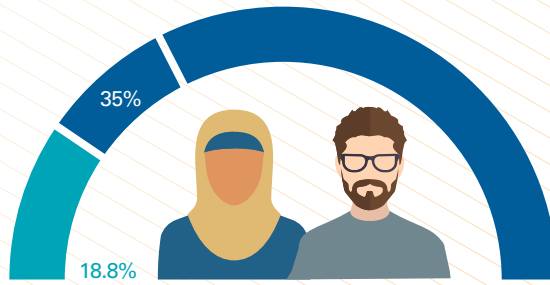
Youth participation in national parliaments

30 AND UNDER



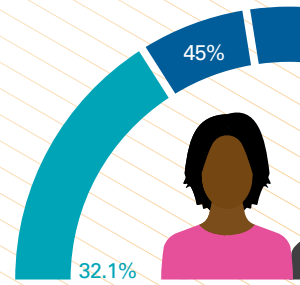
2.8% IPU target → 15%

40 AND UNDER



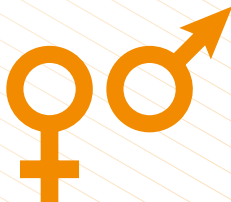
18.8% IPU target → 35%

45 AND UNDER



32.1% IPU target → 45%

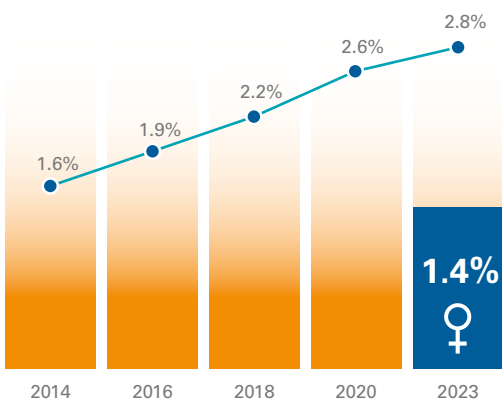
Each target also calls for 50-50 gender parity



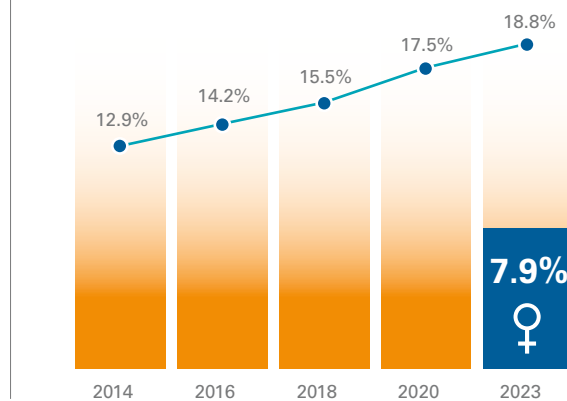
Based on our 2023 surveys, only 13 countries have youth quotas in their legal frameworks, up from 9 countries in 2021.

Global percentage of young MPs (men and women) by age category

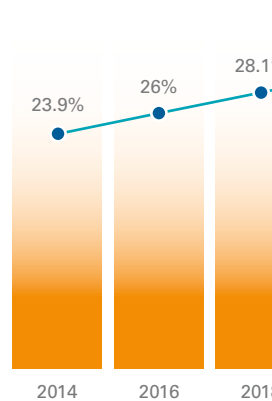
30 AND UNDER

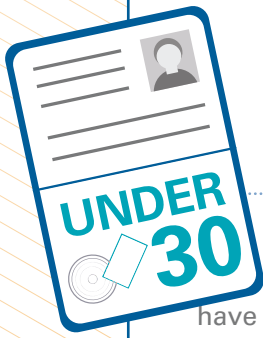


40 AND UNDER



45 AND UNDER





39%

39 per cent of parliaments have no MPs 30 years of age and under.

25 per cent of the world's single and lower chambers of parliament have no MPs aged 30 years of age and under.

25%

74%

74 per cent of the world's upper chambers of parliaments have no MPs aged 30 years of age and under.

UNDER



target **45%**



65%

65 per cent of chambers of parliament have a **committee** that deals with youth issues.

18%

18 per cent of chambers of parliaments have a **caucus** of young MPs.

13



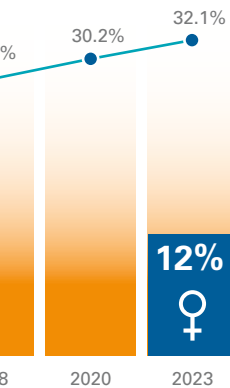
70%

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



15 Speakers of Parliament are 40 years of age and under, 5 are women.

UNDER



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:

60:40

MALE

FEMALE



Table 15

Parliaments with a caucus or network for youth issues (2021 and 2023 questionnaire responses)

Country	Name of group	Status	Questionnaire
Argentina (upper chamber)	Population and Human Development Commission*	Formal	2023
Australia (upper and lower chambers)	Parliamentary Friends of Young People	Formal	2023
Azerbaijan	Youth and Sports Committee of Milli Majlis of Azerbaijan*	Formal	2023
Benin	Network of Parliamentarians for the Employment and Professional Integration of Young People; Network of Parliamentarians for Education	Formal	2023
Cameroon	Youth Advocacy Parliamentary Network (REJE)	Formal	2023
Estonia	Youth Support Group	Informal	2021
Israel	Lobby for Young People	Formal	2021
Lithuania	Cooperative of Young Parliamentarians and Youth Council; Group for Patriotic Citizenship Education of Young People	Formal	2023
Mexico	Ordinary Commission on Youth and Sexual Diversity	Formal	2021
New Zealand	Rito o te Pāremata (Rito of Parliament)	Formal	2023
Nicaragua	Team for the Promotion and Monitoring of Institutional Policies of the National Assembly	Formal	2023
Poland	Senators' Grouping on Education of Young Generation	Formal	2021
Republic of Korea	Parliamentary Forum for the Development of Human Resource; Youth Plan 2.0; China–Korea Future Leadership Forum	Formal	2021
Rwanda	Network of Rwandan Parliamentarians on Population and Development (RPRPD)	Formal	2023
Switzerland (lower)	Kinder und Jugend (PGKJ) / Enfance et Jeunesse (IPEJ)	Informal	2021
Thailand	Democratic Youth	Formal	2023
Turkmenistan	Committee on Science, Education, Culture and Youth Policy	Formal	2021
United Kingdom	Various youth-related All-Party Parliamentary Groups	Informal	2023

* Additionally serves as a specialized body or committee on youth issues

In addition to youth caucuses, 65.2% of chambers of parliament had established a specialized body or committee on youth issues. Notably, very few of these bodies took the form of stand-alone committees on youth. More commonly, young people were associated with other groups, like women and families, or were connected to particular issues, such as sports, education, culture, technology or human rights.

A comparative analysis of the 2021 and 2023 survey responses points to a decrease in the number of such bodies over time: 11 committees and specialized bodies across nine parliaments appear to have been lost during this period.⁴⁵ Conversely, eight parliaments⁴⁶ reported a committee or specialized body in 2023, but not in 2021.

45 Bahrain (lower chamber), Benin, Burundi (upper chamber), Ecuador, Italy (lower and upper chambers), New Zealand, Slovakia, Trinidad and Tobago (lower and upper chambers), United Kingdom (upper chamber).

46 Argentina (upper chamber), Canada (lower chamber), Denmark, Nicaragua, Pakistan (lower chamber), Romania (lower chamber), Serbia, Uruguay (upper chamber).

Table 16 presents the age and gender distribution of the chairs of these committees and specialized bodies, when known. The data show that parliamentarians over age 45 predominate; the average age of the leaders of these bodies is 51. Moreover, two thirds of these committee chairs are men. In contrast, MPs aged 45 and under constitute only slightly more than one quarter (27.3%) of all specialized body chairs. Considering

factors that might foster youth participation, Figure 21 suggests that chambers with a higher share of young MPs are more likely to have more young members on specialized bodies relating to youth issues. This indicates that increasing the numbers of young parliamentarians should lead to greater engagement with issues important to young people.

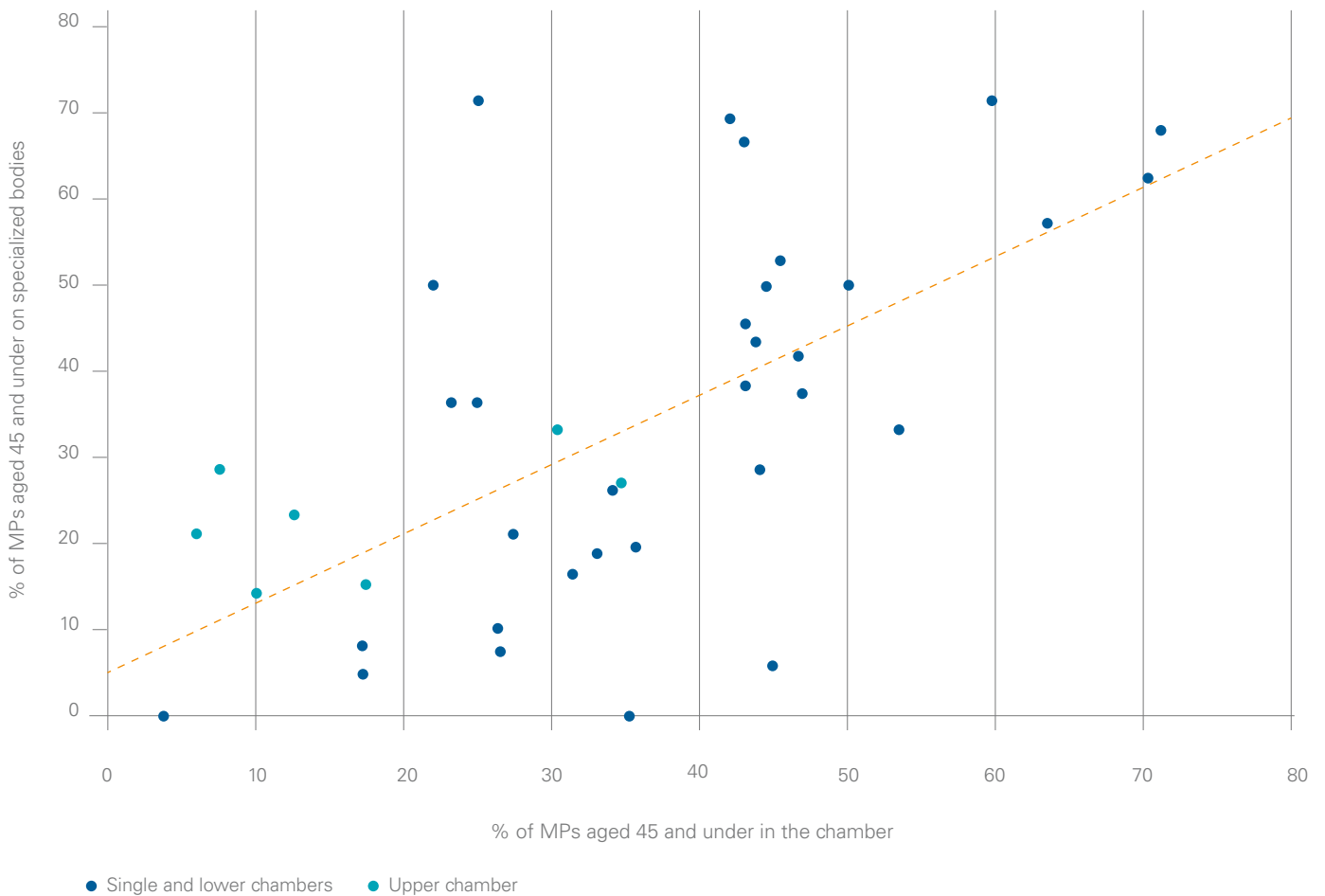
Table 16

Committee and specialized body chairs by gender and age category

Gender	Age category				Total
	30 and under	40 and under	45 and under	Over 45	
Female	1	4	6	12	23
Male	2	6	11	33	52
Total	3	10	17	45	75

Figure 23

Proportion of young parliamentarians in the chamber compared to their proportion on specialized youth-related bodies



Turning to country-level information, over the last ten years IPU reports have charted the rise of youth caucuses around the world. Caucuses of young parliamentarians have recently been set up in countries as diverse as **Gabon, Slovenia, South Africa, South Sudan, Sri Lanka, Thailand** and **Zimbabwe**. After signing up to the *I Say Yes* campaign, the speaker of the **Zambian** parliament, Nelly Mutti, helped establish the Zambia Youth Parliamentary Caucus (ZYPC) in September 2022. The aim of the caucus is to empower young parliamentarians, helping them promote and make visible the issues and interests that directly affect them. To date, it has engaged in the capacity-building of young MPs and worked on issues like sexual and reproductive health and climate change. The most important challenge, according to ZYPC chair, Jean Chisenga, has been finding sponsors to finance their initiatives.

In **Australia**, two parliamentary “friendship” groups were set up in 2022 to serve as caucuses on youth issues. Parliamentary Friends of Young People is a non-partisan forum for members of both chambers to meet and interact with young people and youth organizations to discuss policy issues impacting young people. The second group, Parliamentary Friends of Youth Mental Health, brings together MPs who are concerned about increasing rates of poor mental health among young Australians aged 12 to 25. The membership of these caucuses is thus not limited to young parliamentarians, although they may be particularly interested in these questions.

Youth committees, in turn, formally integrate youth issues into the work of parliament. They are rarely stand-alone committees, but rather are often combined with other topics. For example, in **Romania** there is a committee on youth and sports, while in **Rwanda**, there is a committee on education, technology, culture and youth. In **Germany**, the Commission for the Protection of Children’s Concerns, a stand-alone body, has existed since 1988 as a sub-committee of the Committee for Family, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth. Its specific task is to represent the interests of children and young people.

A new initiative in **Sri Lanka** integrates young people themselves into parliamentary committee work. The Chair of the Ministerial Consultative Committee on Youth and Sports may invite up to five Youth Representatives between the ages of 18 and 35 to advise on each matter taken up before the Committee. With the permission of the Chair, the Youth Representatives have the opportunity to ask questions of witnesses and peruse documents before the Committee. While they do not have the right to vote on Committee matters, the Chair may allow the observations and opinions of the Youth Representatives to be included in final Committee reports by way of an addendum to the text. Criteria for selecting these Youth Representatives are decided by the Committee.

Key takeaways:

- A small but growing number of parliamentary chambers have established youth caucuses and/or committees and other specialized bodies on youth issues.
- Youth-focused spaces can provide a critical support network for young parliamentarians, including in relation to advocacy on policies important to young people.
- Youth committees tend to be chaired by older men MPs, although a higher overall share of young parliamentarians is associated with more young MPs as committee members
- Youth caucuses and committees tend to be under-resourced, presided over by older men MPs, and lacking crucial financial and logistical support. To empower youth, parliaments should consider how they might support youth engagement; for example, through funding, leadership by young MPs, and the appointment of support personnel.

Pledge 4: Having influential young parliamentarians

Empowering young parliamentarians, so they are able to contribute to, influence and lead the work of my parliament.

Parliamentary working conditions and norms are often geared towards members who are middle-aged or older and therefore parliaments are not always comfortable environments for young people. As a result, young MPs may feel increased pressures and feelings of tokenism and powerlessness.⁴⁷ To help them reach their full potential and to promote youth leadership, some parliaments have engaged in dedicated efforts to empower young parliamentarians.

The most prevalent initiatives are professional development programmes for young parliamentarians. For example, the **Pakistan** Institute of Parliamentary Services arranges various capacity-building programmes for young and first-time parliamentarians. In **Eswatini** and **Morocco**, young MPs have the opportunity to attend leadership training courses. In some cases, these programmes are supported through financial assistance from international donors, including the United Nations (**Lebanon**), the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (**Malta**) and the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (**North Macedonia**).

To assist with these efforts, in 2022 and 2023 the IPU organized a virtual Empowerment Series featuring briefings, training and workshops for young parliamentarians, at the explicit request of the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians.

To this end, the IPU secretariat, in consultation with the Forum, offered online sessions every two months that encompassed policy briefings, training from professionals in different sections, and workshops on themes including employment, migration, health, education and political participation. In addition to capacity-building, the series sought to facilitate peer-to-peer exchange of knowledge, experience, good practice, lessons learned and advice between young MPs themselves.

After young MPs identified a need for additional skills development at the individual level in political leadership, communications and mentorship, the IPU has also been providing capacity-building training in these areas. This first took place with over 100 MPs during the 2019 Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians in Paraguay, and has spread to many more countries, including Djibouti and Nigeria. Training is conducted both in person and in an online setting.

Parliaments have also empowered young parliamentarians by including them in delegations to international events. Young MPs in **Pakistan** are often nominated for foreign visits. In **Seychelles**, young parliamentarians are put forward for international and regional parliamentary meetings as a way for them to gain broader exposure. In 2018, the IPU sought to encourage the inclusion of young MPs in IPU meetings by offering extra votes and speaking time to delegations with young parliamentarians.






The advancement of young MPs to leadership roles is one of the most telling indicators of the effectiveness of efforts to empower young parliamentarians. However, with some notable exceptions, high-level positions such as the parliamentary speaker, which play a vital role in setting the political agenda, still tend to be held by more senior colleagues. Indeed, the overwhelming share of speakers (84.8%) are over the age of 45. Their average age is 61.3, although women speakers are slightly younger (58.4 years old) than their male counterparts (61.4 years old). There are no speakers aged 30 and under, and a mere 5.8% (15 speakers) are aged 40 and under.

Table 17 lists the ten youngest speakers. Interestingly, four are women and six are men, similar to the gender breakdown among younger MPs as a whole.

47 Erikson, Josefina, and Cecilia Josefsson. 2021. "Equal Playing Field? On the Intersection Between Gender and Being Young in the Swedish Parliament". *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 9 (1): 81–100.

Table 17

The ten youngest speakers of parliament

Country	Chamber type	Chamber name		Name of speaker	Gender	Age	Year appointed (age at appointment)
Turkmenistan	Unicameral	Assembly		Dunyagozel Akmuhammedovna Gulmanova	Female	34	2023 (34)
Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Bicameral	Chamber of Senators		Andrónico Rodríguez	Male	35	2020 (32)
Chile	Bicameral	Chamber of Deputies		Vlado Mirosevic	Male	36	2022 (35)
Tajikistan	Bicameral	National Assembly		Rustam Emomali	Male	36	2020 (33)
Colombia	Bicameral	House of Representatives		David Ricardo Racero Mayorca	Male	37	2022 (36)
Saint Kitts and Nevis	Unicameral	National Assembly		Lanein Blanchette	Female	37	2022 (36)
Andorra	Unicameral	General Council		Carles Enseñat	Male	38	2023 (38)
Romania	Bicameral	Chamber of Deputies		Alfred-Robert Simonis	Male	38	2023 (38)
Cyprus	Unicameral	House of Representatives		Anita Demetriou	Female	38	2021 (36)
Tonga	Unicameral	Legislative Assembly		Lord Fakafanua	Male	38	2017 (32)

Key takeaways:

- Parliaments around the world, as well as the IPU, have launched initiatives to build the capacities of young and first-time parliamentarians.
- In addition to skills-building and policy briefings, these programmes have included promoting the participation of young MPs on delegations to international events, including IPU assemblies.
- Although parliamentary speakers are overwhelmingly men over age 45, younger MPs have made some inroads. Yet there are no speakers aged 30 and under, and only 15 aged 40 and under.
- Of these young speakers, 40% are women and 60% are men, reinforcing findings elsewhere in the report about greater gender parity among younger MPs in comparison to their older counterparts.
- Providing exposure to senior roles, such as chairing of committees and membership of bureaux, is another valuable way to empower young MPs.

Pledge 5: Mentoring a new generation of leaders

Mentoring young aspirants to political office so knowledge, experiences and ideas are shared.

Mentoring between generations is a great way for young parliamentarians to learn from older colleagues. However, when mentoring extends beyond parliament to embrace young people from different backgrounds who are considering entering politics, it can also play an important role in levelling the political playing field and diversifying political life. These efforts can include capacity-building programmes for young political aspirants; political simulations with young people in parliament; and strengthened engagement with youth parliaments, youth councils and other youth organizations.

A growing number of parliaments offer internship programmes for young people to gain knowledge and contacts that can help them launch a political career. Since 1993, the parliament of **Australia** and the Australian National University have had a formal arrangement to enable students to undertake research-based internships with parliamentarians, giving them insight into a range of activities that shape national policymaking. The **Canadian** parliament offers various types of employment to young people through the Student Employment Program, the House of Commons Page Program, the Senate Page Program and the Parliamentary Internship Program. The Forum for Young Canadians also offers young people aged 15 to 18 the opportunity to network with parliamentarians. In **Cyprus**, an internship programme was established in 2022 to provide undergraduate students with a chance to learn more about the work of parliament. Other parliaments, such as those in **Bhutan** and **Pakistan**, provide voluntary and paid internships to current students and recent graduates to help them become better acquainted with parliamentary procedures and practices. The parliament of the **United Arab Emirates** offers a five-month programme featuring simulations of parliamentary activities to train political aspirants to become possible future MPs.

A recent initiative in **New Zealand** takes the traditional internship model one step further. In 2021, the Parliamentary Engagement team put out a call for six young people aged between 16 and 20 to become part of Rito, a youth reference group in parliament. (“Rito” is the name for new harakeke flax shoots, which grow from the middle of the plant, protected by mature leaves on either side.) Members of Rito develop a project of their choice, with the aim of increasing their awareness of, and participation in, parliament. Projects have to be politically neutral and deliverable within a year, but might include starting a podcast on what parliament does or creating a mock select committee for young people. Rito members also provide feedback on youth-focused resources produced by parliament, represent young people in their communities and promote the work of parliament. In order not to exclude those who would be unable to afford to take part in an unpaid programme, Rito offers participants a living wage.

Political simulations entail inviting young people to participate in a mock parliamentary experience. In **Brazil**, the Young Senator Program offers high school students from public schools up to age 19 the chance to get first-hand experience of the legislative process. Students are selected through an essay contest, with a new topic set every year. The mock legislature lasts for four days and begins with the swearing-in of the young senators and the election of the presiding officer. The work ends with the approval of the bills and their subsequent publication in the Federal Senate Gazette. Similarly, the **Maltese** parliament hosts Eko-skola, an annual debate between schoolchildren and MPs on topics related to the environment.



Youth during a demonstration for climate action in the Netherlands. May 2023
© Oscar Brak/NURPHOTO/NURPHOTO VIA AFP

Youth parliaments, common in many countries, may take the form of political simulations. However, they may also offer a means for young people to engage directly with the work of MPs by fostering cross-generational partnerships. The primary goal of the **Namibian** Children's Parliament is to provide a mouthpiece for young people to lobby and advise the government and the legislature on policies to protect the rights and improve the welfare of children and young adults.

Uganda has established a similar Youth Parliamentary Forum for Children. Other initiatives mentioned in the survey include youth parliaments in **Bangladesh**, **Gabon** and **Guyana**.

In the questionnaires for the 2021 and 2023 IPU reports, 56 chambers (40.6%) stated they had a youth parliament. Some bicameral parliaments, like those in **France** and **Nigeria**, have one youth parliament for both chambers, while others, like those in **Belgium** and **Mexico**, have separate youth parliaments. Additionally, some parliaments have more than one youth parliament.

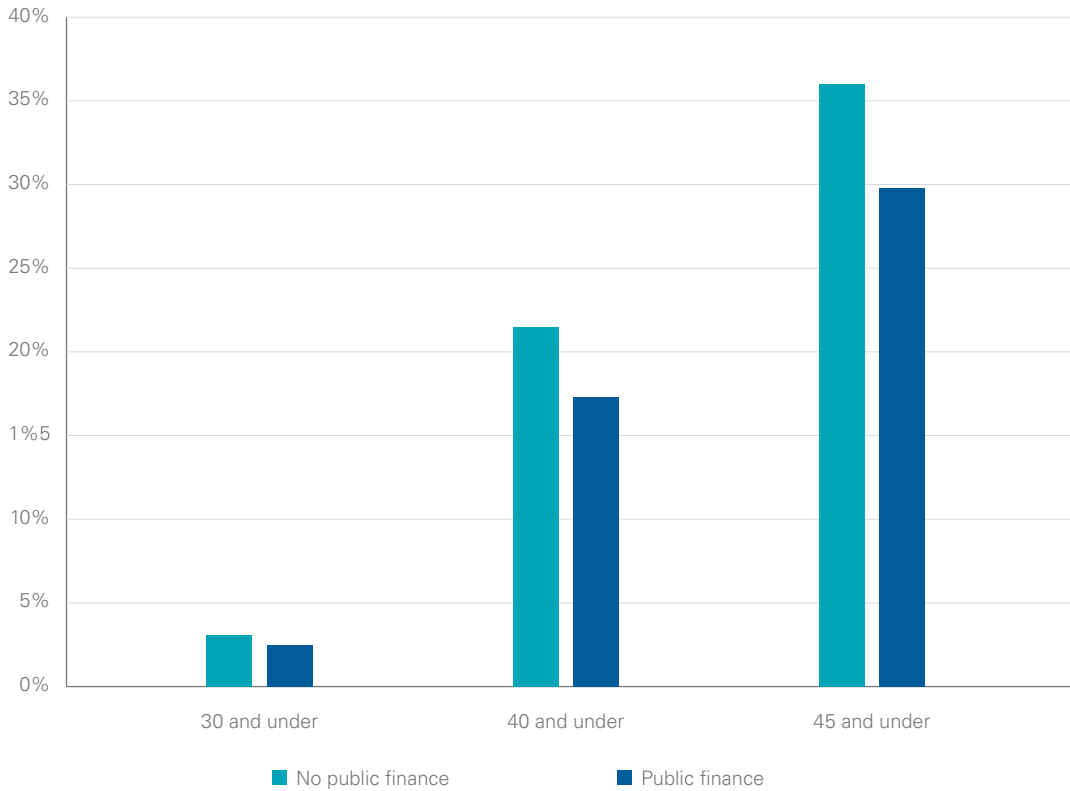
Other ways that parliaments engage with young people include various kinds of school visits. The **Rwandan** parliament organizes open days for youth on a regular basis to familiarize young people with its activities. On Job Shadow Day in **Latvia**, schoolchildren can learn about the daily work of MPs and parliamentary staff

to gain better knowledge of the legislative process. In **Romania**, visits entail a tour of parliament and a "lesson on democracy" explaining how parliament functions and the role of parliamentarians. In **Bahrain** and **Cambodia**, students and youth associations can visit parliament to learn more about the history, structure, roles and responsibilities of the institution. In **Austria** and **Canada**, parliaments cooperate directly with youth organizations through workshops and public events.

In addition to these initiatives, supporting young aspirants requires thinking about how to help them acquire the resources they may need to make a successful run for parliament. In past IPU reports, the issue of financing has been raised repeatedly. Political campaigns are often prohibitively expensive for young candidates, as they are less likely than older candidates to be established in their professional careers. They also often lack the networks needed to raise large sums of money. Figure 22 shows that public financing of campaigns is one way to overcome these inequalities. At each age threshold, the share of young parliamentarians is higher in countries with public financing than in those where candidates must raise money or self-fund their own campaigns.

Figure 24

Availability of public campaign financing and the share of MPs aged 30 and under, 40 and under, and 45 and under



Key takeaways:

- Parliaments have instituted a variety of mentoring programmes to nurture the next generation of young parliamentarians.
- Internships can equip political aspirants with the experience, skills and contacts to help them pursue a political career.
- Shadowing programmes, mock legislatures and school visits can provide young people with insight into the inner workings of parliament.
- Another way to support the election of young MPs is by providing financial backing, including through provision for the public funding of political campaigns

Pledge 6: Advocating for transformative action

Advocating for I Say Yes in my parliament, to bring more MPs of all ages on board.

The *I Say Yes* campaign has made tremendous advances over the last two years, but much more work can be done to spread its message. This might involve launching a national, regional or international campaign; promoting the campaign through speeches, public engagements and/or social media; and advocating for the campaign with political and public opinion leaders.

To date, the *I Say Yes* campaign has been launched in at least 30 countries. In 2022, the parliament of **Paraguay** launched *Yo digo sí a la juventud en el parlamento*, a Spanish language version of the global campaign. It was introduced during a press conference held by Senators Blas Llano and Patrick Kemper, who presented the campaign and linked it to a proposal to reduce the eligibility age for municipal councillors to 18. Young members of the lower chamber, including Deputy Carlos Rejala, also expressed their support for the campaign and urged their colleagues to take steps to increase the involvement of young people, especially as political candidates. A subsequent launch took place in **Uruguay** through the leadership of young

MP Walter Cervini, which resulted in dozens of new Changemakers signing up, including the President of the country.

To help spread the message of the campaign, the IPU created and posted a campaign toolkit⁴⁸ on the official website of the *I Say Yes* campaign. The toolkit includes backgrounds, banners, flyers and social media graphics that include images and quotes from Changemakers. Additionally, it includes a brochure and a PowerPoint presentation explaining the campaign and the six pledges. All the materials are available in both English and French.

Other participants made a wide range of proposals for future campaign actions. These ideas included: updating the campaign toolkit, especially the social media posts; launching a newsletter for those who have signed up to the campaign, sharing experiences, achievements and lessons learned; creating a new campaign video focused on implementation of the pledges; developing infographics for each pledge; establishing a Changemaker award; organizing events on Youth Day and targeting key actors, such as the UN Youth Envoy; translating documents into Spanish and Arabic; and promoting the IPU youth empowerment workshops in collaboration with national parliaments.

Key takeaways:

- The IPU's *I Say Yes* campaign has been launched in 30 countries over the last two years.
- A toolkit is available online to support those interested in launching the campaign in their own parliaments.
- The IPU continues to work with parliaments wishing to launch the *I Say Yes* campaign at the national level and supports efforts to implement campaign pledges.

48 www.ipu.org/i-say-yes#toolkit

Conclusion

Since the IPU began tracking youth participation in parliaments in 2014, the average share of young MPs globally has increased with each subsequent report. Yet these numbers still remain very low: less than 3% of the world's parliamentarians are aged 30 and under, less than 20% are aged 40 and under, and less than one-third are aged 45 and under. Men outnumber women across all age groups, with gender disparities increasing within each older age cohort.

In 2018, the IPU Forum of Young Parliamentarians decided that more concrete goals were needed, in the hopes that States might take more active steps to advance youth participation if they fell short of these goals. This report uses three benchmarks: (i) numerical targets for each age threshold, based on the share of the youth population globally; (ii) gender parity in youth representation within each age group; and (iii) proportionality between the share of young MPs in each cohort and the respective share of the voting age population in each country. The report finds that some parliaments perform quite

well on some measures, providing evidence that these targets are indeed attainable. Yet the vast majority of parliamentary chambers fall far short of these goals, suggesting that further action is required.

To guide parliaments on the types of actions that are needed, the IPU's *I Say Yes* campaign focuses on six pledges identified by young MPs themselves as the most impactful ways to generate transformative change. These include implementing youth quotas; aligning the ages of eligibility to vote and stand for parliament; supporting youth channels; empowering young parliamentarians; mentoring young aspirants; and advocating for *I Say Yes* in parliaments. On an encouraging note, the report finds that parliaments in all parts of the world have introduced measures in line with these pledges. Sharing these emerging good practices will be essential for ensuring further advances in youth participation that expand both the presence and voice of young people in parliaments.

A woman MP from Canada holds her baby during the parity debate at the IPU 145th Assembly in Kigali, Rwanda. October 2023.
© IPU/145th Assembly



ANNEXES

Annex 1: Members of parliament aged 30 and under (percentage)

Single and lower chambers of parliament

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 30 and under	Ranking	Country	% of MPs 30 and under
1	Norway	13.6	30	Ecuador	5.1
2	Armenia	13.1	31	Bulgaria	5.0
3	San Marino	11.7	–	North Macedonia	5.0
4	Malta	10.0	33	Montenegro	4.9
5	Suriname	9.8	–	United Republic of Tanzania	4.9
6	Germany	8.8	–	France	4.9
7	Iceland	7.9	36	South Africa	4.7
–	Republic of Moldova	7.9	37	Morocco	4.6
–	Cuba	7.9	38	Poland	4.3
10	Denmark	7.8	–	Romania	4.3
11	Austria	7.7	40	New Zealand	4.2
12	Ukraine	7.1	41	Kazakhstan	4.1
13	Costa Rica	7.0	42	Switzerland	4.0
14	Guatemala	6.9	–	Estonia	4.0
15	Colombia	6.7	–	Namibia	4.0
16	Sweden	6.6	45	Brazil	3.9
17	Philippines	6.4	–	Peru	3.9
18	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	6.2	47	Uganda	3.8
19	Latvia	6.0	–	Indonesia	3.8
20	Chile	5.8	–	Ethiopia	3.8
21	Portugal	5.7	–	Ireland	3.8
22	Burkina Faso	5.6	51	United Kingdom	3.7
–	Serbia	5.6	–	Algeria	3.7
–	Slovenia	5.6	53	Andorra	3.6
25	Slovakia	5.4	54	Finland	3.5
26	Netherlands	5.3	55	Maldives	3.4
27	Tunisia	5.2	–	Spain	3.4
–	Mexico	5.2	57	Belgium	3.3
–	Gambia (The)	5.2	–	Luxembourg	3.3

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 30 and under
–	Mali	3.3
60	Hungary	3.0
61	Nepal	2.9
–	Seychelles	2.9
63	Lithuania	2.8
–	Malawi	2.8
65	Georgia	2.7
66	Pakistan	2.6
67	Rwanda	2.5
–	United Arab Emirates	2.5
69	Thailand	2.4
–	Trinidad and Tobago	2.4
–	Egypt	2.4
72	Sri Lanka	2.2
–	Chad	2.2
74	Bhutan	2.1
–	Australia	2.1
76	Czech Republic	2.0
77	Canada	1.9
78	Sao Tome and Principe	1.8
–	Belarus	1.8
–	Fiji	1.8
–	Cyprus	1.8
–	Russian Federation	1.8
83	Mauritius	1.7
–	Sierra Leone	1.6
–	Viet Nam	1.6
–	Turkmenistan	1.6
–	Lebanon	1.6

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 30 and under
88	Guyana	1.5
89	Türkiye	1.3
–	Paraguay	1.3
–	Italy	1.3
92	Syrian Arab Republic	1.2
–	Mozambique	1.2
–	Argentina	1.2
–	El Salvador	1.2
96	Kyrgyzstan	1.1
–	Singapore	1.1
98	Uruguay	1.0
99	Malaysia	0.9
100	Azerbaijan	0.8
–	Israel	0.8
–	India	0.8
103	Ghana	0.7
–	Zambia	0.7
–	Greece	0.7
–	Croatia	0.7
107	Côte d'Ivoire	0.6
108	United States of America	0.5
109	Bangladesh	0.3
110	Japan	0.2
111	Saint Kitts and Nevis	0.0
–	Nauru	0.0
–	Bahrain	0.0
–	Oman	0.0
–	Djibouti	0.0
–	Monaco	0.0

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 30 and under
–	Timor-Leste	0.0
–	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.0
–	Cabo Verde	0.0
–	Eswatini	0.0
–	Kuwait	0.0
–	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	0.0
–	Madagascar	0.0
–	Kiribati	0.0
–	Liechtenstein	0.0
–	Jordan	0.0
–	Nigeria	0.0
–	Antigua and Barbuda	0.0
–	Senegal	0.0
–	Solomon Islands	0.0
–	Jamaica	0.0
–	Togo	0.0

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 30 and under
–	Papua New Guinea	0.0
–	Botswana	0.0
–	Tajikistan	0.0
–	Tuvalu	0.0
–	Brunei Darussalam	0.0
–	Benin	0.0
–	Nicaragua	0.0
–	Cameroon	0.0
–	Cambodia	0.0
–	Republic of Korea	0.0
–	Tonga	0.0
–	Saudi Arabia	0.0
–	Lao People's Democratic Republic	0.0
–	Micronesia (Federated States of)	0.0
–	Qatar	0.0

Upper chambers of parliament

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 30 and under
1	Bhutan	12.5
2	Belgium	10.0
3	Antigua and Barbuda	5.9
4	Somalia	3.7
5	Australia	2.9
6	Slovenia	2.5
7	Namibia	2.4
8	Mexico	2.0
–	Malaysia	2.0
10	South Africa	1.9
–	Spain	1.9
12	Ireland	1.7
13	Netherlands	1.3
14	United Kingdom	1.2
16	Uzbekistan	1.1
17	Colombia	1.0
18	Democratic Republic of the Congo	0.9
19	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	0.0
–	Burundi	0.0
–	Trinidad and Tobago	0.0
–	Tajikistan	0.0
–	Kenya	0.0
–	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.0
–	Romania	0.0
–	Switzerland	0.0
–	Algeria	0.0
–	Eswatini	0.0
–	Palau	0.0

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 30 and under
–	Pakistan	0.0
–	Chile	0.0
–	Argentina	0.0
–	Kazakhstan	0.0
–	Belarus	0.0
–	Paraguay	0.0
–	Poland	0.0
–	Japan	0.0
–	Uruguay	0.0
–	United States of America	0.0
–	Brazil	0.0
–	Cambodia	0.0
–	France	0.0
–	Germany	0.0
–	India	0.0
–	Rwanda	0.0
–	Dominican Republic	0.0
–	Oman	0.0
–	Italy	0.0
–	Bahrain	0.0
–	Nigeria	0.0
–	Nepal	0.0
–	Czech Republic	0.0
–	Philippines	0.0
–	Jordan	0.0
–	Thailand	0.0
–	Gabon	0.0
–	Canada	0.0
–	Russian Federation	0.0

Annex 2: Members of parliament aged 40 and under (percentage)

Single and lower chambers of parliament

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 40 and under
1	Armenia	52.3
2	Ethiopia	51.2
3	Ukraine	46.3
4	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	42.3
5	Colombia	41.6
6	Gambia (The)	41.4
7	Netherlands	39.3
8	Malta	38.6
9	Saint Kitts and Nevis	38.5
10	Republic of Moldova	37.6
11	Suriname	37.3
12	Montenegro	37.0
13	Nauru	36.8
14	Burkina Faso	36.6
15	Andorra	35.7
16	Cuba	35.5
17	Turkmenistan	35.2
18	Romania	34.7
19	Denmark	34.6
20	Norway	34.3
21	Latvia	34.0
22	Ecuador	33.6
23	North Macedonia	33.3
24	Chile	31.6
25	Guyana	31.3
–	Uruguay	31.3
27	Bulgaria	31.0
28	Algeria	30.7
29	Finland	29.5
30	Guatemala	29.4
31	Lithuania	29.1
–	Slovakia	29.1
33	Germany	28.9
–	Sweden	28.9
35	Serbia	28.8
–	Paraguay	28.8
37	Mexico	28.6

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 40 and under
38	Costa Rica	28.1
39	Belgium	28.0
40	Austria	27.9
41	Kyrgyzstan	27.8
42	Malawi	27.6
–	United Republic of Tanzania	27.6
44	Bahrain	27.5
–	New Zealand	27.5
46	Sierra Leone	27.4
47	Oman	26.7
–	San Marino	26.7
49	France	26.5
50	Maldives	26.4
–	Peru	26.4
52	Seychelles	25.7
53	Kazakhstan	25.5
–	Switzerland	25.5
55	Mauritius	25.4
56	Rwanda	25.0
–	United Arab Emirates	25.0
–	El Salvador	25.0
59	Chad	24.7
–	Georgia	24.7
61	Djibouti	24.6
62	Portugal	24.3
–	Uganda	24.3
64	South Africa	24.1
65	Trinidad and Tobago	23.8
66	Sao Tome and Principe	23.6
67	Cyprus	23.2
68	Spain	22.9
69	Brazil	22.8
70	Croatia	22.5
71	Poland	22.4
72	Tunisia	22.2
–	Slovenia	22.2
74	Mozambique	22.0

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 40 and under
75	United Kingdom	21.7
76	Mali	21.5
77	Bhutan	21.3
78	Egypt	20.9
79	Monaco	20.8
80	Iceland	20.6
81	Philippines	20.3
82	Luxembourg	20.0
83	Czech Republic	19.0
84	Ireland	18.8
85	Hungary	18.6
86	Timor-Leste	18.5
87	Estonia	17.8
88	Morocco	17.5
89	Bosnia and Herzegovina	17.1
90	Canada	16.9
91	Cabo Verde	16.7
92	Thailand	16.6
93	Eswatini	16.4
94	Kuwait	16.3
–	Italy	16.3
96	Singapore	15.8
97	Zambia	15.5
98	Argentina	15.2
99	Indonesia	15.0
100	Türkiye	14.8
101	Russian Federation	14.7
102	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	14.4
103	Pakistan	14.3
104	Madagascar	13.9
105	Australia	13.8
106	Belarus	13.6
107	Kiribati	13.3
108	Namibia	12.9
109	Fiji	12.7
110	Malaysia	12.6
111	Ghana	12.4

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 40 and under
112	Greece	12.3
113	Liechtenstein	12.0
114	Israel	11.7
115	Nepal	11.6
–	Sri Lanka	11.6
117	Jordan	11.5
118	Nigeria	11.2
119	Antigua and Barbuda	11.1
120	Senegal	11.0
121	India	10.7
122	Viet Nam	10.4
–	United States of America	10.4
124	Azerbaijan	10.2
125	Solomon Islands	10.0
126	Jamaica	9.5
127	Lebanon	9.4
128	Togo	8.8
129	Papua New Guinea	8.0
130	Botswana	7.9
131	Syrian Arab Republic	6.9
132	Tajikistan	6.3
133	Tuvalu	6.3
134	Japan	6.0
135	Brunei Darussalam	5.9
136	Bangladesh	5.7
137	Benin	5.5
–	Nicaragua	5.5
139	Côte d'Ivoire	4.6
140	Cameroon	4.4
141	Cambodia	4.0
142	Republic of Korea	3.7
–	Tonga	3.7
144	Saudi Arabia	3.3
145	Lao People's Democratic Republic	2.4
146	Micronesia (Federated States of)	0.0
–	Qatar	0.0

Upper chambers of parliament

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 40 and under
1	Bhutan	54.2
2	Belgium	41.7
3	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	30.6
4	Antigua and Barbuda	29.4
5	Burundi	28.2
6	Colombia	27.0
7	Somalia	20.4
8	Trinidad and Tobago	19.4
–	Tajikistan	19.4
10	Ireland	18.6
11	Kenya	18.2
12	South Africa	15.1
13	Slovenia	15.0
14	Mexico	14.7
15	Australia	14.5
16	Bosnia and Herzegovina	14.3
17	Romania	14.0
18	Switzerland	13.0
19	Spain	11.4
20	Algeria	11.2
21	Democratic Republic of the Congo	11.0
22	Eswatini	10.0
23	Netherlands	9.3
24	Palau	8.3
25	Pakistan	8.1
26	Chile	8.0
27	Argentina	6.9
28	Kazakhstan	6.0
29	Uzbekistan	5.3

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 40 and under
30	Belarus	5.0
31	Namibia	4.8
32	Paraguay	4.4
33	Poland	4.0
34	Japan	3.7
35	Russian Federation	3.6
36	Uruguay	3.3
37	United States of America	3.0
38	Brazil	2.5
39	Cambodia	1.8
40	France	1.7
41	Germany	1.5
42	India	0.5
43	Rwanda	0.0
–	Dominican Republic	0.0
–	Oman	0.0
–	Italy	0.0
–	Bahrain	0.0
–	Nigeria	0.0
–	Nepal	0.0
–	Czech Republic	0.0
–	Philippines	0.0
–	Jordan	0.0
–	Thailand	0.0
–	Gabon	0.0
–	United Kingdom	0.0
–	Canada	0.0
–	Malaysia	0.0

Annex 3: Members of parliament aged 45 and under (percentage)

Single and lower chambers of parliament

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 45 and under
1	Ethiopia	71.1
2	Armenia	70.1
3	Colombia	63.5
4	Ukraine	63.4
5	Turkmenistan	63.2
6	Netherlands	62.0
7	Gambia (The)	60.3
8	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	60.0
9	Maldives	59.8
10	Romania	59.6
11	Sierra Leone	54.0
–	Ecuador	54.0
–	Belgium	54.0
14	North Macedonia	53.3
15	Montenegro	53.1
16	Slovakia	52.0
17	Malawi	51.9
18	Bulgaria	51.5
19	Malta	51.4
20	Suriname	51.0
21	Paraguay	50.0
–	Rwanda	50.0
23	Cuba	49.6
24	Georgia	49.3
25	Kyrgyzstan	48.9
26	Uganda	48.5
27	San Marino	48.3
28	Republic of Moldova	47.5
–	Denmark	47.5
–	Mauritius	47.5
31	Nauru	47.4
32	Bhutan	46.8
33	Oman	46.5
–	Burkina Faso	46.5
35	Algeria	46.4
–	Andorra	46.4
37	Guyana	46.3
38	Saint Kitts and Nevis	46.2
39	Lithuania	45.4
40	Chile	45.2
41	United Republic of Tanzania	45.1
42	Norway	45.0
43	Mexico	44.8
–	Serbia	44.8

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 45 and under
45	Finland	44.5
46	Tunisia	44.4
47	Costa Rica	43.9
48	Sweden	43.8
49	Austria	43.7
50	Latvia	43.0
51	Seychelles	42.9
52	Bahrain	42.5
53	Germany	42.0
54	Guatemala	41.9
55	Cabo Verde	41.7
56	Iceland	41.3
–	Ireland	41.3
58	Spain	40.9
59	New Zealand	40.8
60	Trinidad and Tobago	40.5
61	Djibouti	40.0
–	Singapore	40.0
–	United Arab Emirates	40.0
64	Kazakhstan	39.8
65	Croatia	39.7
66	Switzerland	39.5
67	Chad	38.7
68	Timor-Leste	38.5
69	Sao Tome and Principe	38.2
70	France	38.0
71	Estonia	37.6
72	Monaco	37.5
73	Portugal	37.4
74	Poland	37.0
75	Brazil	36.8
76	Uruguay	36.4
77	El Salvador	35.7
78	Eswatini	35.6
–	Slovenia	35.6
80	South Africa	35.3
81	Zambia	35.1
82	Italy	35.0
83	United Kingdom	34.0
84	Cyprus	33.9
85	Peru	33.3
86	Mozambique	33.2
87	Mali	33.1
88	Czech Republic	33.0

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 45 and under
89	Egypt	32.9
90	Pakistan	31.9
91	Philippines	31.5
92	Madagascar	31.3
93	Argentina	30.8
94	Canada	30.2
–	Hungary	30.2
96	Viet Nam	29.3
97	Israel	29.2
98	Namibia	28.7
–	Türkiye	28.7
100	Morocco	28.4
101	Luxembourg	28.3
102	Ghana	28.0
103	Nigeria	27.3
104	Russian Federation	27.0
105	Kuwait	26.5
106	Thailand	26.4
107	Indonesia	26.3
108	Malaysia	26.1
109	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	25.4
110	Sri Lanka	25.0
111	Australia	24.8
112	Greece	24.7
113	Kiribati	24.4
–	Bosnia and Herzegovina	24.4
115	Liechtenstein	24.0
116	Jordan	23.1
117	Benin	22.9
–	Nepal	22.9

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 45 and under
119	Côte d'Ivoire	22.3
120	Antigua and Barbuda	22.2
121	Azerbaijan	22.0
122	Belarus	20.9
123	Jamaica	20.6
124	India	20.2
125	United States of America	20.1
126	Fiji	20.0
127	Tuvalu	18.8
128	Senegal	18.4
129	Syrian Arab Republic	17.3
130	Cameroon	17.2
–	Japan	17.2
–	Lebanon	17.2
133	Togo	16.5
134	Solomon Islands	16.0
135	Botswana	15.9
–	Tajikistan	15.9
137	Papua New Guinea	14.8
138	Nicaragua	14.3
139	Saudi Arabia	13.9
140	Lao People's Democratic Republic	12.2
141	Brunei Darussalam	11.8
142	Bangladesh	10.6
143	Micronesia (Federated States of)	8.3
144	Cambodia	8.0
145	Republic of Korea	7.4
146	Tonga	3.7
147	Qatar	2.3

Upper chambers of parliament

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 45 and under
1	Bhutan	70.8
2	Belgium	48.3
3	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	47.2
4	Colombia	44.0
5	Burundi	41.0
6	Antigua and Barbuda	35.3
7	Romania	34.6
8	Kenya	30.3
9	Somalia	29.6
10	Mexico	29.4
11	Trinidad and Tobago	29.0
12	Ireland	27.1
13	Algeria	26.5
14	Namibia	23.8
15	South Africa	22.6
–	Tajikistan	22.6
17	Spain	22.4
18	Australia	21.7
19	Pakistan	21.2
20	Slovenia	20.0
–	Eswatini	20.0
22	Democratic Republic of the Congo	18.4
23	Chile	18.0
24	Switzerland	17.4
25	Uzbekistan	16.8
26	Belarus	16.7
27	Paraguay	15.6
28	Rwanda	15.4

Ranking	Country	% of MPs 45 and under
29	Brazil	14.8
30	Bosnia and Herzegovina	14.3
31	Dominican Republic	13.3
32	Germany	13.0
–	Russian Federation	13.0
34	Argentina	12.5
35	Netherlands	12.0
36	Oman	10.6
37	Japan	10.3
38	Kazakhstan	10.0
39	Uruguay	10.0
40	Poland	9.0
41	Italy	8.7
42	Palau	8.3
43	Bahrain	7.5
44	France	6.4
45	United States of America	6.0
46	Nigeria	5.9
47	Nepal	5.1
48	Czech Republic	4.9
49	India	4.4
50	Philippines	4.2
51	Cambodia	3.5
52	Jordan	1.5
53	Thailand	1.2
54	Gabon	1.0
55	United Kingdom	0.6
56	Malaysia	0.0
–	Canada	0.0

Annex 4: Elections and parliamentary renewals results

Count	Country	Chamber	% point change 45 and under	% point change 40 and under	% point change 30 and under	Previous election year
1	Algeria	Upper chamber	15.0	11.2	0.0	2018
2	Andorra	Unicameral	10.7	25.0	0.0	2019
3	Antigua and Barbuda	Lower chamber	-5.6	0.0	-5.6	2018
–	Antigua and Barbuda	Upper chamber	-4.7	2.7	-0.8	2018
5	Argentina	Lower chamber	-5.4	-3.5	-0.8	2019
–	Argentina	Upper chamber	0.0	0.0	0.0	2019
7	Armenia	Unicameral	-1.9	-5.2	1.0	2018
8	Australia	Lower chamber	-1.0	-0.1	2.1	2019
–	Australia	Upper chamber	-7.2	0.0	0.3	2019
10	Bahrain	Lower chamber	-5.0	2.5	-2.5	2018
–	Bahrain	Upper chamber	2.5	-2.5	0.0	2018
12	Benin	Unicameral	10.9	0.7	0.0	2019
13	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Lower chamber	5.3	-2.0	-2.4	2018
–	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Upper Chamber	7.6	14.3	0.0	2019
15	Brazil	Lower chamber	-3.3	-4.1	-1.0	2018
–	Brazil	Upper chamber	0.0	-3.7	0.0	2018
17	Bulgaria	Unicameral	10.0	8.0	2.5	2017
18	Cabo Verde	Unicameral	-4.2	-16.7	0.0	2016
19	Canada	Lower chamber	4.9	-0.2	-1.0	2015
20	Chad	Unicameral	15.8	12.7	2.2	2011
21	Chile	Lower chamber	3.9	5.2	-2.6	2017
–	Chile	Upper chamber	-0.6	1.0	0.0	2017
23	Colombia	Lower chamber	16.8	8.8	-0.5	2018
–	Colombia	Upper chamber	11.0	10.0	1.0	2018
25	Costa Rica	Unicameral	-1.8	-5.3	3.5	2018
26	Côte d'Ivoire	Lower chamber	2.2	-4.3	0.6	2011
27	Croatia	Unicameral	-3.3	0.7	-2.0	2016
28	Cuba	Unicameral	28.1	24.0	5.6	2018
29	Cyprus	Unicameral	8.9	10.7	0.0	2016
30	Czech Republic	Lower chamber	-3.0	-1.0	-0.5	2017
–	Czech Republic	Upper chamber	0.0	0.0	0.0	2018
32	Denmark	Unicameral	-2.2	3.9	-1.7	2019
33	Djibouti	Unicameral	1.5	-4.6	-9.2	2018
34	Ecuador	Unicameral	7.3	-0.7	-0.7	2017
35	Egypt	Lower chamber	11.4	9.2	1.4	2015
36	Estonia	Unicameral	2.0	-2.0	1.0	2019
37	Ethiopia	Lower chamber	7.5	15.8	-2.3	2015
38	Fiji	Unicameral	0.4	1.0	1.8	2018

Count	Country	Chamber	% point change 45 and under	% point change 40 and under	% point change 30 and under	Previous election year
39	Finland	Unicameral	-0.5	0.5	0.0	2019
40	France	Lower chamber	1.0	3.3	-0.7	2017
–	France	Upper chamber	0.0	0.0	0.0	2017
42	Gabon	Upper chamber	0.0	0.0	0.0	2014
43	Gambia (The)	Unicameral	3.4	5.2	-5.2	2017
44	Georgia	Unicameral	-2.7	-6.0	2.0	2016
45	Germany	Lower chamber	18.7	17.4	8.4	2017
46	Ghana	Unicameral	0.0	-0.7	0.7	2012
47	Hungary	Unicameral	-2.5	0.5	2.0	2018
48	Iceland	Unicameral	4.8	0.0	3.2	2017
49	India	Upper chamber	0.0	0.0	0.0	2020
50	Israel	Unicameral	-2.5	-5.8	0.8	2020
51	Italy	Lower chamber	-24.5	-26.5	-5.6	2018
–	Italy	Upper chamber	-18.1	-2.8	0.0	2018
53	Japan	Lower chamber	-4.9	-2.4	0.2	2017
–	Japan	Upper chamber	-8.5	-2.0	0.0	2019
55	Jordan	Upper chamber	1.5	0.0	0.0	2020
56	Kazakhstan	Lower chamber	10.5	7.6	2.2	2021
–	Kazakhstan	Upper chamber	7.9	6.0	0.0	2020
58	Kenya	Upper chamber	-0.6	-2.4	-1.5	2017
59	Latvia	Unicameral	-8.0	7.0	2.0	2018
60	Lebanon	Unicameral	7.8	5.5	1.6	2018
61	Liechtenstein	Unicameral	8.0	8.0	0.0	2017
62	Lithuania	Unicameral	17.0	9.9	0.0	2016
63	Malaysia	Lower chamber	8.1	2.3	0.0	2018
64	Malta	Unicameral	5.2	11.7	4.0	2017
65	Mexico	Lower chamber	0.0	0.0	0.0	2018
66	Monaco	Unicameral	4.2	-8.3	0.0	2018
67	Montenegro	Unicameral	0.0	0.0	0.0	2020
68	Morocco	Lower chamber	3.8	4.6	2.5	2016
69	Nauru	Unicameral	-10.5	5.3	0.0	2019
70	Nepal	Upper chamber	-7.0	-1.7	0.0	2020
71	Netherlands	Lower chamber	6.7	6.0	3.3	2017
72	New Zealand	Unicameral	5.0	5.8	2.5	2017
73	Nicaragua	Unicameral	4.4	2.2	0.0	2016
74	Norway	Unicameral	0.0	0.0	0.0	2017

Count	Country	Chamber	% point change 45 and under	% point change 40 and under	% point change 30 and under	Previous election year
75	Peru	Unicameral	-12.0	0.2	-0.7	2020
76	Philippines	Upper chamber	-12.5	-4.2	0.0	2019
77	Portugal	Unicameral	-1.7	-2.6	0.4	2019
78	Qatar	Unicameral	-5.0	0.0	0.0	2016
79	Romania	Lower chamber	7.9	-0.6	-2.1	2016
-	Romania	Upper chamber	0.0	2.9	0.0	2016
81	Saint Kitts and Nevis	Unicameral	21.2	13.5	0.0	2020
82	Sao Tome and Principe	Unicameral	1.8	1.8	1.8	2018
83	Senegal	Unicameral	0.0	0.0	0.0	2017
84	Serbia	Unicameral	-11.6	-11.6	-7.2	2020
85	Slovenia	Lower chamber	3.3	4.4	1.1	2018
-	Slovenia	Upper chamber	15.0	12.5	2.5	2017
87	Somalia	Upper chamber	0.0	0.0	0.0	2016
88	Sweden	Unicameral	-6.6	-5.4	-3.7	2018
89	Tunisia	Unicameral	4.8	-4.5	-1.7	2019
90	United Republic of Tanzania	Unicameral	21.0	16.7	4.3	2015
91	United States of America	Lower chamber	-0.6	-1.1	0.0	2018
-	United States of America	Upper chamber	1.0	2.0	0.0	2018
93	Viet Nam	Unicameral	7.1	-1.9	-0.2	2016
94	Zambia	Unicameral	-0.8	2.7	-0.5	2016

Note: This list includes chambers that have had renewals since the 2021 report and for which comparison results data between the latest and the previous elections is available in Parline.

Annex 5: Youth representation score for members of parliament aged 30 and under

Single and lower chambers of parliament

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score	Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
1	San Marino	76.4	40	Belgium	16.7
2	Norway	64.6	41	Kazakhstan	16.5
3	Armenia	55.4	42	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	16.3
4	Germany	50.6	43	Guatemala	16.2
5	Malta	45.1	44	Hungary	15.8
6	Latvia	38.4	45	Lithuania	15.5
–	Ukraine	38.4	46	Luxembourg	15.4
8	Republic of Moldova	37.3	47	Morocco	15.3
9	Denmark	37.2	48	Ecuador	14.0
10	Austria	35.9	49	South Africa	13.5
–	Cuba	35.9	50	Brazil	13.2
12	Slovenia	34.6	51	Algeria	13.0
13	Bulgaria	34.1	52	Burkina Faso	12.6
14	Portugal	33.6	53	Peru	12.4
15	Sweden	32.9	54	Georgia	12.3
16	Iceland	32.6	55	Czech Republic	12.2
17	Serbia	32.0	–	Indonesia	12.2
18	Suriname	31.6	57	Gambia (The)	11.6
19	Slovakia	28.8	58	United Republic of Tanzania	11.3
20	Costa Rica	26.4	59	Seychelles	10.8
21	France	26.3	60	Thailand	10.7
22	Netherlands	26.0	61	Trinidad and Tobago	10.3
23	Estonia	24.5	62	Russian Federation	10.0
24	Romania	24.2	–	Belarus	10.0
25	Montenegro	23.3	64	Maldives	9.7
26	Poland	23.1	65	Namibia	9.3
27	Chile	22.7	–	Canada	9.3
28	Colombia	22.6	–	Australia	9.3
29	North Macedonia	22.3	68	Cyprus	8.6
30	Spain	21.0	–	Sri Lanka	8.6
31	Switzerland	20.9	70	Ethiopia	8.4
32	Tunisia	20.8	71	Italy	8.1
33	Andorra	20.5	72	Uganda	7.4
34	Finland	19.0	73	United Arab Emirates	7.3
35	Philippines	18.1	–	Nepal	7.3
36	Ireland	18.0	75	Mali	7.2
37	New Zealand	17.6	76	Lebanon	6.9
–	United Kingdom	17.6	77	Egypt	6.8
39	Mexico	16.9	78	Mauritius	6.7

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
79	Pakistan	6.3
80	Malawi	6.0
81	Viet Nam	5.9
–	Singapore	5.9
83	Fiji	5.8
84	Rwanda	5.7
85	Bhutan	5.5
86	Sao Tome and Principe	4.6
–	Chad	4.6
88	Turkmenistan	4.4
–	Türkiye	4.4
90	Guyana	4.1
91	Uruguay	4
92	Argentina	3.9
93	Greece	3.8
94	Sierra Leone	3.7
–	Croatia	3.7
–	Kyrgyzstan	3.7
97	Malaysia	3.5
98	Paraguay	3.4
99	Syrian Arab Republic	3.2
–	El Salvador	3.2
101	Azerbaijan	3.1
102	Israel	3.0
103	Mozambique	2.6
104	India	2.3
105	United States of America	2.1
106	Ghana	1.9
107	Zambia	1.5
–	Japan	1.5
109	Côte d'Ivoire	1.3
110	Bangladesh	0.8
111	Monaco	0.0
–	Saint Kitts and Nevis	0.0
–	Nauru	0.0

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
–	Bahrain	0.0
–	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.0
–	Kuwait	0.0
–	Djibouti	0.0
–	Oman	0.0
–	Liechtenstein	0.0
–	Timor-Leste	0.0
–	Cabo Verde	0.0
–	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	0.0
–	Antigua and Barbuda	0.0
–	Eswatini	0.0
–	Madagascar	0.0
–	Kiribati	0.0
–	Jordan	0.0
–	Jamaica	0.0
–	Nigeria	0.0
–	Senegal	0.0
–	Solomon Islands	0.0
–	Togo	0.0
–	Papua New Guinea	0.0
–	Botswana	0.0
–	Tuvalu	0.0
–	Republic of Korea	0.0
–	Tajikistan	0.0
–	Nicaragua	0.0
–	Benin	0.0
–	Tonga	0.0
–	Cambodia	0.0
–	Cameroon	0.0
–	Lao People's Democratic Republic	0.0
–	Micronesia (Federated States of)	0.0
–	Qatar	0.0
–	Brunei Darussalam	0.0
–	Saudi Arabia*	0.0

* Age 18 used for population low-end cut-off, as no voting age documented

Upper chambers of parliament

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
1	Belgium	50.2
2	Bhutan	32.3
3	Antigua and Barbuda	23.7
4	Slovenia	15.6
5	Australia	13.0
6	Spain	11.6
7	Ireland	8.1
8	Somalia	8.0
9	Netherlands	6.5
10	Mexico	6.2
11	Namibia	5.7
12	South Africa	5.4
13	Colombia	3.4
14	Uzbekistan	3.1
15	Democratic Republic of the Congo	2.0
16	Romania	0.0
–	United Kingdom	0.0
–	Paraguay	0.0
–	Palau	0.0
–	Oman	0.0
–	Cambodia	0.0
–	Malaysia	0.0
–	Tajikistan	0.0
–	Pakistan	0.0
–	Algeria	0.0
–	Jordan	0.0
–	India	0.0
–	Belarus	0.0

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
–	Argentina	0.0
–	Kenya	0.0
–	Philippines	0.0
–	Canada	0.0
–	United States of America	0.0
–	Czech Republic	0.0
–	Gabon	0.0
–	Rwanda	0.0
–	France	0.0
–	Bahrain	0.0
–	Nigeria	0.0
–	Russian Federation	0.0
–	Kazakhstan	0.0
–	Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.0
–	Nepal	0.0
–	Switzerland	0.0
–	Uruguay	0.0
–	Japan	0.0
–	Thailand	0.0
–	Dominican Republic	0.0
–	Germany	0.0
–	Chile	0.0
–	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	0.0
–	Trinidad and Tobago	0.0
–	Eswatini	0.0
–	Burundi	0.0
–	Brazil	0.0
–	Italy	0.0
–	Poland	0.0

Annex 6: Youth representation score for members of parliament aged 40 and under

Single and lower chambers of parliament

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score	Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
1	Ukraine	120.2	40	Georgia	60.7
2	Armenia	115.0	41	Turkmenistan	59.9
3	Netherlands	109.9	42	Costa Rica	58.6
4	Andorra	105.3	43	Ecuador	58.5
5	Latvia	104.1	–	Nauru	58.3
6	Bulgaria	99.2	45	Poland	57.9
–	Romania	99.2	46	Mauritius	57.8
8	Denmark	96.2	47	Algeria	57.5
9	Montenegro	95.8	–	United Kingdom	57.5
10	Cuba	92.5	49	Czech Republic	57.4
11	San Marino	90.3	50	Guyana	57.1
12	Norway	89.8	51	Italy	56.2
13	Malta	89.2	52	Mexico	55.4
14	Republic of Moldova	88.0	53	Burkina Faso	53.8
15	Germany	87.5	54	Seychelles	53.6
16	Monaco	86.8	55	Cyprus	53.4
17	Lithuania	85.9	56	Kazakhstan	52.9
18	Finland	85.5	57	Hungary	52.8
19	Serbia	84.2	58	Estonia	51.7
20	Saint Kitts and Nevis	83.2	59	Trinidad and Tobago	51.1
21	Colombia	81.3	60	Peru	49.9
22	North Macedonia	80.0	61	Bahrain	49.1
23	Portugal	78.9	–	Kyrgyzstan	49.1
24	France	78.3	63	Luxembourg	48.8
25	Sweden	77.5	64	Paraguay	48.4
26	Belgium	77.3	65	Bosnia and Herzegovina	48.1
27	Slovakia	76.4	66	Iceland	47.7
28	Ethiopia	75.7	67	Tunisia	47.1
29	Austria	74.7	68	Ireland	46.8
30	Uruguay	73.3	69	Brazil	45.4
31	Suriname	71.5	70	Guatemala	45.1
32	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	69.9	71	Canada	44.3
–	Switzerland	69.9	–	Kuwait	44.3
34	Spain	69.7	73	El Salvador	44.2
35	Chile	69.3	74	Singapore	43.0
36	Slovenia	68.5	75	Sierra Leone	41.6
37	New Zealand	66.7	76	Djibouti	41.4
38	Croatia	66.3	77	United Republic of Tanzania	41.3
39	Gambia (The)	61.7	78	Thailand	40.9

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
79	Maldives	40.4
80	South Africa	40.3
81	Malawi	38.8
82	Oman	38.7
83	Sao Tome and Principe	38.4
84	Russian Federation	37.5
85	Greece	37.1
86	Rwanda	36.4
87	Chad	36.0
88	Liechtenstein	35.8
89	Belarus	35.7
90	Egypt	35.5
91	Philippines	35.4
92	United Arab Emirates	35.0
93	Bhutan	34.0
94	Morocco	33.8
95	Australia	33.5
96	Uganda	33.0
97	Mozambique	32.4
98	Mali	31.1
99	Argentina	30.4
100	Timor-Leste	28.7
101	Türkiye	28.3
102	Indonesia	28.1
103	Cabo Verde	27.3
104	United States of America	26.4
105	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	25.5
–	Sri Lanka	25.5
107	Antigua and Barbuda	25.1
–	Israel	25.1
109	Malaysia	24.7
110	Eswatini	24.3
111	Fiji	23.3
112	Pakistan	22.6
113	Zambia	21.9

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
–	Lebanon	21.9
–	Japan	21.9
116	Madagascar	21.3
117	Kiribati	21.2
118	Viet Nam	21.2
119	Namibia	20.1
120	Azerbaijan	19.8
121	Ghana	19.3
122	Nepal	19.2
123	India	19.1
124	Jordan	18.7
125	Jamaica	17.5
126	Nigeria	17.1
127	Senegal	16.7
128	Solomon Islands	15.8
129	Togo	13.5
130	Papua New Guinea	12.6
131	Botswana	12.3
132	Brunei Darussalam	12.0
133	Syrian Arab Republic	11.7
134	Tuvalu	11.4
135	Republic of Korea	10.4
136	Tajikistan	9.9
137	Bangladesh	9.6
138	Nicaragua	8.7
139	Benin	8.4
140	Tonga	7.3
141	Cambodia	6.9
142	Cameroon	6.8
–	Côte d'Ivoire	6.8
144	Saudi Arabia	5.8
145	Lao People's Democratic Republic	3.9
146	Micronesia (Federated States of)	0.0
–	Qatar	0.0

* Age 18 used for population low-end cut-off, as no voting age documented

Upper chambers of parliament

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
1	Belgium	115.0
2	Bhutan	86.5
3	Antigua and Barbuda	66.6
4	Colombia	52.8
5	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	50.5
6	Ireland	46.5
7	Slovenia	46.2
8	Trinidad and Tobago	41.6
9	Bosnia and Herzegovina	40.6
10	Burundi	40.4
11	Romania	40.0
12	Switzerland	35.8
13	Australia	35.2
14	Spain	34.6
15	Tajikistan	30.3
16	Somalia	29.8
17	Mexico	27.8
18	Kenya	27.1
19	Netherlands	26.2
20	South Africa	25.2
21	Algeria	21.4
22	Palau	19.8
23	Chile	17.5
24	Democratic Republic of the Congo	16.5
25	Eswatini	14.8
26	Argentina	13.9
27	Japan	13.5
28	Belarus	13.1

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
29	Pakistan	12.8
30	Kazakhstan	12.4
31	Poland	10.4
32	Uzbekistan	9.1
33	Russian Federation	9.0
34	Uruguay	7.8
35	United States of America	7.6
36	Paraguay	7.5
–	Namibia	7.5
38	France	5.1
39	Brazil	4.9
40	Germany	4.4
41	Cambodia	3.0
42	United Kingdom	1.7
43	India	0.9
–	Italy	0.0
–	Dominican Republic	0.0
–	Rwanda	0.0
–	Oman	0.0
–	Czech Republic	0.0
–	Bahrain	0.0
–	Nigeria	0.0
–	Nepal	0.0
–	Philippines	0.0
–	Malaysia	0.0
–	Thailand	0.0
–	Canada	0.0
–	Jordan	0.0
–	Gabon	0.0

Annex 7: Youth representation score for members of parliament aged 45 and under

Single and lower chambers of parliament

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
1	Netherlands	144.1
2	Ukraine	133.6
3	Romania	133.0
4	Armenia	132.0
5	Bulgaria	128.2
6	Monaco	127.4
7	San Marino	122.5
8	Belgium	122.1
9	Montenegro	111.3
10	Cuba	109.7
11	Denmark	109.4
12	Lithuania	109.3
13	Slovakia	107.9
14	Latvia	106.2
15	Andorra	105.6
16	Colombia	105.3
–	Finland	105.3
–	North Macedonia	105.3
19	Germany	104.4
20	Serbia	103.4
21	Georgia	100.4
22	Malta	99.2
23	Sweden	97.4
–	Austria	97.4
25	Norway	97.1
26	Italy	95.0
27	Spain	94.8
28	Portugal	94.4
29	Croatia	94.3
30	Ethiopia	94.1
31	Turkmenistan	93.5
32	Republic of Moldova	92.4
33	France	90.8
34	Mauritius	88.9
35	Switzerland	88.2
36	Estonia	87.3
37	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	86.3
38	Singapore	85.8
39	Slovenia	85.1
40	Suriname	83.7
41	New Zealand	83.2

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
–	Saint Kitts and Nevis	83.2
43	Chile	82.9
44	Ireland	82.0
45	Ecuador	81.8
46	Maldives	80.3
47	Iceland	79.8
–	Gambia (The)	79.8
49	Tunisia	77.7
50	Poland	77.0
51	Costa Rica	76.7
52	Czech Republic	75.8
53	United Kingdom	74.9
54	Kyrgyzstan	74.6
55	Paraguay	73.9
56	Mexico	73.1
57	Seychelles	72.7
58	Sierra Leone	72.6
59	Algeria	72.5
60	Guyana	72.3
61	Trinidad and Tobago	72.0
62	Uruguay	70.4
63	Kazakhstan	68.8
64	Hungary	67.1
65	Bhutan	66.0
66	Rwanda	65.7
67	Canada	65.6
68	Malawi	65.4
69	Nauru	64.8
70	Cyprus	63.9
71	Brazil	61.7
72	Bahrain	61.6
73	Burkina Faso	60.6
74	Uganda	59.9
75	Cabo Verde	59.8
76	United Republic of Tanzania	59.7
77	Greece	58.6
78	Oman	58.5
79	Djibouti	57.9
80	Liechtenstein	57.7
81	Guatemala	57.2
82	Luxembourg	56.4

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
83	Russian Federation	55.6
84	Bosnia and Herzegovina	55.2
85	El Salvador	54.9
86	Timor-Leste	53.8
87	Peru	53.7
88	Sao Tome and Principe	53.5
89	Thailand	53.4
90	Israel	52.4
–	South Africa	52.4
92	Argentina	52.2
93	Australia	50.4
94	Chad	50.2
95	Viet Nam	49.3
96	Kuwait	49.0
97	Japan	48.6
98	United Arab Emirates*	48.2
99	Egypt	48.1
100	Eswatini	47.4
101	Philippines	47.3
102	Morocco	46.2
103	Türkiye	46.1
104	Sri Lanka	45.5
105	Pakistan	44.7
106	Belarus	44.5
107	Zambia	44.0
108	Mozambique	43.5
109	Malaysia	42.6
–	Mali	42.6
111	Madagascar	42.3
112	United States of America	42.2
113	Antigua and Barbuda	41.9
114	Indonesia	41.6
115	Namibia	39.5

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
116	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	38.3
117	Ghana	38.1
118	Nigeria	36.6
–	Azerbaijan	36.6
120	Kiribati	34.4
121	Nepal	33.3
122	Lebanon	32.9
123	Jamaica	32.6
124	Jordan	32.5
125	India	31.0
126	Fiji	30.9
–	Benin	30.9
128	Tuvalu	30.3
129	Côte d'Ivoire	28.9
130	Syrian Arab Republic	25.5
131	Senegal	24.5
132	Cameroon	23.1
133	Togo	22.2
134	Solomon Islands	22.1
–	Tajikistan	22.1
136	Botswana	21.4
137	Papua New Guinea	20.4
138	Nicaragua	20.0
139	Saudi Arabia*	19.6
140	Brunei Darussalam*	19.5
141	Lao People's Democratic Republic	17.2
142	Republic of Korea	16.6
143	Bangladesh	15.4
144	Micronesia (Federated States of)	12.7
145	Cambodia	12.2
146	Tonga	6.1
147	Qatar	2.9

* Age 18 used for population low-end cut-off, as no voting age documented

Upper chambers of parliament

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
1	Belgium	109.3
2	Bhutan	99.9
3	Romania	77.2
4	Colombia	73.0
5	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	67.9
6	Antigua and Barbuda	66.5
7	Ireland	53.9
8	Burundi	52.3
9	Spain	51.9
10	Trinidad and Tobago	51.6
11	Slovenia	47.9
12	Mexico	47.0
13	Australia	44.1
14	Algeria	41.9
15	Kenya	40.0
16	Somalia	38.9
17	Switzerland	38.8
18	Belarus	35.5
19	South Africa	33.6
20	Chile	33.0
21	Namibia	32.9
22	Bosnia and Herzegovina	32.5
23	Germany	32.4
24	Tajikistan	31.4
25	Pakistan	29.7
26	Japan	29.3
27	Netherlands	27.9
28	Russian Federation	26.8
29	Eswatini	26.6

Ranking	Country	Representation Index Score
30	Uzbekistan	25.0
31	Brazil	24.8
32	Democratic Republic of the Congo	24.7
33	Italy	23.7
34	Paraguay	23.0
35	Argentina	21.2
36	Dominican Republic	20.9
37	Rwanda	20.2
38	Uruguay	19.4
39	Poland	18.7
40	Kazakhstan	17.3
41	Palau	15.9
42	France	15.1
43	Oman	13.3
44	United States of America	12.6
45	Czech Republic	11.6
46	Bahrain	10.9
47	Nigeria	7.9
48	Nepal	7.4
49	India	6.8
50	Philippines	6.3
51	Cambodia	5.4
52	United Kingdom	4.2
53	Malaysia	3.2
54	Thailand	2.4
–	Canada	2.4
56	Jordan	2.2
57	Gabon	1.4

Annex 8: List of parliaments in the dataset

Count	Country	Chamber type	Chamber name	Reported election	Age data and supplemental youth questionnaire
1	Algeria	Lower chamber	National People's Assembly	2021	✓
–	Algeria	Upper chamber	Council of the Nation	2022	
3	Andorra	Unicameral	General Council	2023	✓
4	Antigua and Barbuda	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2023	
–	Antigua and Barbuda	Upper chamber	Senate	2023	
6	Argentina	Lower chamber	Chamber of Deputies	2021	✓
–	Argentina	Upper chamber	Senate	2021	✓
8	Armenia*	Unicameral	National Assembly	2021	✓
9	Australia*	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2022	✓
–	Australia	Upper chamber	Senate	2022	✓
11	Austria	Lower chamber	National Council	2019	✓
12	Azerbaijan	Unicameral	National Assembly	2020	✓
13	Bahrain	Lower chamber	Council of Representatives	2022	✓
–	Bahrain	Upper chamber	Shura Council	2022	✓
15	Bangladesh	Unicameral	Parliament	2018	✓
16	Belarus	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2019	✓
–	Belarus	Upper chamber	Council of the Republic	2019	
18	Belgium	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2019	✓
–	Belgium	Upper chamber	Senate	2019	✓
20	Benin	Unicameral	National Assembly	2023	✓
21	Bhutan	Lower chamber	National Assembly	2018	✓
–	Bhutan	Upper chamber	National Council	2018	✓
23	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Lower chamber	Chamber of Deputies	2020	
–	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Upper chamber	Chamber of Senators	2020	
25	Bosnia and Herzegovina*	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2022	
–	Bosnia and Herzegovina*	Upper chamber	House of Peoples	2023	✓
27	Botswana	Unicameral	National Assembly	2019	✓
28	Brazil	Lower chamber	Chamber of Deputies	2022	
–	Brazil	Upper chamber	Federal Senate	2022	✓
30	Brunei Darussalam	Unicameral	Legislative Council	2023	
31	Bulgaria*	Unicameral	National Assembly	2023	✓
32	Burkina Faso	Unicameral	Transitional Legislative Assembly	2022	✓
33	Burundi	Upper chamber	Senate	2020	✓
34	Cabo Verde	Unicameral	National Assembly	2021	✓
35	Cambodia	Lower chamber	National Assembly	2018	✓
–	Cambodia*	Upper chamber	Senate	2018	
37	Cameroon	Lower chamber	National Assembly	2020	✓
38	Canada*	Lower chamber	House of Commons	2021	✓
–	Canada	Upper chamber	Senate	Continuous chamber	✓
40	Chad	Unicameral	Transitional National Council	2021	✓
41	Chile	Lower chamber	Chamber of Deputies	2021	
–	Chile*	Upper chamber	Senate	2021	

Count	Country	Chamber type	Chamber name	Reported election	Age data and supplemental youth questionnaire
43	Colombia*	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2022	
–	Colombia*	Upper chamber	Senate	2022	✓
45	Costa Rica	Unicameral	Legislative Assembly	2022	✓
46	Côte d'Ivoire	Lower chamber	National Assembly	2021	
47	Croatia	Unicameral	Croatian Parliament	2020	✓
48	Cuba*	Unicameral	National Assembly of the People's Power	2023	
49	Cyprus	Unicameral	House of Representatives	2021	✓
50	Czech Republic	Lower chamber	Chamber of Deputies	2021	✓
–	Czech Republic	Upper chamber	Senate	2022	
52	Democratic Republic of the Congo	Upper chamber	Senate	2019	
53	Denmark	Unicameral	The Danish Parliament	2022	✓
54	Djibouti	Unicameral	National Assembly	2023	✓
55	Dominican Republic*	Upper chamber	Senate	2020	
56	Ecuador	Unicameral	National Assembly	2021	✓
57	Egypt	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2020	✓
58	El Salvador	Unicameral	Legislative Assembly	2018	✓
59	Estonia	Unicameral	The Estonian Parliament	2023	✓
60	Eswatini	Lower chamber	House of Assembly	2018	✓
–	Eswatini	Upper chamber	Senate	2018	✓
62	Ethiopia	Lower chamber	House of Peoples' Representatives	2021	✓
63	Fiji	Unicameral	Parliament	2022	✓
64	Finland	Unicameral	Parliament	2023	✓
65	France*	Lower chamber	National Assembly	2022	✓
–	France	Upper chamber	Senate	2020	✓
67	Gabon	Upper chamber	Senate	2021	✓
68	Gambia (The)	Unicameral	National Assembly	2022	
69	Georgia*	Unicameral	Parliament	2020	✓
70	Germany	Lower chamber	German Bundestag	2021	✓
–	Germany	Upper chamber	Federal Council	Continuous chamber	
72	Ghana	Unicameral	Parliament	2020	
73	Greece	Unicameral	Hellenic Parliament	2019	✓
74	Guatemala	Unicameral	Congress of the Republic	2019	
75	Guyana	Unicameral	National Assembly	2020	✓
76	Hungary	Unicameral	National Assembly	2022	✓
77	Iceland	Unicameral	Parliament	2021	✓
78	India	Lower chamber	House of the People	2019	✓
–	India	Upper chamber	Council of States	2022	✓
80	Indonesia	Unicameral	House of Representatives	2019	✓
81	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	Unicameral	Islamic Parliament of Iran	2020	
82	Ireland	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2020	
–	Ireland	Upper chamber	Senate	2020	

Count	Country	Chamber type	Chamber name	Reported election	Age data and supplemental youth questionnaire
84	Israel	Unicameral	Parliament	2022	✓
85	Italy	Lower chamber	Chamber of Deputies	2022	✓
–	Italy	Upper chamber	Senate	2022	✓
87	Jamaica	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2020	
88	Japan	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2021	✓
–	Japan	Upper chamber	House of Councillors	2022	✓
90	Jordan	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2020	✓
–	Jordan	Upper chamber	Senate	2022	
92	Kazakhstan*	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2023	✓
–	Kazakhstan*	Upper chamber	Senate	2023	
94	Kenya	Upper chamber	Senate	2022	✓
95	Kiribati	Unicameral	House of Assembly	2020	
96	Kuwait	Unicameral	National Assembly	2023	✓
97	Kyrgyzstan*	Unicameral	Supreme Council	2021	
98	Lao People's Democratic Republic	Unicameral	National Assembly	2021	
99	Latvia	Unicameral	Parliament	2022	✓
100	Lebanon	Unicameral	National Assembly	2022	✓
101	Liechtenstein	Unicameral	Diet	2021	✓
102	Lithuania	Unicameral	Parliament	2020	✓
103	Luxembourg	Unicameral	Chamber of Deputies	2018	✓
104	Madagascar	Lower chamber	National Assembly	2019	✓
105	Malawi	Unicameral	National Assembly	2019	
106	Malaysia	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2022	✓
–	Malaysia	Upper chamber	Senate	Continuous chamber	
108	Maldives	Unicameral	People's Majlis	2019	✓
109	Mali	Unicameral	Transitional National Council	2020	✓
110	Malta*	Unicameral	House of Representatives	2022	✓
111	Mauritius	Unicameral	National Assembly	2019	
112	Mexico	Lower chamber	Chamber of Deputies	2021	✓
–	Mexico	Upper chamber	Senate	2018	✓
114	Micronesia (Federated States of)	Unicameral	Congress	2023	
115	Monaco	Unicameral	National Council	2023	
116	Montenegro	Unicameral	Parliament	2023	✓
117	Morocco	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2021	
118	Mozambique	Unicameral	Assembly of the Republic	2019	✓
119	Namibia*	Lower chamber	National Assembly	2019	
–	Namibia	Upper chamber	National Council	2020	✓
121	Nauru	Unicameral	Parliament	2022	
122	Nepal	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2022	✓
–	Nepal	Upper chamber	National Assembly	2022	✓
124	Netherlands	Upper chamber	Senate	2019	✓
–	Netherlands	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2021	✓
126	New Zealand	Unicameral	House of Representatives	2020	✓

Count	Country	Chamber type	Chamber name	Reported election	Age data and supplemental youth questionnaire
127	Nicaragua	Unicameral	National Assembly	2021	✓
128	Nigeria	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2019	✓
–	Nigeria	Upper chamber	Senate	2019	✓
130	North Macedonia	Unicameral	Assembly of the Republic	2020	✓
131	Norway	Unicameral	Parliament	2021	✓
132	Oman	Lower chamber	Shura Council	2019	✓
–	Oman	Upper chamber	State Council	2019	✓
134	Pakistan	Lower chamber	National Assembly	2018	✓
–	Pakistan	Upper chamber	Senate	2021	
136	Palau	Upper chamber	Senate	2020	
137	Papua New Guinea	Unicameral	National Parliament	2022	✓
138	Paraguay	Lower chamber	Chamber of Deputies	2018	✓
–	Paraguay*	Upper chamber	Senate	2018	
140	Peru	Unicameral	Congress of the Republic	2021	
141	Philippines	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2022	
–	Philippines*	Upper chamber	Senate	2022	
143	Poland	Lower chamber	Sejm	2019	✓
–	Poland	Upper chamber	Senate	2019	✓
145	Portugal	Unicameral	Assembly of the Republic	2022	✓
146	Qatar	Unicameral	Shura Council	2021	✓
147	Republic of Korea	Unicameral	National Assembly	2020	✓
148	Republic of Moldova	Unicameral	Parliament	2021	✓
149	Romania	Lower chamber	Chamber of Deputies	2020	✓
–	Romania	Upper chamber	Senate	2020	✓
151	Russian Federation*	Lower chamber	State Duma	2021	
–	Russian Federation	Upper chamber	Council of the Federation	Continuous chamber	✓
153	Rwanda	Lower chamber	Chamber of Deputies	2018	✓
–	Rwanda	Upper chamber	Senate	2019	
155	Saint Kitts and Nevis*	Unicameral	National Assembly	2022	
156	San Marino	Unicameral	Great and General Council	2019	✓
157	Sao Tome and Principe	Unicameral	National Assembly	2022	✓
158	Saudi Arabia	Unicameral	Shura Council	2020	
159	Senegal	Unicameral	National Assembly	2022	✓
160	Serbia	Unicameral	National Assembly	2022	✓
161	Seychelles	Unicameral	National Assembly	2020	✓
162	Sierra Leone*	Unicameral	Parliament	2018	
163	Singapore	Unicameral	Parliament	2020	
164	Slovakia	Unicameral	National Council	2020	✓
165	Slovenia	Lower chamber	National Assembly	2022	✓
–	Slovenia*	Upper chamber	National Council	2022	
167	Solomon Islands	Unicameral	National Parliament	2019	
168	Somalia	Upper chamber	Upper House	2021	✓
169	South Africa	Lower chamber	National Assembly	2019	✓

Count	Country	Chamber type	Chamber name	Reported election	Age data and supplemental youth questionnaire
–	South Africa	Upper chamber	National Council of Provinces	2019	
171	Spain	Lower chamber	Congress of Deputies	2019	✓
–	Spain	Upper chamber	Senate	2019	✓
173	Sri Lanka	Unicameral	Parliament	2020	✓
174	Suriname	Unicameral	National Assembly	2020	✓
175	Sweden	Unicameral	Parliament	2022	✓
176	Switzerland	Lower chamber	National Council	2019	✓
–	Switzerland	Upper chamber	Council of States	2019	✓
178	Syrian Arab Republic*	Unicameral	People's Assembly	2020	
179	Tajikistan	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2020	
–	Tajikistan	Upper chamber	National Assembly	2020	
181	Thailand	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2019	✓
–	Thailand	Upper chamber	Senate	2019	
183	Timor-Leste	Unicameral	National Parliament	2018	✓
184	Togo	Unicameral	National Assembly	2018	
185	Tonga	Unicameral	Legislative Assembly	2021	✓
186	Trinidad and Tobago	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2020	✓
–	Trinidad and Tobago	Upper chamber	Senate	2020	✓
188	Tunisia	Unicameral	Assembly of People's Representatives	2022	✓
189	Türkiye	Unicameral	Grand National Assembly of Türkiye	2018	✓
190	Turkmenistan	Unicameral	Assembly	2018	✓
191	Tuvalu	Unicameral	Parliament of Tuvalu	2019	
192	Uganda	Unicameral	Parliament	2021	
193	Ukraine	Unicameral	Parliament	2019	✓
194	United Arab Emirates	Unicameral	Federal National Council	2019	✓
195	United Kingdom	Lower chamber	House of Commons	2019	✓
–	United Kingdom	Upper chamber	House of Lords	Continuous chamber	
197	United Republic of Tanzania	Unicameral	National Assembly	2020	
198	United States of America	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2022	
–	United States of America	Upper chamber	Senate	2022	
200	Uruguay	Lower chamber	House of Representatives	2019	✓
–	Uruguay	Upper chamber	Senate	2019	✓
202	Uzbekistan*	Upper chamber	Senate	2020	
203	Viet Nam*	Unicameral	National Assembly	2021	✓
204	Zambia	Unicameral	National Assembly	2021	✓

* Data collected through desk research at the IPU. The data is predominantly gathered from parliamentary websites and sometimes based on a list of members provided by the parliament.

Shout Out to Changemakers panellists

Mohamed Anouar Bouchouit, MP, Algeria

Jean Chisenga, MP, Zambia

Lord Fakafanua, Speaker of Parliament, Tonga

Helga Fogstad, Executive Director, Partnership for Maternal Newborn and Child Health

Samson Itodo, Executive Director, YIAGA

Patrick Kemper, MP, Paraguay

Cynthia López Castro, MP, Mexico

Corinne Momal-Vanian, Executive Director, Kofi Annan Foundation

Dyah Roro Esti Widya Putri, MP, Indonesia

Jayathma Wickramanayake, United Nations Secretary-General's Envoy on Youth

Interviewees

Kamal Ait Mik, MP, Morocco

Melvin Bouva, MP, Suriname

Dan Carden, MP, United Kingdom

Walter Cervini, MP, Uruguay

Thai Quynh Mai Dung, MP, Viet Nam

Sara Falaknaz, MP, United Arab Emirates

Hasmik Hakobyan, MP, Armenia

Ulrich Lechte, MP, Germany

Dyah Roro Esti Widya Putri, MP, Indonesia

Vincent Tsvangirai, MP, Zimbabwe

Eche Wanji, MP, South Sudan



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